Ziman u Zar

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For correspondence regarding Ziman û Zar
(Language and Dialect Journal):
Fereydunsaman61@gmail.com
009647504480493

Ziman u Zar

(Ziman u Zar) is a quarterly magazine specialized in Kurdish linguistic studies. It occupies a prominent position in the field of Kurdish linguistic journalism by providing opportunities for many linguists to publish linguistic papers and research. It has become a fertile resource for linguists, postgraduate students, and intellectuals. The first issue of (Ziman u Zar) was published in autumn 2021. So far, 23 issues have been published, containing more than 600 research papers and studies written by well-known, experienced writers and linguists in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian, and English. Each issue consists of more than 400 pages, making it an encyclopedia of the Kurdish language and linguistics. Each issue of (Ziman u Zar) deals with a specific Kurdish linguistic topic, such as Kurdish standard language, Kurdish language and education, Kurdish language and media, Kurdish language and culture, Kurdish language in the diaspora, Kurdish language and cultural genocide, and Kurdish language and demographic change.

Editor in CHief

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LANGUAGE AS A NATION- BUILDING TOOL

Fereydun saman

Shallaw Hamagharib, PhD.

Nation-building (nationalism) as a double-edged sword: oppression and preservation within a historical framework.

Under the guise of protecting territorial integrity and national unity, dominant governments throughout the past century have used nationalism as an ideological tool to justify repression and even the outright eradication of ethnic, cultural, and religious communities. Historical examples include the genocidal practices of the Nazi state, the Armenian genocide carried out by the Turks (Akçam, 2012), as well as the Anfal campaign waged by the Iraqi Ba›ath administration against the Kurds. On the other hand, subjugated nations and cultures have used nationalism as a tool of resistance, to confront historical erasure, cultural destruction, and elimination (Smith, 1986). Nationalist ideology therefore serves a dual purpose: subjugated peoples use it to reaffirm their cultural identity and existence, while oppressive regimes use it to justify the continuation of their crimes.

Drawing on historical evidence, nationalism has played a prominent role over the past two hundred years in the formation of political movements, but once its primary goals—such as independence or cultural revival—are achieved, it often diminishes as a framework for governance and social development (Hobsbawm, 1990).

Part One: Introducing the Study

Significance of the Study:

The significance of this study lies in the fact that it serves as a foundation for reconsidering nation-building thought and reformulating it on the basis of the Kurdish language, given that language is the most important tool of the nation-building question. The disappearance and extinction of a language is equivalent to the disappearance of a people. For this reason, this study can be used

as a contribution, within a historical framework, to the question of the Kurdish language and nation-building.

Research Problem and Questions:

The central questions of this study are: what role does linguistic diversity and dialectal variation within a language play in the (preservation/extinction) of that language? What is cultural suppression and linguistic genocide, and what is their relationship to nation-building and nationalism? At the same time, has nationalism become a serious concern among Kurds, and have Kurds made use of the history of their language for the nation-building question? What is the status of the Kurdish language within this framework? This study seeks to answer these questions and problems by presenting and analyzing a historical framework of the language and the influence of surrounding countries upon it, and how this is reflected in the situation of the Kurdish language, drawing on historical examples for further clarification and to arrive at answers, with the outcomes presented.

Research Methodology:

The study was conducted using the descriptive-analytical method, and it seeks to present, within a historical framework, the question of the Kurdish language and its dialects and sub-dialects, while at the same time offering an analysis of the state of the language from this perspective.

Part Two: Linguistics as a Marker of Cultural Heritage: The File of Kurdish Dialects

The geographic dispersion of the Kurdish language has had a major impact on the linguistic diversity of the Kurdish dialects;

each region has acquired distinctive lexical, syntactic, and phonological characteristics that reflect regional historical and cultural influences (Haig & Matras, 2002). This dialectal variety is not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a reflection of the rich cultural heritage of the Kurdish people, shaped by centuries of contact with neighboring civilizations and by adaptation to different environments. Understanding Kurdish history, and the development of identity and socio-political resilience against assimilationist policies, is bound up with the preservation of these languages (Sheyholislami, 2011).

The Question of Kurdish Dialects: Cultural Heritage and Linguistic Suppression.

The Kurdish language possesses a rich literary, cultural, and intellectual heritage that encompasses a broad range of genres, including myth, poetry, folk literature, and historical narrative. In addition to expressing the intellectual and human experience of the Kurdish people, these literary traditions shed light on the aesthetic diversity and expressiveness of the language (Hassanpour, 1992). The Kurdish language has traditionally suffered systematic marginalization and linguistic isolation, often as a result of broader policies aimed at suppressing Kurdish identity, despite the linguistic vitality it retains (Skutnabb-Kangas & Fernandes, 2008).

In order to pass the language on to future generations, Kurdish academics and cultural activists have worked actively toward its preservation and revival, promoting its use in public life, the media, and education (Haig & Matras, 2002). Nevertheless, the dominant nation-states of Kurdistan have often implemented policies of cultural erasure, such as denying Kurdish linguistic rights and deliberately fragmenting the Kurdish language into supposedly

separate dialects (such as Dimli/Zazaki, Gorani-Hawrami, Laki, Luri, and Kalhori) (Chyet, 2020; Öpengin, 2016). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), these tactics align with what linguists have termed linguicide or cultural genocide, whereby a dominant power seeks to eliminate a minority language by suppressing its institutional recognition and by standardizing it out of existence.

State authorities in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria have historically refused to recognize Kurdish as a single language, instead defining its varieties as distinct and lesser languages—a practice that has often led to the classification of Kurdish dialects being politicized (Blau, 2010). This strategy, in addition to weakening linguistic unity, also damages the collective memory and identity of Kurdish resistance (van Bruinessen, 2000).

Kurdish Dialects Between Erasure and Preservation: Language, Nation, and Demographic Change in Kurdistan.

A vast body of narrative that preserves collective Kurdish memory—mystical poetry (such as the Yarsan tradition) and oral epics (such as Mem û Zîn)—are all part of the complex literary and cultural system of the Kurdish language (Hassanpour, 1992; Chyet, 2020). Because educational institutions have been the primary vehicle for linguistic representation in the divided regions of Kurdistan, state actions of a colonial character pose a serious threat to this heritage (Skutnabb-Kangas & Fernandes, 2008).

The fragmentation of dialects and the policy toward different ethno-linguistic groupings—such as Kurmanji, Zazaki, Gorani, Laki, Luri, and Kalhori speakers—reflect centuries of social-historical development. Like all linguistically diverse peoples, Kurds display considerable dialectal variation across their homeland (Haig & Matras, 2002). Yet this linguistic diversity

has been methodically weaponized as a tool of cultural genocide (Lemkin, 1944) and demographic engineering (Üngör, 2011), a pattern that became especially pronounced following the geopolitical fragmentation of Kurdistan after the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the subsequent creation of modern nation-states (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria).

If one considers the classification of Kurdish dialects in educational sources, efforts to fragment the Kurds and the Kurdish language are evident in the following: Iraq, by officially recognizing only Sorani (Central Kurmanji) in education, marginalizes speakers of Badini (Northern Kurmanji) (Haig, 2004); Turkey›s suppression of Zazaki/Dimli textbooks, with only limited tolerance for Kurmanji materials (Jongerden, 2019); and, in an effort to divide Kurdish groups, Iran designated Gorani as a «separate language» and elevated its status (MacKenzie, 1961). These strategies coincide with the devaluation of the institutional worth of minority linguistic capital, what Bourdieu (1991) forcefully terms symbolic violence.

The Use of Education as a Tool of Linguistic Suppression:

Following the complete prohibition of Kurdish-language education in Turkey from 1923 to 1991, a highly restricted «elective» course, taught only in the Kurmanji dialect and not permitted as a medium of instruction, was only introduced into practice after 2012 (Öpengin & Gündoğdu, 2021). The Kurdish language, under Iran›s constitution, is reduced to sporadic folkloric tokenism, since the constitution explicitly requires Persian as the sole language of instruction (Article 15) (Sheyholislami, 2011). Until 2011, even textbooks written in Kurdish were treated in Syria as materials of illegal separatism (Tejel, 2020). To maintain

state hegemony, educational institutions enforce monolingualism, which is an example of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

In response, resistance at the grassroots level has taken various forms, and Kurdish efforts have reacted as follows: in Turkey, from the 1980s to the 2000s, volunteers taught Kurdish literacy classes in underground «koma» schools, at considerable personal risk (Gündoğdu, 2018); Kurdish became the official academic language at universities such as the University of Kurdistan-Hewlêr (Iraq), funded by the diaspora; and digital education platforms circumvent government regulations, such as the Zimanê Kurdî applications (Sheyholislami, 2020). Likewise, if one looks at the autonomous regions, they clearly demonstrate language revitalization: Rojava has close to 1,200 Kurdish-language schools (2023); the rate of Kurdish-language education in the Kurdistan Region is 82%, compared with 58% in the Kurdistan region of Turkey; and 47 universities in the diaspora offer instruction in Kurdish.

State Policies of Language Erasure and Legal Prohibition.

Until the twenty-first century, all four states rendered Kurdish illegal and banned it from government institutions (Turkish Law No. 2932, 1983; Article 15 of Iran›s education policies, which permitted only Persian; Syria›s 1962 census, which stripped Kurds of their citizenship) (Hassanpour, 1992; Tejel, 2020). Dialect fragmentation followed a similar logic: Zazaki/Gorani was suppressed as «non-Kurdish,» while the Kurmanji-Sorani distinction was promoted by authorities as constituting «separate languages» (Blau, 2010). Orientalists such as MacKenzie (1961) and Minorsky (1943) were enlisted to justify this fragmentation, even denying the Kurdish identity of the Shabak and Yazidis (Açıkyıldız, 2014). Meanwhile, demographic assimilation and

destruction altered the demographic majority of the Kurds through forced migration (such as Turkey›s «village guard system») and through Arabization/Persianization initiatives (such as Iraq›s «Arab Belt») (Üngör, 2011).

Resistance and Standardization Efforts.

From Mukri (1971) to Hassanpour (1992), Kurdish linguists have responded in the following ways: continuous documentation of dialectal features (for example, mutual-intelligibility studies between Zazaki and Kurmanji; Haig, 2007); the creation of unified dialectal orthographies (such as the Sorani version of the Hawar alphabet; Sheyholislami, 2011); the institutionalization of the Kurdish language within Rojava›s autonomous educational system (Allsopp, 2019); the theoretical framework of linguistic human rights, whereby state repression strategies are explained through Skutnabb-Kangas›s (2000) concept of linguicide; ethno-symbolism, whereby Smith›s (1986) theory clarifies how Kurdish national consciousness and dialectal variation coexist; and Said›s (1978) exposure of the ways in which Western academia (such as Minorsky) has been used as a weapon against the Kurds, within critical Orientalism.

The Complicity of Orientalism in Linguistic Fragmentation. Early twentieth-century scholarship actively participated in the division of Kurdish dialects: Minorsky (1943) classified Gorani as «non-Kurdish»; MacKenzie (1961) proposed Zazaki as an isolated Indo-European branch; and Soviet ethnographers (1950s) mapped out 23 «separate languages.» This same legacy is openly evident today among the states occupying Kurdistan, in Turkey›s 2009 academic reports, which reject the unity of the Kurdish language; Iran›s classification of Zaza/Gorani as «local dialects»; and the removal of the Kurdish language from school curricula in southern Iraq.

The State of the Kurdish Language in Divided Kurdistan: A Comparative Study of Linguistic Suppression.

All of Kurdistan lies under systematic suppression. The four nation-states dividing Kurdistan have each pursued different but equally harsh policies against the Kurdish language. Sources: Hassanpour (1992), Sheyholislami (2011), HRW World Reports (2000 -2023).

Policy of covert assimilation in Eastern (Iranian) Kurdistan. Although speaking Kurdish has never been officially criminalized in Iran, the techniques of suppression include educational erasure, since Persian is required as the sole language of instruction under Article 15 of Iran›s constitution (Sheyholislami, 2011); the fragmentation of Kurdish dialects, whereby Gorani/Laki is promoted as an «independent language» by state-sponsored linguistics (MacKenzie, 1961); and cultural marginalization, whereby Kurdish writers and poets are required to publish in Persian (Vali, 2021).

Explicit prohibition in Northern and Western Kurdistan. Turkey›s Law No. 2932 of 1983 imposed sentences of 25- years› imprisonment for Kurdish publications (Gündoğdu, 2018). According to Syria›s 1962 census, 300,000 Kurds were stripped of their citizenship, and Kurdish-language education was banned (Tejel, 2020).

Resistance and the current status of the Kurdish language in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq:

Kurdish is taught in 89% of schools (Kurdistan Regional Government Ministry, 2022). All of the above, according to Phillipson (1992), constitute linguistic imperialism—the imposition of Persian and Turkish as «superior» languages.

Likewise, ethno-symbolism—state-building through the denial of Kurdish nationhood—plays a supporting role (Smith, 1986). On the other hand, Lemkin (1944) defines cultural genocide as the deliberate destruction of linguistic identity.

A Historical-Comparative Analysis of the Kurdish Language within the Legal Frameworks of the Occupying States, from Conditional Recognition to Constitutional Prohibition in Turkey.

Kurdish linguistic rights were notably neglected in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which granted protections to other minorities (Article 39). Subsequent periods reflected shifts in policy. In the phases of Turkish language policy from 1923 to 2023, the years 19231983- saw total denial (Constitution, Article 3), complete prohibition, and Law No. 2932 (1983), which carried a sentence of 25- years› imprisonment; the years 19912002- brought limited cultural rights, special Kurdish courses, and heavy censorship of media; and the years 20032023- marked the EU reform era, with elective courses in schools alongside continued marginalization of Kurdish publishers (Gündoğdu, 2018; HRW Turkey reports, 2000-2023). The «opening of the Kurdish department» in 2015 turned out to be a mirage, as the universities promised by Erdoğan never materialized in the Kurdish language. Non-Kurdish-speaking instructors delivered 68% of elective Kurdish courses (Güneş, 2021).

The Soviet Union represents a case of brief revival followed by purge. The Kurdish policies of the Armenian Socialist Party in the 1930s were a special case: between 1929 and 1937, 43 Kurdish schools were established, and 3,000 copies of the newspaper Riya Teze were distributed (Baran, 2019). After 1937, during Stalin›s national operations, scholars such as Arab Shamilov were exiled,

and all Kurdish schools were closed (Avagyan, 2020). As a legacy, according to the Soviet census, only 23% of Soviet Kurds still spoke the language fluently by 1989.

Iraq moved from tokenism to constitutional recognition, reflecting Iraq›s shifting geopolitical circumstances in its trajectory of language policy. In the Iraqi Kurdish language policies from 1931 to 2005, the years 19311958- brought a Local Languages Law with limited Kurdish in education, while Arabic remained dominant; the years 1968- 2003 saw Ba›athist decree 199 (1974), the «Arabization» of Kirkuk, and the execution of Kurdish teachers; and the 2005-present constitution, under Article 4, recognizes Kurdish as official in the Kurdistan Region, though Feyli Kurds remain excluded outside the center and south. Sources: McDowall (2004), Kurdistan Regional Government Ministry of Education (2020).

Syria moved from ignorance to independent adjudication. Reality diverges from Syria›s 2012 constitutional silence on the Kurds: before 2011, there were no Kurdish schools, and printing and publishing were prohibited. After 2012, the Rojava Education Commission noted that by 2023 it aimed to establish 1,842 Kurdish-language schools, in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter of Linguistic Rights, which calls for equality among Kurdish, Arabic, and Syriac.

Iran exemplifies tokenism versus constitutional practice. The «permission» for local languages under Article 15 remains unimplemented: Kurdish is not taught in a single state school; poetry and folklore make up 92% of Kurdish publications (Vali, 2021); and dialect fragmentation continues, as Gorani is elevated by state linguists to the status of «Hawrami» (MacKenzie, 1961).

The Importance of the Mother Tongue for Children: Preserving Kurdish Identity and Heritage.

The mother tongue is not merely a communication tool; it is the root of national identity and an unbroken link between a people›s past, present, and future. For the Kurds, language has stood like a towering mountain against efforts at cultural destruction. But in an age of globalization and the dominance of foreign languages, preserving the mother tongue for Kurdish children has become a social and educational responsibility.

Regarding the mother tongue and its connection to Kurdish history and culture: language is a window into a people›s history, philosophy, and literature, and Kurdish children who are not taught their mother tongue become disconnected from their history and culture. As for personality and self-recognition, studies have shown that children who do not learn their language well tend to be weaker in personality and sense of independence (Baker, 2011).

Regarding the impact of technology and foreign languages: many Kurdish families, due to economic necessity or social ambition, enroll their children in foreign schools, and this contributes to a decline in the use of Kurdish within households. A 2023 study found that nearly 40% of Kurdish children in the Kurdistan Region rank English as their first-priority language. At the same time, the role of digital media—social media and Kurdish e-books—can help expand the use of the Kurdish language among children.

Art and heritage serve as teaching tools. The use of Kurdish folk art, such as children›s songs and stories, helps children learn the language in an engaging way, while social occasions such as children›s participation in Newroz and Ramadan celebrations offer an effective way of connecting them to Kurdish culture.

Family and educational institutions bear responsibility together: language and Kurdish values must be passed on to children at home; Kurdish-language instruction must be effectively provided in all

schools; and government support for Kurdish-language programs in official media is essential.

Thus, preserving the Kurdish language is not simply about preserving words, but about preserving the national spirit. Everyone, from the family to the institutions of the state, must take part in this process. Today›s children preserve the Kurdish roots, and in this way the future of Kurdish language and culture is secured.

Part Three: Preserving the Language Is Preserving the Nation, and It Is a Nation-Building Question

Kurdish as a Standard and Shared Language.

As an ancient and authentic language of the Middle East, Kurdish is a vital component of Kurdish national identity, closely tied to the political and cultural destiny of the Kurdish people. In recent years, however, the Kurdish language has faced numerous threats and challenges, both legal and practical.

Regarding legal sources for the Kurdish language in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region: the 2005 Iraqi constitution recognizes Kurdish as an official language alongside Arabic (Article 4), and in the Kurdistan Region, Law No. 6 of 2014 recognizes Kurdish as the official language. These laws guarantee the right to use Kurdish in government institutions, education, and media.

Despite these laws, problems remain in their implementation. In areas outside the Kurdistan Region, such as Kirkuk, Khanaqin, and the Nineveh Plains, Kurdish is not fully functional. Even within the Kurdistan Region, some fields, such as higher education and universities, increasingly rely on English and Arabic. In 2017, for example, the Kurdistan Region›s Ministry of Higher Education

decided that the Kurdish-language grade for 12th-grade students would be voluntary. This sparked objections from teachers and Kurdish-language activists, who felt it diminished the importance of the language.

External and internal threats also weigh on the language. Externally, the policies of neighboring states—Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria—seek to eliminate the Kurdish language, compounded by a lack of international support for its preservation. Internally, there is insufficient educational planning to strengthen the Kurdish language in schools and universities, the use of foreign languages such as English and Arabic persists under the guise of «progress,» and there remains an absence of a monitoring mechanism for implementing language laws.

From an academic perspective, language education is defined in the social sciences as «the process of teaching and learning language through an educational system.» From a national perspective, language is part of social identity (Fishman, 1991).

Several recommendations follow for strengthening and preserving the Kurdish language: educational planning is needed so that Kurdish textbooks and learning resources are updated; legal oversight requires a mechanism to assess the implementation of laws; media—radio, television, and the internet—should be used to promote the Kurdish language; and international partnership, engaging with organizations such as UNESCO, is needed for the protection of endangered languages. The Kurdish language is a vital source of culture and identity, but it requires greater effort for its preservation and strengthening, both within and outside the Kurdish regions. Government and society must work together to address these problems.

to preserve and strengthen it, both within and beyond Systemic Neglect within the Kurdistan Regional Government and Its Negative Impact on Kurdish Nation-Building.

Under the Kurdistan Regional Government›s Official Languages Law (2014) and Article 4 of the Iraqi constitution (2005), Kurdish is recognized as an official language; however, its implementation is uneven. Only 32% of Kurdistan Regional Government ministries fully comply with language regulations, a phenomenon Cooper (1989) calls the «planning-implementation gap» in language policy (Kurdistan Region Board of Supreme Audit report, 2022). When non-Kurdish parties are present, 68% of court proceedings in Erbil are switched to Arabic (Iraqi Judiciary report, 2021).

A major case of institutional duality was the 2017 higher education policy change proposed under Minister Yousif Goran, whose substance required that STEM courses at universities be taught in Arabic or English. The public reaction was significant: five thousand educators protested in Sulaymaniyah (Rudaw, March 2017). In theoretical terms, this disregards the mother-tongue instruction principle established by UNESCO in 2003, and it also runs counter to Lightbown›s (1992) findings regarding the cognitive benefits of second-language learning.

Regarding the language of instruction at Kurdistan Regional Government universities in 2023, at Salahaddin University, 42% of instruction was in Kurdish, 33% in Arabic, and 25% in English; at Sulaymaniyah University, 38% was in Kurdish, 28% in Arabic, and 34% in English; and at Duhok University, 29% was in Kurdish, 41% in Arabic, and 30% in English (Kurdistan Regional Government Ministry of Higher Education, 2023).

Problems persist throughout the educational system. In primary education, in 57% of private schools English takes precedence

over Kurdish in curricula (Gorran Agency, 2022), and borrowed Arabic vocabulary makes up 23% of Kurdish-language textbooks (Linguistic Survey, 2021). At the college and university level, Kurdish is used in only 12% of doctoral dissertations (Salahaddin University archive), and according to Web of Science statistics, 78% of faculty publications are in Arabic or English (20202023-).

Religious and political factors also influence language: Islamist parties encourage schools to use Arabic religious terminology, and opposition to standardized Kurdish orthography is a nationalist factor that stands against Kurdish nation-building thought. Economic ties, including support for private English-language education, coincide with the notion of a «linguistic market,» as Bourdieu (1991) describes it, in which power relations are reflected in language choice.

The Paradox of Standardization: Orthographic Changes and Their Impact on the Development of the Kurdish Language. Since the emergence of modern printing, the Kurdish language has undergone several orthographic changes: the Hawar alphabet, based on Arabic script, from the early twentieth century (Bedirkhan, 1920); the Soviet era›s adoption of the Cyrillic-based Kurmanji script (19301991-); and the modern era›s modified Arabic-based Sorani script, alongside a Latin-based Kurmanji (Hassanpour, 1992). The current division of scripts in Kurdish publications shows Latin-script Kurmanji at 68% (Kurdistan Academy, 2011), modified Arabic-script Sorani at 89% (Kurdistan Regional Government Ministry of Culture), and Latin-script Zazaki at 72% (Zaza Language Institute).

Fundamental problems remain with standardization. Institutional fragmentation persists, with competing organizations including the Sorani Language Academy (Sulaymaniyah), the Kurdish

Language Institute (Istanbul), and the Kurdistan Academy (Erbil). Problems with practical implementation are evident too: Kurmanji/Sorani orthography is mixed in 57% of journalistic writing (Media Monitor, 2023), and orthographic inconsistency in university theses stands at 23% (Salahaddin University, 2021). The effect of orthographic instability includes semantic distortion—a case study of the word «to read» reveals that «xwêndin» appears in 23% of texts, «xundin» in 17%, and «xwandin» in 60% (Kurdish Corpus Project, 2022)—as well as educational impact, since dialect-based texts are difficult for 38% of primary school students (Kurdistan Regional Government Ministry of Education, 2023).

Haugen›s (1966) model of language standardization offers a theoretical framework moving through selection, codification, elaboration, and acceptance. Kurdish has stalled at the codification stage. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) discusses linguistic human rights and how a lack of standardization can itself be oppressive, while Anderson (1983), in his account of print capitalism, points to the need for orthographic consistency for the development of a nation.

The Kurdish Language Between Identity and Ideology: Language as a Foundation of Nation-Building.

Following the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the Kurdish nation was divided among the newly established colonial governments of Syria and Iraq (McDowall, 2004). Both marginalized the Kurds and contributed to their slow retreat from public life by making Arabic the official language of public administration and education (Hassanpour, 1992). As a result of this linguistic imposition, some Kurdish social groups—particularly religious figures such as emirs, sheikhs, and sayyids—often assimilated Arabic as a sacred language, at the expense of their own mother tongue (Bruinessen,

2000). This gave rise to a complex social and cultural dynamic. In order to reject their Kurdish identity and embrace the perceived religious and cultural dominance of Arabic, some even adopted Arab family names (Vali, 2003).

Language is a fundamental component of national identity, and this situation is emblematic of a broader problem in which language becomes entangled with religious and ideological concepts (Fishman, 1972). Modernity, scientific discourse, and intercultural exchange are all hindered when one language is granted such prestige that it suppresses indigenous languages (Edwards, 2009). This kind of linguistic hegemony can lead to the assimilation of identity, whereby speakers become «silent to the outside world» (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 36), as the Kurdish case demonstrates.

The Impact of Linguistic Denial on Kurdish Identity.

The deliberate devaluation of the Kurds has produced a significant cultural and psychological backlash. Internal Kurdish oppression and the suppression of the Kurdish language have been reinforced by responses to denial, such as the insistence that Kurdish is a «foreign language» or even «the language of hell» (Sheyholislami, 2011). This aligns with theories of linguistic imperialism, which hold that minority languages are suppressed by dominant languages, resulting in the loss of cultural heritage (Phillipson, 1992).

Despite these obstacles, Kurdish linguists have worked tirelessly to revive the language. A trend toward linguistic modernization is evident in the creation of publishing institutions, cultural bodies, and scientific terminology dictionaries (Hassanpour, 1992). Yet institutional barriers remain. For example, the Kurdistan Regional Government›s Ministry of Higher Education once stated that «Kurdish

is not a language of science,» thereby belittling Kurdish scholars (Allison, 2016). Such attitudes restrict the functional domains of the language and impede its development (Bourdieu, 1991).

Language as a Tool for Modernization, Thought, and Nation-Building.

Language serves as a medium for thought and communication, according to the theory of social linguistics (Vygotsky, 1962). Because language and cognition are structurally interdependent, restricting the development of a language can hinder intellectual development (Whorf, 1956). According to Crystal (2000), for the Kurdish language to grow and become a positive, central factor in nation-building, it must be freed from ideological constraints and brought into international and scientific discourse.

Historic linguistic revolutions, such as the modernization of Turkish or the standardization of Hebrew, demonstrate that deliberate policy and scientific engagement can strengthen languages (Spolsky, 2004). A similar approach is needed for Kurdish, including academic institutionalization, robust translation mechanisms, and standardized terminology (Amir Hassanpour, 2001). In addition, the Kurdish language can simultaneously elevate its distinctive intrinsic characteristics (Haig & Matras, 2002).

Therefore, for the Kurdish language to be used scientifically, it must escape these obstacles; the Kurds must free themselves from ideological constraints and enter the domain of modern academia and technology in order to overcome these challenges. To guarantee that the Kurdish language remains alive and continues to develop, both pragmatic linguistic growth and nation-building support for linguistic rights are needed.

Conclusion

This study has shown that the Kurdish language today stands between achievement and obstacle. In conclusion, the following findings can be drawn.

Among the historical achievements: the Kurdish language has passed through several important historical and political stages—such as the establishment of the Kurdish Scientific Society and the Kurdish Writers› Union in Baghdad (1970) and the uprising of Southern Kurdistan (1991)—and has managed to escape the danger of extinction. Official recognition of the Kurdish language in the 2005 Iraqi constitution, alongside Arabic, marked an important turning point in its legal status. There has been significant growth in Western (Rojava) Kurdistan in the levels of education, instruction, and media channels, and the Kurds have emerged as one of the influential actors in the region, with Kurdish as one of the living languages.

Yet current problems and obstacles remain. Despite these achievements, the Kurdish language still suffers from confusion, multiple points of reference, and considerable inconsistency. Kurdish nationalist ideology has still not come to terms with these historical turning points, and continues to view the Kurdish language solely through the binary lens of «life and death.» The potential for scientific development is hindered by ideology, opening the door to unscientific interventions, and this has led to the production of weak and fragile texts under the slogan «whatever it is, as long as it›s Kurdish.»

The impact of political conflict has also been significant. Due to political, economic, and cultural conflict among the main parties of Southern Kurdistan, dozens of chaotic institutions and organizations concerned with Kurdish language, literature,

and translation have proliferated. This has led to a «flood» of translation that has overtaken the entire field of Kurdish language and thought, and in the absence of scientific mechanisms and necessary oversight, this situation persists to this day.

There is a clear need for change. Kurdish nationalist discourse must shift from a perspective focused solely on «salvation» toward one of «development» and «raising standards.» A scientific and professional mechanism is needed to oversee and manage language-related work, and rather than ideology, science and scientific standards must become the basis for engaging with the language.

In overall conclusion, for a nation›s identity to be recognized, the existence of a language is sufficient—particularly for a nation whose existence has been denied for hundreds of years on its own homeland. But existence alone is not enough; this language must develop in a scientific and professional manner and rise to meet the demands of the present age. This can only be achieved by moving away from ideology and relying on science and scientific standards.

Recommendations

The fragmentation of the Kurdish language among its various dialects and sub-dialects, from one region to another, requires that Kurdish be granted a higher status, especially in circumstances where the threats are not limited to the language itself, but have plunged our society and nation into fear and despair.

The establishment of a linguistics college at Kurdistan›s universities, dedicated to the Kurdish language, to be called the «College of the Kurdish Language,» is proposed. This college would include a department of Kurdology dedicated to Kurdish heritage and literature, history, and the geography of Kurdistan,

and a department for the Hawrami, Zazaki, Laki, and Luri-Kalhori dialects. Alongside other departments, a number of Kurdish students from Kurdish-populated regions outside Kurdistan, such as Khorasan, Mazandaran, and the Kurds of the Caucasus and Central Asia, should be admitted annually to this college to obtain higher degrees, with support from the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. Kurdish should be made mandatory in all Kurdistan government offices, particularly in courts, civil administration offices, and civil registries. Signage for hotels, restaurants, public places, and streets should be in clear, correct Kurdish. Any individual or party that violates the decisions of the Kurdistan Parliament and the Iraqi constitution regarding the Kurdish language should face legal accountability and be penalized.

The teaching of educational programs in those regions in the mother tongue is also essential: in past years, every form and dominant condition of alienation has been imposed on those communities, forcing them to accept the language of the dominant nation. This is because, for every individual and group among these communities—such as the Shabak, Yazidi, and Feyli Kurds—who speak the language of their village or tribe, this does not mean they know their own mother tongue; rather, this represents the most natural, simplest, and at the same time «most basic» form of language acquisition, though incomplete and partial.

The sweet Kurdish language, which the enemies of our people oppose in every chauvinistic manner and seek to destroy—whether by banning the Kurdish language for its speakers at the levels of education, instruction, print, journalism, and social media, or by attempting to designate certain Kurdish communities as separate nations and languages, with deliberate planning behind it—must be defended.

A department of linguistics is also proposed. The strategy of this department should be to work on harmonizing the rules and foundations of all the dialects and to work toward unifying them within an appropriate standardized framework, ultimately producing an organic balance free from the influence of the temperament and mood of one side or another. It should also situate the Kurdish language along a path where, as a living entity, it enters into the process of communication and interaction, so that it may progress alongside the scientific, technological, social, and cultural development of both our own society and the wider world—while accepting the scientific truth that dialects are a genuine, living reality within every language, and that consolidating them all into a single standard form is merely a means of unification, so that the act of communication and cultural expression may remain a continuous, aesthetic act as a diverse unity.

A department of dialect archaeology is proposed as well. This department would study the cultural, social, psychological, geographic, topographic, political, and other factors, and would investigate and study the structural and historical roots of the dialects and the various influences upon them, layer by layer, across different eras, era by era. In addition, the value of dialect as a distinct color and voice within the spectrum of the language should be highlighted, and its value in enriching the language and in the process of lexicon-building should be assessed.

Alongside these departments, other departments could also be established, and this proposal may well have many shortcomings—both in terms of the points raised above and in terms of ideas not addressed. I could not name them, either because I was not aware of them at the time or because they did not come to mind. What matters is only this: given the circumstances we currently find

ourselves in, establishing a college dedicated to this subject is essential, because our political, social, and cultural situation is a special one, facing the greatest threat to our national existence—a threat whose heaviest blow has fallen upon the language. Establishing a college of this kind falls within the framework of a great national and cultural project. At the same time, it is a fitting and feasible undertaking that can easily be put into practice. A rational campaign to implement a project of this kind would be such a rational cultural and intellectual revolution that it could, without mixing in excessive emotion or sentiment, reach its goals. It is also a strategic effort to dispel doubts about the absence and unavailability of this foundational element for the building of a nation and a homeland.

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WHAT IF A DICTIONARY COULD TELL A TALE OF TONGUES?

An Interview with Dr. Michael Chyet (Part Two)

Interview conducted by
Sangar Hassan Najim

Sangar: Let's start with this question: what inspired you to commit eighteen years to the Kurdish-English dictionary, Ferhenga Birûskî?

Dr. Chyet: Well, Ferhenga Birûskî is the second edition. The first edition came out in 2003. The dictionary came out of notes that I was making for myself as I was teaching myself Kurdish. I just started taking notes.

This is primarily Kurmanji, though I did study Sorani. There was already a fairly good Sorani dictionary; Wahby & Edmunds's dictionary already existed, but something comparable in English did not exist for Kurmanji. So, it started with taking notes for myself, and then, when I was a grad student at UC Berkeley, that's when Macintosh computers appeared on the scene, when everybody was buying a home computer. So, I took a course on how to use a computer, and everybody had to do a project for it. So, I decided to put the letter (A) from my dictionary - the one I had so far and maybe also letter (B). That was my project for the semester.

I used FileMaker Plus, so I had individual fields for the word, and then - if it was a noun, the gender; if it was a verb, whether it was transitive or intransitive - and then the translation. So, for nouns, if it was masculine, it would have an "ezafe/izāfa" and an oblique form. If it was a verb, you'd need the present stem.

For instance, an example of a verb would be "xwarin خوارن " to eat, and so you need those two forms: xwarin + (di-xw-im). (The Sorani equivalent is xwardin, which I call a "nag verb" when I teach; I call them nag verbs because I'm always nagging my students about the irregularities in conjugation.) But anyway, that's neither here nor there. So, I originally did letters (A) and (B) as that course project, and that got me started on the road to having a dictionary in the computer. From there, I converted everything because, with

FileMaker Plus, if you printed each individual word, it would have been something like four pages per word; just imagine how huge that would have been. So, I converted it to text, and then each entry fit very neatly in less than a page.

That's how I got started, but it's because there was no Kurmanji-English dictionary at the time. There were Kurmanji-Russian, Kurmanji-Turkish, Kurmanji-Arabic, Kurmanji-French. There were lists of vocabulary in German and so on, but there was next to nothing in English. So, there was a reason why, when I was a teenager, I learned all of these languages. If I

believed in predestination, I would say that I was chosen to learn all of these languages, so that when it came time to study Kurdish, I had all of these languages already under my belt. For instance, a Kurdish-Russian dictionary was not an obstacle for me; I knew enough Russian to use it, or the dictionaries in other languages, such as Arabic and Turkish; I knew those languages, too. It's too much to ask somebody to learn three languages in order to learn Kurdish, but I already had all of those languages.

So, it's as if I had been chosen to learn all of these languages so that I could then give Kurdish the attention that it deserved. And I've always felt that when I write in English about the Kurds and the Kurdish language, then it's available to

everybody. If I were to write it in a language that's less well known, then that would limit who would have access to it.

Sangar: Since you have talked about the first steps of the dictionary, what was your workflow for collecting entries, etymologies, and usage examples?

Dr. Chyet: Well, again, all the languages that I had studied as a teenager, I used dictionaries. The best Arabic-English dictionary,

for instance, was Hans Wehr's dictionary. That included, for nouns, the broken plural, for instance, "walad ولد" -- plural «awlād اولاد».

Other dictionaries didn't. Other dictionaries would just give you "walad," boy, and you're done. But that dictionary included the broken plural of nouns for Arabic.

For verbs, like «kataba كتب» -- "yaktubu يَكْتُبُ," it would show you that the imperfect stem is vowelled with a "damma ضَمَّة." All of that information, which was provided in that dictionary, is the sort of information I strive to provide in mine.

So, as I said before, for every noun you need to know whether it's masculine or feminine, and if it's masculine, then the "ezafe" ending will be "ê"; if it's feminine, the ezafe ending will be "a." So I provide that information, and then the oblique ending for masculine nouns can be "î." You'll have a noun like "şivan, şivên vî şivanî" - "bajar, bajêr, vî bajarî." For feminine nouns, the oblique -the tewang- will end in "ê." For instance, it would be "jin, jinê." So all that information- whether it's masculine or feminine, and the inflections, both the "ezafe" and the oblique case ending, I provide.

And then, for verbs, you need to know three things. You need to know the infinitive, from which you can form the past tense; You need to know the present stem; and then you need to know whether it's transitive تێپەڕ or intransitive تێنەپەڕ,

because that's very important both in Kurmanji and in Sorani.

For instance, in the case of xwarin خوارِن, then its present tense is di-xw-im, and it's transitive. So the past tense will be Min xwar [من خوار]. So I provide that information, verb transitive (vt.), and then in parentheses the present stem (di-xw-im); Some dictionaries provide some of this information, but some don't. Just "to eat" is not enough. You need to know the present stem, and you need to know whether it's transitive or intransitive. That makes all the

difference in the world. You have to know the grammar; if you know the grammar, then the information I provide will enable you to use the word fully. And then, for every meaning a word may have -- it may have one meaning, or it may have several meanings- for each meaning I try to find sample sentences of usage.

I use both written and spoken sources. So, a written source -like if I'm reading a book, or a folktale, or an article- as I come across words that are unfamiliar to me, I would - make a slip for each new word - I use old day-by-day calendars. On one side I would write the word, and I would write the example of usage, and on the other side I would look it up in all the dictionaries and write what each dictionary has. At the end - here's one I'm working on right now: "babelîç" is the «ring finger». I got it just yesterday from a native speaker from Duhok. He told me the names of several fingers, and then I started looking them up in dictionaries. You see, I have a little abbreviation for each

dictionary, and then I write the form as it appears. Some have "babelîç" some have "babelîçk," some have "bablîçk" or "babelîc" or "bablîcan." So you have all of this variation. I look and see which one is dominant, and I also look to see what the form is in Central Kurdish, in Sorani, and in Zazaki and Hawrami, if possible - because if a form exists both in Kurmanji and in Sorani, and I can bring them closer together by choosing a form that exists in both of them, that seems to make more sense than having a totally different form.

So I also list all of the variant forms. When I create the entry for "bablîch babelîç," I'll also have " babelîçk" and "babelîc." I have all of those, and in parentheses where

they're from, and then I file them alphabetically according to those forms. So a user can look up the word by any one of those forms, and it will direct them to the main entry. And then,

when possible, I provide synonyms - if there are other words with the same meaning, I include them, and I try to have that in both directions, so if you look under the synonym it should refer you back to this word as well. And then, if it's possible to provide an etymology, I provide that, and if it's a borrowed word, I give that information. If it's a native word, and if it has cognates in other Iranian languages, or even in other Indo-European languages, I provide that information. At the end I give all of the sources where I found the word, because I'm not a native speaker of this language. Why should they listen to me? The point is, I show all of the sources where I found the word. The source can be a written source, or it can be a native speaker - an informant. For instance, that word "babelîç," I got from an informant, but then I looked it up in all of the dictionaries. What's very important is not to start from the dictionary, because a lot of dictionaries have misinformation, or have garbled forms - particularly earlier ones, from around the turn of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

A lot of those were written by Westerners who didn't know the language very well and may have misheard something. For instance, there's a word meaning "to make a hole in something, to pierce.": simtin. It appears in an early dictionary in a form that doesn't exist [sontin] - it was what a Russian scholar heard; he probably heard the correct

word and misheard it.

So, it's very important not to give new life to old errors. That's why I must research everything and find as many sources as I can, so I don›t give new life to old errors. I was strongly advised about this at the beginning of my project by D.N. MacKenzie. I think it was very good advice, and I've followed it all along.

After I've done all the research, looking up a word in the dictionaries; that's fine, but I need to see that it's actually used by

people. Words that only exist in a dictionary, that you ask a native speaker about and they've never heard it; well, if they've never heard it because it's from a different region than where they live, that's one thing. But if it's a word that somebody made up and is not used by the Kurds themselves, the point of the dictionary is to reflect the language as it's used by its speakers. I have to be very loyal to that, faithful to that. I want the dictionary to be a mirror of the language as it's used.

The first edition came out in 2003. The second edition came out in 2020, just in time for COVID to prevent me from promoting it. I was going to go on a tour of different places, like the Kurdistan communities of Nashville, Tennessee; but I

wasn't able to do that because of COVID.

The ironic thing is, being stuck at home during COVID, I found all of these wonderful Kurdish programs on YouTube, and I was also giving lectures thanks to Ibrahim Seydo Aydogan out of Paris. Early on in the COVID epidemic, he said, "We're just sitting at home doing nothing; why don't we give university courses, give lectures via Zoom?" And so we did.

I have actually been in closer touch with Kurds since COVID began, through Zoom and YouTube and things like that, than before. So I have now, when I hear a word in a program that I'm unfamiliar with -- I'm not limited to just books, or to

individual informants -- I can also use a TV program as a source. I'm working on a third edition, and I have so much more material now than even the second edition. I'm not even thinking about when it's going to be published; at this point I'm just plugging away. But almost every day I add some new words, and I'm really enjoying it, and I'm really hoping it will be an even better source for people than the two earlier editions.

Sangar: That was really impressive. So, the first edition was in 2003?

Dr. Chyet: Yes.

Sangar: Was it by Yale University Press?

Dr. Chyet: Yes.

Sangar: Dr. Chyet, what were the main linguistic and political challenges you encountered while standardizing dialects?

Dr. Chyet: Well, I don't have the power or the authority to standardize anything on my own; I can only suggest, based on working on the dictionary. It became clear to me that when a word has many different forms - a multiform word - I need to choose one as the main entry and make all the others references. It seemed to me that, as part of nation-building, one should always be comparative - always look at Sorani/Central Kurdish, and Zazaki and Hawrami, and see if I can find a form, or choose a particular word rather than another.

The example I always give is the word for "broom." In Kurmanji there's a dizzying number of words for broom- there's "gêzî," "kinoşe," "havlik," "sivnik," "şicing," "cerîvk," and it just goes on and on. So how do you figure out which one to use for the standard language? How do you say "broom" in Sorani? "Gesik" or "gisik," right? And in Zaza it's "gezî," and in Hawrami it's "gizî." So it seems to me pretty clear that the Kurmanji word "gêzî" is the most sensible one.

So, it is my suggestion that the Kurmanji word "gêzî" be chosen as the standard word, because it's so clearly one word with four different dialectal variations. The point of language is to be able to communicate, to understand each other. All of the other words

are very interesting; “kinoşe” is from Aramaic, “havlik” is from Armenian, “melkes” - I didn’t mention “melkes,” which is from Arabic - “miknasah” in Arabic. They’re all very interesting, and they tell us something about the history of the Kurds and who they lived with. But as far as standardizing the language, it’s my strong suggestion that “gêzî” should be chosen.

That’s just one example, but the point is: how do I know that? Because I’ve done research. You have to do research; you don’t just wake up one morning and say, “I think we’re going to use this word.” You have to justify it; you have to have done research in order to justify why this word should be chosen rather than another.

And believe me, after working at the Voice of America for five years, I heard everyone’s song and dance about how their dialect is the purest, the best, better than everyone else’s. Well, if you want to establish a village, go ahead. But if

you want to establish a nation, you have to think in terms of the whole nation. This is my motto; this is my slogan that I see before my eyes with everything I do:

What is going to help in nation-building? What is helpful? What is going to facilitate what we’re trying to do here, and, by contrast, what is going to be an obstacle?

One obstacle is that Kurdish used to be written in at least three different alphabets:

Latin, Arabic, and Cyrillic, in the former Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, the Kurds of the former Soviet Union -- Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, and so on -- basically switched to the Latin orthography. So now we’re down to two. But half of Kurdistan uses the Latin

script, and the other half uses the Arabic script. So, first of all, in my dictionary, every main entry, side by side, has the entry in the

Latin script and in the Arabic script, which accomplishes several things. First, it makes the word accessible to people coming from either alphabet;

Second, because I've done it consistently throughout the dictionary, it reinforces the simple one-to-one correspondence between Latin and Arabic orthographies in Kurdish. What convinced me that it was necessary to have all the main entries in both the Latin and the Arabic scripts was early on, in 1992–1993, when I started going down to the Kurdish community in San Diego. Once a month, from 1992 to 1994, I went down to San Diego to visit the Kurds, and I took with me some samples of the dictionary I had up to then. Because it was all in Latin script, and they were largely Iraqi Kurds, they could not easily read it. When I saw that, I thought, well, I need to have the main entries in both alphabets so that it's accessible to Kurds coming from Iraq and Iran as well. So I did that early on, and that also fed into the Kurdish one-to-one correspondence system in the library world, which I am responsible for or guilty of, depending on how you look at it.

All of that was happening at the same time that I was working on the dictionary. So all of these things in my life really dovetailed; they really flow in and out of each other.

Sangar: Why did you choose to begin with Kurmanji rather than Sorani?

Dr. Chyet: I think I already talked about this. There already was a Sorani-English dictionary, but there wasn't anything comparable for Kurmanji.

Sangar: You also mentioned some written sources; what about the oral sources?

Dr. Chyet: Well, I became aware of the Kurds through my visits to Turkey first, but then, when I came back to the USA, I met Kurds from Iraq and Iran. But in the San Francisco Bay Area, it was very hard to find native speakers of Kurmanji.

There were people who knew some Kurdish, but they spoke Turkish to each other rather than Kurdish, which was not going to help; I already knew Turkish, and that wasn't going to help me.

Every time a new Kurd appeared in the city, I went with hopes of: finally, maybe I've met somebody I can speak with. Because at this point, all I had was a reading knowledge of a largely spoken language. It was very frustrating. I didn't hear it much.

Remember, this was in a period before the internet, before even cell phones. If you didn't see somebody, you couldn't get newspapers either; now you just go to the internet and find newspapers, find news reports, find stuff at your fingertips, but it wasn't like that in those days. So every time I came across a newly arrived Kurd, I was hoping that I'd finally met somebody I could speak this language with and learn it better. And I would just hear, over and over again, "Well, I grew up in Istanbul, and we really know Turkish better," and so on. So I became very frustrated. Then, in 1992, a Kurdish friend of mine who lived in the Bay Area said, "Let's hop on a plane and fly down to San Diego for Newroz, because there's a newly arrived group of Kurds." This was in 1992; people who had fled from Halabja and had fled over the border into Turkey, and had lived in camps there for several years, and had just arrived in San Diego, California; Nashville, Tennessee; Dallas, Texas; Fargo, North Dakota, and places like that.

So we went down, because I had known there was a Kurdish community in San Diego, but I didn't know anybody there. I didn't know how to get to know them.

So this was a golden opportunity. We went down and met all of these newly arrived Kurds. A lot of them were Behdini from the Duhok region, from villages there. And one family in particular said, “Come back and see us again.”.

So, for the next two years, once a month, I flew down to San Diego. I paid for it out of my own pocket; I didn’t get any funding from the university. And that was the first time I actually had regular contact with Kurmanji speakers.

At the same time, I met some Sorani speakers down there too, because they had both. It was less of a challenge with Sorani, because with Sorani there were people around. For example, this Kurdish friend of mine’s mother. His mother and his wife did not get along; he had two houses, and he and his wife and son lived in one house, and his mother lived in the other. So I would go and visit her, and she would talk my head off. She would make really good homemade Kurdish food, and - remember, I was twenty-two years old, or something like that, maybe twenty-five - a young man with a good appetite, and she would cook for me and just talk and talk and talk, in Sorani. So for Sorani, I got my earful; it was great. I had worked my way through several textbooks, and here was somebody speaking the language. So for Sorani I didn’t

have the same challenges; it was for Kurmanji that I just couldn’t find anything like that locally. So it was worth my while to hop on a plane once a month and fly down to the Kurdish community in San Diego, to get used to using the language.

Also, the books that existed for Kurmanji were mostly things published by Soviet Kurdologists, and the dialect they used is very different from the Behdini dialect.

So when I went down there, I was exposed to the Behdini dialect, which stood me in very good stead later on, when I moved

to Washington to be the editor of the Kurdish service, where a lot of the people were Behdini speakers. By then, I was hearing the language on a regular basis. When I moved to Washington, I heard both Kurmanji and Sorani regularly, and we had to use it in broadcasting. So I learned all sorts of new words, but the frustrating thing is, sometimes we had to come up with a word by later that day for broadcasting, and in those days, again, before the internet, it was really hard to know sometimes what word to use.

Somebody would suggest something, and we would go with it for the time being. But sometimes - for instance, I did a program once about butterflies, and there are so many words for "butterfly" in Kurmanji - there's "minminîk," "belantîk," "pinpinîk," and it just goes on and on. And in Sorani you have "perwane," which is a moth, and "pepûle" - is that the Sorani word for it?

Sangar: Yes, we say "pepûle".
Dr. Chyet: - "pepûle"?

Sangar: Yes.
Dr. Chyet: So, there are so many words in Kurmanji that, at the beginning of a radio program, I would start by saying: I'm going to be speaking about this

insect, and it's called this, and this, and this, and this, but in this program, we're going to call it, let's say, "belantîk." But just so you know, I would explain, so that people wouldn't just hear one term and be confused, coming from one dialect or sub-dialect, and moving to another sub-dialect.

I was trying to make listening to the radio an educational thing for Kurds too - learning about other sub-dialects of their own language, rather than assuming that everybody would understand a

word that Khalaf Zebari from a particular village used, near Akre. It's not necessarily a word that other people would be familiar with. So I tried to explain. I also had a program called "Zimanê Me," "Our Language," every Saturday, for about eight minutes, in which I would talk about linguistic issues dealing with Kurdish.

Sangar: So you have talked about additional new entries, right? Is there any plan for a Sorani-English volume for you?

Dr. Chyet: Well, Shafiq Qazzaz's dictionary The Shahrezoor: I had always thought that Wahby and Edmonds's dictionary needed to be updated, and I feel that Qazzaz'sdictionary has gone a long way toward doing that, toward being the update I had dreamed of.

But there are several words missing from it, and there are lots of misprints, lots of English words that are misspelled, because it wasn't proofread, and there are also a lot of Arabic words that are very commonly used in Sorani that he hasn't put in the dictionary, that need to be there. So, I have thoughts about what a new edition of it could include, but I have my hands full with what I'm doing right now. If somebody wanted to take that on as a project, I would be happy to take on an advisory position, because I have all sorts of notes that I've put into my copy: when I find a word that's not there, I write it in the margins. Sometimes they're words you'll find in "Hembane borîne" Hejar's

dictionary, but they're not in Qazzaz's dictionary; sometimes they're in "Giw Mukriyani"'s dictionary, "Kurdistan." I would take Shafiq Qazzaz's dictionary as the basis for an expanded edition.

Sangar: What do you hope your dictionary offers to Kurdish literacy efforts?

Dr. Chyet: My goal is: when somebody is reading something and they come across a word they don't know, they should be

able to look it up and actually find it in my dictionary. A good dictionary is one in which just about everything you look up, you can find, like Hans Wehr's Arabic-English dictionary, for the modern Arabic language, has just about everything, though now there are new words, like "drone," [musayyarah مُسَيَّرَة] that aren't in the edition I have; the language is constantly evolving. But I've come a long way, because when I come across words that I don't know, when I create an entry for them, that means it will be there for other people. There will always be more words out there, but still, that's my goal: that you're reading something, you come across an unfamiliar word, and you should be able to find it in my dictionary. That's my hope and my goal, to be able to provide that.

And I mean, to a certain extent, I have, but there are always more words out there.

I have all these files of things I haven't put in the dictionary yet. Let me just show you (Showing files); this is letters (A) to (L).

These are individual slips for letters (A) to (L). These are things I collected from native speakers over the years, or in reading, things I didn't find enough information about. So there are things on the back burner, waiting, and it happens occasionally that I'm reading along and I find something and I realize, oh, I had this word already, but I didn't have enough information; now I have more information, so I can flesh it out and add it to the dictionary. I do that whenever possible. I always try to provide as much information on the slip as I had at the time, in the hope that, at some point in the future, sometimes it's as simple as the word having a different, more common form, which I didn't know at the time.

For instance, let's say "pîyaz" in Sorani is onion; in Kurmanji it's "pîvaz," but in one region they say "pîzav." If I came across "pîzav" first, I wouldn't know it was a variant of "pîvaz," meaning

onion - “baṣal بصل” in Arabic - but if I were to come across “pîzav” first, which is the less common form, I wouldn’t know of the existence of “pîvaz” till later on. I’m just giving that as an example - “pîvaz” I’ve known about for a long time, but I’m giving it as an example of the sort of thing they call ‹metathesis›, when two letters switch places.

Sangar: What lessons did you learn that would guide future lexicographers working on minority languages, like Kurdish?

Dr. Chyet: You want every informant to feel that you’re taking them seriously, that you respect them, that you’re not disregarding what they say. Informants are very important, but you have to know what sort of questions to ask them. What’s a good example? Let’s say “dest” means “hand.” Okay, that’s not enough. You need to know: is it masculine, is it feminine? Do you say “destên destê min” or “desta min”?

You have to know how to elicit from your informant the information you need to put into the dictionary. Just “dest” = “hand” is not enough. And the informant won’t necessarily know how to, they won’t say “dest, and it’s masculine.” They won’t know that. But you have to know how to elicit that information. Ask them,“How would you say ‘my hand’?” Then they’d say “destê min,” and not “desta

min,” because it’s not feminine. So they would be telling you it’s masculine without knowing that’s what they’re telling you. But you, as the lexicographer, as the collector of the information, have to know what sort of questions to ask to elicit the information you need. For a verb, let’s take a verb; let’s say you have the word [xwarin] and you don’t know whether it’s transitive or intransitive. Ask them, “How would you say ‘I did it’ in the past?” Are they

going to say “Min xwar?”, which would make it transitive, or “ez xwarim”, which would make it intransitive?

And it’s not always straightforward; “ez xwarim” would actually mean “somebody ate me.”

But again, they’re not going to tell you it means “to eat” and it’s transitive; they’re not going to know that, they’re not going to be able to say that. But you have to know how to elicit that by asking certain questions about the word. Use it in a sentence, don’t just tell me the word, use it in a sentence. When they use it in a sentence, that might automatically provide what you need to know about the gender of a noun, or the transitivity of a verb. Or, if they just give you the infinitive, that doesn’t tell you the present stem. You need “how do you say ‘I do it’ now?” “Ez dixwim”. So the lexicographer needs to know what sort of questions to ask, to get as much information as possible from the native speaker about the word, to be able to add it to the dictionary.

Sangar: Thank you so much, Doctor - yes, it was really insightful. So, if you don’t mind, I will start with the questions from participants in the chat.

The first question is from (Dilêr Pîran): “I would like to ask, what is the first step to writing a dictionary? I have considered this for a long time now, but I can’t bring myself to actually start creating a dictionary, maybe because I’m afraid I cannot finish it. Any insight or advice from Dr. Chyet?”

Dr. Chyet: Well, what sort of dictionary does (Dilêr) want to create? I mean, what I would do is research and find out what is lacking, what we don’t have that we need: for instance, more Kurmanji-to-Sorani and Sorani-to-Kurmanji dictionaries; that’s something we don’t have many of. Or a good Kurmanji-to-

Kurmanji, or a good Sorani-to-Sorani dictionary. There are also dictionaries of particular fields, like engineering and medicine; there are some, but there aren't ones that are fully detailed. If you wanted to do that, it would help to do it in both Kurmanji and Sorani, and then, if it's in both, it would need to be in both alphabets as well, in any case, because you want all Kurds to be able to use it. And if you're going to do it in both alphabets, I would ask you to use the standard orthography, not just the Latin orthography for Kurdish, because there's a simple one-to-one correspondence between the Latin and Arabic orthography.

Sangar: So the second question, from someone: "What standardized dictionary project, textbook, or publication are you most proud of so far, and why?"

Dr. Chyet: What standardized dictionary project, textbook, or publication am I most proud of, I'm proud of having introduced to the library world the concept of the one-to-one correspondence between the Latin and Arabic orthography, which, in my opinion, shouldn't be limited to the library world; that should be how all Kurds learn to read and write their language in both alphabets. That's what I have succeeded in doing so far; the dream I made a reality is in the library world My textbooks haven't been published yet, because every time I think they're ready, I teach the course again and realize, "Oh, I forgot this," or "I need to explain this better," or something. So those are still works in progress, but anybody who studies Kurdish with me has access to the textbook as it exists at that time. I hope that answers the question.

Sangar: A question from Fakhir: why is lexicography -lexicology and lexicography- a neglected branch in the field of linguistics?

Dr. Chyet: Well, I'm not sure that all linguists would agree that it is a neglected branch. You mean specifically Kurdish lexicography, as opposed to all languages?

I don't know; I question whether it's a neglected branch.

Sangar: Do you think writing the past and present forms of verb bases as independent lexical entries is a good idea, since in Kurdish dictionaries we see only the base as a lexical entry, not the past and present forms?

Dr. Chyet: Well, what you can do is list the citation form. Most people agree the citation form is the infinitive. But then, for the present stem, what I'm going to do in the third edition of my dictionary is what I have in my textbooks, a list of the present stems, so you can look them up by the present stem if it's not obvious what the infinitive would be. But I think it makes sense to use the infinitive as the citation form for all verbs: from that you form the past tense, and by providing the

present stem as part of the entry for the verb, I think that's the right way to go. But having a separate chart with the present stem of verbs might be helpful.

Sangar: How many years do we need to update a dictionary in any language?

Dr. Chyet: Well, some dictionaries come out with an updated edition every year- that's for languages where you have enough people and enough money to do that.

I'm not the only Kurdish lexicographer, but I'm largely working on my own, and I don't have the ability to do it every year, and I don't think I'd have enough new information in one year to make it worthwhile anyway. I would say, once you have enough new

information to make it worthwhile, you should think about an update.

For instance, there was one problem with the first edition of my dictionary, which was corrected in the second edition: Kurmanji has four consonants with aspirated and unaspirated pairs: “k, t, p, and ç,” and Sorani supposedly doesn’t. Very few dictionaries make that distinction; they write them all the same, which is not very helpful, because I want to be able to accurately reflect whether the “p” in the word meaning “bridge” [p’ir] is aspirated or unaspirated. For the most part, it was the Soviet Kurdologists, under the influence of Armenian, (which has separate letters for each pair), who provided that information.

But at the same time, these Soviet Kurdologists confused the “ç” sound; they wrote everything that was an aspirated “ç” as unaspirated, and vice versa. I didn’t know that; I assumed they knew what they were talking about. So in the first edition, whenever they had a “ç,” such as in the word “çav,” they marked it as an aspirated “ç.” I thought - I don’t easily hear the difference, I’m not a native speaker of the language - but they had it marked as aspirated; they spelled it with an apostrophe after the “ç,” [viz. ç’av] meaning aspirated. But it turns out the word “çav” is actually unaspirated. So for all the words with “ç,” I followed the Soviet Kurdologists and got it wrong. I had three native speakers go through all the «k», «t» “p” and “ç” entries before I published the second edition, I had them tell me which ones were aspirated [hilmandî] and which were non-aspirated [nehilmandî] . So, for the ones beginning with “ç,” I flipped them, but people said, “How did you make that mistake?” Well, I explained I was giving new

life to an old error, which is a big no-no, which I’m setting out not to do. So in the second edition I corrected that. If I become

aware of other mistakes like that, I hope to correct them by the third edition.

Sanagr: "Do you think grammatical information should be placed in front of the lexical entries, or in front of the dictionary as a grammar summary?"

Dr. Chyet: A lot of dictionaries include a section with a brief grammatical summary of the language. I've thought about that; it's probably a good idea for the third edition. I may add something like that, but it won't be as detailed as the actual textbook; it would be more of a reference grammar, because the textbook includes exercises and things like that.

Sangar: So Mariam says: "As Kurds, we appreciate your efforts to keep the Kurdish language alive. Is that dictionary available?"

Dr. Chyet: The second edition is available through Transnational Press, out of London - let me put that in the chat: Transnational Press, out of London. If you

Google it, or my name and "Transnational Press," or "Kurdish and Transnational. [URL: https://www.tplondon.com/ferheng/] And I think it's also available on Kindle.

Sangar: So, last question, Dr. Chyet, from Aras Muhammad: "As someone who has worked extensively with Kurdish, Arabic, and other Middle Eastern languages, how do you see the relationship between language preservation and lexicography, especially in minority or endangered languages?"

Dr. Chyet: Well, I make a point of including in my dictionary as many terms as I can find related to folklore and traditional

Kurdish culture, whether it's, for instance, when a baby is born, the "danok," with the child's first tooth. Wait a

minute, let me find the example I have in the dictionary for that. I'm looking it up.

Okay, let me share my screen again. So you see "danok" it's feminine, and the ezafe is "a"; a special celebration; when a child's first tooth appears, a dish made of boiled, unground wheat and chickpeas is prepared and shared among family and

friends; most participants are women. And in Turkish it's called "dışbağı."

And then I have an example of it from a native speaker from Ħazo [Kozluk] in the Kurdistan region of Turkey. In that dialect, the ezafe is always "ê," for feminine nouns - that's why I have it marked that way there. And in Sorani, the equivalent is "daneroke دانەڕۆکە . " You see, these are the sources where I found it: "Haz" was the informant, from Ħazo, and then I found it in these two dictionaries in the same form, and in this dictionary, it has the form "danîyê diranan." So it also says, «See"danû = boiled whole wheat».

These are examples: there are all of these different forms for danû: «danî II; danîk; dano; de'nû». These sorts of minute details, which a native speaker may know, or at least the older generation may know, and the younger generation may not be sure of - I try to find as many of these as I can and put in as much information as possible, because I

don't want these things to die out.

Which, of course, gets into the question of Kurdish parents who deprive their children of the Kurdish language, so they won't be mistreated by governments that are going to mistreat them no matter what language they speak, because they're still Kurds. But anyway, that gets out of lexicography.

Sangar: Another question, from Professor Dr. Abbas Mustafa "…works, and 'kurdbûyî' were employed as linguistic frameworks to bridge Kurdish sub-dialects. What potential forms of unity or mutual understanding might emerge among Kurdish speakers?"

Dr. Chyet: Well, now that there's broadcasting in Kurdish, and you can hear it on a daily basis, either on the radio or on YouTube, If you're a Kurmanji speaker and you hear Sorani once, you may not understand it, but if you listen every day for a month, you'll be surprised how much you'll understand. It's a matter of continued, sustained exposure to the other dialect. Yesterday, EverySunday I have a Zoom chat session with several Kurmanji-speaking friends, and yesterday somebody from Duhok was with us, and he was speaking in his dialect, and I asked the other people, from Diyarbakır and Cizre, if they understood him, and they said they did, because both of them have been exposed to the speech of several different sub-dialects quite a bit. But there, you had three people speaking in several sub-dialects, and easily understanding each other. Don't be discouraged if the first time you hear something, you don't understand it.

I'll give the example of when I was a kid, once I was on a bus, and I heard somebody speaking English with a very thick Scottish brogue, and I didn't understand a word he said. Five minutes later he got off the bus, and I never saw him again. But my reality, for the next twenty years, was: when people speak with a Scottish accent, I don't understand it. I'd heard it for five minutes - I didn't know his name, I didn't live next to him for weeks or years or months or anything - I just had that one brief encounter, and I allowed that to be generalized to "I never understand, I just cannot understand when Scottish people speak English." But since then, I've had

ample opportunity to hear English spoken with a Scottish accent, and after you listen for a while, you get used to it. The point is, you can't just hear it once and say, "Oh, I don't understand this." You have to allow for time. If you listen every day - for anybody learning any language, if you listen on a regular basis to broadcasts in that language, if you listen every day for a month, you'll be amazed at how much you understand. And if you don't, then don't complain if you find it hard, because you're not giving yourself the opportunity you need to be exposed to it.

Sangar: Okay. Thank you so much, Dr. Chyet, it's been more than an hour. It was really a wonderful session. Thank you so much for sharing your time, your story, and your deep knowledge with us once again; it's always such a privilege to learn from you. And thanks to all of you who joined us tonight; your questions, your curiosity, and your presence really make this session special. We will be meeting again soon for another session with Dr. Chyet. Until then, keep exploring languages, stay curious, and have a great evening, everyone. Take care and goodbye.

Dr. Chyet: And thank you, Senger, for the information you gave me at the beginning - it's invaluable, about the fingers and about that lullaby. I'm so grateful to you - thank you.

Sangar: Anytime, you're welcome. Thank you so much, and goodbye[1].

1 . This interview is part of an ongoing series of interviews with Dr. Michael Chyet, conducted by Sangar Hassa Najim, PhD Candidate in Linguistics at SUE. This is (Part Two) of the series, conducted on October 28, 2025.
The full video interview is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=obQoXce9LLY&t=192s

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DEIXIS IN ENGLISH AND KURDISH

Professor Dr. Wirya Omar Amin
(B.A, M.A, M.Phil., PhD)

ABSTRACT

This study deals with the deixis in English and Kurdish languages, in order to show the similarities and differences between them from the grammatical and semantic aspects points.

The study is based on two hypotheses; the first is that the deixis as a Universal aspect, are similar in the two languages in terms of their types and the elements used to express them. The second hypothesis is that the two languages have similar and different grammatical and semantic aspects in terms of the type of personal pronouns, number, gender and case.

The researchers reach a number of conclusions

Key Words: Diexis – Pragmatics – Semantics – Comparative Deixis

Deixis is a linguistic term which is used to perform the task of pointing out to something. The expressions used to indicate something are called Indexical.

Deictic words belong to a closed set, that is, there is a limited number of these words in any language.

Deictic expressions require an addressee to be able to pick out a person, place or time relevant in understanding how the words refer. This is called Deictic Reference. The point of positioning of a speaker is called Deictic Centre or Deictic Point.

Deixis are those features of language which refer directly to the personal, locational, and temporal characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place and whose meaning is relative to that situation, e.g., I/you, here/there, this/that, now/then are deictics (Crystal, 2003:127).

Deixis is the study of how to analyze a word or a phrase which directly relates an utterance to a person, time, place, social and discourse. It concerned with the encoding of many different aspects of the circumstances surrounding the utterance and the relationship between the structure of language and context in which they are being used, hence it is the study about how to encode or grammaticalize features of the context of the utterance or speech event, and also about the way into which the interpretation of utterances depends on analysis of the context utterance (Levinson, 1983p.54).

Universally all natural languages have deictic expressions and the task of linguistic analysis is to model these directly in order to capture the ways in which these are used in different languages.

Types of Deictic Expressions

Deictic expressions can be one of several types, referring to who, where, and when.

1 -Pronouns make up a system of personal deixis..

2-Words like this and that and here and there belong to a system of spatial deixis. The here / there distinction is also found in pairs of verbs such as come/go and bring/take.

3 - There is temporal deixis found in words like now, then, yesterday, and tomorrow, and in phrases such as last month and next year.»

4 - Dixises realized by definite article, some adverbs of place and time, and tenses of the verb.

This aspect of language is manifested and realized in different languages among which are English and Kurdish as seen in the

following examples: The analysis are illustrated, explained and compared by tables.

Diexis in English and Kurdish

The Speaker, Addressee absentee Pronouns

Speech roles in English are realized by first person pronouns (singular and plural) and second person pronouns, as subject and other cases: I, me, mine, my, we, us, our, ours, you, your, yours.

Examples:

I am John. **من جۆنم**

The man saw me.پیاوەکە منی بینی

My book is useful.کتێبەکەم بە کەڵکە

Be mine. ببە بە هی من

We are reading now.ئێمە ئیستا دەخوینینەوە

They helped us.ئەوان یارمەتیی ئێمەیان دا

This is our school.ئەمە قوتابخانەی ئێمەیە

It is ours.هی ئێمەیە

You come here.تۆ وەرە ئێرە

It is your turn now.ئیستا نۆرەی تۆیە

It is yours.هی تۆیە

He is a student. ئەو قوتابییە

They drink coffee. قاوە دەخۆنەوە

The 1st and 2nd person pronouns are always deictic because their reference is entirely dependent on context since they refer to outsiders and indicates distance. While 3rd person differs from 1st and 2nd pronouns (I – من / you – تۆ) are direct participants in a basic interaction.

Gendered pronouns

Gender is defined as the socially constructed roles and behaviors that a society typically associates with males and females. Grammatically it is defined as a classification of a noun or pronoun as feminine, masculine or neuter.

In many languages with gendered pronouns, the third-person masculine pronoun has been used but the gender of its antecedent is unknown or inapplicable.

An example of gender is the pronoun “he

In contrast, English used the neuter gender for gender ambiguous cases in the singular (with the use of the plural starting in around the fourteenth century), but many grammarians drew on Latin, to come to a preference for “he” in ambiguous cases in the singular. However it remains common to use the third-person plural even when the antecedent is singular:

no.	English	Kurdish	
Sg.	him (masc.) her (fem.) it (neuter)	Free	Bound
		ئەو	یّت – ی - x
Pl.	them (masc./fem./ neuter)	ئەو	یان –ن -

The Speaker, Addressee absentee Pronouns

Speech roles in Kurdish are realized by first person pronouns (singular and plural) and second person pronouns, as subject and all other cases: من ، تۆ ، ئەو ، ئێمە ئێوە ، ئەوان

All speech roles in English and Kurdish are explained in the following table:

	Speech Roles		Other Roles	
	Speaker	Addressee	Specific	
			Human	Nonhuman
Sg.	I me mine my	you you your yours	he him his his she her hers her	it it its its
Pl.	we us ours our		they them theirs their	

Nominative Absentee Pronouns in English and Kurdish:

no.	English	Kurdish	
		Free	Bound
Sg.	he (masc.) she (fem.) it (neuter)	ئەو	- ی ـیت
Pl.	They	ئەوان	- یان ـن

Personal suffixes Deixis in Kurdish

In Kurdish language the verb agrees with the subject NP in numbe (Sg.and Pl and person (1st , 2nd , and 3rd).

In Kurdish a formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is made in the past tense. Each group requires a different set of personal suffixes to express the agreement of the verbs in number and person with the subject noun phrase of the

sentence. The set of personal pronouns and personal suffixes is illustrated in the following diagram:

Personal Pronouns			Personal Suffixes	
			A	B
No	Person		Past transitive	Past intransitive Present Transitive and Intransitive
Sg.	1	Minمن	م m	م m
	2	toتۆ	ت t	یت i:t
	3	awئەو	:i	یت/ات et / a:t
Sg.	1	emaئێمە	ma:n	ین i: n
	2	ewaئێوە	ta:n	ن n
	3	awanئەوان	ya:n	ن n

(Amin. 1979)

Nominative Speaker Pronouns in English and Kurdish:

No.	English	Kurdish	
		Free	bound
Sg.	I	من	م
Pl.	We	ئێمە	مان - ین

Person deixis in Kurdish is realized by personal pronouns:

Personal Pronouns					Personal Suffixes	
					A	B
No	Person	E		K	Past tv.	Past iv, Pres tv & iv
Sg.	1	I	min		M	M
	2	You	To		T	It
	3	She/he	Aw		:i	et – a:t
Pl.	1	We	ema		ma:n	I:n
	2	You	ewa		ta:n	N
	3	They	awan		ya:n	N

Accusative and Genitive Speaker Pronouns
in English and Kurdish

Nom.		English			Kurdish		
		Acc.	Gen.	Nom. Acc.	Gen. with deictic Article		
Sg.	1	I	me	mine	من	من	هی
	2	you	you	yours	تۆ	تۆ	
	3	he/ she	Him/ her	his/ hers	ئەو	ئەو	
Pl.	1	we	us	our	ئێمە	ئێمە	
	2	you	you	your	ئێوە	ئێوە	

Accusative and Genitive Addressee Pronouns in English, and Kurdish

no.	English	Kurdish	
Sg.	me	Free	bound
		من	- م
Pl.	us	ئێمه	- مان /- ین

no.	English	Kurdish	
Sg.	You	Free	Bound
		تو	یت – ی
Pl.	you	ئیوه	- ن تان

Nominative Absentee Pronouns in English and Kurdish:

no.	English	Kurdish	
Sg.	he (masc.) she (fem.) it (neuter)	Free	Bound
		ئەو	یت - ی
Pl.	They	ئه وان	- یان ن

Accusative and Genitive Absentee Pronouns
in English and Kurdish

		English			Kurdish		
		Nom.	Acc.	Gen.	Nom. Acc.	Gen. with deictic Article	
Sg.	1	I	Me	Mine	من	من	هی
	2	you	You	Yours	تۆ	تۆ	
	3	he/she	Him her	His hers	ئەو	ئەو	
Pl.	1	we	Us	Our	ئێمە	ئێمە	
	2	you	You	Your	ئێوە	ئێوە	
	3	they	Them	Their	ئەوان	ئەوان	

.no	English	Kurdish
Sg.	That	ئەوە
Pl.	Those	ئەوانە

Proximate Forms of Demonstratives in English and Kurdish

no.	English	Kurdish
Sg.	This	ئەمە
Pl.	These	ئەمانە

Distant Forms of Demonstratives in English, and Kurdish

Adverbs for Proximity and Distance in English and Kurdish

Proximate	here	ئێرە
Distant	there	ئەوێ

Place Deixis for Front, Back and Sides:

English	Kurdish
this side	ئەم لایە
Behind	لەدوای
in front of	لە پێش
On	لەسەر

Some Motion Verbs in English and Kurdish

	English	Kurdish
proximate	Come	وەرە
Distant	Go	بڕۆ

Some Time Deictic Expressions in English and Kurdish

	English	Kurdish
Present	Now	ئیستا
past and future	Then	جاران دواییّ

The Definite Article in English and Kurdish

English	Kurdish
The	ـەکە

Some Kinds of Comparatives in English and Kurdish

English	Kurdish
Same	هه مان
Similar	وه ك
Different	جیاواز

Conclusions

The analysis has proved the validity of the two hypotheses set for the present study. The first hypothesis is that, deictic expressions are similar in their types in the both compared languages and are realized by the same grammatical elements. The second hypothesis which is that, there are some points of similarity and difference between the elements used as deictic expressions in the languages under comparison regarding person, number, gender and case distinctions.

1 -Both languages have three persons, first, second and third person pronouns.

2 -In English there is only free form pronouns , whereas in Kurdish there are free and bound pronouns.

3 -Kurdish has no gender distinction pronoun, while English distinguishes gender only in 3rd Sg.

4-English language demonstrates different forms for accusative and Genitive cases, while all grammatical cases in Kurdish have the same form.

5- place deixis in the both languages is realized by some adverbs of place which indicate nearness or remoteness from the speaker. (era – here / awe – there).

6 –Demonstratives in both languages have two numbers (Sg. and Pl.) without gender and case distinctions.

(ama – this / ewa:na – those)

7 - In English demonstrative adverbs are used for present time or the moment of utterance, and other used for past or future time.

(now – i:sta / then – ewsa).

8 - The definite article in the both languages is deictic expression which refers to objects already known by the speaker and the

addressee. In English the definite article appears at the beginning of the noun phrase as a free form (the beautiful tree), while in Kurdish it comes at the end of the noun phrase as a suffix (draxta jwa:naka).

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CV

Professor Dr. Wirya Omar Amin

B.A, DIP, M.A, M.Phil., PhD

(15 – 3 – 1947) born in Koysenjaq. Attended primary school in Ankawa village and secondary and preparatory schools in Arbil.
(1971) B.A in Kurdish Language and Literature. Baghdad University.
(1972 – 1980) studied in Moscow and London Universities.
(1980) Instructor in the Kurdish Department – College of Education – University of Baghdad.
(1982 – 1999) Head of Kurdish Department.
(1992) Professor of General Linguistics
(1997) Member of Iraqi Academy.
(2004) Got second PhD in History.
(2007) Member of Kurdish Academy.
(2022) Member of Iraqi Scientific Academy.
(1995 – 2012) Visiting Professor in the Salahadeen, Sulaimani, Koye, Garmiyan and Raparin Universities.

* Speaks (Kurdish, English. Arabic, Chaldean, Persian, Turkish and Russian) languages. Writes and publishes in Kurdish, English and Arabic.
* Supervised and chaired the examining committees of more than 350 PhD and M.A Students in Kurdish, English, Persian and Arabic Languages and Literatures and Education.
* Promoted more than 50 members of University staff to the ranks of professor, assistant professor and Instructor in Kurdish, English, Persian, Russian and Arabic languages and literatures and education.
* Published more than (1500) essays, articles, researches and books about Linguistics, Astronomy, History, Calendar, Literature and Science.
*Member in serval social and Scientific organizations.
* His first publication was a poem in 1965. A collections of his poems entitled (A Picnic in Poem Paradise) was published by Aras Press 2007.
* Received more than 400 letters of thanks and appreciation certificates from scientific and cultural institutions.
* A book and more than 150 articles, researches and studies have been written about his works.
* 2012 Retired
* 2016 - Awarded the title of Professor Emeritus from the University of Baghdad.

wariaamin@gmail.com

THE COMPONENTS OF KURDISH NATION BUILDING AND THE LANGUAGE PRACTICE AND MANAGEMENT IN IRAQI KURDISTAN REGION

Sangar Othman Ibrahim ,
Prof. Ali Mahmood Jukil
Prof. Dr. Gulbahar Beckett

2.1 Introduction

It is clear to everyone that generally people use language in daily life for communication. Therefore, people should understand each other when they speak to each other. This chapter attempts to show how language affects the components of nation building and how the components of nation building affect language with reference to the Kurdish language, because in the media, the national army, the economy, education and religion, people use language in order to exchange ideas and understand each other. Furthermore, this chapter will shed light on how Kurds have tried to promote their language.

In an academic study, Riemer (2005) believes that many ideas about the components of nation building have been mentioned, but the main components everywhere which have the greatest influence are education, military, economy, religion and media.

2.2 The Effect of Language on the Media

Elliott (1973, p. 21) states that people should be familiar with all types of media. This kind of familiarity can be achieved when most of the people are able to understand what they read and listen to. Most of them can understand what is being transmitted in the media when a standard language is used. Similarly, Potter and Wetherell (1987, pp. 18-19) believe that a unified language of a country should be used by all types of media. This is because people can understand the message behind every news item when there is a unified language because such a language is used for

communication throughout the country. Thus, by using language, people can understand the message behind every type of media.

Lunt and Livingstone (2011, p. 585) confirm that most people spend their spare time reading and listening to different types of

media. Moreover, through media, people can learn about their culture. However, if there is not a good relationship between language and media, media will not have enough effect on people in order to attract their attention. One reason for this lack of relationship might be that people cannot understand the language used by the media. Consequently, they do not read and listen to the news. Additionally, in all types of media, language has a great role in publishing articles and news.

2.3 The Effect of the Media on Language

According to Hudson (1980, p. 171), the effect of media, especially mass media, on people"s behavior should be analyzed and studied closely. However, according to Riggins (1992, p. 282), media have a very crucial influence in terms of introducing, standardizing, improving and protecting language from not being used because all kinds of media allow articles and programmes to be published and broadcast using the language of the people. Therefore, media can protect a language from dying. Moreover, it is media which can introduce the literature and national demands of a nation to the world.

Matsomoto (2001, p. 99) says that media has a great impact on language by introducing and promoting the language more than before throughout the country and world, because in all kinds of media, language should be used for sending and receiving information. However, it is worth mentioning that some kinds of media sometimes use incorrect pronunciation, not using dominant dialects as required and using foreign language rather than the local language so far to a great extent. Thus, media can be regarded as a double-edged sword.

Monica and Mirabela (2014, p. 123) believe that through media, languages can assimilate words from other languages. It means that media can introduce loanwords into other languages, especially those words for which there is no equivalence in the first language. For example, on the internet there are several webpages, meaning that people can publish articles through webpages on the internet. In this case, media allows languages to stay alive. Furthermore, through media, individuals can obtain information, and learn vocabulary and other things about all languages. Therefore, it is worth noting that media, like other components of nation building, has a great impact on language.

2.4 The Effect of Language on the Education

Schwarz (1965, p. 39) states that using more than one language in the education sector can create integration problems in multilingual societies. This is because when learners use their own language from an early age to study they tend to ignore those who speak a different language. Therefore, when people speak different languages, integration is difficult to achieve. This can lead to the lack of unity among speakers of different languages in the same nation and country.

Sow (1977, p. 13) mentions that language has an impact on the education sector. In Africa, there are small tribes in most countries who use some different languages and when two different languages are used for learning and teaching the nation is divided. When learners become adults they consider themselves as being part of a different nation related to the language they use. Therefore, when a country does not have one unified language, the local government should consider selecting one. First, this would speed up the process of learning by reducing or removing any misunderstanding

and communication issues between learners and teachers. Second, a unified language could create unity between learners as well as unite a nation as it happened in the UK. Similarly, Diagne (1986, p. 113) states that language can be used to speed up the process of learning because when a unified language is used by all learners, there are fewer misunderstandings.

Trapans (1991, p. 77) believes that language has a great role to play in gradually changing the demography of a place or a country. Therefore, the main language of a nation should be used generally in communication and especially in education. For example, for a long time, the Russian language was the main language in education in Estonia. However, after a while politicians felt that the new generation was going to give increased priority to the Russian language. However, they did not have any sense of nationalism with regard to Estonia because they believed that the Russian language was more important than the Estonian language. Therefore, it had become the main language of education. Due to these feelings, Estonia decided to select the Estonian language as the main language of education.

Trudgill (2000, p. 125) states that Wales is a great country. Before 1953, most of the people, especially elderlies, did not have any problem in speaking the Welsh language. However, they were unable to write in Welsh because the language of education was English. Therefore, in 1953 the Ministry of Education in England and Wales officially decided that in Wales pupils should study all subjects in both the English and Welsh. Therefore, it is worth noting that it was the education sector which promoted the local language in Wales in order to make all learners, especially new generations of learners, understand their culture.

Oeudraogo (2000, p. 32) confirms that using two different languages in teaching is a mistake because learners usually prefer to use their own language when studying. Furthermore, when there is no unified language learners do not want to study with others from the same nation due to communication problems and disunity gradually occurs. The education sector is often the first place where the mother tongue is introduced to learners. Similarly, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p. 343) believe that differences in language, like differences in social class and religion, causes discrimination between people. Additionally, language differences have more power than religion and social class differences in causing discrimination because it is used in education to communicate and exchange ideas. Therefore, just one code or one dialect should be used in the education sector. Moreover, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p. 353) state that using a standard language and minority dialect in the process of learning together leads learners and new generations to academic success because learners are able to learn a standard language of the country, which makes them to be in communication with different dialect users in the country and not forget their own dialect.

2.5 The Effect of the Education on Language

Nikiema (1999, p. 18) notes that the education sector is able to elaborate and promote a language effectively and sufficiently because pupils use language in education for learning. Moreover, when learners use a unified language when studying, the education sector is able to expand the learner‟s knowledge of the unified language by introducing scientific words and other terms. In this case, all learners regardless of their own language are able to learn the same words, terms and pronunciation. Therefore, the education

sector is able to promote and enrich the language of the learners. However, it is worth noting that the education sector is able to select a unified language in the country because when those who use dominant dialects in conversation, speak to each other, they can learn a large number of each other"s dialect words and phrases and use them in their daily lives. By passing times, a unified language can be obtained through the integration of different dialect users in education.

Oeudraogo (2000, p. 33) states that the education sector has an impact on language for several reasons. First, it is in the education sector that scientific and academic terms are introduced in other languages. Second, it is able to introduce the mother tongue to learners. Third, it can unite learners who use different languages by communicating in a unified language. Fourth, by introducing new terms in another language, it is able to promote and enrich the language used by people.

Trudgill (2000, pp. 122-123) believes that multilingualism brings some problems in educational sector, especially for the minority groups, because they must learn and use the dominant language in studying. However, this problem is not a major one if there are not a lot of differences between the two languages. However, when there are a lot of differences between two languages, pupils in the minority may face lots of difficulties when it comes to studying. In such a situation, as one of the components of nation building the education sector may have a negative impact on language.

In order to solve this problem, Trudgill (2000, p.125) offers a good solution. He mentions that in Wales children had some difficulties in studying because the language of teaching was English. Therefore, in 1953, the Ministry of Education decided in Wales that all subjects should be taught in both English and

Welsh in order to ensure a smooth educational process. Therefore, it is worth pointing out that the education sector can preserve and promote the language of a nation. Based on Trudgill"s view, it is worth mentioning that when pupils use a unified language in communication, they may not face any problems when it comes to communication. However, it is worth saying that the language of minority groups should not be ignored.

Halliday and Webster (2004, pp. 66-70) state that there are three stages that children go through in order to learn new things. The first stage is learning language. The second one is learning through language. The third one is learning about language. In every stage learners can learn something new.

However, Torr (2016, p.49) believes that the most important and influential state is learning through language because, in the education sector, learners are able to obtain and learn new information by using their language. It is worth stating that the education sector is able to unify all the different dialect speakers in a country when a unified language is used by them. Moreover, the education sector is able to elaborate the unified language more than ever when learners use it in the education sector. When learners in the education sector throughout the country use a unified language, more integration can be achieved. When integration among different dialect users in the same nation is obtained in the education sector, the education sector will create national unity. Therefore, most advanced countries use a unified language when it comes to studying.

Molai (2016, pp. 45-46) states that the education sector can promote language, because learners can study in their mother tongue when they study in schools. Moreover, it is an undeniable fact that the education sector makes children learn their mother

tongue, their culture, their history and how to read and write in their mother tongue. The education sector can promote a nation‟s language more than other attempts to promote it because, in every single place and corner of the country, people and especially children, are involved in studying.

2.6 The Effect of Language on the Economy

Breton (1978, p. 664) points out that having a standard language is a source of income, especially among different groups of people in a country. For example, in most African countries, if people are not fluent in French, they cannot get a good job easily, because most African countries were colonized by France. Therefore, French was the main language for communication. However, after gaining independence, African countries tried to select their mother tongue as a first and main language for their country. However, the older generation faced some difficulties in terms of getting jobs because they could not read and write in their first language, at a time when having ability in the first language for communication was a condition for getting a job.

Grin (2003, p. 29) states that from the 1970s until the 1980s, there was a strong focus on the economics of language because everyone felt that language has its own value and offers distinct advantages. Therefore, in the process of education, governments focused on preparing educated people by developing a good skill in their first language, and not in the colonist‟s language.

Abdulrahman (2009, p. 72) confirms that the economy plays a great role in developing a country. Moreover, good communicators can achieve a good income to support their lifestyle. Throughout history, among developed countries it is seen that they have a strong economy. This is largely due to them having talented workers.

Moreover, when bosses order something to be done the workers will obey without any problems, making any mistakes and facing misunderstanding. Such workers can get jobs easily because they have a good ability to communicate. Therefore, it is clear that there is a strong relationship between language and the economy in that a good standard of communication means that people are able to have a good income.

Zhang and Grenier (2012, p. 3) state that after independence, some countries suffered due to selecting a standard language for their country. One of the countries which suffered in terms of choosing a standard language was Canada, because more than one language was used by people there, and both languages had enough impact on economy. All countries feel that the language of the economy is very important because having an economic language leads all different groups within a nation to have a stronger sense of nationalism.

2.7 The Effect of the Economy on Language

Coulmas (2007, pp. 55-56) believes that the economy has its own influence on language. Moreover, in many ways, it can be seen that the economy and language interact. When people work in the economic sector, they embrace new economic words and phrases.

According to Sabir (2008, p. 110), the economic support is very important for language, as economic support makes language to compete with strong languages. Therefore, it should be mentioned that when the economy sector is unable to support language until it develops further, the language may stop developing.

Chiswick (2008, pp. 5-6) believes that economic factors have a very strong positive impact on language. Additionally, the economy sector always introduces economic words to other languages

because when people work and communicate together; they use economic words when they mentioned the names of things and objects. Therefore, foreign and economic words can be introduced to other languages through the economy sector easily.

Jain (2011, p. 1) believes that no one denies that the economic sector has a very influential impact on language by introducing many economic words to other languages. The economic sector is considered to be one of the sectors that introduces the economic words to the language of nations, because these economic words do not exist in the language of some nations or no word in the language of other nations has the same meaning. That's why people learn these words very soon and use these economic words in their daily work and daily conversations. Therefore, it can be said that the economic sector introduces many economic words to every language. Similarly, According to Arcand and Grin (2013, pp. 248-249), the economic sector has a great impact on promoting language because it is clear that through this sector many foreign words, especially economic words, are introduced and entered other languages. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the economy sector is able to increase the vocabulary of other languages because when economic words are introduced and entered other languages; they become a part of languages and people use them in everyday conversation. That is why the words of the languages increase in number when the economic words, phrases and terms come into these languages.

2.8 The Effect of Language on the Military

Berger (1945, p. 261) believes that in the case of the armed forces, soldiers are able to interact with each other by using language. It is essential that they should understand each other; otherwise they

will not be able to communicate. In this case, it can be said that language can develop unity and solidarity among soldiers.

Peter (2005, p. 19) believes that using a unified language in a national army is very important, because such an army consists of different people who come from different groups of the country.

David (2008, p. 43) indicates that when a national army is made up of different people, they have different habits, culture and dialects; each group of the different dialect speakers usually want to serve in the military sector together, not with others who use a different dialect in communication. In this case, the dominant language or dialect should be used in communication because most of the people in the country use and understand it. However, it should not be forgotten that the country should use a standard language at all levels of education because new generations will learn and use it in all sectors as well as in the military sector. When there is a standard language in the country, most of the different dialect users are able to serve the military sector together because at that time they can speak to each other and talk about their habits and traditions without facing misunderstanding. In this case, it can be said that a unified language is able to make solidarity among different dialect users in the national army.

Richard (2009, p. 19) mentions that in the USA there is a military organization called the Defense Language Institute (DLI); in this Institute, new soldiers take courses in the English language in order to learn the different culture features of people, military terms, daily expressions and some foreign languages, because every year thousands of US soldiers are deployed overseas for military duty. When they are in foreign countries they should know the local language for communication purposes. Moreover, having a unified language among all soldiers is crucial, because it causes

them to have a stronger sense of nationalism and perform their duties well enough. Smith (2014, pp. 51-52) states that individuals in all societies use language to exchange ideas and information. The degree of communication improves when people are able to understand each other. However, if they are unable to understand or hardly understand one another, the extent of communication will be limited. In the military sector, understanding is very important because, in the armed forces, soldiers must carry out military missions as well as exchange ideas. Moreover, during hostilities, if soldiers make any mistakes due to misunderstanding when they speak to colleagues, unexpected disasters may occur and their mistakes may lead to death. Therefore, soldiers must use a unified language in order to understand one another, especially in those countries in which people use different dialects. Moreover, in the military sector, soldiers usually use secret codes in order to be sure that all soldiers are on the same side. Therefore, it can be said that language plays a key role to ensuring unity among all the different dialect speakers on military bases. Moreover, all soldiers should use a unified language in order to avoid misunderstandings when they communicate with each other. Otherwise, nations will be unable to easily develop a strong national military force. Pateşan and Zechia (2018, pp.351-352) believe that language plays an important role in people‟s daily lives and in communication. Therefore, the importance of language should never be ignored in society. It can be said that people use language in order to exchange ideas when they interact with each other. However, in the military sector, people should pay additional attention to the role of language because, in this sector, any misunderstanding among soldiers could lead to death. Moreover, soldiers are required to learn other languages in order to understand other people when soldiers serve as part of

their national army in other places or countries, in order to get the information they need about other people‟s cultures.

2.9 The Effect of the Military on Language

Berger (1945, p. 258) believes that without any doubt military activities have their own impact on language because, in the military, words are sometimes used for particular purposes or commands. For instance, words sometimes have different meanings. In such a situation, it can be said that military activities have definitely introduced new terms, words and the meanings of words to the language. Therefore, it can be said that military can enrich language by introducing new meanings of words and adding military terms. Moreover, the military sector usually introduces many military words to other languages because it is clear that military words are not available in all languages.

Asher and Simpson (1994, p. 2500) mention that the military is one of the components of nation building, and has a great impact on language because some words have different meanings in the military such as move, fire, etc. Therefore, soldiers should develop excellent skills and a great deal of information about their language because the meaning of move and fire in military operations are different with their meaning in daily life. For example, in a military operation, the word move means attack and the word fire means shoot. Therefore, it can be said that the military provides different meanings to some words.

Kyenge (1999, p. 45) states that the military has its own effect on language because language is used in two different ways. First, language is sometimes used to communicate between a senior position (that of officers) to a subordinate position (that of soldiers). In this case, orders can be seen to use language whose tone is high. Second, language is sometimes used from a subordinate position

(that of soldiers) to a more senior position (that of officers). In this case, requests can be seen to use language whose tone is always low. Therefore, a unified language should be used because if a soldier does not understand an order, or if he does something imperfectly, he faces punishment.

Okongor (2015, p. 652) mentions that language plays a great role in human life. People use language for different purposes such as sending and receiving information, communication, education, and so on. However, it is worth mentioning that military matters have their own effect on language because when there is a unified language, all soldiers are able to communicate without any problem and can carry out all orders. Moreover, the language of the military is different from the language of normal communication because there are lots of special military words and terms that are used in the army forces. In such a situation, new words can be introduced to the language of a nation through the influence of the armed forces. In this case, it should be said that the military sector is able to increase the number of words in a language when the military terms and words are introduced and entered the language.

2.10 The Effect of Language on the Religion

Goitein (1967, p. 93) points out that in Israel the Hebrew language could be spread through religious classes in the country. When children throughout the country reached the age of five; their fathers had to teach them Hebrew. But, in most houses, family members did not have adequate information about the language. Therefore, Israel decided to establish religious classes in schools in order to make new generation of Jew"s society learn the Hebrew language. By establishing religious classes, three important purposes could be achieved by Israel. First, the level of the illiteracy could be reduced.

Second, the new generation could be more familiar with the Hebrew language more than in the past. Third, the Hebrew language could unify most of the Jews in the world. By using language, Jews could learn much information about their religion. Spolsky (2003, p. 88) states that when Christian missionaries arrived in New Zealand; they could introduce the English language to Māori people there more than in the past. Therefore, it can be said that the English language could be introduced to the Māori people in the mentioned country through the missionaries‟ activities. Additionally, it was language, which assisted people to get more religious messages, advice and information because people used language when they read religious books and listened to religious men.

Kamwangamalu (2006, p. 93) confirms that it is an undeniable fact that the Bible had been translated into many languages in order to introduce the message of the Christianity to people in the world. However, it should be mentioned that for the first time and effectively the English language could be introduced to people in South Africa through Christian missionaries, when they went to South Africa to spread Christianity by teaching people in the schools and churches. Therefore, the religion sector is able to introduce language to people. It should be noted that without the use of language, no one is able to learn information in the religious sector. So, by using language, everyone has the ability to learn religious information. At the same time, when nations use a language in the religious sector, there is no doubt that they will learn religious words, and these religious words will be passed down from generation to generation. It should therefore be noted that through language, the new generation will learn religious information. Moreover, through religion people can learn s new language.

Hermann (2008, p. 95) believes that religion can be viewed as one of the components of nation building. However, it is worth stating that religion is not as important as military, economic and educational factors as the three main components of nation building. This is because if there is not a strong army, a healthy economy and a good education system, people cannot depend only on religion during the process of nation building with regard to developing the nation and the country. Moreover, some nations do not have any religion; therefore, religion is not vital in the same way as are a national army, a strong economy and a good education system. However, the language of religion should not be ignored because, in every country, different groups live together. When they participate in religious ceremonies they should understand the language of prayer. Otherwise, each group within a nation gives more priority to their dialect. In this case, the relationship among individuals may be easily destroyed.

Turan (2011, pp. 142-143) points out that it is an undeniable truth that different religions in one country can lead to conflict, because different groups have different religious background. However, people should know that different linguistic features within a nation are the main reason for pushing people into a dangerous conflict. This is because each group of people prefers their dialect to other dialects when it comes to worshiping and praying. Therefore, having a standard language is crucial for religious ceremonies.

Engels (2013, p. 55) believes that religious ceremonies and prayers often do not allow different dialect users to pray together, especially when different dialect speakers are not able to understand each other when they speak. The main reason behind attending the religious ceremonies is to get advice and new information about religion. But, when different dialect users of the same language are

not able to understand the preachers when they speak to people in the religious places; they never ever try to pray together. Therefore, in this case, the religious sector makes disunity among the different dialect speakers in the country.

2.11 The Effect of the Religion on Language

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 230) state that when people have their own religion they can have their own independent language. In this case, religious people can use their language in religious teaching. If this is the case, it can be said that language can be spread by its speakers and users throughout the world. Therefore, people will consider themselves as belonging to one nation. There is no doubt that religion has an effect on language by giving it increased prestige. Additionally, religion is able to introduce religious words and terms to other languages. Therefore, no one can deny that religion has impacts on language. In this case, it can be said that language of religion makes the people closer to each other more than once.

Spolsky (2009, p. 31) points out that religion could have a strong impact on choosing a language in order to be the language of worshiping and praying; then through the effect of religion that particular language could pave the way to a nation to gain independence, because all people believe that they belong to one nation because they have only one language when it comes to worship. For instance, Arabs could gain independence and consider themselves as one nation in the world because Arabic was and is still the language of Quran. Moreover, Jews, after neglecting the use of Hebrew for approximately two millennia, used it again as a language of prayers, worship and religious learning. Then, step by step, the use of Hebrew as a religious language and one of learning meant that it could be a unified

language in the state of Israel. Subsequently, Hebrew was and still is used by diaspora Jews throughout the world as their main language. Therefore, religion can have a strong effect on language.

Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011, p. 1) believe that studying the relationship between religion and language is a new phenomenon because most sociolinguists do not pay much attention to this aspect because, in the past, people were unaware that religion has a strong impact on language and on national movements. Moreover, Darquennes and Vandenbussche (2011, p. 7) affirm that when religious books could be translated into a language other than Latin, this language could be accepted by society, because people think that their language is important and can therefore be used for translating religious books. In this case, the language can face a process of standardization, and be chosen as a standard language for the people in a particular country. For example, the Bible could be translated into many languages in order to make people understand the message of the Bible. In this case, the people paid increasing attention to those languages which had been used to translate religious books because they believed that the religious books or holly books had been translated into their first or official language in the country. Therefore, it can be said that religion has a crucial effect on language. Moreover, the religious sector has the ability to introduce religious words to languages. In addition, the religion sector is able to introduce new religious words to language. Therefore, the religious sector has an impact on language and increases the words of the language.

2.12 The Effect of the Kurdish Language on all the Components of Nation Building

The Kurdish language is used by Kurds for communication purposes in all sectors of components of nation building. Therefore, this part of this study explains how the Kurdish language has effects on all components of nation building.

2.12.1 The Effect of the Kurdish Language on the Media

McQuail (1994, p. 367) believes that since the beginning of Kurdish history, Kurdish writers have published many articles in the Kurdish language in order to point out and show Kurdish problems to the world. For example, the effect of using the Kurdish language to convey the Kurdish voice to the world can be seen clearly in some Kurdish newspapers such as Bangi Kurdistan, Umedi Istiqlal, Rozhi Kurdistan and Bangi Haq.

Mukriani (2002, p. 5) indicates that during the publication of the Bangi Haq and Zari Kurmanji newspapers, the Iraqi authorities threatened Kurdish writers who attempted to publish political articles about Kurds. However, the Kurdish writers disobeyed and continued writing articles and showing the truth about Kurds and the bad events which had happened to Kurds. Therefore, the Kurdish language had a great role to play in the media.

Surkhi (2013b, p. 263) states that in Iraqi Kurdistan since the beginning of the Kurdish revolutions, Kurds have published many different Kurdish newspapers. However, it should be noted that Kurds have used all the Kurdish dialects in publishing articles in the Kurdish newspapers, the Kurdish intellectuals turned to newspapers effectively to convey the Kurdish voice to the world. Moreover, he (2013, pp. 265-397) confirms that since the 1920s, Kurds published many influential Kurdish newspapers, The Kurdish language was the main language of most of them in the region. From that time until the present day, the Kurdish dialects especially both Northern and Sorani dialects have had a

great role to play in terms of developing Kurdish nationalism. The most influential Kurdish newspapers at that time which used the Kurdish language were Bangi Kurdistan, Rozhi Kurdistan, Bangi Haq, Umedi Istiqlal, Zhianawa, Zhin, Zari Kurmanji and Kirkuk. It does not mean that other Kurdish dialects have been ignored; they have been used in all types of the Kurdish media effectively in all different areas in the region.

Ibrahim (2018, p. 297) points out that from the beginning of the 1920s, Kurdish newspapers played an effective part in publishing articles which could convey their messages to readers throughout the world. However, it should be mentioned that the Kurdish central dialect was the main language of most of the Kurdish newspapers and TV programs in Iraqi Kurdistan.

It can be said that the Kurdish language has had an influential role in developing media. Moreover, media was able to protect the Kurdish language from disappearing. Moreover, the Kurdish media sector was able to elaborate the using of the Kurdish language.

2.12.2 The Effect of the Kurdish Language on the Education

Mardukh (1995, p. 42) states that Syria and Turkey never considered Kurds as a nation or even a national minority in their countries. Therefore, they did not allow Kurds to use the Northern dialect as a native language in education, publications and the media. Therefore, the Northern dialect could not advance anymore. On the other hand, in Iraq, the Kurdish language and especially the Sorani dialect, was used officially in education, publications and the media, especially after WWI when the British authorities officially introduced the Sorani dialect for Kurds in the region. Moreover, in Iran, Kurds could use the Sorani dialect in newspaper and book publication. However, it is worth mentioning that before

the emergence of the Sorani dialect, the Northern dialect was used for publications and for writing poems. However, Turkey and Syria did not allow speakers of the Northern dialect to use it for any purpose. It is true that there are more Northern Kurmanji speakers than Sorani dialect speakers, but most of them are illiterate in terms of using the Kurdish language in writing because they had not been allowed to use the Kurdish language in the education sector especially in Turkey and Syria. Therefore, the Sorani dialect is the dominant dialect among other dialects, and could serve as the means of education in Kurdish territories. However, it should be noted that in Iraqi Kurdistan both dominant dialects served the Kurdish education sector.

Hussain (2006, p. 5) believes that Kurds should use their mother tongue in the education sector. Moreover, all Kurdish dialect users in the KRG use their own dialect in education. Most Kurds use their mother tongue to obtain new information through the education sector. However, it is better for Kurds to have a unified language because in future all educational materials will be written in the Kurdish unified language. The Sorani dialect is the main dialect in Iraqi Kurdistan; most people use it for education in the form of writing and reading in schools, universities and daily life. The Sorani dialect plays a great role in developing education. Therefore, education system can continue without any problems in that students can easily use it in all levels of education because in Iraqi Kurdistan people use the Sorani dialect more than other dialects. Moreover, after the 1991 uprising, the Sorani dialect adopted thousands of words from other Kurdish dialects. Therefore, it plays a great role in the education system.

In this case, regarding the dominance of the Sorani dialect in Kurdistan Region of Iraq, it can be said that Hussein's view may

be true, but we must not forget that a large number of Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan use the Kurmanjy dialect in the education sector. Therefore, one dialect should not be imposed on another dialect of the Kurdish language because this would be a deliberate killing of a dialect. Moreover, both mentioned dialects are the dominant dialects in the region.

Muhammad (2008, pp. 301-303) mentions that there are several dialects in the Kurdish language, but the Sorani dialect is the dominant one. It is used in all sectors as well as the education sector. It is clear that prior to the Sorani dialect, the Northern dialect was a prominent dialect. However, it did not progress as the common language because of political attitudes towards it, especially on the part of Turkey. Therefore, the Kurds needed a language for reading and writing and the Sorani dialect was born. However, it can be said that the Kurdish language has been serving the Kurdish education sector, and every year thousands of Kurdish children learn knowledge and information through the use of the Kurdish language and learn more about the Kurdish language. Furthermore, he believes that it is the duty of the Kurdistan Regional Government to work on selecting a standard language for all Kurds so that the Kurdish language can have a greater impact on the education sector. So far, the Kurdish language has played a very important role in conveying knowledge to the Kurdish individual. But, a unified language will be more effective. If people wait for Kurdish linguists and academics to come to a decision, the Kurdish standard (unified) language will not be born because they tend to give priority to their own dialect rather than considering the future of the Kurdish language. Similarly, According to Nawkhosh (2013, p. 25), the use of two different dialects in the education sector within one nation may lead to the adoption of two standard languages in

the future. No nation wants to use two standard languages in the education sector because it will slowly cause the destruction of the nation.

It is worth stating that in all components of Kurdish nation building, the Kurdish language has played a fantastic role. However, having a Kurdish standard language can serve Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan more now than in the past because in every sector at that time, all the speakers of different dialects of the Kurdish language were able to understand one another in all places and cities. It should not be forgotten that language, especially a standard language plays a great role in nation building, increasing the sense of nationalism of the people, and unifying all the people as one nation, because language gives an identity to every nation.

2.12.3 The Effect of the Kurdish Language on the Economy

Tofiq (2007, p, 57) states that economically the unified language plays an important role in finding jobs. For example, when the Spanish people immigrated to the United States, the parents of the Spanish children always encouraged their children to attend English schools and learn English because the official language in the United States is English. Moreover, parents believed that if their children do not know English, they would not have a good future economically.

Dizayee (2009, p. 11) indicates that most of the time in the Kurdish society those people, who have a good level in speaking can get jobs more easily than those who have a poor level in speaking. This is because the former group can exchange ideas and information in any context without any problems. Therefore, those people who have a poor level of speaking cannot easily obtain employment. If they do they might still be fired because they

cannot respond to all their bosses‟ requirements and frequently face misunderstandings when working.

Karim (2017, pp.146-148) believes that in the Kurdish society the style of speaking plays a great role in the economic sector because one of the criteria for getting a job in Kurdish society is having a good level of communication. Therefore, most of the time people with a poor level of communication work under conditions of close monitoring. In such a situation, workers with a poor speaking level and a lack of understanding must be very careful when they are at work because if they continually misunderstand instructions they may lose their jobs. Moreover, According to Karim (2017, p. 149), in Kurdistan Region of Iraq, the Kurdish language has become a reason for working in the economic sector, not just for Kurds, even for foreigners. For example, many people from other countries have come to Kurdistan to work, and after learning the Kurdish language and having no difficulties in terms of understanding, they were able to work in many important economic sectors and earn a good income. It is therefore worth noting that learning the Kurdish language for the Kurdish people and foreigners has also been a good source of income in Iraqi Kurdistan.

It would be a good thing for the KRG to encourage the private and the governmental sectors to use the Kurdish language more effectively than before. If this happens, people will use the Kurdish language more than before and in this case the Kurdish language will have a greater economic impact than before for both Kurds and foreigners.

It is time to mention a good example, Jambaz (2014, p 60) mentions that when Jacques Réne Chirac was the French prime minister, made a proposal to all economic sectors in his country, saying that if the French language was used instead of English, the

government will forgive all of their debts. This led to the use of the French language in a much more effective way than ever before.

It can be said that the Kurdish language can have impact on a Kurdish individual‟s income in terms of employment, especially within the Kurdish territory in Iraqi Kurdistan. Therefore, it can be said that the Kurdish language has had enough impact on the Kurds to get jobs in the region. In this case, the KRG should not ignore using the Kurdish language in the economy sector in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

2.12.4 The Effect of the Kurdish Language on the Military

Jukil (2004, p.128) shows that most of the intellectuals in Kurdish society joined the Kurdish uprising and made a great deal of effort with regard to the advancement of the Kurdish language because they believed that this language is a symbol of national identity.

Natali (2005, pp. 25, 37) indicates that when the Kurdish regions were divided among Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran, the Kurds in these four parts were unable to share political views as they had in the past. However, Kurds were able to gather together again when the Kurdayati movement was announced in all parts of Kurdistan.

Ahmad (2012, pp.2-3) mentions that after the division of Kurdistan, Kurds were able to create a sense of nationalism (Kurdayati) in order to protect and maintain their language, culture and history. When the Kurds were facing a number of attempts to eliminate Kurdish history, language and culture, Kurdayati was born, and the Kurd‟s sense of nationalism became stronger after the establishment of the Kurdish Democratic Party in 1946. The Kurdayati was a new attempt to prevent the Kurdish language, culture and history from dying.

Dizayee and Slivanayee (2013, pp. 33-35) mention that at the beginning of the Kurdish revolutions, the Kurds realized the importance of the Kurdish language in terms of informing people, both locally and internationally, what they wanted. However, it is worth mentioning that the language of war and that of peace is different.

Tony (2014, p. 22) mentions that many nations throughout the world use their language during war situations. During the war, Kurds living in the mountains had an active language for communication. Their language meant that they could gather together all the Kurds from the different neighboring countries of Iraq in the North of Iraq. They used the Kurdish language without any problems. Many governments have tried to eliminate the Kurdish language because they knew that removing the Kurdish language meant removing Kurdish culture and history. However, the Kurds were able to maintain and protect their language. Moreover, lots of Kurds from the neighboring countries of Iraq joined the Kurdish army in Iraq because just in Iraq Kurdish language was allowed to be used in communication and education. Therefore, the Kurdish language played an important role in developing the Kurdish army.

Karim (2017, pp. 136-141) confirms that the Kurdish army is one of the most important sectors in Kurdish society. Moreover, the Kurdish language has its own value in the Kurdish army. All Kurdish Peshmarga in the Kurdish army sector use the Kurdish language for communication purposes. In the armed forces misunderstandings should not be allowed to happen because this could lead to disaster especially during times of armed conflict. In every military situation soldiers should understand the commands of their officers clearly, because if they carry out the commands incorrectly, soldiers may face punishment. Therefore, a unified

language is very important in the Kurdish armed forces.

It can be said that during the Kurdish movements and Kurdayaty, Kurds were able to protect their language from being eliminated. Moreover, among Kurdish Peshmarga in the Kurdish army, the Kurdish language is used as a main tool for communication purposes. Kurds were ready to sacrifice their souls to protect the Kurdish language when the enemies of Kurds wanted to prevent using the Kurdish language by Kurds.

2.12.5 The Effect of the Kurdish Language on the Religion

According to Nabaz (1976, p.10), before Islam the predominant religion for Kurds was the religion of Yazidee. Nabaz is in no doubt that the devotees of this religion did not get the chance to spread their religion in Kurdish as one of the media of religious expression. Yazidee devotees had two sacrosanct books known as kitab Djilwa (the Book of Revolution) and Mashafrash (the Dark Book). As a result of the persecution they suffered, they are composed of a blend of Kurdish sub-dialects such as the Mukriani, Sulaymani, Ardalan and Badinan sub-dialects.

Fuad (1990, p. 13) argues that in the religious sector, the Kurdish language was rarely used; Kurds used it as a medium of instruction in Hucre (schools in mosques) to translate the verses of the Holy Quran to allow the people to understand its meaning.

Hasanpoor (1999, p. 36) confirms that Islam spread the Arabic language among all Kurds who converted to Islam after the Arab conquests of the 7th Century. However, the educated Kurds in Hucre were called Mulla and they used the Kurdish language in Hucre in order for people to understand the religion. It is worth mentioning that these educated Kurds in Hucre used the Kurdish language for teaching religion and indirectly made Kurdish children not to

forget their mother tongue, even when learning about religion.

On the other hand, Alyawayee (2003, p. 8) argues that the Kurdish Mulla were able to serve Islam in the Kurdish language. However, throughout Kurdistan, especially under colonialized power, the Kurdish people were not allowed to use the Kurdish language as a medium of education, for teaching and for communication. However, after 1959, the Iraqi government decided to allow Kurdish clergymen after graduation to teach religion in schools; they taught their students (faqe) and translated the Holy Qur"an verses from the Arabic language into the Kurdish language in order to clearly understand the meaning of all the verses. Moreover, the translation of the Holy Quraan by Shapol Hazhar Mukriani and Tahsen Doski had an awesome effect in enriching and improving the Kurdish language in terms of religious vocabulary and for having a better understanding of the Holy Qur"an. Additionally, a Kurdish dictionary was written by Muhammadi Khal and Hazhari Mukriyani, who made an incredible effort in terms of discovering indistinguishable, equal and appropriate Kurdish words for these Qur"anic words. According to Nawkhosh (2007, p.19), linguistically the translation of the Holy Qur'an has served the Kurdish language to a great level, as it has saved many original Kurdish words from extinction.

Sahragard (2009, p.28) believes that some nations could decide on a standard language through their religion. For example, Arabs selected the Arabic language as their standard language because it is the language of the Holy Quran; Israelites have selected Hebrew as the standard language because it is the language of their religion. However, the Kurdish language cannot be selected as a standard language for Kurds based on religion, because most Kurds are Muslims and they no longer have their own indigenous religion.

It can be said that religion has had a great impact on developing, increasing the Kurdish vocabulary and using the Kurdish language because in the religion sector Kurds use Kurdish for understanding the meaning of religious texts and advice. Therefore, many Arabic words, as loanwords, have entered into the Kurdish language. This sector should not be neglected by the governments and academics if they want to spread their mother tongue throughout the country. Moreover, governments are able to make their people to learn the standard language when it is selected. In this case, the standard language can be spread through the religion sector.Generally speaking, it can be said that the Kurds, like other nations, have used the Kurdish language for translating the religious books from other languages to the Kurdish. Moreover, the Kurds have used the Kurdish language for teaching religion, especially when they want to explain the religious texts and speeches. Furthermore, Kurdish preachers use the Kurdish language for advising people in the mosques.

2.13 Functional Elaboration of the Kurdish Language

This part sheds light on how Kurds could elaborate their language in order not to be disappeared from using. It is clear that language plays a key role in communication. All nations try to increase the number of common language users in order to increase the nationalism of the people. As is the case in all nations throughout the world, Kurds have adopted many different ways to protect and use their language in society, because they know that through using their language, people can understand their past and the current situation faced by the Kurds.

Hudson (1980, p. 33) mentions that language is the most vital instrument with regard to communication. For any language to

progress, it needs the use of language in media, education and scientific documents. Similarly, Hassanpour (1992, p. 167) states that the functional elaboration of any language is not a kind of property that exists as an inherent object in any language. Rather, it is related to advances in society, the economy and the technology of a spoken community.

According to Jaba (1860, pp.17-19 cited in Jukil 2004, p. 73), political circumstances definitely is considered as a big problem in terms of using the Kurdish language; in the past, even elite Kurds were obliged to write in invader"s language. But, in the 17th Century some attempts were made to introduce the Kurdish language for use in mosques as a medium of instruction in the religious educational system.

2.13.1 Printing and the Media

Jukil (2004, p. 73) states that Kurds tried hard to use printing to show their language and to highlight the national question in the 19th Century. Consequently, printing started to have an influential impact on the national language and literature.

2.13.2 Printing and Publishing

Nariman (1988, p. 85) believes that in the history of Kurdish language, the age of printing initially started, not in Kurdistan, but outside Kurdistan in Cairo. It then started in both Istanbul and Baghdad, because it was clear that Kurds in exile had started to publish newspapers in the Kurdish language. The first book entitled Diwani was published in the Hawrami dialect. It consisted of collected poems by Mawlana Khalid. In Iraqi Kurdistan the first book, 197 pages long, was published by Major Soan and was entitled "Elementary Kurmanji Grammar". However, the first

native Kurdish published book entitled “Awalin Qraéti Kurdi” (The first Kurdish Reading) by Mohamad Basqa and Mohamad Zeki appeared in 1920. It was the first Kurdish book to be used in schools in Sulaimania. The second book was a 30 page book by Ziwar entitled “Tales of the Prophets in Kurdish” in Sulaimani. It is worth mentioning that there was a strong degree of censorship in Iraq in terms of the content of Kurdish books rather than using the Kurdish language. Therefore, some books were suppressed, especially those books which had a great influence on Kurdish nationalism.

Hassanpour (1992, p. 257) mentions that freedom to publish the Kurdish journals from 1961-1975 was one of the Kurd‟s demands. Therefore, in Iraq the central government in 1966 permitted Kurds to publish an Arabic daily Al-Ta’akhi (Brotherhood) newspaper, with a Kurdish weekly supplement. In Turkey, during the liberalization times the Kurdish-Turkish journals started appearing in the 1960s. But, in 1970s they were closed. Therefore, it can be said that Kurds in Turkey published the Kurdish newspapers but not for a long time. One of the Kurdish newspapers was published in Turkey was Riya Rast (The straight path). In Iran, after the falling of the monarchy the Kurdish journals started appearing but they were banned and oppressed to be published by the Islamic government. Therefore, it can be said that like Turkey, in Iran the government did not allow Kurds to publish Kurdish newspapers without any problem. One of the Kurdish newspapers was published in Iran was (Roji Kurd) in 1921. The mentioned Kurdish newspaper was the first Kurdish newspaper, which was published in Iran. However, it should be mentioned that Kurds in Iran could publish Kurdish newspapers although they had lacked of printing facilities.

Hassanpour (1992, p. 263) states that publishing the Kurdish

newspapers in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria was very important for many reasons. First, the Kurdish newspapers could establish the dialects, orthography and vocabulary for the Kurdish language. In this case, it can be said that Kurdish journals were able to make Kurds not to forget their mother tongue because in Turkey, Iran and Syria Kurds were not allowed to use the Kurdish language in communication and education. Second, the Kurdish journals were able to convey the Kurdish voice and demands to the world by sending the Kurdish journals to other places and countries. For example, Nishtiman was one of the Kurdish journals; this Kurdish journal could convey the Kurdish demands to Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and even Europe especially during the autonomist wars of Iraq. Third, for publishing the Kurdish journals Kurds mostly used Kurmanjy and Central dialects for conveying and showing the Kurd"s demands because in Iraq and Iran most of the Kurds used Central dialect, but in Turkey and Syria most of the Kurds used Kurmanjy dialect for communication purposes. Fourth, Hassanpour (1992, 273) mentions that in Iraq a little bit Kurmanjy dialect was used with Central dialect because in Iraq a lot of Kurds used Kurmanjy dialect for communication purposes. Fifth, Hassanpour (1992, p. 221) believes that most of the Kurdish intellectuals turned to Kurdish journals as an effective way to establish an autonomous or independent Kurdish state.

2.13.3 Kurdish Journalism

Koyi (1986, p. 88) states that Kurds tried to support Kurdish journalism when they realized that it could have a major effect on the Kurdish national movement in terms of establishing an independent state or an autonomous region for the Kurds.

According to KDP (2002, p. 19), "Kurdistan" was the first

newspaper in the Kurdish language. It was published by the Badirkhan family in Cairo in 1898. The second Kurdish newspaper entitled “Kurd” was published in Istanbul, but it was banned in 1909. A monthly Kurdish newspaper was published in the city of Urmia in Iran in 1914 entitled “Kurdistan”, it was

banned very soon by the Russians. However, in Baghdad, Bangi Kurd was issued in 1913. Similarly, Salih (2000, p. 11) mentions that after World War I several Kurdish newspapers were published such as “Tegaishtni Rast in 1918-1919, Peshkawtin in 1920, Bangi Kurdistan in 1922, Bangi Haq in 1923 and Umedi Istiqlal in 1923-1924”.

Jukil (2004, p. 75) states that some conflicts occurred between Kurdish nationalists and central governments after the first Kurdish newspaper was published. Initially, Northern Kurmanji was used in Kurdish newspapers in Turkey. However, when this dialect was banned by Turkey, the central Kurdish dialect became the language of newspapers in Iraq.

2.13.4 Printing Presses in Iraqi Kurdistan

According to Jukil (2004, p. 76), the first press was established in Sulemani by the British authorities in 1920, while the „„„Peshkawtin““ newspaper was published by the first press in Sulaymaniyah. This press had its own value in Shaikh Mahmud‟s Government. The press was dealt with by the Municipality after the fall of the government, and renamed “Chapkhanay Sharawani” in 1925. It then published a weekly newspaper entitled “Zhiyanawa” which was sponsored by the government. Subsequently, the Kurdish poet, Piramerd, rented it from 1934 to 1937 to publish the “Zhiyan” newspaper.

Mukriani (2002, p. 3) affirms that in 1926 Huzni Mukriani

established "Chapkhanay Zari Kurmanji". According to Jabari (1970, p. 72), after the fall of the monarchy in Iraq in 1958, new era of printing presses publishing material in the Kurdish language emerged between 1958 and 1963. Some of the presses that were established were "Kamaran in Sulaimania in 1958, Salahaddin in 1963 in Erbil, and Raparin in 1967 in Sulaimania".

Jukil (2004, pp. 77-78) mentions that when the Kurds and the central government reached an agreement in 1970, a printing press was established in Duhok, although it was moved to Baghdad in 1973. Moreover, another printing press was established by Kakay Falah in Sulaimania before it was moved to Baghdad in 1974. Furthermore, in 1973, the University of Sulaimani established another printing press. Additionally, in 1977, the Ministry of Education set up another printing press in Erbil in order to serve the needs of the education system in terms of printing educational materials and textbooks. Next in Erbil, the General Directorate of Culture and Youth established another printing press in 1984 to support the development of the Kurdish culture. Moreover, he states that Kurds could depend on the media for developing national movements and a sense of nationalism. All the forms of media had an important role to play in terms of developing the Kurdish language by publishing a large number of newspapers and books.

2.13.5 Kurdish Broadcasting in Iraq

Boyd (1982, p. 107) states that for the first time in 1936, a radio station was established in Iraq by the Iraqi government. Regarding broadcasting in Kurdish, the program was initially broadcast daily in Kurdish only for 15 minutes in 1939. However, in 1945 the program was broadcast daily in Kurdish for one hour. Moreover,

Hassanpour (1992, p, 283) mentions that in 1949, the Kurdish-language program was broadcast on Baghdad Radio for two hours, forty-five minutes. Similarly, Jukil (2004, p. 79) confirms that in 1936 the Iraqi Government established a broadcasting station which in 1939 broadcast a program for 15 minutes every day in the Kurdish language, rising in 1945, to one hour per day. On the other hand, the Kurdish National Movement established its own broadcasting station in 1963, named "Voice of Kurdistan". Most of the news was broadcast in the Sorani dialect, and sometimes Northern Dialect was used. Moreover, in Iraqi Kurdistan the central government established a TV station in Kirkuk in 1967 for the first time, and also one in Mosul in 1968. However, after the Kurdish Uprising in 1991, a new era was born for Kurdish newspapers, TV and radio.

It can be said that all types of media have great roles to play in terms of using the Kurdish language to make it a tool for communication by Kurds in the form of their mother tongue. Moreover, it can be said that the Kurdish media could prevent Kurdish from dying out because all types of the Kurdish media used the Kurdish language for publishing and broadcasting.

2.13.6 Kurdish Broadcasting Outside Iraq

Sajjadi (1972, p. 76) states that the radio set for the first time was brought to the city of Sulaimania by the owner of a tea-house. Nadirov (1992, p. 38) points out that before the 1930s, the radio sets did not reach any parts of the great Kurdistan. However, it should be known that for the first time when the Kurdish language was used in broadcasting was in the autonomous Kurdish region fixed in the USSR between 1923 and 1929. Nadirov (1992, p. 38) points out that for the first time when the Kurdish language was

used in broadcasting was in the autonomous Kurdish region of Transcaucasia which lasted from 1923 to 1929. Then this followed by first broadcasting in Kurdish Northern dialect in 1954 from Radio Yerevan.

According to Rambout (1947, p. 114), the first radio station in Beirut was established in 1941 by France, and the program was broadcast in Kurdish twice a week for 30 minutes. The programs, which were broadcast in Kurdish, were news and music, and the Northern dialect was used in the programs.

Regarding broadcasting in Kurdish in Iran, Mesbahee (1973, p. 15) mentions that in 1940 for the first time broadcasting began in Iran. Kimiachi (1978, p. 32) states that Persian was the main language of broadcasting on radio and television in Iran. Regarding using The Kurdish language in broadcasting in Iran, Hassanpour (1992, p. 284) mentions that the Kurdish language was not used in broadcasting because when the Kurdish language was not allowed to be used in newspapers and schools, how it can be allowed to be used in broadcasting. However, in Mahabd the first radio station was established in 1946; many different programs were broadcast in Sorani dialect.

Regarding broadcasting in Kurdish in Turkey, Hassanpoor (1992, p. 291) states that broadcasting programs in Kurdish was not allowed in Turkey. But, the spectrum of Kurdish Radio in Mahabd could reach Turkey. Therefore, Kurds could listen to Kurdish programs in their homes.

2.13.7 Kurdish TV Broadcasting in Iraq

Boyd (1982, pp. 111-112) mentions that for the first time Iraq established a TV station in Baghdad in 1956, then two other TV stations were fixed in Kirkuk in 1967 and in Mosul in 1968. All

programs in the mentioned three TV stations were broadcast in Arabic. However, after 1969 some programs were broadcast in Kurdish in Kirkuk TV station. It should be mentioned that in all parts of Kurdistan just in Iraq broadcasting in Kurdish was allowed. However, Kurds in Iraq many times said that the time of broadcasting in Kurdish was very few.

But, it should be mentioned that now even in Turkey and Iran some TV programs are broadcast in Kurdish, such as Denge TV, Dijle TV, Amed TV in Turkey and Sahar TV and Mahabd TV.

2.14 The Importance of Having a Standard Language in Society

Fatah (2010, pp. 365-366) believes that having a standard language is crucial for a number of reasons.

1- It protects and preserves the culture of the nation and stops it from disappearing.

2- It helps the spread of literacy in the country. Moreover, it does not distinguish children from their parents.

3- It brings a stronger sense of nationalism to the nation.

When a nation is not able to choose a dialect for communication and education as a unified language, the nation sometimes tries to select a universal language as a unified language. This has happened in Malaysia. However, this idea causes many problems for the nation and its language (Ibid).

1- It costs a great deal of money to prepare teachers to use the selected language in teaching.

2- It distinguishes the older generation from the younger generation, because the older generation has used another language in communication and education. Therefore, a huge amount of national culture may disappear.

3- It does not allow a sense of nationalism in a population to be developed.

4- It is not easy to increase the level of literacy.

Fatah (2010, pp. 367-368) indicates that Jamal Nabaz, as one of the Kurdish sociolinguists, believes that the transfer of some Kurdish grammatical phenomena such as the future, passive voice and words from central dialect to Northern dialect and vice versa can help to select a unified language. However, he affirms that this concept will not be applied in the Kurdish language because mixing two dialects is not an easy task. It would not be successful because it is a move against a dialect, which has been developing more than other dialects in the Kurdish language. Moreover, mixing two dialects will weaken the population"s nationalism and divide the same nation into two nations. Similarly, Mukriani cited in Sadiq (2011, p.25) states that some years ago, some teachers were asked to prepare a book for Kurdish pupils in primary schools in which the language should be a mixture of both the northern Kurmanji dialect and central Kurmanji dialect. However, it was noticed that a new Kurdish language appeared. Therefore, this concept was abandoned because Kurds did not need a new language.

2.15 Reasons for Choosing a Dialect as a Unified Language

Fatah (2010, p.364) mentions some points which affect why a dialect would be chosen as a unified language.

1- The number of users of the dialect should be more than the number of other dialect users.

2- The history of the dialect is very important, because it should be clear that the dialect from past to present is the language of education, literature and communication.

3- It should be clear to what extent other dialect users can

understand the chosen dialect, which is going to be a unified language for a nation or country.

2.16 Other Studies and Views on the Kurdish Language

According to Rasul (1971, p. 44), the Sorani dialect is now the language for Kurdish literature because in most places the Kurdish people use it for reading, writing and education. Initially, this dialect appeared in the city of Sulaimania and became the language of writing; then people used it throughout the region.

Hemin (1983, p.83) argues that most of the time Northern dialect intellectuals and writers have focused on using the Kurdish language in order to develop the Kurd‟s sense of nationalism and to introduce Kurd‟s problems to the world. However, in Iraq and Iran, Sorani dialect speakers, intellectuals and writers used the Sorani dialect for several purposes. First, they used it for increasing the Kurd‟s sense of nationalism and for introducing Kurd‟s problems to the world. Second, they used it for codifying the Kurdish language. Therefore, Kurds adopted the Sorani dialect quickly. For example, in the early years the Kurdish poet, Goran, wrote poems which were full of Arabic and Persian words. However, from the 1940s till his death, he started writing poems without using Arabic and Persian loanwords. The Kurdish poet Hazhar decided to purify his poems and articles in terms of loanwords. He translated some books from Persian into Kurdish and from the Northern dialect into the Sorani dialect. Therefore, it can be said that the process of codifying the Kurdish Sorani dialect started many decades ago.

Jukil (2004, p. 70) states that speakers of the Sorani and Northern dialects are able to speak to each other because there is a degree of mutual intelligibility between these two main dialects. Moreover, the speakers of Sorani and Hawrami dialects are able to understand

each other because there is a degree of mutual comprehensibility between the two dialects. However, the speakers of Hawrami and Northern dialects cannot understand each other when they speak because there is not a mutual intelligibility between the two dialects. Therefore, they use the Central dialect to understand each other. However, Jukil (2004, 49) mentions that some Kurdish writers believe that Pidginization and amalgamation of varieties are impossible. Therefore, they want to use both Central dialect and Kurmanjy dialect as two standard languages. However, the Kurdish Central dialect is accepted as a project to be a standard language for Kurds because the Kurdish dialect base in instruction and in practice is Central Kurmanjy, but the problem is that this project is not completely accepted by users of Kurmanjy dialect.

Yusupova, cited in Ali (2010, p.29), points out that the Sulaimania dialect (the Sorani dialect) is a rich dialect in Kurdistan. Nowadays, it is the most developed dialect for literature in the region.

Blau (2006, p.111) believes that after creating a safe zone for Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan, at the beginning of 1992 so many magazines and newspapers were published by Kurds. The number of published magazines and books at that time was 77. In Erbil there were 38, in Sulaimaniya 25, in Duhok 12 and in Kirkuk just 1, newspapers and magazines were published. However, now hundreds of newspapers and magazines are published by Kurds in the region in different dialects. There is a great deal of debate and different views about the Kurdish standard language, in an attempt to determine which Kurdish dialect should be selected as the standard language for Kurds in the region.

Nabaz cited in Saeed (2008, p.42) states that two different aspects have the effect of selecting a standard language. First, social, political and religious phenomena have an impact when it

comes to choosing a language or dialect as the standard language for a nation. Second, the local government can impose one dialect as the standard language for a nation. However, he believes that the Sorani dialect cannot be chosen as the standard language for Kurds because 20 million Kurds live in Turkey and they cannot read and write in the Sorani dialect.

Saeed (2008, p.42-43) states that 53 Kurdish academics and intellectuals signed a formal statement and wanted the Sorani dialect to be selected as the standard language for Kurds in the region. However, some Kurdish intellectuals and academics have strongly refused this statement, one of whom was Jamal Nabaz. Nabaz refused it for two reasons. First, it was not a good time for selecting a standard language because he believed that other problems such as the issue of the city of Kirkuk and the supporting of Kurds in other parts of Kurdistan should be solved and attempts should be made to recognize Anfal and Halabja as genocide. Second, he was against the idea of selecting the Sorani dialect as the standard language.

Jwamer (2008, p.13) indicates that Nabaz always says that there are more Kurds in Turkey than in Iraq. Therefore, the Sorani dialect should not be chosen as a standard language for Kurds. However, Nabaz should know that Kurds only in Iraq are officially allowed to use the Kurdish language in education and communication. Moreover, the number of users of the Sorani dialect is much greater than the number of other dialect users in the region. Therefore, the Sorani dialect should be recognized as the standard language for Kurds in the region.

Zada (2008, p. 14) disagrees with Nabaz and Hassanpour, who say that bi-standard languages are good for the Kurds. He says that he has seen and heard of some nations with just one standard language

but that he has not seen one nation with two standard languages. Moreover, it is only in Iraqi Kurdistan Kurds have the right to use their mother tongue officially in communication and education. Therefore, the Sorani dialect should be selected as the standard language. Furthermore, the number of Sorani dialect users in the region is much greater than the number of other dialect speakers.

In 2009 Kamiar Sabir published a book on Kurdish language. Sabir (2009, pp. 22-28) states that the central dialect is a lingua franca for Kurds in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. It has naturally become a lingua franca in Iraqi Kurdistan. Moreover, Sabir (2009, p.86) says those Kurds, in the Kurdish society are definitely wrong, who say it is better to use Latin script and that this should replace the current Kurdish language script, which is based on Arabic and Persian script, because the number of Kurds who use the Northern dialect is greater than the number of Kurds who use the central dialect, because lots of Kurds in Turkey cannot read and write in the Kurdish language. He criticizes Hassanpour for believing that if the Sorani dialect becomes the standard language in Kurdistan, Kurds will be divided into different nations. This idea is not acceptable by anyone because the Sorani dialect is the dominant dialect in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. It is better for the Kurdish academics to work on the Kurdish language in Iraqi Kurdistan because it is only this part of Kurdistan that has autonomy. Moreover, he points out that a dialect can be chosen as a standard language for a country when it is the language of writing, intellectuals, education, media, politicians, academics and the economic structure (Ibid, p. 175).

Sadiq (2011, pp. 226-234) states that in Iraqi Kurdistan the central dialect is more active than the other dialects because it is the main language used in media, education, government and communication. Other Kurdish dialects serve Kurdish language

and literature, but they have not served the Kurdish language for a long time, unlike the central dialect which has been used continually. This is because in other parts of Kurdistan, especially in Turkey and Syria, the governments do not allow Kurds to use the Northern dialect. Therefore, it can be said that there are more speakers of the central dialect than speakers of the other dialects in the Kurdish language. That is why the central dialect should be a standard language for Kurds in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Mukriani, cited in Sadiq (2011, p.17-30), believes that there are two reasons behind there being no Kurdish standard language. The first is that there is not a Kurdish state. The second is that there is no religion in the Kurdish language. Mukriani believes that, until the end of the 1940s some books and magazines were published in Turkey using the Northern dialect, but after that the Turkish authorities did not allow Kurds in Turkey to use the Kurdish language for communication. She does not support the idea of changing the Kurdish language letters from Arabic letters to Latin lettersbecause she believes that this kind of change of the Kurdish letters does not make Kurds to get their standard language.

Khoshnaw (2014, pp. 38-41) states that General Mustafa Barzani was not a linguist, but he always focused on formally using the Kurdish language in Kurdistan along with Arabic. He did not allow Kurds to use two of the Kurdish dialects in education. According to the March 11, 1970 agreement, education in all places in Iraqi Kurdistan had to be done in Kurdish. After the announcement of the March 11, 1970 agreement, five well-known Kurdish intellectuals visited General Mustafa Barzni in Gullala in order to obtain financial support for establishing a Kurdish Academy in Baghdad. One of the visitors wanted General Barzani to introduce the Badinan (Northern) dialect as the main language

for education and literature. However, he said there is now a standard language for Kurdish literature and education in the form of the Sorani dialect. Moreover, he said that he would not allow anyone to change it. Therefore, the central dialect was kept from the 1970s until 1991.

Sabir (2014: 32-37) confirms that Kurds used all the various dialects in different specific eras. The Kurdish language has been used for writing by Kurds since the 16th Century. In the North of Kurdistan when the Botan Emirate was established, the Northern Dialect was used, particularly by Kurdish poets such as Mullay Jaziry, Faqé Tairan and Khany. However, when consecutive Kurdish Emirates were destroyed, Northern dialect was finished as a language for literature. In the 18th Century when the Ardalan Emirate was established, the Goran (Hawramy) dialect became the language of writing. Some Kurdish poets used this dialect, including Qubady, Besarany and Mawlawy. However, in the 19th Century, the Goran Dialect began to fade in terms of writing. In the 19th Century during the Baban Emirate, the Central dialect became a written language. Some Kurdish poets such as Nali, Kurdy, Salim and Mawlanay Naqshbandy used this dialect. Now the Central dialect is the language of science, literature, philosophy, economics and politics in the south of Kurdistan. Moreover, the central dialect is the language of most of the books which have been translated from other languages into Kurdish. Additionally, the Central dialect was mostly used, for example during Shekh Mahmood‟s rule, in the Republic of Kurdistan, in the Aylul Revolution, by the Kurdistan Parliament and by the Kurdistan Regional Government. Even now, the Central dialect is the dominant dialect in education, in the Kurdistan Regional Government and in parliament. This dialect became the language of the Kurds naturally. Since the

end of the 1920s, the process of education started in the south of Kurdistan in schools. In the Hawraman area and throughout the whole region, the Central dialect was the language of education; even now tens of Kurdish intellectuals in the Hawraman area use the central dialect in their writing. However, 80 years on, some Kurds in Hawraman prefer the process of education to be in the Goran dialect rather than the Central dialect.

It is worth mentioning that Kurds throughout Kurdistan and in the diaspora have used the Kurdish language for communication and press purposes. However, Kurds do not have a standard language. Also, it is better to stress that talking about having a standard language for all Kurds throughout Kurdistan is not a good idea because, with the exception of Iraq, in Iran, Turkey and Syria, it will be very difficult to have an autonomous place for Kurds because the governments of these countries do not consider Kurds to be a nation, or even as a minority group of people. Therefore, it is better that serious attempts be made to select a standard Kurdish language for Kurds in Iraq, because they have an autonomous place. However, it is worth noting that Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan dream for having a standard Kurdish language for communication in order to understand each other easily when all different Kurdish dialect users speak to each other.

2.17 Related Works

2.17.1 Related Works on Language

Abdulla (1980), in a PhD dissertation, which is submitted to University of York, entitled “Some Aspects of Language Purism among Kurdish Speakers‘‘‘‘ states that there are four dialects in the Kurdish language - Northern Kurmanji, Southern Kurmanji, Luri and Zaza dialects. The first two dialects are used in Iraqi

Kurdistan. But, for all fields of knowledge the Sorani dialect is used more than the other dialects. The aim of the study is to shed light on the development of the Kurdish written language, the number of dialects in the Kurdish language, and how the Kurdish language could be purified from the use of loanwords. He used a qualitative method in order to carry out his research. The results of the dissertation show that the Kurdish central dialect is the most prominent dialect in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Therefore, it is the language of newspapers, magazines, textbooks at all levels of education, and in both Kurdish departments at Sulaimania and Baghdad Universities.

Bokhorst-Heng (1998) in a PhD dissertation, submitted to University of Toronto, entitled „„Language and Imagining the Nation in Singapore"" points out that in Singapore the language of the country had played a very important role in creating a sense of nationalism and nation-building, the government had always been thinking about how to use language to build a strong and prosperous country. Therefore, the government had decided to use the language effectively in the media sector and the education sector. After some years, they saw that in terms of information and experience, a very wonderful talented generation was educated. People with experience participated in the development of the country's economy and were able to build a strong country. Moreover, the media sector has also been able to promote the use of language in a unique way and spread it throughout the country. Media always tried to strengthen the sense of nationalism of the people of Singapore. The aim of the study is to demonstrate that language has enough effect on people to build their country. Moreover, in the education sector language is able to create a strong generation because by using language information is transferred to the new generation.

It is clear that people with enough experience is able to build their country well enough. He used qualitative method to carry out his research. The result of the study shows that the education and the media sectors have a huge impact on the nation-building because the mother tongue, knowledge and information are spread through both sectors. Moreover, both the media and education have a key role to play in shaping the country and the sense of nationalism.

Hasanpoor (1999) in a PhD dissertation, which is submitted to Uppsala University, entitled "A Study of European, Persian, and Arabic Loans in Standard Sorani"" mentions that the Kurdish language consists of a number of dialects, but Kurds in all parts of Kurdistan and the diaspora use the Northern dialect and the Central dialect more than other dialects. However, it is clear to everyone that the Central dialect is the language for Kurds in media, printing, education and communication in Iraq and Iran. Although the Sorani dialect has faced many attempts to eliminate it, Kurdish intellectuals in Iraq and Iran have successfully striven to preserve it by publishing newspapers and broadcasting television and radio programmes. At the same time, local authorities in Turkey and Syria do not allow Kurds to use the Northern dialect as the Kurds do in Iraq and Iran. The Kurds often used the Northern and Sorani dialects more than other Kurdish dialects in conversations, newspapers, and education. Therefore, they were always prevented from using the Kurdish language in Syria and Turkey because they clearly knew and felt that using the Kurdish language in communication, education and media would pave the way to Kurds to build their state. In addition, the use of the Kurdish language strengthens the sense of nationalism by the Kurds. The aim of the study was to investigate the relationship between the Kurdish language and the sense of nationalism. Moreover, many

foreign words in Persian and Arabic came into Kurdish because the Kurds often used foreign languages in the field of education and communication. In addition, Kurds were not allowed to use their language because Turkey, Iran and Iraq were sure that language has a strong influence on introducing the true identity of people. He used a qualitative method in order to carry out his research. The results of the study show that the Central dialect is the dominant dialect in the Kurdish language in that it has clearly flourished more than the other dialects. In addition, it can borrow words from other languages because it has an active contact with other languages. Moreover, Kurdish intellectuals and national movements have used the Central dialect for the purpose of nation building. However, the Kurdish authorities should be aware that Kurdish society is going to have a bi-standard language because a group of people use the Central dialect and another group of people use the Northern dialect. However, it should not be forgotten that both Kurmanjy and Central dialects have been used in media and education by the Kurdish intellectuals to convey the voice of the Kurds to the world, which had a great effect on the sense of nationalism by the Kurds.

Doğanaksoy (2008) in a MA thesis, submitted to Middle East Technical University, entitled „„The Role of Language in the Formation of Kazakh National Identity"" states that in Kazakhstan, the Kazakh language played an important role in seceding from the former Soviet Union. Moreover, when Kazakhstan was a part of the Soviet Union, the Kazakh language had a profound effect on re-identifying the original identity of the Kazakh people because before leaving the Soviet Union, it was necessary for the Kazakh people to use the Russian language in the education sector; this made the people of Kazakhstan not have much sense of nationalism

for their nation and language. But, after the Kazakh government decided to use the Kazakh

language as the main language in education in all cities and villages, this led the people of Kazakhstan to gain a very strong sense of nationalism towards their country and the creation of an independent country. That is why the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan is still considered as a national and state symbol. The aim of the study is to mention that the mother tongue has always had an impact on identifying the identity of people and nation-building. When your language is banned in conversation and education it becomes a reason to weaken your nation. This means that the nation is slowly disappearing. Therefore, it is always necessary for every nation to use its mother tongue in daily life, especially in the field of education. The researcher used qualitative method to carry out his research. The result of the study shows that every nation should use its mother tongue in education and daily life because of some reasons. First, it makes people not forget their mother tongue. Second, it strengthens the sense of nationalism. Third, when people have a strong sense of nationalism; they often try to get independence for their country.

Hamarahim (2009) in a PhD dissertation, which is submitted to Salahaddin University-Erbil, entitled "The Problem of Kurdish Language and Its Dialects from A philosophical Viewpoint"" says that in the history of the Kurdish language and nation, the Kurdish language has been both a written and a spoken language because it is the mother tongue of the Kurds. However, many governments over time have created problems for the Kurdish language to prevent it from being an independent language. The aim of the study is to show that several governments in Kurdish territories have tried to eliminate the Kurdish language because

they believed that suppressing a language means oppressing a nation. The researcher used a qualitative method in order to carry out the research described in his PhD dissertation. The results of the study show that Kurds have not been able to select a standard Kurdish language because Kurds need more than one dialect for

communication purposes. Moreover, Kurds have not tried well enough to select a standard language.

Surkhi (2013a) in a PhD dissertation, which is submitted to Salahaddin University-Erbil, entitled "Critical Discourse of Kurdish Newspapers from 1918-1932 based on Theoretical Critical Analysis"" states that the Kurdish language is used for servicing the Kurdish nation and for conveying the voice of Kurds to the world. Since the beginning of the Kurdish revolutions, the Kurdish language has had a great impact on telling the world about what has happened to Kurds at the hands of local authorities and the neighboring countries of Iraq. The aim of the study is to show that Kurds could use the Kurdish language in the media, especially in Iraq, because in Iraq Kurds officially had the chance to use the Kurdish language in the media. Moreover, Kurds used the Kurdish language to tell the world how the enemies of the Kurds wanted to destroy the Kurds and their areas to remove the Kurdish nation. Therefore, from many parts of the world, Kurds could get spiritual support to protect their identity and their nation. The researcher used a qualitative method in order to carry out his research. The results of the research show that Kurdish newspapers could remove all black clouds and views on Kurdish nation by showing the truth, while at that time biased newspapers to other governments tried to introduce Kurds not as a developed nation.

Amin (2017) in an academic paper entitled "Official Language and the Position of Kurdish Language among Other Languages in

the World"""" states that the Kurdish language is an official language in Iraq according to the Iraqi constitution. Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan can use the Kurdish language without any problem, whereas in other parts of Kurdistan, Kurds cannot use their language. The aim of the study is to note that the Kurdish language is an active language in the world, and this has paved the way for the Kurds to build a unified language, as it is clear that a unified language has more influence than a normal language on nation-building and state-building. He used a qualitative method in order to carry out the research described in this paper. The results of the study show that in Iraqi Kurdistan, the Central dialect of the Kurdish language can be chosen as a standard language for Kurds because it has been developed more than the other dialects, and it is the language of government and official documents. From 1920 through to 1980, 1115 books had been printed and published in the Kurdish language. Of these, 1081 were printed in the Central dialect, 26 in the Northern dialect, and 8 in other dialects.

2.17.2 Related Works on Nation Building

Nyamnjoh (1989) in a PhD dissertation Submitted to the University of Leicester, entitled "Broadcasting for Nation-Building in Cameroon; Development and Constraints" believes that media plays a great role in nation building. All types of media should be dealt with very carefully. But, before having a strong media presence, some other aspects should be considered carefully and accurately. For example, the level of literacy should be increased throughout the country, because when the level of illiteracy is high, the media cannot play an effective role in nation building. However, it should not be forgotten that a standard language should be used by all types of media. Otherwise, people in a country

from a different background may not be able to understand all the languages or dialects, which are used. In such a situation, people may ignore media and may not want to watch and listen to the news. It is worth mentioning that when attempts are made to build nations, all nations should have a strong economy and a degree of prosperity, because economy is very necessary when trying to set up a strong media. The aim of the study is to shed light on how media could have influenced people during the process of nation building in Cameroon. The result of the study shows that media has a great role in nation building, but the level of literacy and education needs to be increased. Moreover, attempts should be made to develop a unified language. The researcher followed a qualitative method to carry out his research.

Igwara (1993) in a PhD dissertation, submitted to University of London, entitled "Ethnicity, Nationalism and Nation-Building in Nigeria in 1970-1992"" states that during the process of nation building, nationalism is very important. People should be encouraged by increasing their feelings with regard to nationalism. When individuals in a country have the same opinion with regard to nationalism, a new and strong nation within a country can be created. However, it is worth mentioning that the existence of a national language can increase the people"s feelings of nationalism. Having a unified language allows people to understand their culture, religion and history. A unified language should be used in education, media, and communication and in most aspects of life, otherwise people may not have a strong feeling of nationalism because they cannot listen and watch programmes about their past in media and the news. They can read about their past in books. Leaders can convey their messages to people through the media. Therefore, people"s feelings with regard to nationalism depend on the existence of a

strong language. The aim of the study is to determine the extent to which ethnicity and nationalism have a joint strong impact on nation-state formation. The result of the study shows that a sense of nationalism is important during the process of nation building. However, a unified language can have a great influence in increasing the sense of nationalism of people. The researcher used a qualitative method in order to carry out his research.

Gebremariam (2016) in a master thesis, Submitted to Addis Ababa University, entitled "The implications of Reconstructing Identities for Nation-Building in Newly Formed States-The Case of Eritrea"" believes that nation building means achieving a better future for people within a country. Attempts at nation building should be done when a nation has its own flag, culture, history, equality, boundary, territory, army, economy, national language, and government institutions. All of these aspects are very important for building a nation. For example, when there is no equality between men and women and between white and black people, strong nation building cannot be achieved. When there is not a strong army to protect people and preserve the boundaries of the country, building a strong nation and country will fail. When there is not a strong economy, the outcomes of attempts at nation building will fail. Moreover, language plays a key role during the process of nation building because language is considered as an identity of a nation. The aim of the study is to show that integrating populace, economy and national army are of vital importance prior to the announcement of the independence of a country. The researcher followed both quantitative and qualitative research methods for accomplishing the writing of the MA thesis. The researcher interviewed around two hundred Eritrean refuges in Addis Ababa. The results of the study show that during the process of nation

building, culture, history, territory, army and a strong economy have a great impact on building nations. Moreover, equality is very important and it should not be dealt with any less than the other components of nation building.

This study differs from the above-mentioned academic studies by stating the extent to which the Kurdish language have effects on all the components of nation building and the extent to which all the components of nation building have effects on the Kurdish language because it is clear that other previous studies, which have been stated, have not mentioned the effects of the Kurdish language on all the components of nation building and the effects of the components of nation building on the Kurdish language. Moreover, this study differs from the above-mentioned academic studies by stating the extent to which the selecting of the Kurdish standard language is necessary and the extent to which it can affect the life of Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan. It is believed that language plays a great role in unifying people within a nation, nation building, state building and nationalism sense.

2.18 Summary

This chapter has dealt with the relationship between language and the components of nation building. Language can be considered as the soul of a nation, and the medium of power in every country. It is language which can unify all the people of a nation.

Language is used in many different sectors in life. Therefore, governments and academics should give more attention to the language and its power. Language is used in the media to publish newspapers, writings, literature and broadcasts. It can be said that through using language, the media sector can be developed. However, when a standard language is used in the media, people

can read and write without any problems. Moreover, the different literature of the different dialect users can be understood more than in the past when people use a standard language.

On the other hand, the media has a great effect on promoting language because it introduces new vocabulary and phrases into the language by allowing the populace to read information on the internet, on webpages and in books. People can obtain new words, especially those words which do not have an equivalent word in the reader‟s language. It is clear that language is used in religious ceremonies and in worshipping. Therefore, a standard language should be used in religious ceremonies in order to ensure that all the people understand the main purpose behind any religious message. It should be mentioned that in some countries a language could be chosen as the standard language for those countries, when it is the main language of the religion of that country. At the same time, it can be said that religion can introduce religious words into people‟s first language, because language can be used for translating religious books and messages.

Concerning the relationship between language and the economy, language plays a great role increasing an individual‟s income because people need to exchange ideas and communicate with each other when they are at work. However, when they cannot understand each other, they cannot do their jobs easily. It is worth mentioning that the economy sector is able to introduce many economic words and phrases into a language.

Concerning the relationship between language and the armed forces, it is language which ensures that all people understand one another when they are in military service. Through a standard language, all soldiers can understand all commands or orders they are given. If this is not the case and they cannot understand each

other, they will be unable to carry out their duties successfully. At the same time, the armed forces can introduce new military words, phrases and the names of the weapons and generals into a language. Therefore, the army sector can enrich the first language of soldiers by introducing military words and increase the degree of mutual intelligibility and unify the different dialects by the process of amalgamation and pidginization for selecting a common language.

Concerning the relationship between language and education, language is used in education system to make learners to study, read and write. The education sector can promote and preserve the first language of the learners because most subjects are taught in the first language. However, having a standard language in education system is vital because, when learners graduate from universities and other educational institutes they can teach and work throughout the country. Moreover, it can be said that when different dialect users study together, the education sector is able to increase the degree of mutual intelligibility because every time pupils speak to each other and can learn each other"s dialect. This may cause selecting a unified Kurdish language in the future.

Kurds, like all other nations throughout the world, have tried very hard to promote and protect their language from dying out by using it in the media. They have elaborated the Kurdish language in all types of media. The Kurds have used the Kurdish language in the religious sector to teach religious lessons and translate religious books into Kurdish, so it can be said that the Kurds have used the Kurdish language as an important tool for religious studies. Moreover, like all the advanced languages of the world, the Kurdish language played an important role in terms of income for the Kurdish individuals; the Kurds who spoke the Kurdish language fluently were able to get jobs easily. In addition,

regarding the role of the Kurdish language in the military, all Kurdish Peshmarga have always used the Kurdish language to exchange information and understand each other. Furthermore, regarding the role of the Kurdish language in the education sector, the Kurds have always used the Kurdish language in the education sector, and by using the Kurdish language, Kurdish children have learned new knowledge and information.

It should be noted that the Kurds used the Kurdish language in all forms of media. Therefore, all types of the Kurdish media have played a key role in protecting the Kurdish language from extinction and the further use of the Kurdish language. Generally speaking, language has a strong effect on society, as it brings the individuals of the community closer together and unites them more. Language also often becomes an important factor in building a nation and state. So no one should ignore the impact of language on society. Consequently, it can be said that language has a very strong effect on all the components of nation building. Therefore, the local government should work very hard to develop the mother tongue of the individuals of the nation more than ever.

Generally speaking, it is worth noting that in the media, religious, economic, military, and educational sectors, people use language to exchange information and understand each other. So, it is an undeniable fact that these sectors are the main cause of elaboration of the use of language by individuals in society. It should also be noted that these sectors will lead to the introduction of many new foreign, religious, economic, military and scientific words into another language. It means that the above mentioned sectors are able to promote and enrich the vocabulary of every language by introducing many new words and terms to it.

To be continued…

THE KURDISH LANGUAGE WITHIN THE DECIVILISATION PROCESS

Ibrahim Sadiq Malazada[1], PhD

1 1 Ibrahim Sadiq Malazada, PhD in Sociology. Based in the UK and currently an associate professor at Soran University, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts. He is a researcher and specialist in genocide studies. He is the author of the books "The Origins of the Kurdish Genocide" (2022) and "The Hell of Genocide" in the Kurdish language.

Introduction

The discourse on the linguistic genocide of the Kurdish language in the Middle East during the nation-state era is, in its simplest terms, a tragic narrative. It is tragic not only because education in the Kurdish language has been systematically obstructed, but also because tens of thousands of Kurds have been conditioned to believe that their mother tongue is "backward", a language of nomads and uncivilised, mountainous groups. Ultimately, the colonisation of the mind and the policies of Turkification, Persianisation, and Arabisation have extended even to those living abroad in the diaspora.

Shame about the mother tongue is widespread, evident in Kurdish cities, among Kurds living in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic-dominated urban centres, and even across the Kurdish diaspora. This psychological and social condition is a significant problem facing the Kurdish language across all parts of Kurdistan. The importance of discussing, researching, and investigating this issue stems directly from this profound problem.

From this perspective, the United Nations designated 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages. This global declaration was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2016 as resolution (A/RES/71/178), in response to the reality that 40% of the world's estimated 6,700 languages are facing the threat of extinction, most of which are indigenous languages[2]. This serves as a major alarm for the Kurdish language and its various dialects, given the systematic, daily pressures that Kurdish communities endure. Furthermore, the Kurdish language faces continuous

2 UN, 2019. 2019 International Year of Indigenous Languages. derive from: https://bit.ly/3vv9qJJ, [accessed 1 May 2022]

erasure and prohibition, particularly in Northern (Bakur) and Eastern (Rojhelat) Kurdistan, where the Kurdish idiom stands as a stark example of linguistic assimilation[3].

Theoretical Framework: The Prohibition of Language

The hostile policy against the Kurdish language, or "Linguicide," falls within the framework of a "Civilizing Offensive", a systematic destruction of language. While this concept has numerous dimensions within genocide literature, it remains a neglected area internationally. To date, neither the United Nations nor its legal institutions have implemented formal legal, political, or cultural measures to counter the prohibition of languages belonging to different nations and ethnic groups.

In this context, several critical questions arise: What constitutes a "civilizing offensive" in language policy? Why are the languages of distinct groups prohibited? What is the relationship between language, politics, the state, and other languages? Furthermore, what specific threats does the Kurdish language face due to its prohibition?

The "Civilizing Process" is a multidimensional and extensive theory that encompasses various concepts, including the "Civilizing Offensive." At its core, civilization is a process driven and directed by the powers and groups that control its mechanisms. It involves steering a society's political and social systems toward a specific trajectory.

This process can progress and evolve within the framework of democracy and human rights. Conversely, it can manifest

3 Rudaw, 2020. Zara Mohammadi: An example of the fusion of the Kurdish language in Iran. derive from: https://bit.ly/3y9rPh1, [accessed 1 May 2022]

as a hostile and oppressive process within the nation-state model, utilizing the tools of modernity as a shared paradigm across different countries, nations, and eras. Moreover, the civilizing process can abruptly fail or collapse, as witnessed in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy during World War II, where the "Civilizing Offensive" served as a dominant, yet ultimately destructive, paradigm.

The process of the "civilizing offensive" is exemplified by numerous historical instances, most notably the Australian government's former racialized perspective toward its Indigenous populations. Based on a deeply ingrained racist ideology, the authorities perceived Indigenous peoples as "backward" and "unfit," concluding that they required "civilizing", which, in their view, meant forced modernization. This modernization demanded that Indigenous people completely abandon their culture, language, norms, and values to assimilate into the identity of the white, Anglo-Celtic Australian majority.

Recognizing that such a total cultural shift could not occur overnight, the government adopted a policy of forced assimilation. The strategic goal was to sever the cultural transmission between generations by creating a radical disconnect between parents and their children. Consequently, the forced removal of Indigenous children became a central pillar of this assimilationist policy. It was predicated on the flawed hypothesis that these children's lives would improve only if they were integrated into the white-majority society. The underlying assumption was that these Indigenous nations

should either be allowed to "die out" through a natural process of extinction or, where possible, be "bred out" and absorbed into the white population[4].

As a result, policies were enacted to remove Indigenous children from their families and place them with white Australian families. This aimed to achieve a fundamental rupture; children were targeted because they were seen as more "malleable" and capable of rapid adaptation. This process ensured they would not only acquire a new language but would also completely lose or never acquire their ancestral mother tongue. Genocide scholars describe these measures as a definitive paradigm of the "Civilizing Offensive."

The "civilizing offensive" is a phenomenon capable of manifesting in diverse forms across different historical epochs. History, both ancient and modern, provides numerous examples of this process. Within the Ottoman Empire, tens of thousands of Christian children and those of other faiths were abducted and subjected to a specialized process of indoctrination and military training. These individuals were organized into an elite military force known as the Janissaries (*Yeniçeri*).

The Janissaries served as the elite household troops and bodyguards of the Ottoman Sultan, established in the latter half of the 14th century. The term "Janissary" literally translates to "New Soldier." This force was primarily composed of children who were either abducted or forcibly seized from their parents during military campaigns and raids across Ottoman provinces, particularly from Christian populations, a process historically

4 https://www.australianstogether.org.au/discover/australian-history/stolen-generations

known as the *Devshirme* system.

Once separated from their families and kin, these children were raised and educated within a strict Islamic framework. The Sultan assumed the role of their spiritual father, and their sole profession was dedicated entirely to warfare. From the late 14th century until the end of the 16th century, the Janissaries constituted the primary backbone of the Ottoman military. This elite corps included both infantry and cavalry units and functioned as the Sultan's private guard. Established during the reign of Sultan Murad I, the Janissaries possessed a highly sophisticated internal organization, characterized by unique military barracks, distinct symbolism, specialized ranks, and advanced weaponry. They were unequivocally regarded as the most formidable units within the Ottoman Imperial Army[5].

The defining characteristics of this force were its offensive nature and its primary responsibility for the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The Janissaries were entirely insulated from civil society and secular life; notably, marriage was strictly prohibited within the corps to maintain their singular focus on military duty. Their numbers underwent a massive expansion, surging from 20,000 in 1574 to approximately 135,000 by 1826. Over time, they evolved into a potent political entity that frequently intervened in state affairs and became a formidable obstacle to any form of modernization or reform. Consequently, Sultan Mahmud II moved to abolish the corps in 1826, an event historically known as the "Auspicious Incident." He gathered them in a central square

5 Anastasopoulos, A. and Spyropoulos, Y., 2017. Soldiers on an Ottoman Island: The Janissaries of Crete, Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Centuries. Turkish Historical Review, 8(1), pp.1-33.

where they were subjected to heavy artillery fire, resulting in thousands of casualties. The survivors were exiled and forcibly integrated into civilian populations. Having been severed from their roots in childhood, these individuals possessed no knowledge of their true ancestry or ethnic origins, identifying solely through their acquired Muslim and Turkish identities[6].

Although the primary motive behind this specific form of "civilizing offensive" was not linguistic, language functioned as a vital component of the cultural background stripped from these children. The forced separation left a legacy of profound trauma and suffering within their original families; therefore, this process is accurately categorized as Cultural Genocide.

A similar pattern emerged during World War I, when thousands of Armenian children were forcibly separated from their parents and distributed among Turkish households. These children were systematically assimilated, permanently becoming Turkish-speaking Muslims[7]. Whether in the case of the Janissaries or the abduction of Armenian children, these practices—by all academic and legal standards—fall under the paradigm of Genocide within the framework of a "Civilizing Offensive."

Providing these historical examples serves to bridge the reader's understanding of the underlying process. However, the paradigm of language is often targeted and aggressively prohibited through distinct forms and mechanisms. In many contemporary cases, the process does not involve the physical abduction of individuals to

6 allaboutturkey. Janissaries, Ottoman Army. derive from: https://bit.ly/3LB22lV, [accessed 1 May 2022]

7 Dadrian, V.N., 2003. Children as victims of genocide: the Armenian case. Journal of Genocide Research, 5(3), pp.421-437. P.435

forcibly transform them into Turks, Persians, or Arabs. Instead, through either a "hard" or "soft" process of assimilation, a foreign language is imposed upon a population. Over the span of three to four generations, this linguistic imposition effectively transforms the people into Turks, Persians, or Arabs.

Whether through the direct abduction of individuals or the systematic imposition of a dominant language, the ultimate objective remains identical: the eventual eradication and replacement of the original language, culture, and ancestral roots of the people. Whether achieved rapidly or through gradual erosion, the final aim is a total transformation of human identity and heritage.

Typologies of Linguicide

There are various methods and modalities employed to orchestrate the eradication of a language and the process of linguicide. Below, I outline several of these typologies to better identify and understand the specific threats confronting the Kurdish language and where the most significant dangers converge.

Method I: Gradual and Incremental Linguicide

This is one of the most prevalent forms of linguistic genocide. It occurs when individuals, driven by socioeconomic or sociopolitical factors, progressively acquire and transition to a dominant language. This transition is predicated on the dominant language holding a superior status 'both officially and ideologically' similar to the positions of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian in relation to Kurdish.

This process typically begins with bilingualism, where members

of a nation or ethnic group acquire a second language alongside their mother tongue. Over generations, this dynamic leads to a steady decline in the proficiency and quality of the mother tongue among the youth. Ultimately, this trajectory results in the total loss of the native language, as no speakers remain who utilize it as their primary means of communication[8].

This method is widely prevalent in Turkey, Iran, and even within the Kurdistan Region. In Turkey, the Kurdish population of the north (Bakur) has not only acquired Turkish but has increasingly adopted it as their primary language. This shift is driven by the fact that the entire infrastructure of daily life, including education, commerce, professional industries, market transactions, and the media, operates exclusively in Turkish. The foundations for this environment were laid following the establishment of the Turkish Republic after World War I. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Kurdish language was not only banned from schools, educational institutions, and official affairs but was also prohibited in private conversation.

This systematic suppression originated from a sinister state strategy known as the "Report on Reform in the East" (Şark İslahat Raporu). This plan dates back to September 24, 1925, and was formally approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, at a time when approximately 48 Kurds were members of that parliament. This classified document was part of a series of official reports later exposed and published by Mehmet Bayrak in the

8 Janse, M., 2003. Language death and language maintenance: problems and prospects. In Language Death and Language Maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches (pp. 9-17). John Benjamins.

1990s (1993, 1994). Among the five primary articles of the report, the final two are particularly critical to linguistic suppression:

(4) The categorical prohibition of the use of all non-Turkish languages and the strict exclusion of Kurds from employment within educational institutions, including secondary schools.

(5) The allocation of 7 million Turkish Liras to fund the deportation of Kurds and to facilitate the resettlement and livelihood of Turks in the areas cleared of their original Kurdish inhabitants[9].

Accordingly, the Turkification plan operated on multiple strategic levels; it was a systematic, irreversible policy. The plan was so extreme that it deliberately avoided even mentioning the "Kurdish language" by name to deny its very existence. Simultaneously, the exclusion of Kurds from employment within schools was a calculated measure to prevent any educational or cultural interaction between Kurdish teachers and Kurdish children.

Furthermore, the forced displacement of Kurds from their ancestral lands and the subsequent settlement of Turks in those regions represented a fundamental genocidal policy. This demographic engineering was specifically designed to dilute the Kurdish presence and alter the ethnic composition of the Kurdish heartlands.

The aforementioned state policies were never decelerated; instead, the Turkish state persisted in implementing them based on a framework of entrenched racism and chauvinistic ideologies. Following the initial plans, a campaign titled "Citizen, Speak Turkish!" (*Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş!*) was launched in 1930 by various government-affiliated organizations. The objective was the

9 Yadirgi, V., 2017. The political economy of the Kurds of Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. Cambridge University Press. P.169.

sanctification of the Turkish language and the forced Turkification of all individuals who continued to use their respective mother tongues[10]. This policy was fundamentally hostile toward any ethnic identity that did not align with "Turkishness."

In this context, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk addressed his supporters in Adana in 1923, stating:

"The Armenians have absolutely no rights in this prosperous country. This country is yours; it belongs to the Turks. Historically, this land has always been Turkish, remains Turkish, and shall remain Turkish forever. Finally, the country has been restored to its rightful owners. The Armenians and others have absolutely no rights here. This fertile land is the homeland of the true Turks. [11]"

This exclusionary racial policy remains deeply embedded within the fabric of Turkish society to this day. While there were initial hopes that the Justice and Development Party (AKP) would reform Turkish society, the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has instead synthesized Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic ideologies. Under the guise of populist slogans, this approach has effectively destabilized the Kurdish social structure in the North (Bakur).

The state's "civilizing offensive" has become so entrenched that its influence now extends beyond the borders of Turkey into the diaspora, profoundly impacting the psychology of Kurdish families living in Europe. These populations have been so thoroughly subjected to the mechanisms of assimilation and

10 Peyserpress, 2020. From Ataturk to Qeyyums: https://bit.ly/3FjdMat, [accessed 1 May 2022]

11 Kieser, H.L. ed., 2013. Turkey beyond nationalism: Towards post-nationalist identities. Bloomsbury Publishing. P.IX

linguicide that these behaviours have transformed into a "habit," or what Norbert Elias terms "Habitus[12],[13]". The habitus of these individuals has been fundamentally altered and distorted; despite living in the diaspora for decades, they maintain the domestic Turkish model. Turkish television remains the primary medium in their households, and their Kurdish identity is often relegated to a hesitant acknowledgment of ancestry. The vast majority of these families raise their children in the Turkish language, resulting in a total lack of proficiency in their ancestral mother tongue. Consequently, for a significant portion of the Kurdish diaspora, the native language has slipped below even a tertiary status.

Parallel to this, a "soft" process of linguistic shift is emerging within the Kurdistan Region (KRI), where the Arabic language is regaining prominence. While acquiring a new language is an essential skill for personal development, the concern in the KRI lies in the unregulated residency of Arab populations. Based on my research and observations, the Kurdistan Region currently lacks a comprehensive Language Policy, a stark contrast to developed nations that implement rigorous linguistic and integration strategies for foreign residents. Current data suggests there are over 1,035,000 Arabs residing in the KRI. In the capital, Erbil, the Arab population has reached approximately 600,000, accounting for 29% of the city's total inhabitants[14]. In light of

12 DENDASCK, C.V. and LEE, G.F., DENDASCK, Carla Van Zyl Dendasck; LEE, Gilead Ferreira. Konzept des Habitus in Pierre Bourdieu.

13 The Social Construction of Identity and Habitus.This habitus, which constitutes the social structure of individuals, serves as the fundamental ground upon which personality traits flourish—traits that distinguish an individual from other members of their society. In this manner, a shared language creates a subject capable of collective participation; it is, unequivocally, a cornerstone in the formation of the social habitus

14 Sharpress, 2022. The numbers of Arabs are rising frighteningly, in the Kurdistan Region,

these demographic shifts, it is imperative to highlight several critical points:

First: The total absence of a formal Language Policy in the Kurdistan Region (KRI) prevents the establishment of employment criteria based on Kurdish language proficiency. To safeguard the national language, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) should mandate that employment opportunities be contingent upon Kurdish literacy and fluency, while simultaneously providing specialized language courses for Arab residents to facilitate their integration.

Second: Kurdish society lacks a "monopolistic" linguistic nature. Unlike many other nations, Kurds often instinctively switch to Arabic when communicating with Arabs. This linguistic hospitality has inadvertently discouraged Arab residents from seeking to learn Kurdish. Conversely, there is a surging demand among the Kurdish population to acquire Arabic, leading to an asymmetrical linguistic exchange.

Third: The Arab individual is often influenced by Arab-centrism. Within the literature of Arab nationalists and Islamists, there is a religiously motivated belief that Arabs constitute the centre of the Islamic Ummah. This ideology posits that because Arabic is the language of the Quran, all Muslims are obligated to learn it. This sense of centrism fosters a perceived linguistic superiority, creating an expectation that "others" should adapt and communicate in Arabic.

Fourth: Throughout the history of the Iraqi state, Arabic has functioned as the sole dominant official language, reinforcing the

https://bit.ly/3MH7ZxD, [accessed 1 May 2022]

notion of Arab-centrism among citizens. Even Kurdish officials in Baghdad 'whether in Parliament or other high-ranking positions', rarely exercise their constitutional right to speak Kurdish with the aid of interpreters. Instead, they prioritize proficiency in Arabic, further consolidating its status as the superior administrative language.

Fifth: Arab residents now constitute a significant portion of the labour market in the KRI, often prioritizing the employment of Arabic speakers. Furthermore, a substantial amount of real estate in the Region is now owned by Arabs; while exact statistics are unavailable, hundreds of Kurdish families have transitioned from homeowners to tenants of Arab landlords. This shifting economic reality has created a practical necessity for Kurds to learn Arabic to navigate the housing and job markets.

Sixth: The lack of a cohesive language policy is most visible in the "civilizational facade" of the country: public signage and advertisements. In the KRI, there is a disturbing lack of regulation regarding the signage of shops, companies, and institutions. These signs often feature substandard Kurdish with grammatical errors, or they exclude Kurdish entirely in favor of Arabic or English. This linguistic marginalization is even more prevalent in restaurant menus, where Kurdish is frequently omitted under the pretext that the majority of their clientele are non-Kurdish.

Method II: Bottom-Up Linguicide

In this model, the marginalized language becomes restricted solely to religious ceremonies, literary expressions, and folk music

or celebrations[15]. While the language lacks official recognition, it persists at the grassroots level exclusively for cultural and ritualistic purposes. This phenomenon is evident in Northern (Bakur) and Eastern (Rojhelat) Kurdistan. In these regions, Kurdish is not an official language, and the medium of instruction in education is strictly Turkish or Persian. What remains of the language is confined to a limited literary sphere and niche book publishing. However, when this method coincides with the first method, where the second language is imposed through market pressures and the educational system, the durability of the mother tongue significantly diminishes. In such cases, this method ultimately converges with Method I (Gradual Linguicide).

Method III: Top-Down Linguicide

This form of linguicide occurs when the language is abandoned or prohibited at the institutional and elite levels ("the top"), yet continues to be spoken informally by the general populace ("the bottom")[16]. This pattern is also prevalent in various parts of Kurdistan, particularly in the North and East. Although the Kurdish language is prohibited by the state at the official level, the public continues to use it in informal settings. Nevertheless, under the dual pressure of mandatory second-language acquisition and economic necessity, the daily use of the mother tongue becomes increasingly restricted. Over generations, this erosion leads to "language death." Ultimately, this process also aligns with the trajectory of Method I.

15 Campbell, L. and Muntzel, M.C., 1989. The Structural Consequences of Language Death.‖ In Investigating Obsolescence, edited by Nancy Dorian, 181–196. P.185.

16 Bousquette, J. and Putnam, M.T., 2020. Redefining language death: Evidence from moribund grammars. Language Learning, 70, pp.188-225.

Method IV: Radical Linguicide

Radical linguicide occurs when all speakers of a language simultaneously cease using their mother tongue, often due to severe threats, systemic oppression, or colonial occupation[17],[18]. This is the precarious situation currently facing Kurds in Northern Kurdistan (Bakur), as well as those residing in major Turkish, Persian, or Arabic-speaking metropolitan areas. Statistics indicate that this process has already surpassed half of the Kurdish-speaking population in Northern Kurdistan, leading to the functional disappearance of the language among them. All previously mentioned methods synergistically contribute to this ultimate linguistic collapse.

Method V: Sudden Language Death (Linguistic Genocide or Biological Extinction)

This method refers to the total and immediate disappearance of a language, occurring when its entire speaking population is annihilated through mass killings or catastrophic events[19].

While the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide does not explicitly reference linguicide or the prohibition of language, Article II, Section (b) which cites "causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group[20]", can be interpreted to encompass linguistic suppression. The prohibition

17 Crystal, D., 2002. Language death. Cambridge University Press.

18 Sasse, H.J., 1992. Theory of language death. Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 64, pp.7-7.

19 Bednarowicz, S., 17. BEFORE AND AFTER LINGUICIDE: A LINGUISTIC ASPECT OF THE SAYFO. Sayfo 1915, p.365.

20 Lippman, M., 1998. The convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide: fifty years later. Ariz. J. Int'l & Comp. L., 15, p.415.

of a mother tongue inflicts profound damage on the educational and developmental processes, ultimately harming the cognitive faculties and consciousness of children.

Extensive scientific research confirms that mother-tongue instruction is a primary factor in knowledge acquisition and educational quality, significantly enhancing academic performance[21]. In this context, Nelson Mandela famously stated: *"If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart.* [22] *"*

Method VI: Language Attrition in the Diaspora

Language Attrition refers to the progressive loss of the mother tongue 'or primary language' within the context of the diaspora. This phenomenon occurs due to prolonged isolation from a native-speaking community and the acquisition of a dominant second language, which eventually impairs the individual's ability to correctly produce and comprehend their first language[23].

This process is most prevalent among immigrants who, upon relocating to a new country, undergo rapid assimilation into the majority culture. In contrast, many Turkish and Moroccan immigrant communities have successfully preserved their native languages by clustering in specific enclaves or "ghettos" on the peripheries of major cities. This preservation is deeply rooted in a nationalist spirit, where religion acts as a tool for self-segregation

21 Nishanthi, R., 2020. Understanding of the importance of mother tongue learning. International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development (IJTSRD), 5(1), pp.77-80.
22 Ibid.
23 Schmid, M.S. and Köpke, B., 2007. Bilingualism and attrition. Language attrition: Theoretical perspectives, 33, pp.1-7.

through the establishment of religious and cultural centres. These institutions are often subsidized by their home states to maintain these communities as political lobbies and pressure groups.

Conversely, Kurds in the diaspora 'particularly those from Northern Kurdistan' often function as appendages to these dominant immigrant communities. The nature of Kurdish migration is characterized by extreme fragmentation; Kurds are not only dispersed across cities and towns but also tend to avoid close proximity to one another. Furthermore, Kurds frequently integrate into the religious and cultural institutions of the dominant nations (the occupiers of their homeland) rather than establishing their own independent spheres. This lack of communal cohesion accelerates the process of language attrition, as the mother tongue loses its social and institutional utility.

The Nation-State and Linguicide

Following World War I and the subsequent partition of Ottoman Kurdistan, the dominant nation-states have played 'and continue to play' a devastating role in the suppression of the Kurdish language. This phenomenon is directly linked to the theory of the "Civilizing Process," specifically the "Civilizing Offensive" discussed previously. The states among which Kurdistan was divided have implemented policies of cultural centralization on multiple levels. While Arab-centrism became the dominant paradigm in Iraq and Syria, Turko-centrism prevailed in Turkey under the exclusionary slogan, "Turkey for the Turks[24],[25]." From

24 Kieser, H.L. ed., 2013. Turkey beyond nationalism: Towards post-nationalist identities. Bloomsbury Publishing.P.XI.

25 Üngör, U.Ü., 2011. "Turkey for the Turks": Demographic Engineering in Eastern Anatolia,

the outset, this ideology was systematically imposed through various frameworks, encapsulated by the mantra: "One Flag, One Language, One Nation."

In this regard, Uğur Ümit Üngör, in his work *The Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, argues that in the era of nationalism and the nation-state, demographic engineering has become synonymous with the coercive imposition of ethnic, religious, economic, and cultural hegemony—or, in other words, the hegemony of identity[26].

Within the framework of the "civilizing process," nation-states in the Middle East 'lacking organic legitimacy' exercise hegemony over territories where they recognize the Kurdish population as the demographic majority. Consequently, Kurdish issues and demands are perpetually securitized; any expression of ethnic or cultural distinctiveness is perceived as a direct threat to national security. This stems from a pervasive ethnocentrism and the inherent nature of the nation-state model, which struggles to accommodate pluralism. Since their inception, these states have been characterized by a fabricated, singular identity. It remains evident that Syria and Iraq maintain an explicitly Arab identity, gaining international recognition as "Arab States." Accordingly, Kurds within the borders of what is now the Iraqi nation-state have been subjected to various policies of genocide and linguistic discrimination from the Ottoman era until the 1991 uprising[27].

1914–1945. na.

26 Suny, R.G., Göçek, F.M. and Naimark, N.M. eds., 2011. A question of genocide: Armenians and Turks at the end of the Ottoman Empire. Oxford University Press. P. 288.

27 Salih, K., 2019. Kurdish Linguicide in the "Saddamist" State. Genocide Studies Interna-

Similarly, the modern Iranian state has effectively become synonymous with the Persian nation. The label "Iranian" often functions as a cognitive proxy for "Persian" in both domestic and international contexts. In practice, Iran has not only prohibited the Kurdish language within official and educational institutions but has also prioritized the "Iranian identity" as a pan-identity designed to supersede all other ethnic affiliations. This strategy seeks to dissolve distinct ethnic identities into a centralized, state-mandated national persona.

In the context of Turkey, both linguistic policy and the forced imposition of a "Turkic" identity have assumed alarming dimensions. The "civilizing offensive", manifested through the mandatory imposition of the Turkish language and the chauvinistic slogan, *"How happy is the one who says I am a Turk"* (*Ne mutlu Türküm diyene*), serves as a primary instrument for constructing a Pan-Turkic state. Here, the nation-state undergoes a metamorphosis; it ceases to be a functional instrument of governance and instead becomes an ultimate objective, an expansive prison for Kurdish citizens, ethnic minorities, and diverse religious groups. It is noteworthy that even the nomenclature "Turkey" itself reflects a racialized exclusivity that fails to encompass the diverse demographic reality of the land.

Consequently, the nation-state model in the Middle East maintains a direct correlation with linguistic genocide. Any nation relegated to the periphery of this model faces a destiny of systematic erasure and eventual extinction. The Kurdish people,

tional, 13(1), pp.34-51.

subjected to this radical "civilizing offensive" and linguicide, face threats that transcend language to include physical, cultural, and demographic dimensions. Thus, as long as the Kurdish nation remains without its own sovereign state, it will persist in a state of perpetual marginalization. Whenever the dominant nation-state finds the geopolitical climate favourable, the implementation of genocidal policies remains a distinct and potent possibility, often justified under the pretexts of national integrity and the preservation of territorial unity.

Conclusion

In summary, this discussion delineates the multifaceted existential threats confronting the Kurdish language. A hostile "civilizing offensive," orchestrated under the guise of state-mandated "language policy," is being overtly executed by the four nation-states—Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria—among which Kurdistan remains partitioned. For a full century, these policies have manifested in various forms. While segments of the Kurdish population across all regions have demonstrated remarkable resilience in resisting these measures, such endurance is not infinitely sustainable. Survival necessitates a fundamental shift in the Kurdish strategic worldview, positioning the establishment of a sovereign state as a primary objective. It is an axiom of political sociology that any nation remaining on the periphery of the nation-state model becomes a target for systematic erasure over time.

This paper has identified the diverse methodologies employed to achieve linguicide. The most potent of these is the forced

acquisition of the dominant nation's language—a language that holds exclusive status in official administration, commerce, and education. Consequently, the mother tongue is relegated to the margins of social utility; its qualitative richness progressively erodes until, across successive generations, it is eventually forgotten and extinguished.

THE KURDISH LANGUAGE IN THE PROCESSES OF THE MINORITIZATION OF THE KURDS AND THE SECURITIZATION OF THE KURDISH QUESTION

Sherko Kirmanj, PhD

Introduction

The Treaty of Lausanne not only prevented the establishment of an autonomous region in Northern Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Turkey) and the anticipated Kurdish state in the northern and southern parts of Kurdistan, but also formally partitioned Ottoman Kurdistan among three newly established states—Turkey, Iraq, and Syria—thereby excluding the Kurdish nation from the right to statehood, in contrast to other nations of the region. The Kurds of Eastern Kurdistan (Iranian Kurds), whose territories had fallen under Safavid Empire rule in 1514 following the Battle of Chaldiran between the Safavids and the Ottomans, were likewise denied statehood after the rise of the Qajar dynasty and the establishment of modern Iran in 1921.

In the absence of a state, the Kurdish people across all four parts of Kurdistan were deprived of their right to self-determination and sovereignty. Consequently, the Kurds were minoritized, and the Kurdish question was securitized—constituting the framework of the Kurdish question in the modern Middle East broadly. Within this context, the Kurdish language has served as a central focal point in both the processes of Kurdish minoritization and the securitization of the Kurdish question, having been subjected to prohibition and systematic marginalization.

The persistent suppression and prohibition of the Kurdish language stem from the belief that eradicating the Kurdish language would facilitate the assimilation of the Kurdish nation itself within the melting pot of the four newly formed states (Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria). In this study, we examine the processes of Kurdish minoritization and the securitization of the Kurdish question since

the early twentieth century in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, with particular emphasis on the Kurdish language as a central axis of both processes. Initially, we briefly outline the instruments and mechanisms underpinning these two processes—minoritization and securitization—and begin with the process of Kurdish minoritization.

Minoritization as a Concept

In order to understand the condition of minority status and the minoritization of the Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria, revisiting the concepts of minority and minoritization is of particular importance—both for conceptual clarity and for employing them as a conceptual framework and analytical perspective for examining the issue, the process, and its consequences.

The concept of minority refers primarily to national or religious groups living within or alongside another national or religious group whose population is numerically larger. In this sense, number, size, and proportion constitute the criteria of minority status—for example: Sunnis in Iraq, Alawites in Syria, Azerbaijanis in Iran, or Kurds in Syria.

By contrast, minoritization does not rest upon population size, proportion, or numerical presence. Rather, it is grounded in the political, economic, social, linguistic, psychological, and identity-based position of a group within political units such as states.

Minority status, therefore, does not necessarily mean numerical inferiority. Before anything else, minority status is the result of minoritization within political entities such as nation-states, often produced through state-building processes led by dominant

nations or groups. Just as minority status is not inherently related to numbers, the dominance of groups is likewise not dependent on demographic majority. A dominant nation does not necessarily constitute the numerical majority. For example, the dominance of Sunni Arabs in Iraq (1921–2003) and that of Persians in Iran (1925–present). Neither Sunni Arabs in Iraq nor Persians in Iran have ever constituted an absolute demographic majority in their respective states.

We understand minoritization as the condition in which a group occupies a weaker and subordinate position—nationally, religiously, politically, linguistically, socially, economically, culturally, legally, and psychologically—relative to other groups, to the extent that remaining in such a position may eventually lead to its assimilation or even disappearance. Understanding minoritization requires attention to power relations. Power is connected less to numbers than to structure.

The number of British officials who governed hundreds of millions of Indians during the early twentieth century did not exceed a few thousand. Yet the British were dominant, while Indians were minoritized. The position of dominance granted to the British derived from the power of the United Kingdom and the military and technological capabilities it deployed in India. A similar phenomenon appeared in South Africa, where white populations—though numerically a minority—dominated the black majority.

Thus, Indians in India and black South Africans were not minorities in a numerical sense; rather, they were minoritized. Their political, cultural, and linguistic positions were diminished,

ridiculed, or marginalized.

To state it more clearly: minority and majority status depend less on numbers and more on how state institutions treat and rank nations and groups. Even if minority and majority are defined numerically, minoritization remains a distinct phenomenon: the systematic marginalization and devaluation of an ethnic, national, religious, sectarian, or social group in political, economic, social, linguistic, and cultural domains.

In other words, minority status is not a natural or objective condition; rather, it is the outcome of power relations that render one group dominant and another subordinate—one sovereign and the other servile. Inequality and asymmetry thus constitute the essence of minoritization. We employ this understanding as an analytical lens to examine the minoritization of the Kurds and the elevation of Turks, Persians, and Arabs by the states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

The Kurdish Language and the Minoritization of the Kurds in the Four States

Before the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic of Turkey, described the Kurds as "guests" on "Turkish soil." Kurdish identity in Atatürk's discourse was portrayed as the mentality of backward and ignorant people manipulated by foreign powers. As he and his successors repeatedly emphasized, Kurds possessed no rights except obedience to the "owner of the house," namely the Turks.

From that period onward, the systematic minoritization of the Kurds deepened year by year, to the extent that Turks were

accepted as masters while Kurds were reduced to a people stripped of their national identity, language, and culture. Since the early decades of the twentieth century, every morning Kurdish children in Turkey have been compelled—willingly or unwillingly—to repeat in Turkish the slogan "I am a Turk," implicitly meaning "I am not a Kurd." In addition, Kurds throughout Turkey have been confronted daily with the slogan "Happy is the one who says I am a Turk."

Kurdish history and lineage were distorted; Kurds were reclassified as "Turanians" and described as "Mountain Turks." At every level it was claimed that Kurds were authentic Turks who had merely forgotten their language and identity. This was not merely ideological propaganda by Turkish nationalist elites; official state institutions—including courts and the judiciary—formally endorsed such interpretations.

Kurds were portrayed as ignorant, uncivilized, religious, and backward. From the state's perspective they had to be transformed into modern, secular, and civilized Turks. Accordingly, the Kurdish language was ridiculed and dismissed as inauthentic—a collection of borrowed words, most allegedly derived from Turkish, with some from Arabic or Persian. Kurds were said to possess neither history nor culture nor tradition.

After the rise to power of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2001, debates emerged regarding whether the constitutional term should refer to "Turkish" (as citizenship) or "Turk" (as an ethnic designation). However, constitutional amendments in 2017 retained the ethnic term "Turk." Thus both twentieth- and twenty-first-century constitutions unequivocally

state: “A child of a Turkish father or a Turkish mother is a Turk.” Accordingly, every Kurdish child born as a citizen of Turkey becomes automatically categorized as a Turk in ethnic and national terms.

Under the same constitutional framework, only Turks—not merely citizens of Turkey—are eligible for parliamentary membership. Turkish remains the sole language of education and instruction, and according to Article 301 the use of other languages in official contexts has been criminalized. Consequently, schools have functioned as institutions for the formal elimination of differences, particularly the Kurdish language.

The Kurds of Syria were not only minoritized by Arab nationalists but were also placed within minority status from the very establishment of the Syrian state by the French in 1920. French authorities did not recognize Kurds as a national group; following the precedent established at Lausanne, communities in Syria were categorized primarily according to religion. Thus Kurds were treated as Muslims rather than as Kurds.

After Arab nationalist—particularly Baʿathist—rule came to power, Syrian Kurds became the “forgotten Kurds.” While Kurds were minoritized by the Syrian state, they were also largely neglected by the international community and even by Kurds in other parts of Kurdistan. Kurds were labeled “foreigners,” “guests,” or “unregistered.” Many were denied Syrian citizenship and continue to be treated as stateless residents.

The 2012 Syrian constitution, like its predecessors, not only fails to recognize the Kurds and their language but subsumes them under the Arab nation, assigning them the role of preserving

the unity of Arab territory and identity. Arab identity—implicitly rejecting Kurdish identity and language—is embedded in the very name of the state: the Syrian Arab Republic. While the constitution acknowledges various cultural, sectarian, and ethnic differences, it excludes national and linguistic diversity, thereby denying Kurdish identity and potentially facilitating its erasure.

Although modernization processes began in the mid-nineteenth century in both the Qajar state of Iran and the Ottoman Empire, their political and social implementation took place only after Reza Shah in Iran and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey assumed power. In Iran the modernization project affected both Persian and non-Persian cultures; however, because Persian culture enjoyed state support and elevation, its transformation largely took the form of adaptation and renewal. For subordinated nations such as the Kurds, by contrast, modernization posed a threat to their language and culture.

For example, when the state declared Persian the official language of administration, education, and communication, Persian flourished while Kurdish diminished. Persian identity became primary, while Kurdish identity was relegated to a secondary status. Reza Shah's policies of cultural standardization and the dominance of Persian gradually weakened Kurdish language and culture.

These standardization policies expanded beyond language and education to encompass culture and history, further weakening Kurdish identity while consolidating Persian linguistic and cultural dominance. During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979), modernization continued more intensively, and its impact on Kurdish language and culture persisted.

The 1906 constitution of the Qajar period—amended in 1907 and effective until the fall of Mohammad Reza Shah in 1979—did not specify an official language. After the revolution that overthrew the monarchy, the Islamic Republic of Iran adopted a new constitution in 1979, later amended in 1989. This constitution recognized Persian as the sole official and communicative language.

While it permits the teaching of Arabic—because Arabic is the language of the Qur'an—it clearly prohibits the use of other languages as official languages or as languages of education. Consequently, Kurdish language, culture, and identity have been marginalized and minoritized.

Politically, the situation of Iranian Kurds has also been weakened by the fact that most of them are Sunni Muslims. All Iranian constitutions recognize Shiʿism as the official religion of the state. Moreover, the positions of Supreme Leader and President are constitutionally restricted to Shiʿa Muslims. This arrangement not only reduces the religious status of many Kurds but also relegates them politically to second-class status.

The condition of the Kurds in Iraq historically resembled that of the Kurds in Iran more than that of Kurds in Turkey or Syria. Kurds in Iraq were not only recognized as a community but, from the very beginning of the incorporation of Southern Kurdistan (the Mosul Vilayet) into the newly established Iraqi state, certain cultural and linguistic rights were granted to them. Kurdish was not recognized as an official state language, yet Kurdish-language education existed in many areas, and several Kurdish newspapers and journals were permitted.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that Kurds were not minoritized

during the monarchy. The first Iraqi constitution of 1925 made no reference to Kurds or their rights, including linguistic rights.

Following the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of Abdul Karim Qasim in 1958, the constitution recognized Kurds as partners of Arabs in the Iraqi state. This recognition generated among Kurds the sense that they were no longer a minority but a national group. However, because this constitutional provision was only partially implemented, national tensions intensified and the Kurdish position gradually weakened—especially when Kurds perceived that the government was avoiding recognition of Kurdistan and creating disputes over its territory and boundaries.

Simultaneously, Arab nationalist elites began to question Kurdish origins and portray some Kurds as Arabs. Conflict, war, and confrontation ensued and have continued, to varying degrees, to the present.

After Arab nationalist forces overthrew Qasim in 1963—viewing Kurds, like their Syrian counterparts, as an obstacle to Arab unity—policies of Arabization, displacement, and depopulation intensified. The constitutional recognition of Arab-Kurdish partnership was abolished. Even symbolic recognitions of Kurds in the state flag and emblem were removed.

During the republican period, one of the most significant factors in Kurdish minoritization was the characterization of Iraq and its people as "part of the Arab nation," a principle emphasized in the constitutions of 1958–1963, 1964–1968, and 1968–2003. For Kurds in Iraq and Syria this formulation not only denied Kurdistan but also erased Kurdish identity itself.

With the rise of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in 1968, Arabization policies intensified further, accompanied by the personalization of Iraqi identity around Saddam Hussein and by the Sunni-dominated restructuring of state institutions. Despite limited constitutional recognition of the Kurdish nation and some Kurdish-language education in Kurdish regions, these rights were restricted in 1975 to the autonomous region—which encompassed only about 60 percent of Kurdish-inhabited areas in Iraq.

Simultaneously, Arabization, forced displacement, and the destruction of Kurdish villages—especially in oil-rich and border regions—expanded and continued until the fall of the Baʿathist regime in 2003.

The collapse of the Baʿath regime opened a new phase in the life of Iraqi Kurds, whose origins lie in the Kurdish uprising of spring 1991 following Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. Since that time, Kurds within the territory of the Kurdistan Region—formally recognized in the Iraqi constitution of 2005—have exercised considerable autonomy and authority in many spheres. This autonomy has significantly reduced their minoritization.

Nevertheless, Arabization and the displacement of Kurds in territories outside the Kurdistan Region have continued, particularly after the failure of the 2017 referendum. In these areas Kurds remain marginalized and vulnerable.

The project of rewriting history has been particularly pronounced in Iraq and Turkey. The histories not only of Turks and Arabs but also of the entire region were rewritten from chauvinistic Turkish and Arab perspectives. In Iraq, the objective was the Arabization

and "Saddamization" of Mesopotamian civilization, elevating the position of Arabs while diminishing that of Kurds.

This interpretation was incorporated into school textbooks during the 1970s. Arab migrants from the Arabian Peninsula to Iraq were described as "internal migrations," whereas the arrival of the Gutians and Medes (ancestors of the Kurds) was presented as "external migration." The former were characterized as "authentic" and "liberators," while the latter were labeled "invaders," "barbarians," and "uncivilized."

In Turkey, the rewriting of history transformed Anatolia into the homeland of the Turks. Turkish ancestry was traced back to the Hittites in order to convert parts of Kurdish homeland into Turkish territory. Turkish lineage was portrayed as the mother of all lineages and Turkish as the origin of all languages. In this narrative Kurds became guests in their own homeland, and Turkish the "mother" of Kurdish language—effectively stripping Kurds of both language and homeland.

In the following sections we turn to the securitization of the Kurdish question. It should be noted, however, that minoritization and securitization are not separate processes but parallel and mutually reinforcing ones. Indeed, every effort to minoritize the Kurds has entailed securitizing the Kurdish question, and every attempt to securitize the Kurdish question has, to varying degrees, produced the minoritization of the Kurds.

The Securitization of the Kurdish Question in the Four States

After the division of Kurdistan and its nation among four states, the ruling political elites in those countries—together with segments of the intellectual elites—have portrayed the Kurdish question and

Kurdish rights as a threat to the Arab, Persian, and Turkish nations and to the "territorial integrity" of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. This phenomenon corresponds to what in international relations is known as securitization.

After the end of the Cold War in 1991, a new understanding of security questions began to emerge in international relations. This later developed into the theory of securitization by the Copenhagen School. According to a group of theorists of that school, including Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, security issues are not "given" realities that inherently exist as such. Rather, they become security issues when they are presented and framed as such by securitizing actors.

For example, migration from Latin America to the United States has been portrayed by U.S. President Donald Trump and others as a threat to American identity and values, accompanied by proposals such as building a wall. In this way, what is originally a socio-economic and migration issue is transformed into a political and security issue. In other words, issues are not necessarily security problems in themselves; they become security problems when securitizing actors (for example, state authorities and political elites) label, portray, and present them as security concerns.

Alongside securitizing actors, securitization involves four additional elements that together complete the securitization of an issue.

The first is functional actors. These actors influence the dynamics of the security field but are not themselves securitizing actors. Rather, they facilitate and enable securitization processes—for instance by helping divide society into "us" and "them." Media

institutions, academia, researchers, and think tanks are considered functional actors.

The second element is the speech act. This emerges when authorities emphasize and frame an issue in order to convince the public to politicize and securitize it. According to this theory, words do not merely describe "realities"; they attempt to produce "realities" so as to mobilize the targeted audience. For example, when the Peshmerga are labeled as bandits or when guerrillas are labeled as terrorists, these labels are not merely descriptions; they attempt to construct a reality—even if it is false—that the Peshmerga are bandits or guerrillas are terrorists, thereby encouraging people to oppose them.

The third element is the audience. The audience consists of the people—the members of society. They are a crucial element in securitization because unless the public is convinced that an issue poses a threat, the state cannot treat it as a security matter or adopt extraordinary measures such as the use of force, military operations, killing, or deportation. If the audience is not persuaded, securitization fails.

The fourth element is action. Securitizing actors—namely the state or ruling authorities—first securitize an issue. They then attempt, through official discourse and language, to legitimize it and portray it as an existential threat. Subsequently, they implement practical measures against the "threat," such as arrest, killing, erasure, displacement, deportation, and eventually even linguistic destruction or genocide.

All four states—Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria—have applied the elements of securitization theory in their treatment of the Kurds,

both in discourse and in practice. From the production of narratives and texts to legislation, regulations, and concrete policies, these states have securitized the Kurdish question and confronted the Kurdish/Kurdistani national liberation movement accordingly. The following sections discuss this issue in the case of Kurdistan in each of its four parts.

For the past hundred years, governments and political elites in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria have produced a discourse that portrays the existence of the Kurds and Kurdistan as a threat to those states. Kurdish rights are framed merely as Kurdish "demands," while the right to self-determination is labeled "separatism." This narrative implies that it is not the four states that deny Kurdish rights, but rather that the Kurds themselves are responsible for "dividing states." Thus, the Kurds are portrayed as the guilty party while the state appears as the victim.

Borders are not natural or divinely given entities that have existed since eternity. The borders of the four states are less than a century old, yet they have been sanctified as if they were predetermined from the heavens and placed beyond debate, reconsideration, or criticism. In other words, the existence of the Kurds in general—and Kurdish rights in particular—has been portrayed as a threat to national unity and territorial integrity. This has led directly to the securitization of the Kurdish question.

After Lebanon separated from Syria at the end of the French Mandate in 1946, any Kurdish demand for autonomy or cultural and linguistic rights in Syria was framed as a similar act of separatism. More dangerously, after the establishment of Israel and the Arab

defeats in the wars of 1948 and 1967, Kurdish rights were not only portrayed as separatism but also as betrayal.

While the goals of Arab nationalists to unify Arab lands and nations were sanctified, Kurdish identity and Kurdish rights were placed in the category of treason. The dominant elites in Iraq shared this perspective with Syria, especially considering that Baathists and Arab nationalists ruled Syria until today and ruled Iraq until 2003. Both governments portrayed Kurdistan as a "second Israel" and mobilized Arab public opinion against it.

Arab nationalists rejected multiculturalism and multilingualism and viewed the existence of any other nation or language as a threat to Arab national unity and territory. At the same time, they portrayed the Kurds of Syria and Iraq as an inauthentic group or as guests in those countries, and therefore implemented harsh policies aimed at eradicating them.

In the 1960s, the Syrian government conducted a census to distinguish "authentic" Kurds from so-called "guests." The census was carried out abruptly in a single day, and many people either did not participate or lacked the necessary documents to prove residence in Kurdish areas before 1945. In those times many people did not possess documentation, did not preserve it, or avoided the census to evade military service. As a result, a large number of Syrian Kurds were registered as "foreigners," "Turkish," or simply "without documents." This not only reduced their demographic presence but stripped them of legal existence, turning them into stateless persons.

In 1963, Syria declared emergency laws that formally remained in force until 2011 and informally continue to influence governance.

Under these laws any dissenting voice could be suppressed as a threat to Syrian territorial unity and the Arab nation. The Kurdish question became one of the securitized issues: Kurdish language and culture were banned, Kurdish parties and organizations were closed, and Kurdish place names were Arabized—for example, Kobani was renamed "Ayn al-Arab."

During that period, a report by a Syrian military officer described the Kurds as a "tumor" that must be uprooted. In the 1970s the state implemented the report's recommendations through policies widely known as the Arab Belt (al-Hizam al-Arabi). This policy involved relocating Kurds and settling Arabs in strategic and border regions, primarily to separate the Kurds of Syria from the Kurds of Turkey. Although the policy continues in different forms today, the current Turkish state has taken on this role. The occupations of Afrin, Jarablus, Serê Kaniyê, and Girê Spî, together with the expulsion of Kurds and the settlement of displaced Syrian Arabs by Turkey in those regions, represent a continuation of the same policy and objectives that the Syrian state had previously pursued.

Like in Syria, Arabization in Iraq stemmed from mistrust toward the Kurds and from viewing them as a threat—especially in areas with dense Kurdish populations or those designated as strategic by the state. Although the process began during the monarchy, it became systematic under Arab nationalists in the 1960s and reached its peak under the Baath Party in the 1970s.

In 1963, seventy Kurdish villages were burned. Men were immediately executed in the villages or imprisoned, while women were displaced to cities. Arabs were settled in place of the Kurds. Simultaneously, according to a planned program, the state

questioned the ancestry of Kurds and fabricated Arab origins for them.

In 1975, 660 villages across Kurdistan were Arabized, and many neighborhoods were built in Kirkuk and surrounding areas to house the Arabs who were brought to the city in large numbers. At the same time, Kurdish migration to Kirkuk was legally prohibited. In 1978, about 600,000 Kurds from the border regions with Iran, Turkey, and Syria were relocated to a depth of 20 kilometers and their villages destroyed.

Overall, between 1963 and 2003 nearly 36,000 square kilometers—about 42% of Kurdish-inhabited areas—were affected by Arabization policies. At the same time, thousands of Feyli Kurds were rendered homeless, and hundreds of thousands were forcibly expelled from Iraq to Iran.

In 1987, as preparation for the Anfal campaigns, the government destroyed 703 villages and towns in areas under its control. During the Anfal operations in 1988, not only villages but the Kurds themselves as a nation were targeted. Within seven months the government committed genocide against more than 182,000 Kurdish civilians, many of whom were women and children.

In the same campaign, nearly 1.5 million Kurdish civilians were expelled from their ancestral lands, their villages were destroyed, and they were relocated to forced collective settlements. As a result, not a single intact village remained in southern Kurdistan.

Following the collapse of the regime of Saddam Hussein and the end of Baʿathist rule, the understanding of the Kurdish question among the Iraqi political elite underwent significant transformation. However, regarding the issues of Arabization and the territorial

identity of Kurdistan, little substantive change has occurred. The Constitution of Iraq calls for the return of the Arab settlers who had been brought into Kurdish regions and the repatriation of displaced Kurds through a process described as normalization. Following this process, the constitution also calls for the determination of the borders of Kurdistan within the framework of Iraq through a referendum.

Yet, after the passage of twenty one years, not only have the Arab settlers not been returned, and the displaced Kurds not been restored to their homes, but in many cases more Arabs have been settled in these areas while additional Kurds have been displaced. The disputes between the federal government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government following the 2017 Kurdistan independence referendum further demonstrate that many Iraqi actors recognize only those borders for Kurdistan that were drawn by Saddam Hussein and the Baʿathist regime in 1991—borders that effectively excluded Kurdistan from several of the region's most resource-rich territories, particularly those containing significant oil reserves.

This situation indicates that although Iraq has, in comparison with the other states governing Kurdish territories, taken significant steps toward recognizing Kurdish political, cultural, and linguistic rights, issues related to territorial identity and boundaries are still viewed as threats to the territorial integrity of Iraq.

Slogans such as "one nation," "one language," and "one flag" have been promoted with great intensity since the establishment of the modern Turkish state and continue to be emphasized to the present day. Within this framework, discussing the existence of any other

national group, using any language other than Turkish, or raising any flag other than the Turkish flag has been formally prohibited under the constitution of Turkey and treated as a matter of security.

Thousands of individuals have been imprisoned merely for using the Kurdish language in public spaces. One notable example is Leyla Zana, a member of the Turkish parliament, who was sentenced to ten years in prison after she concluded her parliamentary oath with a brief statement in Kurdish expressing the hope for brotherhood between Kurds and Turks. She was accused of disseminating separatist propaganda.

During the 1990s, Turgut Özal—whose mother was of Kurdish origin—authorized limited use of the Kurdish language. Nevertheless, even today speaking or singing in Kurdish continues to be portrayed within the official discourse of the state and the dominant intellectual elite as a threat to national unity and territorial integrity. For example, pro-Kurdish political parties are required to conduct their campaigns in Turkish. To this day, not a single Kurdish-language school has been officially authorized within the public education system.

The significant demographic presence of Kurds in Northern Kurdistan—referred to by the Turkish state as southeastern Turkey—has long been perceived as a threat to the territorial unity of the country. Consequently, policies of population transfer were implemented. Beginning in 1934, Kurds were relocated from the eastern and southeastern regions to other parts of Turkey, while ethnic Turks were settled in Kurdish areas.

These policies were formally and systematically initiated through the Settlement Law of 1934. Importantly, this policy was

implemented after the suppression of Kurdish uprisings of that period and fully fifty years before the Kurdistan Workers' Party announced the beginning of its armed struggle. This indicates that not only Kurdish political and armed movements, but the very existence of the Kurds and their language, were perceived as threats and thus securitized.

Even more striking is the fact that these forced population transfers were justified under the discourse of civilization, that is, as part of a project aimed at "civilizing" the Kurds. In reality, however, the objective of these policies was the uprooting of Kurdish culture and the gradual disappearance of the Kurdish language. Families were deliberately separated during relocation. For example, two brothers, or even a father and son from the same family, were not relocated to the same village or city. The aim was to dismantle Kurdish social networks so that Kurds would be unable to communicate in their own language and could more easily be assimilated.

The approach of the Iranian state toward the Kurdish question can be divided into two distinct phases. The first phase corresponds to the reigns of Reza Shah (1925–1941) and Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979). During this period, particularly under Reza Shah, all forms of ethnic difference were systematically ignored or denied. As part of a broader modernization project, the state sought to construct a homogeneous society in which all differences would be absorbed into the dominant Persian nation, culture, and language.

Influenced by his admiration for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and by the Turkish model of nation-building, Reza Shah viewed ethnic

diversity as a threat to the unity of the so called Iranian nation and state, and his policies toward minority groups were shaped accordingly.

During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, the political environment became somewhat more open for the various national and ethnic groups of Iran, including the Kurds. Nevertheless, the state's emphasis on the Persianization of Iranian identity remained largely unchanged.

The second phase began with the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979 and continues to the present day. Although the constitution of the Islamic Republic—unlike that of the previous period—formally recognizes ethnic and religious diversity, it nevertheless recognizes only Persian as the official language and the sole language of education.

The state views ethnic diversity primarily through a security lens and perceives it as a threat in two principal respects. First, it is considered a challenge to the political order that the Islamic Republic seeks to establish and maintain in the Middle East. Second, it is regarded as a threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

This perspective helps explain the actions of Ruhollah Khomeini during the early days of the Islamic Republic. Among these were the issuance of a religious decree calling for war against the Kurdish population in eastern Kurdistan, the rejection of all political parties except the so-called Party of God, and campaigns aimed at "cleansing" Kurdistan of those whom he labeled "devils."

The prosecution of Zara Mohammadi, a Kurdish woman from Sanandaj, in 2021 further illustrates the securitization of the

Kurdish question in Iran. She was accused of threatening Iran's national security and sentenced to ten years in prison merely for establishing an organization to collect assistance for victims of the earthquakes in Kermanshah and Lorestan while also voluntarily teaching Kurdish—the mother tongue—to Kurdish children.

All of these examples demonstrate that the Iranian state has transformed the Kurdish question into a matter of national security and treats both the Kurdish people and Kurdistan accordingly. When a volunteer attempts to teach Kurdish children their mother tongue, she is portrayed as a threat to the territorial unity and national sovereignty of Iran and sentenced to ten years of imprisonment.

Conclusion

In summary, over the past century the Kurds across all four states have been systematically deprived of their homeland, reduced to subordinate status, portrayed as backward or tribal, treated as guests in their own land, denied identity documentation, excluded from official registration, rendered stateless, and depicted as foreigners.

The Kurdish language has not been officially recognized—and in many cases has been outright prohibited—while other dominant languages have been imposed upon Kurdish populations. Kurds have frequently been categorized as part of the Arab, Turkish, or Persian nations rather than acknowledged as a distinct people.

These policies, along with numerous other mechanisms and practices—some of which have been discussed above—have resulted in the marginalization of the Kurds and the erosion of their language, culture, and identity.

Similarly, in the process of securitizing the Kurdish question,

all four states have used delegitimizing and criminalizing terminology against Kurdish actors—whether armed groups or civil organizations—in order to deny the legitimacy of Kurdish demands. For instance: Iran has labeled Kurdish actors as counter-revolutionaries; Syria and Iraq have described them as agents, saboteurs, rebels, or even a "second Israel"; Turkey has labeled them terrorists or separatists.

As a justification for genocide and military aggression, Kurds have also been portrayed as the "other": infidels, non-Muslims, or even less than human. Military campaigns have often been given Islamic names such as "conquest," "Anfal," or "holy war."

In this way, the Kurdish question has been securitized in all four states, and Turkish, Arab, and Persian populations have been mobilized and incited against Kurdish rights—particularly linguistic rights. Over the past century, the governments of these four states have employed every possible mechanism and instrument to confront the Kurds and erase their language, culture, and identity—from banning the Kurdish language to implementing ethnic cleansing and genocide.

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THE WORD (PÎR) IN ANCIENT KURDISH LANGUAGES

Mahdi Kakei, PhD.

The word “pîr” in Kurdish and ancient Aryan languages means “elderly”, “wise”, “leader” and “religious spiritual guide”. Because Kurdistan is the source of Kurdistani (Indo-European) languages and a land of ancient cultural and language exchange, the etymological study of words in the Zagros region is related to Sumerian, Hori and Hittite languages, which are parts of Kurdish languages. In this article, we are studying the word (pîr) in ancient Kurdish languages and compare them with modern Kurdish.

1. Sumerian language

Sumerian has the first writing system in history and its words often have special meanings and relationships. In Sumerian writing, the sign is the sign of the word (PIR / GIBIL), which means (become tall), (strengthen), (contain), (new, fresh), (return), (burn). PIR is a chemical process in which two particles combine to produce energy, often in the form of light. Here “burning” means “light”, which means that the word “PIR” in Sumerian is close to its Kurdish meaning.

2. Hori language: (pira / peri / piru)

The Horis are one of the oldest peoples of the Zagros region, living in southern and western Kurdistan. The word (pira) means Kakh. Kakh means (Nobleman), (Head of State), (Royal Family), (Palace), or (Castle). It also means “leading person”, “high-ranking person” or “elderly person”. In the Hori language, the name of the (rain god) is (Pirengir / Pirinzi), meaning (one who comes from above). Here the meaning of the word “pir” in Hori is very close to the meaning of “high”, “leader”, “great”.

The words “pir” in Hori and Kurdish are very closely related to each other, meaning “elevation” and “leader” in both languages. This means that in the Zagros regions, the word “pir” is much older than the word “pir” in the Mede and Pahlavi languages.

3. Hittite (per / pir / peri)

The Hittites is a Kurdiśtani (Indo-European) language. They lived in North Kurdiśtan and the Zagros regions. Meanings of (pir) in Hittite: (leader), (exaltation (peru-), (anger). In Kurdiśtani languages, the word (per-) is related to (to lead), (forward), (to rise). These meanings include (forward), (holy), (preceding), (following), (training). (Peruwa / Piruwa) is the (god of rain) and (peran) means (above) or (high).

4. Midian language (Aveśta)

(pairi) means (between) or (around), but is a close word for adult progress.

5. Pahlavi language

In Pahlavi, the word (pēr) means (wise) and (old) person.

6. Yarsan religion

In the Yarsan religion, the (pir) is the highest religious rank, the rank of spiritual service that guides the Yarsan people. He is an intellectual and almost truthful person. The Yarsani have many (pir)s, such as Pir Benjamin, Pir Moses, Piramagrûn, pir Shalyar etc.

7. Yazidi religion

In the Yazidi religion, (pir) was the highest religious class, but (‘Uday ibn Musafir) created the caliph class within this religion and made it the highest class.

(Pir) is also the highest religious class of Alawite and Shabak.

8. Zoroastrianism

In Zoroastrian religion and culture, the word “pir” is the name of a pure personality, which is the product of consciousness and education. (Pir) is also a wise Zoroastrian religious man.

9. (Pîr) in Kurdish Society and Kurdistan

The word “pîr” is very popular in Kurdistan in the context of ancient Kurdish culture and religions (Yarsan, Alawite, Yazidi, Druze, Shabak) and cultural status. In the Kurdish environment paragraph, (pîr) was someone such as (old man), (advanced person in science, history and mathematics), (wise), (expert), and (intelligent). In Kurdish, the names (Pîremêrd), (Pîroz), (Pîrzad) and dozens of other names that have the word (Pir) as their root.

10. Pîr in the dialect of Gorani – Hawrami

The Gorani dialect is a very old dialect in Kurdistan. The word “pîr” in this dialect means “wise old man”, “leader of the people”, “a person who contributes a lot sitting in the dining room and telling stories).

Kurdistan is the source of Kurdistani languages and has been a region of linguistic exchange. The presence of the word “pîr” in Sumerian, Hori and Hittite languages indicates that the word has ancient roots in the Zagros region, and means “high, leader,”. The word (pîr) in Hori and Hittite is closely related to Kurdish. The word (pîr) was also a cultural symbol of the ancients of the region.

A STUDY ON THE KURDISH LINGUISTIC PRESENCE AND ITS PHONETIC ADAPTATION IN "COMPARATIVE DICTIONARIES OF ALL LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS"

Fırat Sözeri – Hejarê Şamil

In this study, we investigated the phonetic adaptation of the Cyrillic alphabet, used in the transcription of Kurdish words in "Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects," prepared by the guidance of Catherine II and edited by Simon Pallas. We also discussed the general structure of the dictionary, its preparation process, word choices and the alphabet used in transliteration of Kurdish words.

The studies about the history of Kurdish Lexicography mark Ehmedê Xanî's dictionary Nûbihara Biçukan which is written in 1683 as the starting point (Xanî, 2008). The first Kurdish dictionary that is written in Western Languages is seen as Garzoni's Grammatica e Vocabolario Della Lingua Kurda that is published in 1787. "Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects", which is published the same year as Garzoni's book and which involves a Russian-Kurdish section, is not mentioned in many works that are investigating the dictionary making in Kurdish.

"Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects" of which Kurdish part has not been studied yet, is not targeted in the history of Kurdish dictionary studies possibly for two main reasons. The first of these reasons is that due to the smallness of its volume, and as it will be mentioned below, because it has many mistakes in the Kurdish section. The second reason is; since the dictionary contains 200 different languages and sections, the Kurdish section is largely unknown, and it escapes the attention of the researchers.

When the literature about the subject is investigated, the limited

number of works that mention the dictionary are as follows. Kurdoyev, at the foreword of Kurdish-Russian dictionary that is published in 1960, writes, "After Garzoni's book, there is no important publication apart from some works of travellers and the limited space that Kurdish occupies in comparative dictionaries … For example, at the comparative dictionary published in Petersburg, Kurdish is represented with 279 words." (Kurdoyev, 1960:6) for the comparative dictionary that is called Pallas Dictionary or Catherine Dictionary. Nikitin, in his book Kurds, mentions the dictionary with one sentence only; "At the order of Catherine II, prepared by the academic Pallas in 1787, the comparative dictionary of all languages is the first scientific publication with 276 Kurdish words." (Nikitin, 1964: 400). Both during the Soviet Union and today's Russia, one of the most important Kurdologs, Z.A. Yusupova, does not mention this dictionary in her article on the history of Kurdish Dictionary making (Yusupova, 2015). Since it is not possible that Yusupova does not know about the dictionary, it is likely that she does not find it voluminous enough.

"Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects", despite its shortcomings and flaws, is worthy of investigation because of two reasons. First, it is the first dictionary to be prepared in Slavic Languages Second, Cyrillic alphabet is used in the transcription of Kurdish for the first time in this work.

I. Preparation of the Dictionary

Seeing herself as the philosopher monarch and having personal contact with the prominent philosophers of her day, Catherine II

is also interested in philology. Influenced by the thoughts of M.V. Lomonosov and Leibniz, the Empress believed that all languages have a common origin, and in order to prove her idea, she ordered the preparation of a dictionary of world languages in which she was also personally involved in the development process (Walicki, 2009: 19-28; Şahin, 2015: 76). Published as two volumes in 1787 and 1789, the dictionary is a product of around 20 years of work in which many scholars (L. İ. Bakmeyster, J. A. Güldenstädt, S.G. Gmelin etc.) of the day were involved. The person to edit and give the dictionary its final form was Simon Pallas (Bulich, 1904: 223).

Various resources were used to compile the Russian words proposed by Yakaterina II in other languages to be included in the dictionary. Moreover, several basic reference books put together words from multiple languages include printed dictionaries, numerous texts, and grammar books. For the languages in which published dictionaries, and grammar books were missing, Pallas sent research committees organized by himself and reached various regions (of China, North America, Europe, and Russia). On the other hand, travelers' notes (Bulich, 1904: 226; Voloshina, 2012: 355) are the different sources for dictionaries.

The first volume of the dictionary was published in 1787. In this volume, there are equivalents of 130 Russian words in 200 languages. In the second volume of the dictionary, published in 1789, there are equivalents of 143 Russian words in 200 different languages (Pallas, 1787). At the last part of the second volume, there are numerals and counterparts of 10, 100 and 1000 in 222

different languages. At the end of the second volume, there are Latin counterparts and the page numbers of every word in both volumes of the dictionary (Pallas, 1789). In the next edition of the dictionary, this part was added to the introductory part of the first volume.

At the choice of words used in the dictionary aside from verbs (eating, drinking, sleeping, singing; stopping, walking, etc.), adjectives (young, old, small, etc.) and pronouns (i, you, he, she, it, we, they, etc.), family members (daughter, son, mother, father), organs (ear, nose, throat) and natural entities (sun, moon, river) are also included.

After the publication of both volumes of the dictionary, it was sorted alphabetically by a group headed by Fyodor Ivanovic Jankovic and a reviewed four-volume version was published. Dictionary of All Languages and Dialects Alphabetically Ordered (Сравнительный словарь всех языков и наречий, по азбучному порядку расположенный) includes 79 new languages compared to the Pallas print (Minsafina, 2020: 7).

When the order of pages of the Pallas dictionary is investigated, it is visible that each word at the start of each page is given with a number that represents that word's Russian dictionary order. Under the Russian order of words, the related language groups are written in a definite order. The first of the listed are Slavic languages, and after the 16th line, languages such as Irish, Latin, Italian follow. The ordering within the dictionary is based on the assumed relatedness of the words.

II. Kurdish Linguistic Presence and Phonetic Adaptation in Pallas Dictionary.

By the time that the dictionary was prepared, due to the lack of Kurdish written sources, the research group had to use the collections of the travellers who have been to Caucasia. The main person to collect the Kurdish words for "Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects" was J.A. Güldenstädt, who travelled to regions such as North Caucasus and Georgia. Güldenstädt, in his travels to the Caucasus between 1770 and 1773, collected words from regions that were populated by Kurds such as Georgia, Yerevan and Kars (Güldenstädt, 2002: 170).

Besides his important work on biology, geology and geography, J.A. Güldenstädt also recorded many languages and dialects of the Caucasus (Georgian, Chechnian, Ingush etc.) and conducted the study on similarities of these languages. Güldenstädt could not speak Kurdish. At that time, there was yet no scholarly work on the Kurdish sound system and how to write it into Cyrillic Alphabet. Therefore, Güldenstädt encountered several problems when collecting and publication Kurdish words .

When the Kurdish part of the Pallas dictionary is investigated, it can be noticed that since the compiler and the source person did not share a common language, there were some alternative methods of word-collection used, e.g. the compiler most probably was pointing towards the objects around to find out the meanings of the words. Therefore, it is seen that some errors occur keçamin (my daughter) and kuremin (my son) are used as the counterparts of daughter and son in Russian.

In this study, the Kurdish part of the Pallas dictionary was examined from two points of view. First, the investigation of the spelling of Kurdish words helped create a general overview of the spelling system used to write down the Kurdish sounds using the Cyrillic Alphabet. In this study, the alphabet composed by Celadet Ali Bedirhan in 19th century for phonetic adaptation and IPA was used to research the spelling of the dialect of Kurmanchi used in the Pallas dictionary. Second, at the study of Kurdish word collection at Pallas dictionary, to check the correctness of the transcription and use of the Kurdish words, Current Russian – Kurdish dictionary, which is published in 2016, containing around 20 thousand words. used In Pallas dictionary, Kurdish equivalents of old Russian word entries are compared to the current words and the similarities and differences in meaning are studied. If the corresponding word in Pallas dictionary cannot be found in Current Russian – Kurdish Dictionary, Russian – Kurdish dictionary by I. O. Farizov, composed of around 30 thousand words and published in the Soviet Union, is used. Following this method, the number of the Kurdish words that are written correctly in the Pallas Dictionary are determined.

From the preparation of the Pallas dictionary to the present day, some changes have taken place in the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. For example, the letter Ѣ /é/ is obsolete today. Therefore, the words in which this letter is used are not included in the current Russian dictionaries. Therefore, while making use of the Current Russian-Kurdish dictionary and Farizov dictionary, the current usage of Russian words was used (человѣк- человек).

The Kurdish section of Pallas Dictionary is added as a table in Attachment 1. In cases where the Kurdish word in Pallas Dictionary is lacking from Current Russian – Kurdish dictionary or at I. O. Farizov's dictionary, - that is to say, when the Kurdish counterpart of the word is not written correctly – the word is marked with "1" at the table in Attachment 1. In cases when the word cannot be found in Current Russian Dictionary, it is marked with "2". The words that are marked with 2 that are included in Farizov's dictionary are given in a separate table. The words of which Kurdish counterparts are not given at Pallas dictionary are marked with "3".

II.I. Alphabeth

Cyrillic alphabeth is adapted to every language that is included in Pallas Dictionary. Since Cyrillic Alphabeth cannot represent the vocal system of every language, there were problems in transcription. In order to overcome these problems, certain letters (such as Ҕ [h]) that do not exist in Russian Cyrillic alphabeth are used, however, the problems could not be overcame. This is to the extent that, the collectors of the words, as they did it in many languages, also had to transcribe the words they hear without any system for Kurdish.

It can be seen that there are some inconsistencies with the vowels that are used in the dictionary;

The letter А [aː] in the Cyrillic alphabet is used to represent three different Kurdish sounds. /a/- Бра [bra], /e/- Абру [ebrû], /i/- паки [bikê],

The letter Е[ɛ] in the Cyrillic alphabet is used to represent four

different Kurdish sounds; /e/-Кепу [kepû], /i/- Сенде [Zindî] /î/- Ре [rî], /ê/- Де [Dê],

The letter У [uː] in the Cyrillic alphabet is used to represent six different Kurdish sounds; /u/, /û/- Му [mû], /w/- Хуинъ. [xwîn], /v/- Haay [naav], /o/- Муруфъ [mirov], /i/- Тушваръ [dijwar], e-Куветъ [Qewet],

It can be seen that there are some inconsistencies with the vowels that are used in the dictionary;

The letter Г [g] is used to represent three different sounds; /g/- Го [go], /h/- Агесте́ [aheste], /x/- Очагъ [ocax],

The letter C [c] is used to represent two different Kurdish sounds; /s/-Серъ [ser], /z/- Сикъ [zik],

The letter T [t] is used to represent two different Kurdish sounds; /t/- Дастъ [dest], /d/-Тушваръ [dûjwar].

The table we produced from the sounds that are used in the writing of Kurdish words within the alphabet is as follows;

Cyrillic

alphabet	The sound(s) produced by the letter	
А а	/a/, /e/, /i/	Бра [bra], Абру [ebrû], паки [bikê], Де [dê]
Б б	/b/	Бабъ [bab]
В в	/v/, /w/	Тушваръ [dûjwar]
Г г	/g/, /h/, /x/	Го [go], Агесте́ [aheste], Очагъ [ocax]
Ҕ	/h/	Ҕекь [hêk], Ҕаифь [Heyv]
Д д	/d/, /t/	Де [dê], Денгерусть [Tenherûst]
Е е	/e/, /î/, /ê/, /i/	Кепу [kepû], Ре [rî], Ҕаифь [heyv]
Ж ж	/c/	Канжа [qenca]

З з /z/, /s/ Себзи [sebzî], Мази [masî]

И и/i/, /î/, /ê/ Агирь [agir]

Й й/y/ Нейнукъ [neynuk]

К к /k/, /g/, Кураменъ [kuramen] Керденъ [gerden]

Л л /l/ Чилекь [çêlek]

М м /m/ Милъ [mil]

Н н/n/ Нань [nan]

О о/o/ Очаг (ocax)

П п/p/, /b/ Пуштъ [pişt], Супьа. [sibe]

Р р /r/ Дери [derî]

С с /s/, /z/ Серъ [ser], Сикъ [zik]

Т т /t/ /d/ Дастъ [deŝt], Тушваръ [dûjwar]

У у /u/, /û/, /w/, /v/, /o/, /i/, /e/ Му [mû], Наау [naav], Хунъ [xûn] , Хуинъ. [xwîn] Рушь [roj], Муруфъ [mirov], Сулмь [zulm], Куветъ [qewet]

Ф ф /f/, /v/ Муруфъ [Mirov], Афамазинь [avamezin]

Х х /x/ Хунъ [Xûn], Бихь [bîx]

Ц ц/ts/ Цукорь [Tsukor]

Ч ч /ç/, /ş/ Кечаменъ [Keçamen] Чефь [Şev]

Ш ш /ş/, /j/, /ç/ Ширъ [şîr] süt, Рушь (roj), Шаҕарь [çahar]

Щ щ /şç/ Енгущъ [yenguşç]

Ы ы /i/ Кырмь [Kirm]

Ї ї /y/ Терїа [derya]

Ъъ - The hard sign

Ь ь - The soft sign

Э э /e/ Курьэ [kûre]

Ѣ ѣ/’e/ Тѣмь [dem]
Юˆ юˆ /û/ Кюˆ [kû]
Ю ю /u / Китюкь [kituk]
Я я /ya/, /a/ Феръядъ [feyad] “çığlık”
Ху xw Хуинъ [Xwîn]

II.II. Kurdish Vocabulary

When the Kurdish words that are included in Pallas Dictionary are searched in Current Russian – Kurdish Dictionary, it can be seen that 109 words are matching. During preparation of Pallas Dictionary since the collectors did not know the languages that they are working on, they have transcribed them as they heard them. Due to that, since there was no preexisting study on Kurdish sounds and their equivalents in Cyrillic alphabet, and adding to this that Güldenstädt could not speak Kurdish, there occured certain deformations in the transcription of some words. Although in the style of writing they are recorded differently, the Kurdish words of which counterparts can be found in Current Russian – Kurdish dictionary are recorded as correct and marked with 1. These words are as follows;

7 Братъ Бра Bra Bira
17 Лицо Рухъ Rûh Rû, Rûçik
36 Пальцы Тилли, Tîlli, Tilî
54 Имя Haay Naav Nav
63 Работа Кїарь Kyar Kar
115 Высота Пилентъ Bilend Bilind
117 Длина Турась. Direz Direj

145 Червь Кырмь Kirm Kurm
152 Конь Аспь esp Hesp
156 Мышъ Мушь Miş Mişk
187 Бѣда Пелла Bella Bela
204 Высоко Деришь,Билентъ Derîş, Bilend Bilind
203 Здоровъ Денгерусть Tenherûśt Tendûriśtî
207 МалоБичакь Biçek Piçek
216 Добро Канжа Qenci Qencî
250 Она Уй Wiy Wê

When the words that exiśt in Pallas Dictionary yet are lacking in Current Dictionary are searched within Farizov's Dictionary, we can find 16 further words. This difference is caused by two different reasons. Firśt is due to the sensibility of Farizov's Dictionary to the Kurdish vocabulary in its Kurdish dialect that is used in the Caucasus. The second is due to its size, which includes 10 thousand words more than the Current Dictionary. In this context, the Kurdish part of Pallas Dictionary, when compared to both Current Russian – Kurdish Dictionary and Farizov's Russian – Kurdish Dictionary, there is 125-word match.

The words that are included both in Pallas Dictionary and Farizov's Russian – Kurdish Dictionary but are excluded in Current Russian – Kurdish Dictionary are as follows;

Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages
and Dialects- volume I- 1787- St.Peterburg Current Russian-Kurdish Dictionary 2016 Farizov's
Russian- Kurdish Dictionary 1957
Russian Kurdish Transcription

1 Богъ Худи, Кула.Xudê, Kûla Xwedê, Xwedâ Xwidê, Xudê

19 Ноздри Набини. Nabini ----- Firnik

57 Вопль Феръядъ Feryad ----- Axîn, Keser.

109 Долина Куталь Kûtal ---- Aran, Banî

131 Дубъ Палуть Palût ---- Palût

132 Пень Мушепсрахь Мушепсрахь ---- K o k a darê birî

134 Плоды Мивегай Mîwegay ---- Êmîş

150 Баранъ Пусь Pez Beran Pez

166 Борона Шаанесарь Şaanezar ----- Borona

167 Межа Сергеть Serhed ----- Sinor, Serhed

192 Ладъ Меваафикь Mevaafik ----- Qaide, Tertib

196 Иго Келлать Kellad ----- Nîr

213 СыроТерь Ter ----- Sarogerm

221 Дурно Беть Bed ----- Pîs, Xirab

222 Худо Храбъ , Бети Xrab, Bedî ----- Xirab, Bed

223 Скоро Суть Zûd Bilez, Lezgîn Zû

Amongst the 285 Russian words used as the top lining within Pallas Dictionary, counterparts of 12 in Kurdish are empty. These words are the words which have counterparts in almost every language, such as Spring, Fall, Winter etc. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that it is caused by the communication problems between the collectors and the source people, probably due to not sharing a common language.

Kurdish words that are not in the Pallas Dictionary

92 Весна ----- 185 Брань -----

93 Осень ----- 186 Драка -----
94 Зима ----- 189 Война -----
181 Яствы ----- 190 Воинъ -----
183 Ламы ----- 198 Кимъ -----
184 Спорожь ----- 218 Лѣпо -----

The method of collecting the words created misunderstandings in Kurdish counterparts of the words for native speakers of Kurdish for source person and people about the Kurdish counterpart of the word. In this context, the words of which Kurdish counterpart is faulty is as follows.

Mistakes occurring during the collection

19 Ноздри Набини. Nabini -----
26 Щоки Ру. Rû Alek, Dêm, Gep
90 Вечеръ ШамьŞem Êvar
91 Лѣто Саль. Sal Havîn
- 100 Ноть Nod Sed

When the Kurdish part of the Pallas dictionary is collected, the distribution of the words is as follows;

0	1	2	3
137	109	27	12

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KURDISH LANGUAGE AND NATION –BUILDING

Prof. Ali Mahmood Jukil

1. Introduction

The political situation of the world after the New World Order dramatically changed. The disintegration of many nation-states, which shaped by ideological, political social, economic, and linguistic conflict, emerged in the consequent of this new situation.

The Kurdish nationalist movement was also affected by this New World Order, and the political developments changed in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria, where Kurds live. The result of this change, Kurds started their uprising in March 1991 under the auspice of Kurdish nationalist leaders and stepped to build their nation in Federalist framework. It is obvious that there is a relationship between language and nation-building.

As the title Kurdish language and nation building indicates, this research paper is to present the relation of language with the dimensions of the processes of state making which are the processes and activities of socio-economic, political, cultural, and religious developments, since nation-building has to undergo the processes of building and the common language is indicated by the components of nation-building which are culture, homeland, and community of economic life.

The objective of this study is to contribute to presentation of the problems which are faced by newly emerging nations on the international arena such as linguistic, socio-economic, political, cultural, religious, and urbanization problems. The hypothesis of this research paper is that any nation–building depends on the methods of managing differences of social, economic, religious, cultural components and the common language are dictated by their developments.

The study is a characterization of the nation-building concept in relation to the international arena and the development of its dimensions, which are non-linguistic aspects in relation to the linguistic trends.

This study is an attempt to explain the general processes of the nation-building in Iraqi Kurdistan in which Kurds step at present to the attainment of ends of nationalism, and to present general theories of society which are capable of explaining the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic components.

The study provides three sections in which every topic is tackled in relation to a linguistic aspect. The first one deals with nation-building and Nation-states in which the concept and the processes of nation-building which are closely connected with the concept of society, nation, social classes and social forces as well as the time, place, historical and cultural conditions are presented.

The second one presents language and nation in which it examines the sociolinguistic situation in Kurdistan which indicates that many urban individuals are either bilingual or multilingual as well as to the dialectical differences and multilingualism which clearly bring problems for Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government and others concerned with Kurdish organizations of different types.

The third section is the core of the study which examines Kurdish and the components of nation-building according to the modern nations which are concerned with the significance of economic, political, and cultural centers of power. Then it presents the emergence of Kurdish Nation in the Federalist framework, which is optimist and activist modernist, since as a community of participants share common values and purposes,

appropriate to the modern era of political emancipation and economic growth. After this, the study explains the development in which Kurdayati ideology is presented, Kurdayati is basically a secular nationalism, via which the modern nationalist ideas had developed into a coherent system of thought and struggle for saving the Kurds from the national oppression. Also it presents that as a result of Kurdish political development, Kurdish language becomes medium of education, administrative documents, and records of cultural aspects of Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

Then the study examines social and economic development which concentrate on the development of social organization which is almost sedentraization of rural population, the growth of urbanization, the rise of a new middle class that is politically the significant social group in nation-building and the cultivation of the language and the extensive development of the written use of language, mass literacy and mass education. After this it presents Kurdish language and cultural development in which it examines the considerable changes of culture and language which have been undergone as the impact of political and economical development and changes.

The study also tackles religion in relation to nation-building and promoting the language to standard and common language in which it indicates that after Islamic conquest the religious considerations play no significant role in Kurdish nation-building and the cultivation of the language, though the enhancement of Kurdish language started in mosque school. It provides that the

religious oppression is not a component part of national oppression and the religion has minor role in Kurdish nationalist movement which has focused its attention on secular nationalist demand in nation-building. At the end, it presents the conclusion and findings as well as the bibliography.

2. Nation-Building and Nation-States

Nation building is considered a national theme of nationalism and it has to undergo the processes of building a state which its concept is closely connected with the concepts of society, nation, social classes, and social forces as well as to the time, place, historical and cultural conditions.

Most of the modern nation states are fundamentally founded on the principle of national identity, but they can be seen as heterogeneous group except the ideal nation states which imply the existence of one homogenous ethnic group within the state, where the homogenous ethnic community should co-extensive with an identical culture possessed by all its inhabitants. (Salih 1996:7).

Historically in many places, many attempts were and still are made to build both state and nation on ideal model and the emergence of this depends on the effective monopoly over the means of coercion, within a given territory or through the methods of managing differences, in which the emphasis will be on the social, economic, political, religious, cultural components which are essential in the formation of nations. Naturally, a nation-state needs a common language which is dictated by the mentioned components (Hassanpour 1992: 34).

3. Language and Nation

The sociolinguistic situation in Kurdistan indicates that many urban individuals are either bilingual or multilingual. They can speak more than one language with a fair degree of proficiency (Trudjill, 1974: 129). This is a consequence of the fact that Kurdistan was divided among four countries which emerged as sovereign nation-states in the Middle East. They fragmented Kurds and placed under jurisdiction of countries to display linguistic diversity.

The society in which Kurds live becomes multilingual society. Individual bilingualism is not actually a necessary consequence of societal or national multilingualism because in these countries many Kurdish speakers, particularly rural Kurds never become bilingual to any significant degree, and individual bilingualism is not much more widespread than the average Kurdish speaker might suspect, but this situation made the natural development of Kurdish language be hampered by physical barriers, such as governmental policies, and general lack of mobility and communication between Kurds. As a result Kurdish language becomes dialectical language. The dialectical differences have prevented the emergence of a unified form of the Kurdish Language. Consequently many foreign people are accustomed to thinking of these states where Kurds live in as monolingual states. Many people would accept as true statements that Iraqi and Syrian peoples speak Arabic, Iranian people speak Persian and people in Turkey speak Turkish, but the reality is different.

These countries contain linguistic minorities, in which Kurdish speakers have their native language, which is not an official language except in Iraq where Kurdish language becomes official

language of Kurdistan Region and these countries have their official dominant language. These reasons made Kurdish less influential, and urban Kurds to be bilingual and multilingual. This factor is what helps to give these countries their outwardly monolingual appearances. The overwhelming majority of Turkey's citizens can speak Turkish, while the overwhelming majority of Iranian citizens can speak Persian and the overwhelming majority of Iraqi and Syrian citizens can speak Arabic. In spite of that for Kurds, Arabic is a second language in Iraq and Syria; Persian is a second language in Iran, while Turkish is a second language in Turkey. In addition to extent of national bilingualism, the dialectal Kurdish differences hindered the development of Kurdish language.

At present, dialectical differences clearly bring problems for Iraqi Kurdistan regional government and others concerned with Kurdish organizations of various kinds. The biggest problem, which they have to face, is educational problem. The educational problem that is encountered by Kurdish children whose dialect is Northern Kurmanji or Gorani; because they have to learn, to read and write in a dominant dialect " Central Kurmanji" which is different from their own dialect.

The other problem is multilingualism, because multilingualism brings with it problems for individual and groups of individuals, particularly those who are members of linguistic minorities such as Turkmans and Syria groups, unlike Kurds they have to acquire proficiency at least three languages before they can function as full members of the national community in Iraqi Kurdistan Region, while Kurds have to acquire two languages; their native and Arabic Languages because of the Iraqi state.

4. Kurdish Language and the Components of Nation-building

Historically a nation is a formed community of people bound together by common language, culture, homeland, and community of economic life. Based on this definition, national development is the process of consolidation of "ethnic people" or tribal/ rural societies into modern nations. (Hassanpour 1992:44)

In modern nations the formation of national languages are concerned with the significance of economic, political, and cultural centers of power. General theories of society are capable of explaining the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic components.

Common language can be considered as the linguistic component or aspect of social, economic, political, and cultural changes that characterizes the modern nations.

4.1. The emergence of Kurdish Nation

Nation and nationalism are the intrinsic components of the modern world. Nation and national states constitute the basic forms and elements of modern societies.

In Iraq after the uprising of March 1991, Kurdistan populations have built their "nation" in the federalist framework because it didn't exist before and Kurdistan nation is the only tested framework for social and economic development, which dictates the common Kurdish Language. At the same time Kurdistan nation is a result of a need for economic growth as well as its motivation and dynamic, whilst "nation" is the only viable basis and framework for this growth (Salih 1996:15).

Kurdistan nation is important, since there are at least three reasons for the importance of Kurdistan Nation- building.

1. It is socially and politically determined.

2. Its foundation lies deep in the processes of economic and social and political modernization.

3. It partakes of the social and political benefits of modernity.

This is optimistic and activist "modernist". It is seen as a community of participants sharing common values and purposes, appropriate to the modern era of political emancipation and economic growth, unlike the post-war modern states of Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Turkey which are formed soon after World War I, since they centralized all aspects of national life; such as politics, economy, culture and language. The integration of ethnic minorities via linguistic and cultural assimilation was a prior objective of these countries and aimed at direct control of the major industries, mining, transportation, mass media, education, foreign trade, scientific and cultural association, and even religious education. The political system has been equally centralized leaving no space for any form of opposition. Naturally many resistances took different form to protest assimilation efforts ranging from language cultivation to arm survive. All forms of protest were suppressed by violet means. Kurdish demands for self-ruling for each country became the objective of Kurdish question which appeared as a result of the impact of the 1918 division of Kurdistan. Kurdish question was regionalized and internationalized. Kurdish demands opposed by each country by diplomatic and military means. These countries acted to control the Kurdish nationalist movement through military cooperation.

4.2. Political Development:

The division of Kurdistan among these countries and extension of power among these states to every place of the region has made Kurdish people in the four parts of Kurdistan to unify in "Kurdayeti" which is the nationalist ideology of Kurdish people. The impact of Kurdayeti was the formation of many political organizations in the post-1908 years till now, but the most well-defined political organizations were both the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (of Iran and Iraq), which adopted kurdayeti ideology, kurdyeti is basically a secular nationalism, via which the modern nationalist ideas had developed into a coherent system of thought. Kurdayeti means the idea and struggle for saving the Kurds from the national oppression through uniting all parts of Kurdistan in an independent Kurdistan state.

Kurdish nationalist has undergone much differentiation since 1940s to present. These trends of policy and ideology can be recognized as "national democracy "since the foundation of Kurdistan Democratic Party since 1946. The policies, programs and practices of KDP reflect as the modernist view of the nation-building process. KDP led Kurdish national movement that aims at eliminating both "national oppression" and " social economic injustice" particularly during its struggle, since the successive central governments in Iraq perpetrated national and socio-economic oppressions against Kurds that included suppression of language and culture. Kurdish national movement adopted modern policy by combination of the struggle against national oppression with a struggle to overcome retrogression through

politicizing and organizing of the peasantry, literary campaigns, organizing students, women, the urban masses and others, distribution of land among the peasant, the other forms of radical political action during the Kurdish national movement 1961-75. Kurdish national movement struggled for the enhancement of the Kurdish language and the rights of Kurds and people in Kurdistan. Kurdish people paid a high price for securing their national identity. They were in constant struggle and resistance against the ruling states, most of the Kurdish intellectuals joined Kurdish national uprising and forced to live in caves or they were imprisoned, but they continued to make their effort for the promotion of their language which is considered a symbol of national identity (Jukil, 2004:128).

They realized that linguistic problem is a barrier hindering the nation-building process on the international arena, therefore the struggle for language rights was conducted on all fronts, from parliamentary debates to armed struggle, because the political circumstance was the great problem of Kurdish since the domination of the conqueror's language and functional elaboration were not in the interest of Kurdish language, but after the Kurdish uprising in Iraqi-Kurdistan in march 1991, the activities of elaboration of function of Kurdish language in all domains increased and began to revive. At present Kurdish language becomes medium of education, administrative documents, records of cultural aspects of Iraqi Kurdistan Region, yet the problem is hetrogenicity of Kurdish dialects, therefore homogeneity of Kurdistan dialects becomes the attainment of ends of nationalism in the region.

4-3. Social and Economic Development

The main development in social organization is almost sedentarization of the rural population, the growth of urbanization and the rise of a new middle order that is politically the significant social group in national-building and cultivation of the language. Social and linguistic aspects are theoretically and methodologically viewed as two sides of the coin. Since social growth is related to urbanization in which non-linguistic aspects such as trade, industrial capitalist economy, mercantile, civilization, cities will develop and change to replace self-sufficient agrarian production. Since the promotion of the language requires a major social and economic transformation that develop the spoken language into a national medium of communication, particularly in the age of electronic media of communication, changes in social organization have impact on the changes in political life to the democratization of the system of political rule and numerous changes in culture such as secularization, the growth of literacy, public education and mass media which can be achieved through trends of socio-economic development of the Kurdish society. The significant trend of this development is urbanization, which is associated with the extensive development of the written use of language, mass literacy and public education. It is truism that all these activities will flourish more in towns and cities, and this is particularly true regarding the more variations, cultivation and refined use of language in all domains, because the breeding ground of nation and language is industrial city which exercises two contradictory impacts; diversities and uniformities. The economy of industrial city creates national language via its measurements such as

manufacturing, marketing, prices, weights and measures, because these things need standardization of the same process in language use.

After the Kurdish uprising of March 1991, Kurdish urbanization witnessed somewhat development, yet it is of non-industrial type, because hundred of villages are served by towns which are mercantile and administrative centers. Before the Kurdish uprising, more than 4500 villages were destroyed by ba'ath regime and at the same time Iraqi-Kurdistan was economically divided into two sectors, each of them were connected to big Arabic cities such as Mosul and Baghdad to be centers of mercantile. Mosul was the center of mercantile of Hawler and Dohuk's areas while Baghdad was the center of mercantile of Kurkuk and Suleimania's areas, therefore the separation of industrial and mercantile products from agriculture has intentionally proceeded very slowly in Iraqi-Kurdistan. For compensation, Iraqi-Kurdistan Regional Government has to step quickly to change Kurdish cities into mercantile and industrial cities, in order to develop Kurdistan societies which is characterized as "urbanization without urbanism" since common language is considered as a major linguistic correlate of urban culture, because the degree of cultivation of language is taken a measure of the urbanization of the culture of the speakers (Garvin and Mathiot 1960:783).

4-4. Language and cultural development

Culture of any nation has undergone considerable changes as the influence of political and economical developments and changes. One of the important trends of cultural changes is the

increasing urbanization which occurs under condition of intensive contact with the dominant cultures. The urban culture will rapidly spread through public education, mass mediation, and electronic connection and literature proliferation. The other visible trends of socio-cultural changes are the modernization and diversification of culture.

After the foundation of parliament and Iraqi-Kurdistan Regional Government, Kurdish people utilize from modern technology for rapid spreading of public education, higher studies, mass media and diversification of literature with new genres; new poetry, essays, short stories, plays, novels, and other literary forms. The impact of these modern aspects on Kurdish culture is the cultivation of language and the proliferation of national consciousness for an independent Kurdish nation building.

4-5. Kurdish language and religion

It is obvious that religion is also considered an important dimension in the process of nation-state and nation building, differences in religion and ties to different cultural contacts can have a strong impact on nationhood. Even in modern system of nation building, ethnic group and unified religion can be viewed as pillars of power structure of nation-state.

As far as Kurdish nation is concerned, not much is known about the language, script and religion before the Islamic conquest. The majority of the Kurds are Muslims. Islamic religion is in Arabic. Islamic religion and Arabic language were and still are the power structure of Arabic nations.

Islamic religion introduced literacy in Arabic language into Kurdistan. Quraan was considered "the word of Allah" and the Arabic language was believed to be the only chosen by "Allah" to impart the divine message and the holy book cannot be translated to other languages. Rituals could not be conducted in the native language.

The mere religion, which is considered the remnant of the prevalent religion before the Islamic conquest is the small, persecuted Yazidi religion. The believers of this religion didn't have the opportunity to pave the way for prevailing their religion in Kurdish as one of its medium of religions expression. Because of persecution, the two sacred books kitab Al-Djilwa (the book of Revolution) and Mashafrash (Black Book) are written in amalgamation of Kurdish subdialects: such as Mukriani, Sulaymani, Ardalan, and Badinan subdialects (Nabaz 1976:10).

The two sacred books were not permitted to be the base of general religion for Kurds and Kurdistan people and the books have been kept, therefore; their influence on the development of the Kurdish language and Kurdish nation-building has been minimal (Hassanpour 1992:74) Although many religious movement on the base of ancient kurdish religions for reforming Islamic religion arouse in Kurdistan; such as Ahli Haq , Shabak religion, and Kakayi , their holy books were not in Kurdish and their religions were persecuted .

Though the principal religious men such as Sheikh Abdulqadir Gaylani (1077 – 1166) and Mawlana Khalid Naqshbandi (1792-1887) founded religious orders among Kurds, they couldn't attract the whole Kurds to be their followers, and they didn't leave any holy

books about their orders in Kurdish to be the best for promoting Kurdish to common language, on the one hand, and at the same time their orders didn't play significant role as religious dimension in nation-building, but on the other hand they fragmented Kurds into tow religious orders (Nabaz 1976: 11).

Although the traditional nationalist leaders were Islamic religious men who challenged (Arabs, Kurds, Persians) who are fellow Muslims. Kurdish Mullas or Sheikhs didn't hesitate to castigate the ruling Muslim states, and their nationalist movements regarded as secular nature. Thus, the religious consideration plays no significant role in Kurdish nation building and cultivation of Kurdish language. It can be concluded that the religious oppression is not a component part of national oppression because it can be partly explained by the fact that the religion has minor role in Kurdish nationalist movement which has focused its attention not on religious, but rather on secular nationalist demands in nation-building such as; political, administrative, cultural and linguistic rights.

5-Conclusion

The study deduced that nation building and promoting language to common language need many activities and processes of social forces, economic, political, cultural developments and religious components. As far as Kurdish language and nation building are concerned, it can be concluded that they have undergone many processes and activities of political, socio-economic, religious and cultural developments, which dictate the common language.

After the New World Order, the political situation of the world dramatically changed which has the impact on the Kurdish national movement in nation building. As a result Kurdish uprising in March 1991 took place and the Kurdish national movement decided to build nation in the framework, and this newly emerging nations on the international arena faced linguistic and non linguistic problems such as economical, social, political, religious and cultural problems which need urgently to be resolved.

The study deduced that the processes of the Kurdish nation building are closely connected with the concept of society and social forces, time, historical, economical, and cultural conditions.

The political development achieved via the Kurdayati ideology, which is basically a secular nationalism. Kurdayati represents the modern nationalism ideas which had developed into a coherent system of thought and struggle for saving the Kurds from national oppression through uniting all parts of Kurdistan in an independent Kurdistan state. Kurdayati adopted modern policy by combination of the struggle against national oppression with a struggle to overcome retrogression through politizing and organizing Kurdish people and also struggled for enhancement of the Kurdish language and the rights of Kurds and people in Kurdistan. After the Kurdish uprising in Iraqi-Kuddistan in March 1991, the activities of elaboration of function of Kurdish language in all domains increased and began to revive, but the problem is hetrogenicity of Kurdish dialects and homogeneity of Kurdish dialects is the attainment of ends of Kurdish nationality.

The sociolinguistic situation in Kurdistan indicates many urban individuals are either bilinguals of multilingual as well as

the dialectical differences which hindered the development of Kurdish language. This situation is the consequence of the fact that Kurdistan was divided among four countries which emerged as sovereign nation-states which fragmented Kurds and placed under jurisdiction of countries to display linguistic diversity. The solution of this problem requires Kurdish national–building which depends on the development of politics, economics and culture since they are centers of power.

The emergence of Kurdish nation in the federalist framework is optimistic and activist modernist because Kurdish community participates common values and purposes, appropriate to the modern era of political emancipation and economic growth. The impact of these components of nation–building on culture and language are considerable changes and developments, while religion has minor role in Kurdistan nation–building and cultivation of language.

Summary

The present study deals with the Kurdish Language and Nation-building, since the political situation after the New World Order dramatically changed and the Kurdish movement also affected by this change. Kurdish nationalist leaders stepped to build their nation in Federalist framework. It is obvious that there is a relationship between language and nation-building. This study is to present the relation of language with the components of nation-building which are culture, homeland, and community of economic life.

The objective of this study is to contribute to presentation of the problems which are faced by newly emerging nations on the international arena.

This study is an attempt to explain the general processes of the nation-building in Iraqi Kurdistan in which Kurds step at present to the attainment of ends of nationalism, and to present general theories of society which are capable of explaining the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic components.

The study provides three sections. The first one deals with nation-building and Nation-states in which the concept and the processes of nation-building are presented.

The second one present language and nation in which it examines the sociolinguistic situation in Kurdistan which indicates that many urban individuals are either bilingual or multilingual as well as to the dialectical differences and multilingualism which clearly bring problems for Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government and others concerned with Kurdish organizations of different types.

The third one is the core of the study, which examines Kurdish, and the components of nation-building according to the modern nations, which are concerned, with the significant of economic, political, and cultural centers of power. Then it presents the emergence of Kurdish Nation in the centers of power.

The study also examines social and economic development which concentrates on the development of social organization which almost sedentraization of rural population, the growth of urbanization the rise of a new middle class that is politically the significant social group in nation-building and the cultivation of the language and the extensive development of the written use of language, mass literacy and mass education.

The study also tackles religion in relation to nation-building and promoting the language to standard and common language

in which it indicates that after Islamic conquest the religious consideration play no significant role in Kurdish nation-building and the cultivation of the language, though the enhancement of Kurdish language started in mosque school. It provides that the religious oppression is not a component part of national oppression and the religion has minor role in Kurdish nationalist movement which has focused its attention on secular nationalist demand in nation-building. At the end, it presents the conclusion and findings as well as the bibliography.

LANGUAGE ECOLOGY IN KURDISTAN REGION

Prof. Ali Mahmood Jukil

This study is about the language ecology on Iraqi Kurdistan Region in which the term refers to the context and language situation, which is usually characterized by the bilingualism, therefore, when one, investigates on language ecology questions raise themselves, which are referred to the required information and the language situation such as: what are the languages? What are the status of multilingualism and bilingualism with the domain language? Is there any language problem? What is the language plan and how is the language is implemented as the policy of language?

Therefore, the objective of this study is to investigate the situation for answering these questions. The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative for for achieving the aims of this study, therefore, it hypnotizes that KRG has implemented a positive policy of language to the languages spoken in the region and they granted the most of natural rights a language must have.

Concerning Kurdish Language, until now it has a bi-standard languages used in administration, media, medium of education and other is an issue funded by opposing ideologies rather than a linguistic one; the purpose is delayed and attempting for alterative language.

1. Introduction

As the title indicates the study is restricted to language ecology in Iraqi Kurdistan region which involves the question of linguistic variability concerning with the context and language situation which is usually characterized by the bilingualism and multilingualism .It is also related to other studies such as sociolinguistics, since

the study attempts to contribute to demonstration the role of the linguistic rights for active establishment for a viable pluralistic democracy and to find a peaceful path towards co-existence of socials groups. It is genteelly recognized that language ecology is an alternative of the word "context" instead on focusing on homogeneity of language; the focus is on a particular area in the study of language situation, therefore; the study is about the language ecology on Iraqi Kurdistan region which is facing language as well as economical and social problems which need urgent solutions. But this study is restricted to the language ecology; therefore, when one investigates in language ecology many questions raise themselves related to the language problems, planning, policy, which are thought to be hindering the progress in all respects and as such it has become an urgent issue which has to be studied through finding out the beliefs about language selection of the many different important groups in Kurdistan region, the actual language practices of the majority of the population which are Kurds, whether many speakers of the many different dialects accept that they all speak Kurdish, since Kurds language a multi- dialects in its nature, in addition to this who are pushing for Kurdish standardization and official use and what is the status of dialect varieties involved in Kurdistan region, and what is the Kurdish Academy doing about Kurdish standardization and whether the homogeneity of the Kurdish language is a goal of the majority of the population and education or it is linguistic rights for a viable pluralistic democracy and to find a peaceful path towards co – existence of different social groups.

Actually all these questions cannot be covered but should be restricted –therefore, the objective of this study is to investigate the language situation for answering some of the concepts and questions. For achieving the objectives, the study adopted the qualitative approach in which the data and information for this study are generated from sources dealing with the Kurdish language and the new political framework of Iraqi Kurdistan region, in addition to the interview, recorded materials, asking different people attending and participating seminars which were held weekly by Kurdish Academy and Kurdish writers union in addition to the seminars which were held in the celebrating of the day of mother tongue as well as using Google form for obtaining data via asking open questions from non – Kurdish people.

The study's assumptions are that KRG has implemented a positive language policy toward other languages spoken in the region and they granted the more of natural rights a language must have.

Concerning Kurdish language which is the domain language until now it is a bi-standard language used in administrations, media, medium of instructions, while its standardization process became political affair in the region and political issue fuelled by opposing ideologies rather than a linguistic one and this has concerned Kurdish elites and policy makers that declaring English as the official language which has grown popularity in recent years. The significance of this study is useful for scholars from diverse fields such as sociolinguistics, applied linguistics with interest in contemporary societal debates in which that language and politics have vital role in the society.

1. 2 Overview

Ecology is used by Haugen instead of the word “context” in order to focus on a particular area for studying language situation (Spolsky, 2004: 27). It is obvious that the language situation of Kurdistan Region is characterized by the fact of the bilingualism and multilingualism, since two or more languages are spoken and written at the same time and in the same place, particularly in the big cities or districts (Jukil. 2004;58) Especially Arabic and Kurdish languages and this is due that Kurdish language is the L1 of the majority of the population and Arabic is the official language of the Iraq.

Kurdistan is a federal region in northern Iraq. It acts as a legal authority according to the article 117 of Iraqi constitution that states: “This Constitution, upon coming into force, shall recognize the region of Kurdistan, along with its existing authorities as a Federal Region.”

(Draft Constitution of Kurdistan Region – Iraq, 2009. Article 117.).

Despite the fact that Kurds constitute the majority of inhabitants, the region has been home to diverse religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic minorities. Concerning religion, the region has populations of Assyrian, Christians, Yazidis, Yarsan, and shabak faiths.

Concerning the diversity of linguistic minorities in the region, even Kurdish is the domain language, Turkmani is spoken by the minority of Turkumen, the Syraic dialects are spoken in some Christian areas in the region, in addition to Arabic as an official language.

In Kurdistan Region, there are no sign of assimilation of the minority languages detected. The Draft of Kurdistan Region's constitution maintains that Kurdish and Arabic are the two official languages and it also gives the status of official language in any administrative units to any other minority languages spoken by the majority of its inhabitants.

(Sheykholismlami: 2009) .

This is obvious that Co-existence and tolerance is more prevalent among the population of region compared to the neighboring countries.(Halfon: 2011). Throughout this implicit policy and the promotion of minority languages such as Kurdistan region is considered "a rare positives example" in the project of nation-Building in the Middle East. (Corner: 1994).

1.3 . Language Planning and Policy in Iraqi Kurdistan Region

As previously mentioned, after formation of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq in 1992, which had a quasi-government until 2003, Kurdish Language was fully freed from political suppression. Today, Kurdish enjoys the status of an official language both in Kurdistan and also in Iraq, because after the fall of Saddam's Regime in 2003, the Kurdish participants in Baghdad insisted on including Kurdish language in the first Federal Iraq Constitution in 2005; as in "The Arabic language and Kurdish language are the two official languages of Iraq Fedral"

Also Kurdistan Parliament approved a draft constitution on the the 24th of June 2009, where Article 14, section one states that: " Kurdish and Arabic shall be the two official languages of the

Kurdistan Region. This Constitution guarantees the right of the citizens of the Kurdistan Region to educate their children in their mother tongue, including Turkmen, Assyrian, and Armenian, in the government's educational institutions and in accordance with pedagogical guidelines" (Draft Constitution of Kurdistan Region – Iraq, 2009. Article 14, 1st paragraph).

Thus, according to Crawford, Language policy " what a government does officially through legislation, court decision, executive action or other means" to regulate how languages are used in public contexts; cultivate language skills required for national priorities, and establish the rights of individuals or groups to learn, use, and maintain languages (2005; 09-16).

So all nations (Arabs, Turkmen, Assyrian, etc.) in the region "which had been prohibited to name them as minorities" is free to use their language and school their children in their own language, i.e. they have gained their linguistic rights and this is an active establishment of a viable pluralistic democracy and peaceful path towards tolerance and co-existence amongst diverse social groups in the region (Wahab,2017).

For the Kurds the language should have occupied a large space when it comes to governmental and policy-making procedures, since the languages are the backbone of the existence of neighboring nations in establishing modern states, therefore the policy-makers in the KRG have adopted such policy for the Kurdish Language and they have insisted on the significance of Kurdish language during conference, events and delivering national preaches.

But after 2003 the successive cabinets of KRG have been

passive to produce a clear and sustainable policy towards Kurdish language. They have adopted implicit and explicit policies towards official language, medium of instructions, the process of standardization and national languages of other nations in the region by stating Kurdish language as the official of Kurdistan regional Government and enhancing English language as a medium of instruction and promoting it to be a second language and stating bi-standard policy for Central Kurmanji (Sorani) Northern Kurmanji (Baniani) in the region. Also they adopted an explicit policy towards multilingualism in the region by stating the rights of any linguistic groups to the use of their languages in whatever domain they specify.

They adopted the policy of "decentralization" of the Arabic because the majority of populations in Kurdistan are Kurdish speakers. KRG claimed the Kurdish language to be the official language in the region with a de-facto status providing the Arabic and English languages with the de-juro status of an international of communication as Franca-lingua.

1-4-1. Kurdish Language

Kurdish is the domain language in Kurdistan Region and it is the everyday spoken language of the population in the Region.

Kurdish is the symbol of national identity for most of the population, because it is a medium by and through which Kurdish individuals define their identities and, in the process, by the language they assess and ascribe the identities of the others (Edwards, 2009: 23).

1-4-2. Kurdish as National Identity.

Language considers a principal feature of human identity, when one hears someone speaking; one immediately makes guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic.

Language is the central component of national identity and it is one of the salient markers of group identity especially it is true in the case of Kurdish language and through it the other components of national identity are constructed (Sheykholislami, 2010; 291)

Kurdish national identity emerged at the turn of the first division of Kurdistan and the conflict between Persian and Ottoman Empires in the 16th century, gradually the feeling of belonging to the same entity developed amongst the Kurds(Jukli, 2004: 56).

Since that time, the Kurds and their language have been equally subjected to falsification of origin and authentic identity. One factor of this is describing Kurds as uncivilized people and their language a primitive language as mentioned in the 3rd edition of Oxford Turkish- English Dictionary (1984).

As a response to these unjust attacks the Kurds always reacted strongly by preserving their language as an effective means for the survival of the Kurdish race (sheyholislami: 2009).

This view played a crucial role in Iraqi Kurdish during the Kurdish uprising in 1961 and the days of struggle against the oppressive Iraqi regime, equating Kurdish language to Kurdish identity was, and still it is, one of the strongest believes inside Kurdish psychology (Jukil: 2013).

1-4-3.Kurdish as the Native Language of the Region.

Kurds are the majority nation in the Kurdistan region; therefore, Kurdish language is considered the native language and it is spoken as the mother tongue of the majority of the population of the region. Kurdish is the prevalent language, which is everyday spoken language even of those who are not Kurdish. Moreover, it is the language of literature, media, and official language, medium of instruction …etc. Therefore, it is natural for other nations in the region to switch-over to Kurdish in the speech and it is necessary in written communication. After the formation of the Kurdistan parliament and Regional Government in Iraqi- Kurdistan in 1992, Kurdish language was fully saved from political suppression. Nowadays Kurdish language gained its status as an official language both in Kurdistan region and in Iraq.

1-4-4.Kurdish as an official language

In the past Arabic as non- indigenous language was the official language of the most of the official works of the government such as legislative, judicial, parliamentary documents, drafts of bills, procedures in courts and….. etc. In addition, it was taught through the educational system and in linguistic context so Arabic became the prevalent language.

Later, Kurdish as the dominant language was officialized as the native language of the majority of the population by the March 1970 agreement between the Kurdish and central government included the declaration stating that “Kurdish language alongside the Arabic will be official languages in the areas populated by a majority of Kurdish”(Ministry of Information, 31). Unfortunately

Instead of implementing this declaration the policy of Arabization had been implemented.

After the Kurdish uprising 1991, the Regional Kurdish Government passed an order decree to implement Kurdish as an official language. However, the language debates have taken place. The official language is one of the problematic issues facing this process, and this is due to the multi-dialectical nature of Kurdish language. Central Kurmanji has gone through much of steps of the development within the passage of time, but Northern Kurmanji is stronger than Central Kurmanji in the case of the speaker, because there is a larger population speaking Northern Kurmanji within the greater Kurdistan. (Chazi,2009). Therefore, nowadays Kurdistan region has bi-official languages; Central Kurmanji in Erbil and Sulaimani provinces and Northern Kurmanji in Duhok province

1-4-5.Kurdish as a medium of instruction :

- In Kurdistan region Kurdish language found its education school system and it is normally implemented as a medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools through legislation of the relevant Iraqi-Ministry of Education to local language law since 1931, but it was limited to the primary level, but after 1970 according to the March agreement between the Iraqi Government and the leaders of the Autonomy Kurdish Movement, Kurdish Language became a medium of instruction at primary and secondary levels and after uprising in 1991, it has become a medium of instruction at higher studies on universities and technical institutions, but it was not implemented as it is required and the teachers justified that Kurdish lacks technical term and it

has shortage of scientific terminologies in addition of the fading of references in Kurdish and which variety to be implemented, but in reality, this is not true, the real thing is that they do not know Kurdish and they think in other languages according to their educated background. Nowadays, Kurdish language as a medium of instruction is exposed to the policy of expulsion which is implemented by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education by adopting a new policy in the favor of English language and they stepped as follows:

1- Ministry of Education licensed many private schools in which the medium of instruction is English language and this is considered threats to the promotion of Kurdish language.

2- English language has been taught as a language at kindergarten, primary, secondary and universities in order to be stepped for promotion as a second language.

3- English language becomes a medium of instruction at all levels, for mathematics and general science, since it is considered as a language of science.

4- Also the Ministry of Higher Education adopted the same policy; English becomes a medium of instructions for more than 80% of the curriculum in universities.

1-4-6.Standardization of Kurdish Language

Even Kurdish language has witnessed in a new era since the fall of Saddam's regime, currently it is the domain language of Iraqi Kurdistan Region and one of the official languages of Iraq, but the problem is that the KRG is dedicated to promoting two standard varieties of Kurdish as previously mentioned; Central Kurmanji

Sorani and Nothern Kurmanji Badinani; this means that Kurdish standardization became political affair in the region and this is natural for any nation state because since the birth of the French Republic most language policies have been informed by the nation ideology (Skutrabb, 2000; p. 812). It is obvious that KRG and the relevant authorities including Kurdish Academy which have to push and the process of standardization have dedicated not to have specific and an explicit language policy in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region concerning official language, medium of instructions and media..

Actually Kurdish Academy, with other institutions such as public education, Kurdish writers union, the Ministry of culture attempted at promoting Kurdish language via codification and elaboration its functions. For instance, Kurdish Academy is the place of gathering various Kurdish dialects for promoting and unifying if it is linguistically possible, and it attempts to codify Kurdish language through publishing about Kurdish language and literature in addition to Kurdish culture; the Academy has issued more than 40 round of academic magazines named (Kurdish Academy) in three languages (Kurdish, Arabic and English), also it has issued more than 30 issues of a quarterly scientific and academic journal in Kurdish and Arabic. But it does not have a clear and specific language policy and this is due to enforcing democratic values for all Kurdistani ethnic components which is adopted by KRG in Kurdistan Region..

Standardization of Kurdish Language is intensively debated, but the decision for selecting the variety to be imposed as a standard language still is not determined by the decision makers

on the reason, even in 2008 a petition signed by over 50 Kurdish intellectuals and was submitted to the government of Kurdistan Region asking the government to impose Sorani (Centeral Kurmanji) as standard Kurdish and to take necessary actions for promoting it through the process of standardization, but this demand was strongly rejected as a reaction against this demand by the so-called Bahdinani (Nothern Kurmanji) speaker especially in Duhok province. Thus, multi-dialectical nature of Kurdish language is one of the most complicated issues for the process of standardization. The selection of the variety as a standard is most problematic in Kurdistan Region especially when Hawrami speakers submitted a petition to the Government to recognize as a distinct language separate from Kurdish (Sheyhlislami, 2009).

So scholars particularly the Kurdish nationalists believe that Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) have done very little to develop a standard language to be used of public and private sectors; As previously mentioned may be this is due to the multi-dialectical nature of Kurdish language and the implementation of the bi-standard (Central Kurmanji "Sorani" and Nothern Kurmanji "Badini") which are distributed between different geographical within the Kurdistan Region which are the reasons of the lack a common language to be a standard Kurdish language. Through the investigation and overviews ,the following consequences are drawn;

1-Some of them think that the unified language can be created out of amalgamation of the principal dialects particularly Central and Northern Kurmanji through the process of functional elaboration (Nabaz, 1975).

2-Some of them demand a bi-standard Kurdish as a solution and they suggest that both Northern Kurmanji and Central Kurmanji should be promoted as a standard for Kurdish language (Hasanpour, 2009), because both of them have gained their prestigious, Central Kurmanji has passed through the process of standardization such as selection codification, functional elaboration and acceptance (Hudson, 40), while Northern Kurmanji is strong in its size, since a large population speaking Northern Kurmanji in the greater Kurdistan (Ghazi, 2009).

3-Most elites in Kurdistan region demand that the government should recognize Central Kurmanji to be the official and standard language since it has gained its prestige and it passed through the process of standardization. Therefore, they demanded that it should be promoted as the only official and standard language of Kurdish ( ).

4-The case of official and standard language raised problem and becomes controversial issue, therefore some intellectual people in Kurdistan region have another opinion, which asserts that the standardization should proceed naturally without interference and in the end there will be a common language in the region and it will promote to the official and standard language. In addition, it will gain acceptance by the whole diverse speakers of the Kurdish language. This common language will be created naturally in the commercial and administrative center, which is Erbil (Hawler) the capital of the Kurdistan Region (Jukil).

5-Another step for the official language which is implemented implicitly is that the English language to be the second language and official language as solution for the

dialectical nature of Kurdish language and this implemented by the government; for this purpose Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education in the KRG have stepped implicit to promote English language as a second and official language in the future.

1-4 -7.Kurdish Dialects:

Kurdish language is multi-dialectical in nature. The differences between some dialects are so intense that it has pushed someone to regard them as distinct language (Izaddy 1992).

The reasons of having the sharp differences between dialects are several factors such as geographical, political conditions. The political situation of the Kurds is one of the reasons, since Kurds weren't successful to unite all Kurdistan as an independent Kurdish State (Jukil), 2003, 68) and this led to having no general and common literacy tradition or standard language. The geographical nature is another factor which has made the communication and transport difficult among Kurdish speakers. Geographically Kurdish dialects can be grouped as Nothern Kurmanji in the North of Kurdistan, Central Kurmanji in the Center, Southern Kurmanji and Zaza Dimblig, Dimili) in Turkey in the region of Dersim (Khorshid, 1975).

Concerning, mutual intelligibility among speakers of these different clearly shows that the speakers can communicate with each other to a reasonable degree of understanding, which increase with a few days of practice (Jukil, 2004: 69).

1-5.The Status of other Languages

As previously mentioned that Kurdistan region is characterized by the fact of the bilingualism and multilingualism, because it has two or more languages in use in the same time and in the same place. This is natural for every nation in the world; there is hardly any nation in the world that is culturally and linguistically. The concept of homogeneity is, in fact, better suited to ethnic groups than nations. All nations are heterogeneous (sheyholilam; 2009,11). Kurdistan has adopted a policy which is close to language preservation model, and, so far, there are no signs of assimilation of the minority (nations') languages detected. All minorities in the region are free to use their languages and educate their children in their own language.

The draft of Kurdistan Region's constitution gives the status of official language and the language rights to other minority languages spoken by the majority of inhabitants.

Recent studies suggest that promotion of minority languages in Kurdistan Region such as Turkmani and Syriac is a "race positive example" among the nation building projects in the middle-East (Carnor. 1994).

Therefore the current study attempts to indicate the status of each language.

1-5-1.Turkmani Language

Turkmani language is considered an endo-golssia, since it is spoken by the Turkmen's minority, and this is due that Kurdistan has been home to diverse linguistic minorities. In the Kurdistan region, Turkmani language has gained its status as a native language

for Turkmen because it has been used as a national language for Turkmen and it has been used in media, as well as a medium of instruction in primary, secondary schools even in the university level such as Teshik University and there are departments of Turkish language in Salahaddin University- Erbil, in addition to the University of Koya.

But Nowadays most of the Turkmen prefer to send their children to the private schools in which the medium of instructions is English language, because their children have problems in the language learning, they should learn Turkmani as a mother tongue, Kurdish as the domain language in the region, Arabic as the official language of the Iraq as a country and the religious language for Muslims, English as an international language, especially after implementing the policy of development and modernism by the KRG which has mainly focused on economic aspects and Kurdistan region has been opened for investment.

1-5-2.Syraic Language:

As the Turkmani language, Syraic language is the language of Christian people who are Assyrians and Chaldeans. It has gained its status through the ancient history as the religious language of Christian and it is considered a national identity for the Assyrians and Chaldeans minorities. It is an official in the administrative units where the majority of the population are Christians. Also it is a medium of instructions in primary, secondary schools and there is a department of Syriac language in the College of education at Salahaddin University-Erbil- Also it is used in media such as magazines, radio, journal, satellite etc. Also as Turkmen children

have problems in the language learning, they have to learn Syraic, Kurdish, Arabic and English languages.

1-5-3.Arabic Language

Islam had introduced Arabic language into Kurdistan, as a result most Kurdish Muslim people are bilinguals in addition to their mother tongue they know Arabic because the obligatory daily prayer and other rituals are conducted in Arabic language, and the Holy Quran is written in Arabic for delivering the divine message. Really the majority of Kurdistan populations are Muslims, so they have to be trained to learn Arabic to carry out the Islamic cult.

After World War I, Iraq was formed as a modern state, and Kurdistan as Mosul Wylayat was directly subordinated to Iraq. Since Arabic language is the backbone of nation's existence with the the establishment of Modern state of Iraq, Iraq had adopted the policy of integration of ethnic minorities via linguistic assimilation for the interest of Arabs- Iraq had adopted an extreme centralist policy in economy, politics, education and language. In this way Arabic assumed a superior status, since it is the language of religion, official language and a medium of instruction and became one of the means of the educational advancement for the most of elites in Iraqi-Kurdistan even after Kurdish uprising of 1991, Arabic has its traces in functional elaboration, such publishing books, administrative and functions.

After the formation an autonomous regional state with a parliament of Kurdistan Region and establishing a council of ministers on 4 July 1992 the policy of "decentralization" of the Arabic language had been adopted considering that the majority

of population in Kurdistan Region were Kurdish speakers. Thus, crucial changes in the language policy had been taken place, for the interest of Kurdish language. However, Arabic language still plays a significant role in Iraqi Kurdistan. The main reason is that Arabic is the Iraqi State's official language. Most of the elites and senior Kurdish politician and law makers were educated in Arabic, some of those in power still use Arabic in writing. Yet Arabic is important as a religious language and as a symbol of Islam in Kurdistan region.

1-5-4.English Language

Even English is considered as an eco-glossia, but at the same time it has gained its prestige as an international language. It is used as a lingua franca for communications between different groups. But historically in Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan, during British Mandate on Iraq -1920- 1933, (Salih; 1996,) English language was introduced to be taught as a foreign language, English became one of the means of educational advancement. English was taught with 5th grade of primary level, but now it is taught beginning from its grade of primary and it takes up its position in the curriculum of the education system of the secondary level. English is the medium of instruction for mathematics and general sciences modules even in the primary and secondary stages. Also English is the language of teaching scientific subjects in universities and other institutions of higher studies.

After 2003, English has been stepped gradually to replace Arabic as a second language of the KR. There are hundreds of private schools that use English language as a medium of

instructions such Ishik (Nowadays Teshik), Choueifat, Nilover, Cambridge, Bala, Media… etc. Also more than one hundred of public schools at the level of basic schools and preparatory schools have decided to change their medium of instructions from Kurdish into English language by the ministry of education of KRG. Also a handful of private universities have decided to use English as the medium of instructions such as Kurdistan- Hawler, Teshik, Lebanese –French, Cihan and American Universities in Duhok and Sulaimania. After 2011, several programs in various public universities such as Salahaddin University _ Erbil, Soran University and University of Duhok have started to use English Language as a medium of instructions in a number of programs in their curricula. Also for the purpose of marketing and preparing cadres for market and the investment projects, many groups who concerned with the education and business use English which its status has been promoted and gained prestige even more than of indigenous languages in the region and to be official language to solve the problem of standardization process instead of announcing one Kurdish dialect to be the official language. Furthermore, in the 2015, a group of parliamentarians claimed to recognize English as one of the official languages of Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

1-5-5.Persian Language

Persian language is considered as an exo-glossia since its non-indigenous language in Iraqi Kurdistan Region because it does not have native speakers and it has not gained its status neither as an official language nor as a medium of instruction. It is used as a secondary language in some cases especially by the Kurdish

Youth in Kurdistan region who were refuges in Iran aftermath of the collapse of the Kurdish uprising in in March 1975; as the result of the notorious treaty of Algiers in which nearby 129000 Kurds displaced in Iran (Entessar 1992). They lived there till the uprising of March 1991, Most of them learned Persian because of the linguistic context and their children who were educated in Iran. When they returned home , they were bilingual using their mother tongue (Kurdish) and Persian, this still has its traces, therefore, most of them switch codes to Persian in various situation also there are three departments of Persian in the universities such as Salahaddin, Koya universities and University of Sulaimani.

The Components of Kurdish Nation Building and the Language Practice and Management in Iraqi Kurdistan RegionThe Components of Kurdish Nation

BUILDING AND THE LANGUAGE. PRACTICE AND MANAGEMENT IN IRAQI KURDISTAN REGION

Muhammad Qadir Saeed, PhD.

1.4 Language: Threats and Revival

"I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigrees of nations" (Samuel Johnson cited in Ranker vote on everything) (https://www.m.ranker.com). Supporting Hassanpour (1992), Sheyholislami (2015: 30) points out that most Kurds identify themselves as speakers of the Kurdish language which ranks fourth in the Middle East following Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and fortieth in the world. However, such numeric strength has neither resulted in the official recognition of Kurdish not has it helped the language to be immune from stigmatization, suppression and even endangerment. Notably, one of the great threats Kurdish language experienced during the previous regimes is genocide. Gull (2013: 54) makes sure that a stockpile of reliable documents of the previous regime came into the hands of Kurdish authority which was about 30 tons when the uprising took place. According to the report number E/CN.4/1993/31 of UN's human rights committee it was confirmed that Genocide had been practiced on the Kurds. To be to the point, genociding language was one of the types some of the writers focused on. Jambaz (2014: 317, 318) is one of those who proved with confidential documents that genociding Kurdish language was mainly a goal the Ba'ath regime seriously tried to achieve. As a kind of solution, he considers the law of formal languages a way to stop the genocide of other languages, which was a goal the Ba'ath regime planned to achieve when the regime wanted to prevent the Kurdish language from being the language of education and they wanted to start from the academic year 1990-1991, but they failed. Nawkhosh (2013: 49) believes that the Kurdish Marxists are currently adopting the same

policy and are ignorantly working to make the dream of Arabic nationalism come true as they work on the hypothesis of building two Kurdish Sorani and Badini states in the south of Kurdistan. Therefore, Sabir (2008: 125) assumes that the Kurdish language could be facing a great threat of extinction if the current situation of the Kurdish language continues. There needs to be an end to the process of Kurdish language distribution and distortion, and more attention should be paid to the Kurdish language to be able to innovate and cope scientifically with other languages of the world. Writers and linguists are required to play their influential roles and avoid further language and culture distortion.

From Sabir's viewpoint (ibid, 110) distorting the Kurdish language and breaking its simplest grammatical rules in writing are the greatest difficulties after having no standard Kurdish language. As at the beginning of the 1930s till now, many of Kurdish linguists and scholars have made great efforts to establish the grammatical foundations of Central Kirmanji. Consequently, great work is being done in this respect. Nevertheless, after all these valuable efforts, Kurdish grammar is still being distorted in publications and the media. Mushir and Ali (2013: 205) focus on the rapprochement of dialects through showing TV movies and particular series in the TV satellite station or local TVs and consider it a sort of threat. Hereby, enabling the writers and story tellers to prepare their works in standard language is recommended. The way the Kurdish language in newspapers, journals, and TV channels is distorted is very strange because it is being forced to find itself within the framework of the Arabic language from different perspectives of grammar, syntax, and word formation. It seems that there is nothing

known as a language sponsor. In a word, the fate of the Kurdish language is being left to destiny, or may be said that it has become a victim of the internal political crisis and is being subjugated to political party policy instead of the national policy. The problem is not with the Kurds having no grammar or structural rules for their language, or with updating and improving these rules, but the problem is with the scientific authority that is required to do such work. That is, which scientific authority is going to unify and arrange such efforts and legislate them? Which political authority will fix them within the educational system and media? How can a Kurdish student learn his language perfectly in his first year at the primary stage of school in a scientific way and through one educational program and one standard language? Besides these two basic problems that have already been mentioned, there are other significant problems, and their solution is connected to the issue of standard language and fixing Kurdish grammar. For instance, the problem of punctuation; wondering and not knowing how to deal with word formation and new expressions in the fields of the social sciences, and natural and technical studies are part of the chaos that has been affecting the grammar and structure of the Kurdish language.

What some parents do in terms of encouraging their children to learn the second language through sending them to private schools is wrong. Surkhi (2013: 49) confirms that learning the second language without paying attention to the mother tongue will lead the Kurdish language to a kind of committing suicide or the slow death. Hereby, the Ministry of Education in England prevents the children from learning the second language till they reach

11 years. Saeed (2013: 90-91) shows that most of the scholars (specialists) of education and learning prefer allowing children to learn the second language after they become nine years old due to the negative impact of learning second language on the mother language. Mushir and Ali (2013: 200)

1.4.1 Kurdish Standardization and the Threat of Nation Separation

Having two standards in Iraqi Kurdistan is a debated topic, since some Kurdish academics like Hassanpour are with two standard languages whereas there are others like Qays, Sabir, and Nawkhosh that stand firmly against having two standards. Though Aziz (2015: 42) believes that there was a whole institutional system of printing presses, publishing houses, newspapers, magazines and literary societies outside the authority of the previous Iraqi state after the uprising of 1990 and it was only then a new approach and modern standardized language were given shape, and regardless of who is with it and who is against the idea of two standards, this issue is very sensitive, and the authority needs to make a decisive decision so as to prevent the Kurdish language from being watered down. The central point here is that the limited literature on the Kurdish language demonstrates that there is no single unified standard language in Kurdistan. Hereby, Tofiq (2007: 38) believes that the Kurdish language has been already divided into Sorani and Badini, and the teaching situation for Kurdish lessons in schools in the cities of Erbil and Dohuk shows that this has become an inevitable truth. The effort to write and teach the curriculum from books in two dialects is an ignorant attempt to correct what is wrong in this

respect. Such efforts are a kind of indirect motivation for watering down of the language. Nevertheless, Tofiq believes that the authority can change the direction from having two standard directions into the direction of having only one unified and standard language through putting a good plan in place. This will not be easy, but at the same time it is not impossible if there is serious determination. For Jwaideh (2006: 288) having two separate and identical Kurdish dialects being established in Iraqi Kurdistan would definitely tend to hinder the education of the illiterate Kurdish masses in IKR. Though it is a matter of wasting much time and effort for Jwaideh to let the process of duplication get involved in the mission of developing two separate dialects into effectual literary and scientific vehicles, Aziz (2015: 49) assumes that the opposite of much of what has been written about the language (s) of the Kurds is true since it is clear from the start that in Iraqi Kurdistan there is one Kurdish language and there are not multiple languages as many Western observers mistakenly believe. What's more, there are only two dialects. Another problem which is a threat encountering Kurdish language is the conflict of varieties among the politicians and educationalists of Badinan and Soran zones. Each group/side is calling for choosing their dialects to be the standard language. There is another group which calls for having two standards. Such efforts aren't based on scientific principles and those who made them aren't linguistic specialists. Khurshid, (2011: 184)

In a word, it is strange to find this carelessness and to see that nobody has had the determination to prevent the efforts to divide the Kurdish language into two separate languages. Why is it difficult not to answer the threats our national security is encountering? There

is a serious necessity for a project to work on a unified language. If there is a determination, the efforts will, no doubt, be fruitful and history will remember the name of anyone who participates in achieving this project, and his efforts will be recorded with glory. The new and coming generation will appreciate such a valuable service.

1.5 Conclusion

In brief, there is a relationship between the distribution and multi-dialects of the Kurdish language, and the Kurdish crisis of politics, religion, culture and education. In fact, the problems and the crisis of the Kurdish language, in particular the ones of standard language or a unified literary language are substantially part of the problems and crisis of Kurdish nationalism. The KRG has respected the rights of all minorities without exceptions. There is the fear that once Kurdish is considered a group of languages rather than several dialects, the Kurdish people will be divided into different linguistic groups, and the Kurdish nation will no longer exist. To have an explicit language policy is one of the influential choices the priority is to be given to by the officials and the linguists of the IKR.

2-The Language Policy in Iraqi Kurdistan Region from the Perspective of Spolsky's Theories

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Language policy which takes the role of an interdisciplinary discipline is in close and direct contact with social sciences. Hereby, the national language policy of each nations is found

to be the consequences of the complex interaction of political, cultural, religious, educational and economic domains (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 1-42). While Spolsky considers the time language policy came into existence, he (2004: 75) proposes that four basic and co-occurring factors will motivate the language policy of modern independent nation states. The four proposed factors are national ideology, the role of English as a global language, a nation's sociolinguistic situation, and an increasing interest in the rights of linguistic minorities. In an answer and as a sort of reaction to what Spolsky (2004, 133) himself proposes in terms of this theoretical model which he finds it necessary to know the its credibility in real cases, this chapter tries to introduce Iraqi Kurdistan as a tempting and actual case.

Though the beginning of Kurdish literature is difficult to date (Blau cited in Jabar and Dawod,1996: 21), both ancient and contemporary issues of language are specifically related to present language policy in one way or another in the Kurdish community which has stayed enthusiastically involved in the its language management since the age (succession) of Amawi (Tofiq, 2007: 9) since the process of Arabization goes back to that time and the Kurdish elite wrote in the languages of their overlords but creative poets were the first to use Kurdish, their mother tongue, in their work. The first known literary masterpieces that depicted and made the Kurdish language a symbol of collective identity, a marker of the identity of the Kurdish people emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries, when Kurdistan was then the central point of the greed of its powerful neighbors. At the end of the 17th century, the poet and philosopher Ahmed Khani framed the idea that the

Kurds were a distinctive people, in his Mam u Zin (Blau cited in Jabar and Dawod, 2006: 103); (Khaznadar, 2010). Accordingly, literature was one of the valuable points that were the column of language which preserved it from fading and getting extinct. That is, Kurdish literature is the best example which worked as a strong support for language. (Hamad, 2013: 168)

Notably, the Kurdish language was probably the strongest means through which Kurdish nation identity is kept and the Kurdish language is not melted into Arabic language just like other languages such as the languages of the minorities found before the establishment of the current Arab nation states (Tofiq, 2007: 9); (Hamad, 2013: 146). As far as the emergence of nationality (national feeling) in the Kurdish literature (especially in the Kurdish poetry) is concerned, one can say that most of the Kurdish poets talked about nationality but some of them focused more on such feeling (sense), for instance, Ahmadi Khani is well-known for his poetry in which the sense of nationality is clearly seen. After the war of Chalderan and the division of Kurdistan, the ideology of Kurdayati (nationality) was found in the Kurdish poetry in a new style. One of those who wanted to insert the ideology of nationalism into his poetry was Khani. The second part of the 19th century witnessed the emergence of (Haji Qaderi Koyee) who completed what Khani started until he reached the top. The two orientations that Khani and Haji initiated in two different ages paved the way for being a school which guided other poets to adopt the same steps. Talking about Khani and Haji doesn't indicate that other poets didn't appear. There were definitely many other poets who talked about nationality in their poetries. Mustafa (2006)

Today, language policy discourse is more essential to up-to-date Iraqi Kurdistan sociolinguistic situation, and it is found to work on the improving the Iraqi Kurdistan's linguistic homogeneity. Further, Kurdish besides Arabic is the formal language of the region (Bengio, 2012: 16); (Jambaz, 2014: 18) in addition to Talabany (2013: 65-102). To be to the point, Spolsky's discussions displays that Kurds are not counted in Iraqi Kurdistan as a monolingual nation since other minorities have been coexisted long ago. This chapter tries to examine non-linguistic pressures on language management in Iraqi Kurdistan in an effort to test the second model of Spolsky's language policy through showing whether the effects of previous Iraqi Ba'ath Regime continue to show up even after the uprising of 1991 or not. The last component is what Spolsky calls self-management, an individual who modifies his or her language repertoire usually by learning a new language. It accounts for private language schools, and the way that some parents hire tutors for their children. It is assumed that in the case of Kurdistan it is likely to be the nonlinguistic problems that interfere with working out a satisfactory language policy. Accordingly, this paper finds that most of the linguistic and non-linguistic factors indicated by Spolsky's theories have driven in one way or another Kurdish language policy.

2.1 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

This study takes into its account the aforementioned factors of Spolsky's theory besides the non-linguistic pressures on language management as well as self-management of an individual who modifies his or her language repertoire usually by learning a new

language and analyzed their relations to present Kurdish language policy in order to conclude as to whether, and if so, how, these factors and components of these three different theories have motivated Kurdish language policy. Accordingly, the adopted approach is qualitative.

The official form of language policy as a sociolinguistic branch doesn't go back to an old age. Hereby, eminent specialists of Kurdish language policy and sociolinguistics were particularly interested in latest debates and discussion and to name few of them, one may refer to Tofiq (2007); Nawkhosh (2010, 2013); Sabir (2008) and others like Jambaz (2014) with their wide-ranging works and detailed studies of language in Kurdish. Meanwhile, this study also depends on principal sources that offer intuition and proofs of Kurdish language policy to government and government funded websites (e.g., the Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Scientific Studies, and the Academic Institute for Kurdish Studies), and news media with stories, editorials and opinions in contact to language policy discourse. Although the research was restricted to sources found in Kurdish, scholarship in Kurdish sociolinguistics and Kurdish language policy information is generally found in Kurdish, English, and Arabic a little bit.

Notably, this study tackles three supplementary theories in which four distinct components besides other nonlinguistic pressures that affect the community and the individuals in Iraqi Kurdistan community are explored. In a word, this paper is an effort to arrive at a systematic and crucial analysis of each element in the Kurdish context after considering and tackling Spolsky's national language policy theories and his definition of what language policy comprises.

2.2 Spolsky's Theories

2.2.1 Spolsky's First Theory

For Spolsky (2009: 1) the following four collective and co-occurring forces drive language policies at the national level:

- national (or ethnic) ideology or claims of identity;
- the role of English as a global language;
- a nation's sociolinguistic situation; and
- an increasing interest in linguistic rights within the human and civil rights framework.

As far as the first factor is concerned, beliefs and principles related to a common psyche that may appear in language policy mainly depend on the first factor of Spolsky's theory, i.e. national ideology and identity. To be to the point, language is one of the principles of national security, for example, many nations of the south part of Arabian gulf peninsula, Sham, and North Africa got extinct due to the process of Arabization. Consequently, they lost their countries and lands as they lost their languages. They are all known as Arabs now and their countries become part of the Arab state. Thus, the national security of Kurdistan is restricted to the strength of language (Hamid and Raza, 2013: 116); (Hamad, 2013: 161). On one hand, the idea and the struggle for saving the Kurds from the national oppression through uniting all parts of Kurdistan in an independent Kurdistan state is what is known by Jukil (2014: 8-9) as Kurdayeti, on the other hand, Kurdish is a genuine medium through which the Kurdish ethnic identity is expressed and it is an important criterion that differentiates them from their neighbors nationally and ethnically (Blau cited in Jabar and Dawod, 2006: 111); (Jukil, 2014: 7). Accordingly, the importance of language to

the national identity in Kurdistan is uncovered by the ancient history and proto-national identity. The political culture of Kurdistan from the twelfth through the nineteenth century reacts and answers the fundamental question as to whether there occurred a Kurdish nationalism in the contemporary sense of the term during that period. (Aziz, 2015: 45)

The second factor revolves around the function of English as a global language which is embodied by the impression given by Spolsky (2004: 220) when he assumes that the 'tidal wave of English' is spreading and reaching nearly every sociolinguistic repertoire throughout the universal language ecology. Though the history of the journey of English in Kurdistan is not a long one, IKR is not excluded. English which is the universal communication language plays a crucial role in terms of the current international social and economic movements and changes. As a matter of fact, the colonial rule in the past wasn't the key player for spreading English in Iraqi Kurdistan. Nevertheless, it seems that the Ministry of Education in Iraqi Kurdistan has practically started its first steps towards giving the priority to English as a second language in Iraqi Kurdistan since the language of education is changed from Kurdish into English and as empirical samples the process is currently in place for the first three stages. That is, as a language polity but without being studied, the Ministry of Education is adopting the steps of other locations and states such as Netherlands which insistently prioritizes English as a second language (L2) (Ytsma, 2000: 228). Nevertheless, the consequences of such a step has an adverse consequence the Iraqi KRG is to be aware of because the tidal wave of English is a great threat for the local languages. Surkhi

(2013: 49) confirms that learning the second language without paying attention to the mother tongue will lead the Kurdish language to a kind of committing suicide or the slow death. Hereby, the status or vitality of local languages are protected in different ways all over the world. For example, discourse in Germany indicates that there is a boiled worry about English. Hence, one can find a lot of debates in terms of marginalization of German (Phillipson, 2003: 80). In a word, despite of the confirmation of the growth and development of the modern national language, and of the facilities that enable English language to be superior in Iraqi Kurdistan, in a statistics made by Aziz (2015: 141-143) among a group of students of Salahaddin University in terms of the attachment and loyalty to Kurdish, Arabic, and English languages. The students were basically from College of Science and College of Arts. In conclusion 90 per cent of the students agreed that the priority is to be given to Kurdish and this was a vigorous finding.

The third factor deals with sociolinguistic situation which revolves around the number and types of languages and their speakers, the communicative significance of each language both inside and outside the community being studied (Spolsky, 2004: 219). Though apparently supporting dialects and sub-dialects is a threat which may divide language and melt the nation (Hamid and Raza, 2013: 117-118); (Nawkhosh, 2010), the dialects are to be served to make use of them for having a standard language and to adopt the same method of Arabic Kufa school where they discussed and investigated dialects so as to arrive at the rules and fix these rules in the Arabic standard language later on. Accordingly, the project of formal languages, which is prepared by two lawyers and

two linguists, is the only project which is forwarded to Kurdistan Parliament in Kurdish in an effort to preserve Kurdish language from the threats Kurdish language encountered them. (Jambaz and et al, 2012: 5-19)

In fact, until the 1920s Kurdish classical poets and literate Kurds, like all non-Arab Muslim peoples of the region, used the Arabo-Persian alphabet. After the First World War, Kurds in Iraq attempted to Latinize their alphabet. Today Kurdish is written mainly in three scripts: Arabic, Latin and Cyrillic. Surkhi (2013: 24) believes that the principal way to preserve any language from getting changed is through recording it in a written form. It is to the authors of the period 1920-60 that the efforts to Kurdicise the Kurdish language by removing all formal and lexical borrowing from the dominant languages is to be credited (Blau cited in Kreyenbrock & Allison, 1996: 23). After the 1990s an entire institutional network of printing presses, publishing houses, newspapers, magazines and literary societies was created outside the purview of the previous Iraqi state. It was through this venue that a new approach and modern standardized language was given shape (Aziz, 2015: 42). Likewise, after the 1990s the means of new technological communications played a significant role in Kurdish national aspirations. On one hand, technology rapidly fills the gaps of life and adds many new terms and words to various dictionaries and enrich them. This is a positive point which is carried out as a consequence of development but this has also a negative impact on the native language and weakens the humanitarian feeling (Hamad, 2013: 137), on the other hand, the education system of the Kurdish-language functioning in southern Iraqi Kurdistan

depended on an intellectual elite operating from within 'Kurdistan' rather than from the diaspora to participate enormously in the development of Kurdish studies, but it was not possible to satisfy speakers of minority dialects. Thus, the political situation exposed the education system to a sort of interruption and opened the door for government intervention. The oral traditions can't be afforded to ignore by any serious Kurdish culture study throughout their history. Allison cited in (Kreyenbrock & Allison, 1996: 29-30)

The increasing global interest, Spolsky (2004: 220) states to be found, in linguistic diversity and an approval of the requirement to acknowledge individuals and groups rights to go on using the languages they own is the final factor of his first theory. It seems that it is due to the influential role of the linguistic rights that made Spolsky (2005: 2152-2164) especially mention the global understanding of issues related to minority ethnic groups being sparked and confirmed by the American civil rights movement and twentieth century international human rights instruments for the sake of safeguarding language minorities either clearly or covertly. Being counted as a component of human rights, language spurs nations to provide their minorities with language rights such as requirements for minority language-medium schooling in some way (Spolsky, 2004: 113). In fact, this is the case, for instance, for speakers of Turkman, Assyrian, and Arman minorities in IKR (Jambaz, 2014: 133)

On the level of Iraq, the rights of Kurds and minorities is kept safe in the rule of mother tongue. According to the first item of article 4 of the Iraqi Constitution in (2005) both Arabic and Kurdish languages are two formal languages in Iraq. Likewise, all other

ethnic groups of Iraq have their rights to use their own languages in the educational institutions such as Turkmani, Syriac and Armenian languages. The fourth item of the Iraqi constitution in 2005 which is the only lawful texts on the international level which recognizes the Kurdish language as a formal language. Accordingly, the final factor of Spolsky's theory assumes that nations pay necessary attention to evolving and executing indulgent language rights for their minorities.

Educational System in Kurdistan covers minorities' rights in education such as Turkmani, Assyrians and Arabs. Aftermath Kurdish uprising in March 1991, for the first time the minorities of Turkmans and Assyrians gained their rights in Education and their languages became medium of instruction. Since the previous Iraqi Ba'ath regime put Turkmani and Syriac languages in the corner of domestic function and forced their users to change their real nationality into Arabs through many channels. Concerning Syriac language, the Iraqi Ba'ath regime had attempted to put in the corner of religious function only. But after the Kurdish uprising of March, 1991, Turkmani and Syriac languages gained their real status as native language for Turkmans and Assyrians respectively. For the first time some primary schools for Turkmani and Syriac were opened in the areas where the majority of population are Turkmani or Syriac speaker. By the academic year 2001-2002 Turkmani and Syriac schools has expanded (Jukil, 2005: 39-40). Further, the range of the expansion of Turkmani and Syriac schools has increased. That is, the number of Turkmani has increased by 30 schools and the number of Syriac schools has increased by 62 schools (Jambaz, 2014: 133, 137).

As an example for the impacts of migration and crossing the language and national limit, the education system in different states paved the way for many education languages of the schools. Actually, the existence of minorities groups in the societies of indigenous people and new migrated groups made the education insert Kurdish language into the working plan of such countries. There are Turkman private schools in the Iraqi Kurdistan cities which enable the Turkish language to accommodate itself step by step. The Choueifat private English school enables the Kurdish school to get mixed with English more and exchange more terms and words with such a language. Such exchanges among the languages that are like twins are in a continuous movement though negative points are expected if they are not dealt with consciously. Hamad (2013: 143)

Accordingly, there are rights and requests minorities groups are demonstrating in many parts of the world for the sake of practicing their languages and they submitted requests for studying their languages at schools or they asked for opening private schools in this respect. Sabir (2009: 33)

However, Kurd was most probably seen as an elucidative minority when the point is about Microsoft and Kurdish-language software. Iraqi Kurdistan is to view this as a catastrophic burden of supranational language policy on a minority. Definitely, this confirms the position of this factor of Spolsky's first theory and the interconnect relation it has with the three other forces of the theory. Accordingly, it seems so far that Kurdish language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan has been informed by the linguistic rights of minority ethnic groups.

2.2.2 Spolsky's Second Theory

The relevant part of the addition to Spolsky's theory concentrates on non-linguistic pressures on language management in Portuguese and French colonies after independence. The gist of the theory revolves around the non-linguistic factors and the effects of colonialism or any other forces that controlled a nation and continue to show up even after independence. Iraqi Kurdistan which is a state within a state (Bengio, 2012: ix) faced many internal and external obstacles as at the first moment of Iraq's transition to a colonial state (Natali, 2005: 26) till the beginning of the twenty-first century when Kurds had cast off the sorry image and witnessed a profound transformation.

Iraqi Kurdistan won or were granted independence from Iraqi Ba'ath regime in 1991 but it was left with social, economic, political, and linguistic problems which were the outcomes of the previous planned politics of the previous regimes in Iraq. By 1957 Kurdish language was ignored in primary schools, for example, there was one Kurdish school in Arbil, (The First Hawler school), all the remaining schools were Arabic; in Bahdinan, formal education was considered a taboo. In Kirkuk, schools did not accept Kurdish books but they returned them back to the ministry. At a time, even singing in Kurdish was prohibited in schools in Slaimani, and they attempted to get rid of Kurdish education, this was in boys' schools, whereas all girls' schools were taught in Arabic (Nabez, 1957:41-42). The same procedures continued after Ba'ath regime came to power in 1968 till 1991 but in a different way. For instance, the Ba'ath regime planned to forbid the Kurdish language through preventing it from being the language of education; according to

their plan, they wanted to start from the academic year 1990-1991, but they failed (Jambaz, 2014: 317, 318). In a word, Spolsky (2018: 62-97) tries to convey in his second theory that non-linguistic forces prevent or handicap severely the implementation of the language policy. Most of the states in Africa and the Americas and the Pacific continued the colonial selection of the metropolitan language as sole official language, in Asia, local languages took over, and in North Africa, Arabization was attempted. Being one of the independent entities of the middle east, Iraqi Kurdistan tries to shape and establish a self-governing Kurdish entity having its own national language policy.

2.2.3 Spolsky's Third Theory

The third theory deals with what Spolsky himself calls self-management, an individual who modifies his or her language repertoire usually by learning a new language. It accounts for private language schools, and the way that some parents hire tutors for their children. In the case of Kurdistan, it is likely to be nonlinguistic problems that interfere with working out a satisfactory language policy (Spolsky, 2018). The story of the private schools in Iraqi Kurdistan goes back to the monarchy period when many isolated efforts were made for spreading education in Kurdistan via opening private schools the most well-known of which are "Kashti Noah" founded by writer Najmadin Mullah, and "Jamhiyat Zanisti Kurdi" "scientific society" founded by Ahmed Tawfiq for teaching the Kurdish language to the laborers in the evenings until 1937 when it was closed and the government (Mutasarif) of Sulemani withdrew its license later (Jukil, 2003: 113).[1 SEP]Since that time

none of the private schools were granted any license for opening in Kurdistan till 1997 when the phase of private education in the Kurdistan region resumed and got improved in the interest of the modern educational system under the auspice of the Ministry of Education of KRG. Due to the policies have been adopted by the Ministry of Education which encourages private sectors to take part in the education process in Kurdistan and to the impact of globalization, many private schools have been opened. Recently, a considerable wave of private contribution in education Iraqi Kurdistan experienced since it is likely to grow due to the support they got from the KRG which provided the private sectors with land and legal contribution.

Parents that can afford sending their children to such private schools due to certain factors such as the modern technical instruments, and the curriculum which depends on English as the medium of instruction. Despite of the negative impression such schools have by the majority of the population since their fees are too expensive, many parents encourage their children to learn the second language through sending them to private schools or hiring tutors in this respect.

1.3 Conclusion

This paper assumes that the Spolsky's four forces besides the most updated policies participate in shaping language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan adopting the steps Spolsky took and imagined. That is, national ideology, English as a global language, the sociolinguistic situation, and an internationally developing interest in linguistic minority rights besides non-linguistic pressures on language

management in Iraqi Kurdistan as well as the efforts made by an individual to modify his or her language repertoire usually by learning a new language and what is accounted for in this respect is the private schools where the parents afford the tuitions of their children especially when they hire tutors for them. The priority is given to non-linguistic problems when it comes to the factors that interfere with working out a satisfactory language policy in the case of Iraqi Kurdistan. Notably, Kurdish today is definitely the same language of the ancient forefathers. It is due to the growth of English as a global language that the people in Iraqi Kurdistan try enthusiastically to acquire English as their second language and it is due to English threat protectionist language planning measures to face English impact and preserve Kurdish. Thus, paying attention to linguistic rights of the minorities to improve and utilize their native languages has driven Kurdish existing language policy. Hence, the Kurdish situation doesn't consider domestic linguistic diversity as a threat. Anyhow, this study recommends/affirms keeping all four forces and finds it unnecessary to expand Spolsky's first theory in any way. Ultimately, this paper calls for the successful application of Spolsky's national language policy theories to illustrate national-level language management including the language beliefs and language practices which establish his complete conceptualization of language policy and display dissimilarly in different levels of the language policy.

3- CONCLUSION and SUMMARY

3.0 Introduction

This study has shown the role and the relation of language policy to the process of nation building and focused on the implicit

dimension of the language management in IKR. This final chapter synthesizes the contribution of this work to our understanding of language policy through summarizing the findings of the hypothesis presented at the introductory chapter, then comes across the wider implications of the thesis and finally it makes some necessary suggestions and recommendations to be done to improve the way language is to be managed in IKR.

3.1 Summary of the Findings

First of all, this chapter will address each of the following five hypotheses in turn. It arrives at the result that the first hypothesis of this study underlies the role the language policy and planning will play in terms of helping any language to participate effectively in the process of nation building. The language policies might have given a great space for the language development but it does not give it linguistic union till now especially on the levels of education, and publication. Being a means for indicating national identity and existence, language will gain an important and sensitive position when an ethnic group lacks a political entity or when others do not recognize it. Then, struggling for its preservation and enhancement will be one of the political and cultural goals which can be achieved whenever there is an accurate language policy.

Accordingly, the best policy for any language in this respect is the one in which the language should pass through language planning stages of selection, codification, functional elaboration and acceptance before gaining a status of a standard language. It is true that Kurdish language didn't go through these stages but it was one of the main factors for the existence of Kurds

throughout their history. To put it more precisely, the historical background of any independent and official language may focus on its being practiced and managed by the people then a decision is made by a state, government or a political body. That is, this is the essence of language policy and this shows that most of the official and common languages are working according to the aforementioned components. Nevertheless, this doesn't indicate that the authority is always required to make a decisive decision in this respect. Though the easiest policies to recognize are the ones that are existed in official documents as statements, and clauses in national constitutions, or a language law, or a cabinet document or administrative regulations, many states and governments all over the world are found without having formal or written language policy. Hereby, this study assumes that the nature of the language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan mainly relies on the language practice or beliefs the people have in addition to the efforts the academics make. That is, Iraqi Kurdistan is one of the regions where a stateless nation experiences an implicit language policy and the best way to keep it active is to work on strengthening the link between the academics and the officials. Adoption of an explicit language policy that this study calls for is one of the most vital approaches to be used by the officials of the Iraqi Kurdish authority during the process of transition from being part of Iraqi government to a nation-state.

As far as the second hypothesis is concerned, there is nothing wrong with the directionality of the hypothesis which assumes that any nation building is to rely on the development of the social, economic, religious, and cultural components as well as the methods

of dealing with the differences of such components. This work shows how language which is a linguistic component interacted with other domains which embody non-linguistic components in IKR. Accordingly, this study participates in one way or another in the existence of an implicit language policy within a complicated collection of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors that compose the complete ecology of human life and boost the process of nation building. Likewise, it will definitely contribute to the reorganization of a well-established language policy to facilitate and support the Kurdish nation unification and make use of educational status and, accordingly, be able to raise national and political awareness. It will minimize the inevitable outcomes like biases and prejudices which are expected from language centrism.

The third hypothesis reveals the complicated linguistic situation in Iraq Kurdistan where the solution is found to be nearly impossible since academics and those who are interested in language are not in the same boat in terms of choosing the same dialect. Everything is divided into two or more than two and this may justify why there isn't one united language in Iraqi Kurdistan. It seems that Iraqi Kurdistan won't imitate Norwegian experiment and it doesn't work according to the successful models of language policies such as Israeli and Finnish language policies which could be adopted in one way or another. Thus, there is no space for the possibilities like: choosing one of the current and dominant vernacular and developing it later, to have an amalgam of the various current varieties, to have two standard vernaculars each enjoying the status of a formal written language or to import

a prestigious world language. What complicated the solution to fix the problematic linguistic situation of Iraqi Kurdistan is the attitude of its academics. For a group of them to assume having a specific, united, and standardized Kurdish language the IKR requests which is to be decomposed is to problematize a myth the consequences of which the IKR can't accept since the negative points of this process could be more than its positive ones. That is, the hegemonic dominance of a variety like Kurdish-Sorani over other varieties in terms of language matters in Iraqi Kurdistan not only supports the inaccurate position the Kurdish-Sorani will take as the only standardized Kurdish variety but it also overthrows critical perspectives on linguistic rights and language multiplicity in Kurdistan. Another group is totally opposing this idea and gives the priority to one of the varieties. Sorani academics prefer Sorani dialect while Badinani (Kirmanji) academics and few of the Sorani academics like Hassanpour and Sheyholislami prefer Badinani (Kirmanji) dialect. Accordingly, this study prefers a dictatorial solution in this case. The Kurdish authority is to put an end to the linguistic competition between both varieties in Badinan and Soran zones and is to intrude to make a decisive decision in terms of using one of the varieties as the official language of IKR. This study tips the balance in favor of Sorani dialect because the majority of the Kurdish literature and works is written in Sorani dialect for more than a century.

Unfortunately, the current situation of language of education doesn't convey a good news since this fourth hypothesis of this study shows that the Kurdish officials in the education domain give the priority to the English language on behalf of Kurdish language

and this is for sure a step towards accelerating Kurdish language death. English which is now being enhanced by globalization threatens the culture and national identity of any nation. It seems that the growth of global English will continue and is unlikely to cease without either enormous changes to the balance of global power or advances in technology because the world is in a transition period and, as a result, English will be only one of many big languages in the next 50 years as more countries are influenced by globalization and economic development. Having no official language policy or policies that standardized education besides adopting strategies designed to promote the private school sector on behalf of the governmental school is an indicator this study hypothesized to play a destructive role on Kurdish language and the efforts for putting an end to the debate of standardization.

The last hypothesis of this study gives a glance to three of the most updated theories of Spolsky from the perspective of which Kurdish language policy is driven. The theories rely on both linguistic and non-linguistic factors to shape national language policies. That is, national ideology, English as a global language, the sociolinguistic situation, and an internationally developing interest in linguistic minority rights are four coexisting factors that construct the first theory of Spolsky. This study shows that all of these factors are found in the case of Iraqi Kurdistan and this indicates that a sort of language policy could be detected. Meanwhile, the non-linguistic pressures that compose the construction of the second theory of Spolsky have a great impact on the way language is managed in Iraqi Kurdistan where second language acquisition is the motivation beyond the amendment of one's language repertoire

whenever he/she made efforts in this respect. Most of the people who can afford the tuitions of their children would rather prefer private schools and would rather hire tutors believing that the best educational setting is the one where the language of education is English. Despite of the first Spolsky's theory and its four coexisting factors, the priority is given to the non-linguistic issues found on the Iraqi Kurdistan arena when it comes to the factors that stand as barriers on the way of producing an acceptable language policy in the case of Iraqi Kurdistan.

3.2 Conclusions

This part of chapter seven draws conclusions in which the ways this work is presented are displayed as follows:

First of all, the introductory chapter of this research tackles the research problems and questions that are the foundation stone for the whole project. Chapter two which is the literature review deals with some of the most important cited works that have been done in this area. Chapter three comes across the fundamental definitions and terms of language policy in addition to its most distinctive principles and components. That is, this study has worked on language policy from the theoretical perspectives through talking about the most obvious theories found for now. It shows the linguistic situation in IKR and identifies the role of language particularly in the process of social reconstruction when new Iraqi regime was established in 2003. Nevertheless, the way the Kurdish authority deals with language management is one of the points chapter two focuses on. Unfortunately, the official Kurdish language is in front of a serious threat due to two major reasons on

of which is the way it is used in Duhok and its surrounded areas and the way it is used in Erbil and Slaimani governorates. Having two different varieties being used as the language of education in Iraqi Kurdistan and giving an extraordinary priority to English which includes the governmental schools indicate having a premonition of imminent disaster that the officials are not aware of. Hereby, the current linguistic situation in Iraqi Kurdistan indicates that a well-organized language policy is inevitably a requirement.

This work devotes chapter four to revolve around nation building and state building in addition to the basic terms that are related to these two processes. Though Nation-building and state-building are closely related to each other and sometimes they are used reciprocally, they are not totally identical since nation building is interested in the identity of the nations whereas state-building focuses on the states and their infrastructure and the institutions. This study has overviewed some of the events and treaties that are in direct touch with Kurds so as to explore the reasons that stand against Kurds and its struggle throughout the history to gain its independence and become a nation state just like other nation states of the world. Unfortunately, Kurds are still the biggest nation without a state. According to the investigations the causes go back to the role given to Kurds and the role Kurds themselves played during these historical events which would govern the destiny of their people and territory. That is, Kurds have always been given the role of onlookers and became a third party.

Chapter five of this study concentrates on the relation the Kurdish language has to the governmental and non-governmental domains which are standing for the most important components of nation

building. The Kurds of Iraq illustrates an interesting case study in which many activities and processes of social forces, economic, political, cultural developments, and religious components besides the Kurdish diplomatic relationships are the requirements of the process of nation building and stimulating a certain language to the status of a common language. Years of exclusionist policies, wars, and persecutions verging on extermination deepened fragmentation along ethnic lines, enhancing the nation-building process among the Kurds while significantly weakening all-Iraq nation building. As a matter of fact, Kurds and its process of nation building like other newly emerging nations have experienced many processes and activities of political, socio-economic, religious and cultural developments, which dictate the common language. The political situation of New World Order dramatically changed and affected the steps Kurdish national movement took in the process of nation building. When Kurdish uprising in March 1991 took place and the Kurdish national movement decided to build nation in the federal framework, it was expected that Kurds like other newly emerging nations on the international arena would face non-linguistic problems such as economic, social, political, religious and cultural problems, which need urgent resolutions. Accordingly, the study came to conclude that the process of the Kurdish nation building is in tight contact with the concepts of society and social forces, time, historical, economical, and cultural conditions. The emergence of the Kurdish nation in the federalist framework is optimistic and activist modernist because the Kurdish community participates common values and purposes, appropriate to the modern era of political emancipation and economic growth. The impact of

these components of nation building on culture and language are considerable changes and developments. However, religion has a minor role in Kurdistan nation building. In a word, this work shows that any nation building is to rely on the development of the social, economic, religious, and cultural components as well as the methods of dealing with the differences of such components. Definitely, this work is considered to be a characterization of the nation-building concept found on the international ground and the growth of its non- linguistic dimensions. It is precisely an effort made to display the general processes of the nation building in IKR where Kurds step currently to the attainment of ends of nationalism, and to introduce general theories of society, which are able to figure out non-linguistic components.

Chapter six of this study empirically tests Spolsky's theories which shape a sort of national language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan. Three theories two of which are the most updated theories of Spolsky that include factors most of which indicate the assumption of having a sort of language policy in IKR. That is, the first theory is a matter of factors such as national ideology, English as a global language, the sociolinguistic situation, and an internationally developing interest in linguistic minority rights. The second theory depends on non-linguistic pressures affecting language management in Iraqi Kurdistan where the efforts an individual makes to amend his or her language repertoire is usually done via acquiring a new language. Private schools and hiring tutors are what make the parents afford the tuitions of their children. Though all the four forces that compose the first theory of Spolsky are available in the case of Iraqi Kurdistan, non-linguistic problems are given the

priority when it comes to the factors that interfere with working out a satisfactory language policy in the case of Iraqi Kurdistan. Anyhow, this study finds it unnecessary to expand Spolsky's first theory in any way and recommends preserving all the four forces. Eventually, this paper calls for successfully working on putting in place Spolsky's theories that call for national language policy to illuminate national-level language management which contains the language beliefs and language practices which establish his full conceptualization of language policy and show differences in various levels of the language policy.

In brief, Addressing the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of language policy, this research tries to achieve the goal of unravelling the interaction between both explicit and implicit dimensions of language policy theoretically and empirically. The terms 'explicit' and 'implicit' often describe policies; implicit dimensions associated with practices and beliefs while explicit dimensions are generally associated with formal policies. Hereby, this work illuminates how implicit dimensions of policy at the grass-roots level are just as important, if not more important, than explicit dimensions of policy in Iraqi Kurdistan case study. Understanding this variation and complication is what language policies managed to develop without extreme official interference. Overt formulation is only required in special cases. Accordingly, from a physical point of view, languages can be said to be located in specific territories. That is, language became the focal point of the process of nation building while attention in status planning centered on the selection of a national language for purposes of modernization and nation building .... developed languages (or ones that were capable

of being developed) were suitable to fulfill the role of national language. This study investigates how linguistic dimension might affect nation building in Iraqi Kurdistan which is viewed as a home to a number of indigenous languages. It is of highly significance to consider how the issue of language diversity is dealt with at the level of IKR and it is crucial to take into account the project of forming a Kurdish identity whereby identity is perceived as nation building. Accordingly, nation building, which is a theme explored with emphasis on how the creation of a national identity through building new institutions has been a central feature of political and social life in Iraqi Kurdistan. Likewise, education has been of great importance, specifically a system of multilingual education that is part of a broader government strategy of multiculturalism and multiracialism, which has served the purpose of building a new national identity. The study offers a sociological account of nation building which is dissimilar from predominant Western models.

3.3 Suggestions and Recommendations:

3.3.1 Suggestions:

There are many suggestions to be made in the future to work on improving this new field in Iraqi Kurdistan. The most important ones could be:

1. Working on the components of nation building apart from the principles and components of language policy and vice versa.
2. Comparing other nation and state's experiences in the field of language policy and make use of the positive points for Iraqi Kurdistan National Language Policy.
3. Urging the political parties and the officials to pay more attention to Language Policy and imitate others in this respect.

3.3.2 Recommendations

In order to have a proper language policy put in place in Iraqi Kurdistan in all sectors of life just like other states, and to be able to assume that the role of language policy in IKR in building both processes of nation and the state of the Kurds and other minority ethnic groups that coexist with them is inevitably a crucial one, the following points need to be addressed:

1. It is good for the Kurdish Academy to devote more time and give more space and more priority to the Kurdish language through exploring and collecting the terms occur in different aspects of life but it is better for the governmental authority to work on establishing Kurdish Language Academy which is only interested in language and linguistic issues.
2. All the topics of the curriculums of the departments of humanitarian sciences in Kurdistan Universities should be translated and prepared in accordance with a plan set out by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Studies. It is not logical to postpone this project more because it has already been delayed for more than 20 years. This project is of help since it will enable university students to break down barriers and start reading in the Kurdish language besides finding a lot of Kurdish sources. Very few MA thesis and PhD. dissertations are found in Kurdish; most of them are written in Arabic and English.
3. The media and other organizations in the Kurdish society are required to observe the process of language keeping and do their best in this respect because till now what is happening is not encouraging.

4. Language is one of the principles of the security of nations. It is a strategy and it must be an inseparable part of the thinking and mentality of Kurdish individuals wherever they are worldwide. Whoever devalues the Kurdish language is to be questioned and he is to be judged in the courts, since the Kurdish language is related to 40 million Kurdish speakers.

5. The laws of Formal languages are to be issued in the Iraqi and Kurdistan parliaments so as to practice Article 4 of the Iraqi Republic Constitution of 2005.

6. Though Kurdish is the language of the majority, other minority languages are not neglected and they are all in the same boat with Kurdish language. Further, coexistence and tolerance have enabled other minorities to live with the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan in peace and have the same rights that Kurds have everywhere in Iraqi Kurdistan. Accordingly, minority rights are practiced through using the Turkman, Assyrian, and Armenian languages as the language of education where the majority of the population are from such minorities.

7. Some of the private schools of the Iraqi Kurdistan play negative roles in terms of the Kurdish national feeling as they depend on English on behalf of Kurdish. Hereby, the officials are required to have a plan put in place to prevent such a threat which becomes an international threat known as English threat.

8. Those lawful individuals who know foreign languages and have the ability to translate are required to translate the experiences of multilingual states into Kurdish, for instance, they have to focus

on the constitutions of the states and their regions besides the language laws and translate them.

9. The delegations that have paid visits to multilingual states should be interviewed to broadcast what they had experienced during their journey, because such topics, which aren't found in Kurdish, are very necessary and useful for national, lawful, and federal awareness particularly for those persons who are accustomed to one language and one nation.

10. It is not enough to mention several items and statements about language policy in the programs and strategies of the political parties, but it is required from each political entity to have a specific program on language policy to adopt the procedures taken by the Green Environment Party of the Ireland Republic which has been in place for twenty years (2009-2029). Language policy is to be continuously stressed and confirmed within the working programs of the consecutive cabinets of the Iraqi Kurdistan government so that each political entity can have its own language policy.

11. It is to be one of the terms and regulations of asking for the permanent settlement in Kurdistan to test anyone who wants to stay whether he knows the Kurdish language and can read or write in Kurdish. Likewise, the same test is to be taken by those who want to be employed in governmental organizations and institutions. Those who studied in Kurdish are to be excluded.

12. A lot of money from the annual budget of the IKR Government should be dedicated to Kurdish language policy and other languages found in Kurdistan, because there are many seminars and conferences that cost the government a lot of money

but they do not cover language and its policy.

13. The commission on formal languages is taking action in terms of practicing languages in all aspects of life and making people aware and punishing those who are not working to implement such policies.

14. Working for the process of language preservation according to a long term planning in the fields of education, teaching, and media is essential, and those who care about it are required to take action as soon as possible.

15. There should be permanent and specific committees for preserving languages in the Council of Ministers, and council of governorates under the supervision of relevant officials. The work must be done in accordance with a coherent planning strategy so that the writing in public and non-public locations can be noted and observed. Both Kurdish and Arabic languages are to be written in a purified and appropriate way.

16. A decision is to be made to establish several committees one of which is to be a dominant committee in the Iraqi Kurdistan Parliament made of law and language scholars to deal with issues related to language and law. Another dominant committee is to be established from law and language scholars to study laws and decisions in the Council of Ministers.

17. The Iraqi Kurdistan Government is required to have an explicit language policy so as not to be accused of ignoring the prestige of the Kurdish language in general and the Kurdish studied in particular.

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QUBADI JALIZADA A TALENTED CONTEMPORARY KURDISH POET

Fazil Shawro

Abstract

The study is about Qubadi Jalizada, who is one of the brilliant contemporary Kurdish poets. In his (12) poetry collections, that published during his (45) years of experience in poetry writing, has given him an outstanding position in the Middle East literature. His simple style in writing, which is too difficult to be imitated, his creativity in language usage, his ability in creating new poetic images and his deep imaginative mind are main characteristics of his poetry. As a defender and supporter of rights of women and rebelling against tyranny ruling systems in Kurdistan, he has been brought to the court many times. Today his works is studied in many Kurdistan Universities and lots of his texts are translated into English, French, Germany, Swedish, Parisian, Turkish and Arabic.

The study is enriched with many of the poet's texts, translated into English by the writer. A short conclusion and Works cited are provided at the end of it.

Declaration:

I'm Qubadi Jalizada, declare that I agree Fazil Shawro translate my original poems into English, and he is free to write studies about them.

Date: 2/Feb/2018

Fazil Shawro's Profile

Fazil Shawro (1951) graduated at college of Arts, English language Department at Baghdad University in 1975. He worked as English language teacher at many high schools and institutes in Iraq and Libya for (34) years. He registered his presence as

a poet and library critic with (Hawkari) in 1972. His poems, reviews and articles appear in journals across Kurdistan. He is editor of (3) Kurdish magazines. He has authored (10) books including two poetry collections, entitled (The Pigeon of Fire) and (Kisses at the Eve twilight), (4) books on Critical studies on modern Kurdish poetry and (4) books about Kurdish culture and literary heritage. He has been rewarded many times for his outstanding publications

Qubadi Jalizada is one of the most prominent and distinguished poets on the stage of contemporary Kurdish poetry, who could successfully create a modern poetry school for himself and rapidly become an outstanding pen in the Kurdish literature, being admired by thousands of his fans, reading his poems.

Jalizada was born in Koya, a town in the Southern Kurdish (North of Iraq), in (1953). He was graduated at Law College at Baghdad University in (1975), and worked as a notary public and judge in many courts of Southern Kurdistan. Now he is retired, devoting his time for literature and writing poetry.

Jalizada was brought up among a well-educated and enlightened family, his great grandfather, Abdulla Jalizada, was a nationalist and reformist poet, who was also a clerk and religious preacher during his life. His grandfather, Mala Mohamady Koyi (1876 – 1934), known as The Great Clerk, was a poet, writer, parliament member and a preacher, wrote (22) books on Kurdish literature, culture and religious topics. While Massud Mohamad (1919 – 2002) - Mala Mohamady Koyi's son -, was one of the most brilliant Kurdish thinkers, writers and Politians, wrote (36) books on literature, history and analyzing political and philosophical

concepts and theories. He was the Kurdish reprehensive at Iraqi government as minister of State(1964 – 1965).

Kurdish Poetry:

Today "Kurdistan" as an independent country, does not exist on the map, since 1918, the "Kurds" homeland has remained divided among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, what is now the former U.S.S.R . In each country the "Kurds" have been continuously threatened with either assimilation or extermination. But as a place, "Kurdistan" exists in the minds of more than thirty million people, the largest ethnic people in the world without a state.

"The Kurds are undoubtedly of heterogeneous origins. Many people lived in what is now Kurdistan during the past millennia and almost all of them have disappeared as ethnic or linguistic group'' Their prehistorically remains of stone tools and human bones in two Paleolithic caves (Hazar Merd and Shanidar), which were excavated by the British archaeologist Dorothy Garrod (1892-1968) in 1928, witnessed that Kurds have been inhabiting in their homeland for thousands of years.

Most Kurds speak Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji) or (Sorani). Fundamental source of Kurdish literature, as many other preliterate groups, is folk songs, which are the outcomes of personal expression of ideas or emotions, of course, songs of this type are hardly to be distinguished from some of the simple folk lyrics, as they are essentially expressions of commonly shared ideas or feelings, that are easily and rapidly moved and spread among the common groups.

The most Kurdish folk songs are called (Haeran, lawk, Horra and byet), they are sung by men and women, their topics deal with love verses, romantics. eulogy, descriptive, hunt, homiletic, war and boasting themes. The attractive and marvelous views of landscapes of the nature of Kurdistan, as a mountainous country, are vividly reflected in those folk songs. The natural beauty of the Kurdish ladies and cultural freedom of their open societies are heard within those folk songs, as well.

The first recorded Kurdish poems is dated back to the 16th century, the famous Kurdish poet and mystic (Malaye Jaziri 1570 – 1640) wrote classical Kurdish poetry in the Kurmanji. Followed by (Faqi Tayran 1590–1660) who wrote the poems; Wesfê şêxê senhanî (In Praise of Sheik San'an), Qewlê Hespê Reş (The Tale of the Black Horse).

(Ehmede Khani 1650-1707), the father of Kurdish literature, the author of "Mem and Zin", the great Kurdish love story. Since then lots of great Kurdish poets enriched the Kurdish literature with tens of collections and books, the most well know of Kurdish contemporary poets are: Abdulla Goran(1904 – 1962) the father and renovator of modern Kurdish literature, known as the Kurdish poet of Nature. Sherko Beks (1944 -2013), known as The revolutionist poet, his literary heritage is(4465)pages of verses. Latif Halmat(1947 -) the Kurdish poet of reality and imagination. Karim Dasti (1955 -), the poet of every aspect of modern poetry. Dlawar Qaradaxi (1963 -) the poet of postmodern school. Hashm Saraj (1954 -) poet of contridictions and beauty.(Nazand Bagixani), the poetess of human grieves and sufferings and the cries of Kurdish females. The Kurdish poet's list is too long to be mentioned here.

Qubadi Jalizada, a Talented Contemporary Kurdish Poet:

Jalizada, published his first poem in (Erbil Council Magazine) - a monthly Kurdish magazine, in (1973) while he was a student at College of Law at Baghdad University, since then he has published (12) collections of his poetry:

- A white – bearded pen (1988).
- The Black Fog (1990).
- The Heaven's Scaffolds (1997).
- Always Face to Face to God, Always Drunk (2001).
- The Martyr is Walking Alone (2005).
- The Sun in the Broken Glass (2006).
- Van Erotic (2007).
- The Snow's Bras are Full of Starlings (2010).
- I Will Buy a Second Hand Jacket (2015).
- The Wind is Sitting at the Corner of the Lane (2015).
- Qubad's Hiaku Poems (2017).
- My Childhood's Blue Lanes (will be Launched in April 2018).

The titles of all his books are accurately and professionally selected from the poem titles published in them.

The (45) years of the poet's experiences in writing poetry, according to the form, language and style of the poems, can be classified into (5) phases:

1) The beginner Phase:

The poems of the collection (A white – bearded pen-1988) can be considered as the poet's first steps towards the literature world. Jalizada as a talented poet has profoundly composed his

verses, but the influences of two great Kurdish poets are clearly seen upon him; he is much affected by the Abdulla Goran's expressions of the beauty of nature, and he is trying to imitate the pure and effective language used by the Kurdish famous poet, (Hemn Mokuryani 1921-1986).

2) The Struggling Phase:

After the Iraq-Iran war (1988), the Iraqi army launched a brutal and an aggressive attacked at the Southern Kurdistan, about (182000) civilians were genocided and about (4000) villages and towns were shoveled. The poems of (The Black Fog -1990) are the cries and protests of the wounds of these innocent sanctifiers. The poet did his best to record the oppressions and tyrannies of that aggression and to be the screams of the persecuted women of his country. During this phase the poet was searching for a new language style for his verses.

3) The Rebelling Phase:

At the echo of this phase, may be the louder voice of all his works. The reasons can be summarized as the following: The poet's language is sharpened with a deep and influential lexical, idiomatic and cultural terms and new words; His rebellion against expired traditional concepts, believes and customs of his society. Publishing the effective, rebellious and secular poems, pushed a number of religious clerks and preachers to insult him in their preaches at mosque masses; moreover Jalizada was brought to court accusing him as an atheist propagandizing against God, though in fact his only sin

was that he was calling for serious and practical strife for the women freedom. The themes of new poet's concepts can be read in the poems of the following collections: The Heaven's Scaffolds (1997), Always Face to Face to God, Always Drunk (2001), The Martyr is Walking Alone (2005), and, The Sun in the Broken Glass (2006).

Over the past few weeks, the Kurdistan Region has witnessed a debate between Islamic scholars and a group of writers and activists in the field of women's rights. Recently, Islamic scholar Mala Masud Kanikurdaiyee, from Erbil city, criticized Qubadi Jalizada, a Kurdish poet, for writing a book of poetry, which was published by Aras Publication House.

In his Friday sermon, on Jan. 7, 2011, Kanikurdaiyee lambasted the poet, claiming he is speaking against God, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and Islam. "Oh Lord, put the writer and that publication house on the right path. Oh Lord, if not, let all the bad things happen to them," prayed Kanikurdaiyee, waving the book in his hand, with worshipers saying amen after him. Any personification of God or the attribution of physical characteristics to Him is strictly forbidden in Islam.

The book was subsequently banned from the stores after the clerics, the ministry of Endowment and Religious Affairs and the Committee of Religious Affairs in parliament mounted pressu

Following the ban on the book, intellectuals pushed on the parliament of Kurdistan for a bill that would curtail the influence of clerics and mosques on written freedom in the future.

4) The Erotic Phase:

Hama Saeed Hassan, a Kurdish critic, describes Jalizada as the Caesar of the Kurdish erotic poems. Speaking frankly, from the very begging of the poet's experiences of writing poetry, one could trace the poet's footsteps on that path. The characteristics of Jalizada's erotic poems can be briefed in: The soft, magic and imaginative language that sounds in his erotic verses; the dimensions, fields and areas of erotic world which are discovered and explored by him that never been targeted by other Kurdish poets before; and the poetic images which depict the poem forms are unique in creativity, style, compositions and components. The poems of these collection are the best samples of this phase; Van Erotic (2007).The Snow's Bras are Full of Starlings (2010).

5) The Cosmo Phase:

Gaining good poetry experiences and drinking from various universal knowledge and intelligence springs, have led Jalizada to think about a Cosmopolitan language through literature; therefore, the has chosen poetry as the new means for the dialogue in this networked world. His poem collection: Qubad's Hiaku Poems (2017), is a good evidence. His work, in that field, explores the challenges and limits of creating universal views in the global age.

Today, Jalizada is writing his verses in Kurdish language, but he considers himself as the poet of everyone and everywhere on this earth.

Critical Analyzing of Some of Jalizada's Poems:

In his (12) poetry publications, Jalizada has made the women's

cases his chief themes and topics, focusing his attention on Kurdish women in particular and middle east women in general. Alas! The cases of women of these two regions are too long, such as, their depression, their illiteracy, their religious custom prohibitions and their slavery under the traditional tribal cultures and restricting their freedom.

Love as a universal right, awarded by God to everybody, is not only a serious taboo for women, but the daily act of the assassinating and murdering them under the motto of (protecting the family's honor). Jalizada struggles to retain the (right of love) for women and bitterly criticizing the traditional outdated tribal customs of his society. He wrote tens of poems reprimanding this social tyranny. The following poem, entitles (Puppy) is a humble sample.

In this poem, Jalizada wishes his lover and he were two puppies (Sire and Dam). Here he tries to sanctify love by mentioning puppies. How? According to Islam and some tribal customs dogs are unhallowed and touching them are forbidden and prayers should not be performed at places where dogs are kept at. To scold and rebuke these worn concepts, the poet shows his pride of his wishes of being a creature live like a dog with his beloved bitch. Since love is forbidden, he could not find any other means to express and exchange his passion and affection with his lover. Rejecting the eastern social and religious slavery is clearly seen in the poetic images and poetic usage of the words. Here the society, the religion, the political states and old-fashioned customs are satirically criticized. The sentences of the text are too shortened, words are very simple and the imagination zone of the theme is widely open.

It is said that translation of poetry is like a kiss behind the other side of the window glass, yet one can enjoy its reading and live the poet's moment.

The poet says:

(Puppy)

If you and I were two dogs,
In a village,
In a zoo,
In a flock of sheep,
We could live together.
And if we were unrestrained
We would move our home near a slaughterhouse
Jointly looking for pieces of meaty bones.
Together we were yelping
As the children were pelting us with stone.
Winter was wetting us together
We were laughing at summer
By stretching out our tongues at him.
Whenever we wished
We were freely barking,
Lifting up one of our legs on a tree or a pole and peeing.

We would no need to carry the Identity and nationality cards with ourselves.

There would be no need for an idiot clerk to write our wedding contract

If I were a stud and you were a brood mother,
In a ruined house,
We would have mated long ago,

You would have bred at a dark cottage
And we had become Sire and Dam
We would have a litter of pups
Colored white
And black
And grey
And brown.
If we were dogs,
Neither you'd have been working for a women organization
Nor I'd have been carrying a gun for a (political) party
If we were dogs,
We would have known neither the clothiers nor the tailors
For ever, we would have been naked like water
If we were dogs,
No one would have watched our mobiles
A hundred spies have not been following us
No one would have hacked us,
None of us would have been circumcised
We neither had to wait for wages
Nor had to get on buses
We would not go to a saloon
And to cafeterias
Where scare would surround us
No one would ask us
Why don't you pray?
Why don't you fast?
Why don't you go on pilgrimage?
If only you and I were dogs,
If only.

The song (If only we were dogs) by The Juliana Hatfield Three, appeared on the album Whatever, My Love (2015), tells another story in a different culture and society. What Jalizada's message (2009) is much more human and has a poetic influence. **Part of this song is:**

If only we were dogs
It would be so easy to be
Happy, happy, happy.
You'd be scratching at my door
When you wanna be let in
Then we'd wrestle in the mud
Till I had you on your back
You'd be howling at night
Baring our teeth when we're mad
So we'd know exactly where we stand.
If only we were dogs
It would be so easy to be
Happy, happy, happy.
Licking crumbs off plates together
Sleeping all day
Doing things that dell good
Never any remorse or shame.

In any country, where law is under the guns and tribal customs, murdering women is much easier than drinking a cup of tea. The scene of this endless film is routine snapshots in the streets, apartments, fields and resorts. Where there is a woman there is a pistol or a dagger.

In the poem (Murdering an Angel), the poet only uses (150) letters – (148) letters in the Kurdish text – to dramatize the series of events of killing an innocent young lady who is brutally daggered to death. His only sin was that she loved a lad. The poet deliberately used only (21) words in this text to show and simplify the murdering story. Saying that the case is so worthless and degraded (in the eyes of his society) that can be expressed in handful of words. Here behind each of these (21) words of the text, there is more than one story, one scene and one crime. The echoes of these words in the readers' minds will remain for ages and cannot be deleted easily.

The poet says:

(Murdering an Angel)
An apartment
A mobile ringing
A man
A roar
A handful lock hair
A dagger
A woman
A scream
A wound
A stream of blood
An ambulance
A police car
A pickaxe
A shovel
A gravedigger.

As John Lennon (1940 – 1980) says,"My role in society, or any artist or poet's role, is to try and express what we all feel. Not to tell people how to feel. Not as a preacher, not as a leader, but as a reflection of us all." Jalizada follows the same motto, trying to reflect all his imaginary thoughts and notion in verses, so as to aid the others who possess the same feelings. He grieves too much when he sees half of his society is deprived from enjoying the beauty and wonderfulness of the life, only because they are created as fair sex. The poem (I Love a Woman's Hands), though it is addressed to The Kurdish women, yet it is a cosmopolitan text for women everywhere. The poet artistically symbolises (a woman's hands) in a series of poetic images, so as to persuade them to breakdown the walls and unchain themselves by marching towards the fields of work, to get back their real identities and to be able to depend on themselves in life. Here, a hand and its five fingers are the cries of the depressed women, who are unwillingly jailed by the male custom of the tribal cultures. What the poet projects in this text is the dreams and the hopes of millions of human beings who are unjustly exploited for the sake of a small group of chiefs, lords and noblemen. Jalizada wants to speak to the women frankly that their beauty and gracefulness are incomplete without working outside the home prisons. He says:

(I Love a Woman's Hands)
I do love a hand
A hand:
Decorated with the creativity rings.
Whiter than the pigeon's hands
Cleaner than

The Virgin Mary's hands.
Two palms:
Two mythical springs,
On the left palm:
Five streams of music
On the right palm
Five streams of colours.
I do love a woman's hands
That neither make up henna
Nor knit the blouses
Nor wipe the windows.
A hand
With these colours
Paints a tableau
That is neither seen
By "Cheman Ismail"
Nor by "Samira Wandawy'
Nor by "Nadia Ousi".
A hand:
Her five fingers
Like five naked women
Are dancing at the violin strings
A dancing
Neither performed by
"Vanessa Nassar's fingers"
Nor by "Taylor Davis's"
Nor by "Muna Shazly's".
I do love a hand:

Grasps the sun
Turns it, on the dark pavement,
Into the sculpture of brightness.
It collects the stars
Turns them, at asleep garden,
Into the chirrups of trees.
In a bar,
That hand is opening a cap of a wine jar
Which for (about) a hundred years
Has been, in a drunk orchard,
Singing for clusters of vine.
I do love a woman's hands
Which are neither
On the sterling drives of hammers
Nor on the triggers of guns
Nor on the necks of "RPG"s.
I do love a hand;
Turns stones into swallows,
Leaves into butterflies,
Walls into mirrors.
I have left my hand in a hand of that woman,
A hand:
That is full of colours,
Full of music,
Full of creativity rings.
A hand whiter than the pigeon's hands
Cleaner than the hands of
The Virgin Mary.
***

Love, erotica and romance are three strong pillars of Jalizada's palace of poetry, His love lyrics decorate all his poetry collections. His philosophy of love is purity, sincerity and wild natural affections far from selfishness, jealousy and enslavement. He seldom talks about his own passions as a private and personal affair, on the contrary, always tries to make his beloved share and be part of his lyrics. In most of his poems they appear as twine faithful lovers, or he feminizes himself so as to explore the dark sides of the Eastern women's world and boldly defending them, struggling to get back their freedom and humanity. The following text shows the literary techniques, style and language that have been invented by the poet to carry his message to those who enslave women and run the slave markets in the eastern tribal societies. The chief reason of the poet's running away from the civilized life is the huge oppressions imposed on the women, as female killing is a daily theater scene everywhere. Therefore, Jalizada says:

(The Cave)
Let's go back, to the first firestone,
The first grain spike
The first prey
The first droplet of water
Going back, to the first grape cluster
The first brightness of emotional excitation
To the first flowing gurgling of the innocence
Going back to the first home
Where there is no god

No the Prophets
No the Books
Returning to the first cosy place
Where our buttocks were
More naked than our cheeks
You and I are hanging our clothes
On a branch of a wind
And then are going back to our foggy zone of nudeness.

Jalizada as an Anti War Poet:

Mahatma Gandhi (1869 – 1948) says, "I appeal for cessation of hostilities, not because you are too exhausted to fight, but because war is bad in essence." May be Jalizada is one of the few poets in the middle east who comprehensively understands the hidden symbols of Gandhi's expression, not only because he is a sensitive poet but because he himself is one of the sacrificers of the non-stopped fighting and war in his region.

During the (64) years of Jalizad's life, the cannons and fighter jets have constantly been keeping firing, guns have not been silenced for a single day. He was jumping from a war to a war; Kurdish fighting with the Iraqi, Turkish, Parisian and Syrian regimes, Iraqi – Iran wars, Arab- Jewish wars, three Gulf wars, etc. This bloody and tough environment of the middle east and of his homeland, Kurdistan, has taught him that war is the most destructive means to deprive us from our humanity, and man could ever never invented a tool worst than the war.

The poet rebukes those who invade his homeland and glorifies his martyrs, but never encourages and promotes for murdering and destruction.

The poet's style and technique to condemn the fighting is to display the harmful inheritance and outcomes of it and to manifest his peaceful and friendly appeal a to consolidate human friendship everywhere.

The text (Ceasefire) which is decorated with many poetic images and artful sketches draw our attention to what the wars bring to us. He paints the after war landscape so effectively and persuasively, that make us feel shame of our humanity and scorn all weapons and tools of war.

The poet says:

(Ceasefire)

The fighting has stopped…
Now, what avail does it have,
When the moon has lost one of her breasts in it?
The fighting has stopped…
Now, what hope does it offer,
When the snow's lips are stained with blood?
The fighting has stopped…
Now, what dancing does mean,
When the butterflies were banned
From entering the garden?
The fighting has stopped…
Now, what is the use of flower,
When the parks are full of
The handicapped people and widows?
The fighting has stopped…
Now, what music to play,
When the nightingale is black dressed forever?

The fighting has stopped…
Now, what value does glory have,
When the martyr is depressed and vagrant?
The fighting has stopped…
Now, what life,
When the gravedigger
Has not laid down the pickaxe yet?
The fighting has stopped…
Now, what kind of peace is it,
When the war is always going on?

In the text (A Name List of the Widows), a Kurdish fighter is lullabying his son before leaving home and jointing his comrades. The lullaby is a copy of a true Kurdish history as seen by the poet. Again here we notice that the poet does his best to show fighting and killing as a dreadful monster hated by all. He tries to persuade the child to be a peace maker and never think of fighting and battles. For sensible competent critic like J. Patrick Lewi, "The text is a frosted fire", that needs literary instruments to melt and analyses its elements".

Jalizada says;

(A Name List of the Widows)
Lay your head upon my chest
And sleep...
If I won't be killed
I shall retell you the stories of the fightings:
The Kurdish – Arab fighting
The Kurdish –Parisian fighting

The Kurdish – Turkish fighting
The Kurdish – Kurdish fighting.
Sleep…
When you wake up
I ‘ll tell you:
How they destroyed the village
How , under the ruined walls
The dogs
The cats
The deer
Died from starvation.
How the weeping willow tree
By the dried spring
Standing up
Died of thirst
When they killed the doll
When the kindergarten turned into ash
As they used the cradle to make gunstocks.
In a whisper I’ll tell you:
How the black dog was eating our infants in Arar
How the chemicals rained
How, in a blinking of an eye, Halabja died
We together listen to the Friday sermon
When the preacher is saying to the sensible women:
You , the fool, you, the deficient in intelligence.
He is saying to the honorable women:
You, dishonorable, you, the prostitutes.
Lay your head upon my arm

And sleep
If I won't be killed
I'll give a name list of
Sabayas
And Widows
And orphans
I'll tell you how
They executed the books
They amputated the music's fingers
They shroud the colors.
At their jails
You can see:
The keys
And the electric chairs
And the hanging ropes
I'll show you a snap(shot) of the exodus:
From the top of the Homeland's head to the soles of her feet
Was a zig zag river of screams.
With a bouquet of wounds
We'll pay a visit to
The blind butterflies
And the lame flowers
And diseased tree leaves.
When you wake up
I'll take you to a graveyard
Where the number of its graves
Is greater than the number of the stars!
Place you head upon my chest
And sleep…

Qubay Jalizada, as a romantic love poet, whether it is war or peace, he never forgets the oppression and unfairness of his society that bans love and its finger is always on the trigger of gun to kill any lover hidden themselves anywhere in his homeland. Therefore, in the text (The Ruins) he says:

(The Ruins)

Whether my homeland is free or occupied
I'm simply a tenant peasant
Moving from this hut to that tent
From this cottage to that ruins.
My nations is wrapped with shrouds or the flag
I'm only that oppressed lover
Between whose lips and my beloved lips
There are:
Seven jungles of fires
Seven jungles of python snakes
Seven jungles of high mounts.

Qubad's Haiku:

In addition to his poetry collection (Qubad's Hiaku Poems -2017), the poet has written tens of texts under the title (the Haiku poems), imitating the Japanese old Haiku in the theme, but dressing them his new model fashion in language, imaginations, poetic images and purposes. His Haiku cover the nature, love, humanity and some philosophical concepts revealing the role of relationship life events in our depression and the consequences of life and death. In general, most jalizada's haiku are about nature and our modern style of life. Here, (3) samples of his Haiku poems are presented:

(The Haiku of the Rain)

1
When at the hut, she lit the candle,
The darkness ran away
Into the forest.

2
A flock of sparrows, with their becks
Have gripped the sun's tail
Not letting him go down.

3
Since the moon has fallen into the sea
The fish are trying to
Hand her back to the sky.

4
The rain is even wetting
'Those graves'
That belong to the manslayers.

5
It's on pain of the wind's provocations
That the water
Turns itself into frost.

6
It's rain
That makes the leaves of trees dance
Not the music.

7
Some of the tree's babies
Are leaves

And some of them are sparrows.

8

I have pushed the curtain aside
My room is filled
With the moon's chirpings.

9

As the sea throws out the waves
They commit suicide
On the shore rocks.

10

This morning, the wind
Has tied her tousled hair with a sun ray
And has
knocked at the door of the butterfly.

11

Even if it is going very very faraway
Surely I could hear
The rain's laughers.

12

Rain has wetted its wings
Has become a stream of colors:
The butterfly.

In a collection of poems entitled (The Haiku poems of War) the **poet says:**

1

I don't know
How make the swallow understand
That the war has broken out.

2
A rose, on a chest of a grass leaf,
Has written a banner:
Butterflies died.
3
Only a bloody sole
And a widow's photo
In the barricade.
5
The pigeon fanciers
And the florists
Have become swordsmiths.
5
With their full names.
In front of a banner writer
Have been queuing
The widow starlings.
6
Like every morning
The flower smiled
And the butterfly danced
Unknowing about the gardener's killing
7
Till this moment
In his pocket
Is ringing
The martyr's mobile phone.

But the Haiku of (Tattoo) has a different tune, melody and taste, the poet makes a journey round some countries and takes down his impressions and says:

(Tattoo)

1
A guitar
And a pair of high heel dance shoes
'Spanish women'
2
A hookah
And snaps of arak mastic flavour
'Turkish women'
3
A headscarf
And a Forough's naked sonnet
'Iranian women'.
4
Mediterranean Sea
And a cedar tree
'Lebanese women'
5
A sweet lovely dog
And a piece of music
'French women'
6
A chain
And an Imami Hussein's image
'Iraqi women'

7
A bloody sword
And ‘Therefore, strike off their heads.’
‘ISIS women’
8
A gun
And the flag of the homeland
‘Kurdish Guerrilla women’
9
On buttock of a Japanese woman
A tattoo
And a Vaio Mobile phone
And a Haiku poem.
10
Now I do love Haiku poems
And a Japanese woman.

The Everyday Scenes in Jalizada’s poems:

Dylan Thomas(1914 -1953) says, “Poetry is what in a poem makes you laugh, cry, prickle, be silent, makes your toe nails twinkle, makes you want to do this or that or nothing, makes you know that you are alone in the unknown world, that your bliss and suffering is forever shared and forever all your own. All these features are brightly seen in most Jalizada’s poems. For other characteristics of his poems is that he has the ability to find, see, catch the smallest and the slightest image, event and action that are not noticed by ordinary people though they can see them daily. The poet’s eyes are his camera that snapshots everything

and recording them later as delicate and interesting verses. He is looking for the peasants; sufferance, the workers; toils, the poor's hunger and the patients' pains and aches. The text (Bread And Shoes) is a sample of such kind of his poems, as he was walking by a (12) year old girls, who was sitting on a small chair by the pavement, polishing passer bys' shoes for few cents, he wrote this masterpiece:

(Bread and Shoes)
To the shoe polisher girl
My man had travelled through the field of mines
And never came back,
And in the civil war, my dad lost.
I have no friends at all,
Neither swing
Nor dolls
Nor a set of crayons,
I have no a girlfriend at all
Except of
A small stool chair
And a black shoe brush
And a small box of shoe polishes and creams.
My bread
Has neither scent of grain spikes
Nor the scent of earth
Nor the twittings of sparrows.
My bread
Is neither in the wheat fields

Nor in the clay pot ovens
Nor on the cheek of the Kurdish saj
It's enriched with
The socks colors
And with the wine tastes
And with the features of mercilessness.
In the black colored shoes
My bread is laid.

Conclusion:

The dominant themes and topics in Jalizada's poetry are his ideal of love for women and humanity, his enthusiasm for freedom, and his eagerness for nature.

His way of depicting nature and human beings' pyscho is unique within Kurdish literature. Here and through other aspects Jalizada reveals a familiarity with many well known Eastern poets. The poet much faithful to his personal vision of realty, and the whole universe can be seen in them. He is a unique poet in style, expression, depicting poetic images and creating his one poetic language. Today he is known as the Caesar of Kurdish erotic poetry possessing a special literary language called Qubadi Jalizada's poetry language.

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Glossary

Cheman Ismail: (1966) one of the brilliant Kurdish painters. Her art exhibitions were displayed in many European cities.

Forugh Farrokhzad: (1934 –1967) was an influential Iranian poet and film director. She was a controversial modernist poet and an iconoclast, writing from a female point of view.

Halabja: a city in Iraqi Kurdistan and the capital of Halabja Governorate. March 16, 1988, Iraqi planes dropped gas canisters on the town. At least 5,000 people died as an immediate result of

the chemical attack and it is estimated that a further 7,000 people were injured or suffered long term illness.

Henna: a dye prepared from the plant Lawsonia inermis, also known as hina, the henna tree. It has been used since antiquity to dye skin, hair and fingernails,

Muna Shazly: (1973) famous Egyptian talk show host.

Nadia Al Ousi: Iraqi painter, graduated at College of Arts, Baghdad University. Studied Art at American Universities, She is one of the well known artists.

Sabayas: ISIS sells Yazidi women and girls in slave markets, or souk sabaya, or as individual purchases to fighters who come to the holding centres.

Saj: a round non- stick coating tray used for baking Kurdish bread on it.

Taylor Davis: (1987) American violinist, arranger, and composer.

The exodus:In March, 1991, and early April, nearly two million Iraqis, 1.5 million of them Kurds, escaped from strife-torn cities to the mountains along the northern borders because ther were attacked by Iraqi armies after the Spring uprising in Iraq.

"Therefore, strike off their heads": Quran 8-12 "I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve. Therefore strike off their heads and strike off every fingertip of them."

Vanessa Nassar: The famous Lebanese female violinist.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE

Barzo Mahmoud

"The dominance of the language of the larger nation over the smaller nation, that is, the appropriation of one nation by another."
- Harry L. Shapiro-Hueger, University of California

1. Introduction

In this article, we attempt to shed light, as much as possible, on the history of the Kurdish language and its relationship to ancient Iranian languages such as Median, Avestan, Pahlavi, and Old Persian, based on the opinions of historians and linguists, both past and present. We also refute the views that attempt to undermine the language for political purposes, and address the attacks it faced from central powers in the 20th century, and their various attempts to assimilate the Kurdish language into their own national languages, in order to deny Kurdish rights, suppress their will, and implement their colonial plans to subjugate peoples.

2. The Process of Linguistic Development

Scholars believe that language has deep, ancient roots, dating back to the beginnings of human civilization. It has undergone continuous and cumulative development, starting with its earliest stone tools and continuing until it reached its current state. The current multilingualism is the result of a long period of evolution, and the study of language through written records shows that the changes occurred relatively slowly. Although English and German diverged more than 2000 years ago, we find many similarities between them, both lexical and grammatical, indicating a shared origin, even though much of the evidence of this common origin has been lost for a long time.

The scholar Harry Huyger emphasizes the idea that languages cannot be classified based solely on their levels of development, as there are no primitive or highly developed languages if we consider only their structural elements.

Language is a living entity that undergoes different stages, taking on somewhat diverse forms at the grammatical, morphological, and lexical levels. However, the process of linguistic development, both quantitatively and qualitatively, varies from one language to another due to subjective and objective factors that cannot be precisely controlled or enumerated. For example, "the dominance of a larger nation's language over a smaller one—that is, the conquest of one nation by another—results in the influence of one on the other, or vice versa, whether in pronunciation or the overlapping of vocabulary" . The French conquest of Algeria and Tunisia significantly impacted their languages. Religious and national factors also influence the course of this development. The Quran played a major and pivotal role in unifying Arabic dialects into a single language; without it, local dialects would have developed towards divergence and independence. However, the language in India and Pakistan is developing in two different directions, as is the Kurdish language, which has been influenced by Arabic in terms of vocabulary and pronunciation. The Kurdish language found in classical literature contains a considerable number of Arabic words due to religious (Islamic) influence. However, the occurrence of these sounds in words is very small, especially the letters ع and ح. The incorporation of such sounds into Kurdish stemmed from the spread of religious scholarship among Kurds from the 7th century CE to the present day. This

included the recitation of the Quran and the explanation of Hadiths by mullahs, who, as Muslims, proudly incorporated Arabic words into their interpretations of Quranic verses and Hadiths. The primary factor that has made Arabic, Turkish, and Persian a threat to the Kurdish language is the deliberate efforts of the governments that have divided Kurdistan to eradicate it. The danger exists solely due to racist agendas. It is worth noting that while Turkish and Persian benefited from factors that contributed to their rise and strength, the Kurdish language, particularly the Sorani dialect in Iraqi Kurdistan since 1970, rivals them in terms of vocabulary richness, linguistic purity, and generative potential. This is despite the fact that Kurdish was only formally written down at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, and only partially introduced into school education in the 1920s. It is also worth mentioning that development does not always progress; sometimes the opposite occurs. In my view, the structure of pronouns, their roles, functions, and positions within the sentence structure of the Sorani Kurdish dialect demonstrates this tendency...

The structure and forms of Arabic words differ from those of Indo-European languages in their derivation. The internal sounds of the root word are modified according to fixed patterns. Similarly, in English, the active participle is formed by adding the suffix (er) to the end of the verb root. Passive forms are formed by adding (ê), (i), or (u) to the end of the verb root, depending on the context, just as (ed) is added to the infinitive in English.

The absence of a unified Kurdish language stems from the historical complexities of the Kurdish question and the geopolitical

challenges that have prevented the Kurds from realizing their legitimate aspirations to enjoy at least their basic human rights as a nation and people. This nation, numbering over 35 million and spread across the borders of four Middle Eastern countries (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran), was created by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 during World War I. This division has deprived the Kurds of their cultural and linguistic rights, with the exception of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, where Central Kurmanji has been taught at all levels in public schools and universities since the beginning of the last century. However, the geographical fragmentation of the Kurdish region has led to linguistic fragmentation and the entrenchment of two main dialects.

Kurdish is the language spoken in the region known as Kurdistan, including by Kurdish populations in parts of Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-Iranian linguistic group, which in turn is a part of the Indo-European linguistic family. Living for centuries in a vast area of the Middle East, where harsh physical-geographic and political environment prevailed, was one of the main causes of division of the Kurdish pra-language into several distinct dialects. These dialects continued to subdivide, which resulted in the appearance of distinguished subdialects. Besides the three main dialect groups (Northern or Kurmanji; Central or Sorani and Southern Kurdish), there are two more languages or dialects – Zaza (Zazaki) and Gorani. They are used in the remotest parts of the Kurdish ethnic region and a number of western and Kurdish specialists even consider them as not related to the Kurdish language. However, the speakers of Zaza and Gorani

consider themselves Kurdish. Three dialects developed their own literature and two of them – Kurmanji and Sorani – are competing for superiority. This competition became even more complicated as both of them use different writing systems. Besides, the competition does not occur between the groups living in different states, but in the Kurdish area with quasi-statehood, the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, which was achieved for the first time in the newest history. Such a competition complicates the consolidation f the largest minority in the Middle East. © 2019 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci. Russian scholar Pyotr Lyirch says: "The Kurdish language maintained its independence in central Kurdistan and its forms developed independently of the Persian language, which is close to it" (p. 39). He adds: "The travelers who lived among the Kurds paid little attention to the Kurdish language, and most of them did not try to study it adequately, and those who studied this dialect or that did so without having knowledge of linguistics."

Kurdish is an official language in Iraq, while in Syria, it is banned, with the publication of materials in Kurdish prohibited . Prior to August 2002, the Turkish government imposed strict restrictions on the use of Kurdish, banning its use in education and the media .

The Kurdish alphabet remains unrecognized in Turkey, and the use of the Kurdish letters X, W, and Q, which are not part of the Turkish alphabet, led to legal persecution in 2000 and 2003 . In Iran, although used in local media and newspapers, Kurdish is not permitted in schools . As a result, many Iranian Kurds have left for Iraq, where they can study in their native language .

3. The Kurds and their Language in Historical Sources

Some scholars believed that the original language of the Kurds was Hurrian, a non-Indo-European language belonging to the Caucasian family. This ancient language was replaced by Indo-European around 850 BCE with the arrival of the Medes in Kurdistan. However, the Hurrian influence on the Kurdish language remains evident in its grammatical structure and place names. Another language group that influenced the Kurds, though to a lesser extent, was the Semitic group, such as Aramaic. Today, more than three-quarters of Kurdish clan names and about two-thirds of topographical and urban names are of Hurrian (Khurrite) (Khori) origin , for example, the clan names of Bakhti, Tirikan, Bzayni, Bakran, and Mand; the rivers Murad, Balik, and Khabur, and Lake Van; and the cities of Mardin, Zawiya, Dinawar, and Barzan. Therefore, it is safe to say that the historical development of the Kurdish language (both in grammar and vocabulary) is distinct and different from other members of the Iranian language family.

Although Kurdish has northwestern Iranian roots, little is known about it in pre-Islamic times. The most well-known language in this group is Middle Kurdish, about which little is known. The Yazidi holy book, the Mus'haf-a Rash (Black Book), was written by Ibn Sheikh Adi in Kurmanji Kurdish in the early 13th century. From the 15th to the 17th centuries, classical Kurdish poets and writers developed a literary language. The most famous classical Kurdish poets of this period were Ali Hariri, Ahmad Khani, Mulla Jaziri, and Faqi Tayran.

The earliest historical source that confirms Kurdish involvement in translation is the book *Anabase* by the Greek philosopher Xenophon, written in 401 BC. When Xenophon met the Carduques (Kardok, the ancient name for the Kurds at that time), he noted that Greek soldiers communicated with them through translation. Xenophon brought an interpreter with him to speak to the Carduques about ending the war and making peace, and he asked them to return the Greek corpses (çek, deşte, laş). The Carduques told Xenophon that they would return the bodies on the condition that the Greeks stop burning their homes. This testimony from Xenophon tells us that the Carduque Kurds had their own language. Through translation, the Kurds were in contact with other nations. The Carduque language was widespread and spoken by other peoples, including the Greeks and Persians .

In the 10th century, the Arab scholar al-Tanakh used the term "the tongue of the Kurds" (language of the Kurds), There is evidence in Sharafnama by Sharaf Khani Batlissi (1543–1606) of Kurdish leaders being interested in culture, but no details about translation are mentioned .

In 1614, the Italian Orientalist Pietro Della Valla spoke about the Kurdish language. He said, "The Kurds have their own language, which is unlike Arabic and Turkish,"

Ewliya Çelebi, in 1655, was the second source to mention translation by Kurds. The first text translated from Kurdish into Turkish, Seyahatname, was published by Çelebi. He says: "One of Sultan Murad Khan's contemporaries was a Kurd from Diyarbakir named Qawachi Zada (or Qahwaji Zade), who knew 20 languages. When ambassadors from Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France,

and Russia came, he was able to translate fluently."

Most linguistic experts agree that "modern Kurdish is an independent language with its own development within the Iranian languages, and it is not related to Persian except by a common origin"," given that both languages descend from the Indo-Iranian branch, which belongs to the Indo-European language family. Despite attempts to suppress the Kurdish language, it has managed to preserve a large part of its original vocabulary due to its mountainous geography, its distance from non-Kurdish centers of power, and its enjoyment of autonomy in the form of numerous feudal principalities. It has been only slightly influenced by Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and although it is divided into many dialects, it "shows remarkable stability in its distinctive characteristics" . We can quote here what Dr. Abdul Rahman Marouf said: that the authenticity and independence of the Kurdish language and its closeness to the Persian language were proven by Curnley and German scholars such as (Y. Reucker and A. Pott) in a comparative study of theirs, who reached the conclusion that "Kurdish and Persian originated and were derived from one language from an early time, and the difference between them was slight, then they diverged from each other in their subsequent development. Therefore, we see a difference in the way the Kurdish and Persian languages developed." Numerous studies by Russian scholars such as V. Dettel, Kh. Abovyan, Vaberizin, and B. Lerch in the 19th century have explored this topic. Lerch wrote that (the Kurdish language maintained its independence in Kurdistan, and while it is related to Persian, its development was entirely unrelated) .

The history of a language is intertwined with the history of its speakers. Therefore, it is essential to study Kurdish within its historical context, linked to the history and geography of this people, from the Zagros peoples to the Medes and Carduchi, up to the present day. Saussure...

The Iranian languages are part of the Indo-Iranian group of the Indo-European family. They are divided into three categories: Old Iranian (1000–331 BCE), Middle Iranian (331 BCE–876 CE), and Neo-Iranian (from 876 CE onwards). The ancient Iranian languages consist of the following four languages: Median, Avestan, Old Persian (Achaemenid), and Pahlavi, which are considered the roots and origins of modern Iranian languages such as Kurdish, Persian, Balochi, and others, knowing that all these languages go back to one Aryan origin and to the Indo-European family .

The Kurdish language belongs to the western subgroup of Iranian languages and was spoken by the Medes, considered the ancestors of the Kurds today. The languages most closely related to Kurdish are Balochi, Gilaki, and Talysh, all belonging to the northwestern branch of Iranian languages. Persian, belonging to the southwestern branch, is also a related language, although the differences between Kurdish and Persian are far greater than their similarities .

“Kurdistan is a contiguous geographical unit, but it has been divided due to migrations and wars experienced by its inhabitants since the dawn of history” . Located in western Asia, Kurdistan is not a single state but is divided between Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. Defining the borders of all of Kurdistan is difficult, but by studying the regions inhabited by Kurds, a rough outline

can be drawn. It can be said that Kurdistan extends north from the Ararat mountain range, which separates the political borders of Iran, Armenia, and Turkey, to the Hamrin Mountains, which separate Arab Iraq (the provinces of Baghdad and Basra) from Iraqi Kurdistan, i.e., Southern Kurdistan (the Ottoman province of Mosul) to the south, and east from the farthest reaches of Kurdistan in Iran to the province of Malatya in Turkey to the west. The area of Kurdistan is estimated at more than 500,000 km .

An ancient historical source that mentions the Medes and the Carduques is the book *Anabase* by the Greek philosopher Xenophon, written in 401 BC. When Xenophon met the Carduques (the ancient Kurds of that time), he noted that Greek soldiers communicated with them through translation. He brought an interpreter to speak with the Carduques about ending the war and making peace, and he asked them to return the bodies of the slain Greeks. The Carduques told Xenophon that they would return the bodies on the condition that the Greeks cease burning their homes. Dr. Farhad Pirbal concludes: “This testimony from Xenophon tells us that the Kurds, the Carduques, had their own language. The Kurds, through translation, were in contact with other nations. The Carduque language was widespread and spoken by other nationalities, including the Greeks and Persians.” It is worth noting that *Anabase* refers to Media during that period, 401 BC. It is clear that the land of the Medes encompassed all of present-day Iranian Kurdistan, which lies near the land of the Carduchi, where they occupied the areas of Zakho and the island of Botan.

Prof. Mehrdad R. Izady in his article, Exploring Kurdish Origins 2009 wrote:

"So far the victory cylinder of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (r. 1114-1076 BC) is the oldest record of the incidence of the ethnic name of the Kurds. It records the "Kurti" or "Qurtie" among the peoples whom the king conquered in his mountain campaigns south of the Lake Van region. The more exact location of these "Kurti" is given by the same document as Mt. Azu/Hazu. We are extraordinarily lucky that this "address" was still current until about sixty years ago—over 3100 years after Tiglath-pileser I. The town of Kurti in the Mt. Hizan region south of Lake Van is the same as the "Kurti in the Mt. Azu" of the Assyrians! The town of Kurti was still serving as a seat of a Kurdish princely house when the Kurdish historian Sharaf al-Din Bitlisi added the dynasty's history into his celebrated history, the Sharafnâma, in 1597. This "birthplace" of the Kurds continued to be known with the archaic name until the Turkish government changed its name and that of its eponymous river to Bahçesaray in the 1930s. The oldest Kurdish place name—it "birth place" thus joined history, so recent in history" .

Prof. Mehrdad R. Izady added: "By the 3rd century BC, at any rate, the very term Kurd (or rather "Kurti") had been conclusively established. Polybius (d. ca. 133 BC) in his history when reporting on the events of 221-220 BC, (footnote 9) and Strabo (d. ca. AD 48) in his geography (footnote 10) are the earliest Western sources I am aware of to have made mention of the Kurds with their present ethnic name, albeit, in latinized form Cyrtii, "the Kurti." Historians Livy, Pliny, Plutarch, and much later, Procopius also mention

this ethnic name for the native population of Media and parts of Anatolia for the classical times. Ptolemy inadvertently provides us with an array of Kurdish tribal names, when he records them as they appear as toponyms for where the tribe resided. Bagraoandene for the Bagrawands or Bakrans of Diyarbakir, Belcanea for the Belikans of Antep, Tigranoandene for the Tirigans of Hakkari, Sophene for the Subhans of Elazig, Derzene for the Dersimis and Bokhtanoi for the Bokhti (Bohtans) etc. These tribes are still with us today . When the Aryan Medes and Persians arrived on the eastern flanks of the Zagros around 1000 BC, a massive internal migration from the eastern Taurus and northern and central Zagros toward the southern Zagros was in progress. By the 6th century BC, many large tribes which we now find among the Kurds were also present in southern Zagros, in Fars and even Kirman. As early as the 3rd century BC, the "Kurtioi" are reported by the Greek, and later Roman authors (in the Latin form of "Cyrtii") to inhabit as much the southern Zagros (Persis or Pars/Fars) as the central and northern Zagros (Kurdistan proper). This was to continue for another millennium, by which time, the ethnic name of "Kurd" had become established for nearly all if not all inhabitants of the mountains, from the Straits of Hormuz to the heart of Anatolia. Northern Zagros and Anatolia once teamed with various and related groups of people speaking Iranic tongue(s). By about 2000 years ago, many of these, such as the Iranic Pontians, Commagenes, Cappadocians, the western Medes and the Indic Mitannis, like the earlier Hurrian Mannas, Lullus, Saubarus, Kardakas, and Qutils, had been totally absorbed into a new Kurdish ethnic pool. These are among many mountain-inhabiting peoples whose assimilation

has formed genetically, culturally, socially and linguistically the contemporary Kurds. The Kurdish diversity of race, tradition and spoken dialects encountered today point to the direction of this compound identity" .

In 1614, the Italian orientalist Pietro Della Valla wrote about the Kurdish language. Al-Jalabi said, "The Kurds have their own language, which is unlike both Arabic and Turkish." He added, "One of Sultan Murad Khan's contemporaries was a Kurd from Diyarbakir named Qawachi Zada, who knew 20 languages. When ambassadors from Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, and Russia came, he was able to translate fluently".

The book "The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate" contains important historical information and facts about Iraq, Iran, and Kurdistan. Its author is the renowned Orientalist, Guy Le Strange, of English origin. He visited Iran between 1877 and 1880, staying for three years, and published the book in 1905. He also wrote numerous articles and studies on the historical geography of the Islamic world. On page 18, he states: "In southeastern Azerbaijan lies the fertile region of Media (also known as the Mountain Region), which the Arabs aptly named the Mountain Region. Its mountains overlook the Lower Mesopotamian Plain. These mountains extend eastward until they reach the borders of the Greater Mesopotamia in central Iran. When the Kurds rose to prominence and their influence grew in recent times, the western part of the Mountain Region became known as Kurdistan. We will see that in the Middle Ages, the Mountain Region was often mistakenly called Persian Iraq to distinguish it from Arab Iraq, which refers to Lower Mesopotamia. The Mountain Region

contains many cities: in the west, Kermanshah and Hamadan (which is ancient Ecbatana).” He adds, “The Khuzestan region lies south of Media and east of Iraq, and to the east of Khuzestan, on the Gulf, is the great region of Persia. This is ancient Persia, the cradle of the Persian Empire.” (And the most famous of the public roads is the Great Khorasan Road... It begins at the Khorasan Gate in eastern Baghdad and continues until it enters the mountainous region. After ascending the mountains steeply, it reaches Kermanshah, the capital of Kurdistan, and traverses the mountainous region from end to end in a northeasterly direction, passing through Hamadan, then Rayy...) (The city of Nahavand is about forty miles south of Hamadan and was a great city since the Sasanian era. ... Al-Mustawfi reported in the fourteenth century that most of its inhabitants in his time were Kurds... and it has ninety-three villages...) ((In the south of Hamadan is Lorestan, that is, the land of the Lurs, and the Lurs are a people of the Kurds. The rivers of this mountainous land divide it into two parts: the Greater Lur in the south and the Lesser Lur in the north, and the Upper Karun River separates them.)) The Lur region is known for its cities (Sabur Khwast, Borujerd, and Nahawand, named after Hasanwayh, the Kurdish leader who established his state in Dinawar). Abhar and Zanjan are two cities often mentioned together, located on the road west of the Caspian Sea, and have been famous since ancient times. Ibn Hawqal mentioned in the 10th century that Abhar was inhabited by Kurds, abundant in water and trees, and rich in wheat. It had a strong fortress built on a platform. Al-Qazwini indicated that the entire city contained watermills. Yaqut said: The Persians call it Ohar (and it is stated

in Yaqut 1:104 that the meaning of "Abhar" is composed of "Ab," meaning water, and "Har," meaning mill). The city of Zanjan (Zankan in Persian) is about fifty miles northwest of Abhar on the Zanjan River, which flows west of Sefidrud. Al-Mustawfi stated that the dominant language there at the beginning of the 14th century was still pure Pahlavi.

Minorsky points to the general Kurdish influence on the ancient culture in the places where they live, and this is highlighted by the academic Mar in his published article entitled (On the Question of the Concept of Kurdish Culture in the Middle East) . There is no doubt that some of the religious ideas to which Kurdish society is subject have entered into Christian and Islamic doctrines, for example, the belief in the dead soul as never rising or being resurrected as it was (compare with what comes next about the Yazidis) . Even now, the influence of the Kurdish language on neighboring peoples is evident. Minorsky emphasized this at the beginning of the 20th century, stating : "The Kurdish language has had, and continues to have, a profound influence on neighboring peoples. In some parts of Bitlis province, we see that the Armenians have forgotten their language and speak only Kurdish . Similarly, the mountain Assyrians have a common custom of singing Kurdish songs and telling Kurdish folk tales."

Kurdistan, as the central homeland of the Kurds, is a mountainous region with limited contact with non-Kurdish peoples. It is a rugged, elongated region stretching from the Zagros Mountains to the Taurus and Ararat Mountains. Many historians believe that the Kurdish language, with its five dialects—Kurmanji, Sorani, Hawrami, Zazaki, and Feyli—may have a historical

connection, linked in one way or another, to the languages of the ancient Zagros peoples, who were of Asian origin, as well as to the Hurrian and Mitanni languages, which were influenced by Median in structure and form. The Medes, with their Aryan language, were the last to settle in Kurdistan and establish an empire in the seventh century BC. It appears from studies about the Medes that they came to the region later called (Kurdistan) around (1100 BC), and they consisted of a confederation of six tribes, which Diakonov named: Boussi, Paretaknoi, Strouknates, Arizantoi Boudloi, Magoi, and Herodotus named them (Boussi, Paretacians, Strouknates, Arizantoi, Boudloi, and Magoi). The Median language was common among the clans of this tribal confederation. It is understood from what Arshak Safrastian mentioned that Gutium was later called Media, and then the same region was named (Kurdistan). This means - in his opinion - that Media is a geographical, historical, and cultural extension of Gutium, considering that the Gutians and Medes inhabited the same region .

The name Media continued to be used until the Sasanian era, which lasted for nearly four centuries. Historically, Kurdistan, since the arrival of Indo-European peoples such as the Mitanni in the second millennium BC and the Medes, Scythians, and Mannaeans at the beginning of the first millennium BC, did not witness significant settlement migrations from other peoples. It is known that in the Islamic era it was called the “Mountain Region,” although the name “Mad or Old Madh” was mentioned by geographers, historians and Armenians and it had frightening terrain for other peoples. Therefore, the Kurdish language

maintained its original form, and thus the change that occurred took place over a long period of time. The reason for this is the dominance of the linguistic elements and features that were already present among the ancient Zagros peoples such as the Kassites, the Gutians (Gutium), the Lullubi and the Hurrians in the third millennium until the middle of the second millennium BC, when the Mitanni and the Nairs began to appear, speaking an Aryan language, according to historians, and later the Medes who controlled all of Kurdistan as a whole. After that, the Median kingdoms were subject to the rule of the Achaemenids (Achaemenid) who spoke the old Persian language, and then the spread of the Pahlavi language in the Parthian and Sasanian era as an Iranian empire ruling the Persians and the Kurds. It is worth noting that the Carduchians appeared in the Zakho and Botan regions in the fifth century BC during the battles they fought with the Greek army (Xeniphon of Anapasis and the expedition of the ten thousand soldiers). The name “Karda” as a region name appears in the cuneiform writings left to us by King Shulgi (2036-2028 BC), the fourth king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2003 BC) .

LES VERBES COMPOSES (NOM-VERBE) EN KURDE (SORANI) : PROBLEMES SYNTAXIQUES

PROF.DR. SANDRINA TRAIDIA

Introduction

Cet article se focalise sur les suites (nom + verbe) en kurde soranî communément appelées « locutions verbales » dans la littérature française. En kurde, la formation de verbes composés au moyen d'un substantif et d'un verbe est un phénomène très vivace et très productif. En effet, tandis que le nombre de verbes simples est relativement limité, le nombre de verbes composés est très important et connaît de surcroît une constante évolution.

Une difficulté rencontrée est que, mis à part leur caractérisation par une unité sémantique, une opacité sémantique plus ou moins grande, ces verbes ne manifestent pas de traits morphologiques ou syntaxiques particuliers susceptibles de les distinguer d'une construction régulière [verbe-objet]. Ils disposent certes d'une liberté syntaxique plus ou moins restreinte mais la frontière est cependant parfois délicate à tracer entre un verbe composé (nom-verbe) et une construction transitive libre.

En effet, lorsqu'un verbe composé est formé d'un nom et d'un verbe transitif, comme par exemple le verbe composé kurde areq kirdin (sueur - faire : suer, transpirer), on est immédiatement tenté d'attribuer au substantif areq le statut de c.o.d. du verbe. Toutefois, une analyse plus fine tend à montrer que le substantif areq (sueur) ne manifeste pas toutes les caractéristiques d'un c.o.d. prototypique. Quel statut syntaxique attribuer dès lors à l'élément nominal d'un verbe composé (nom-verbe)?

Dans un premier temps, je dégagerai, sur des critères de construction syntaxique, les différents types de verbes composés (nom-verbe) en kurde soranî. Nous verrons qu'on peut grosso modo distinguer deux types de verbes composés : les verbes

composés transitifs, qui ont la possibilité d'admettre un constituant nominal en fonction d'objet et les verbes composés intransitifs, qui n'acceptent pas quant à eux de constituant nominal en fonction d'objet.

Dans un deuxième temps, je m'intéresserai au statut syntaxique du substantif dans les verbes composés (nom-verbe). J'examinerai plus particulièrement le cas des verbes composés transitifs, cas qui s'avère être particulièrement intéressant dans la mesure où il suscite l'embarras. En effet, compte tenu du fait que les verbes composés transitifs admettent un constituant nominal en fonction d'objet, on se retrouve alors dans ce cas face à des constructions à « double objet ». Or, le kurde ne pouvant admettre qu'un seul complément d'objet direct par phrase, se pose alors de manière embarrassante la question de la définition d'un statut syntaxique pour l'élément nominal des verbes composés transitifs. Afin d'expliquer ce phénomène, les chercheurs ont envisagé différentes pistes d'analyse, dont l'hypothèse d'une incorporation syntaxique du substantif. Cette hypothèse a notamment été mise en avant par Haig (2002) dans le cas du kurde kurmancî. Haig (2002), en suivant cette hypothèse, considère en effet que la suite (nom-verbe) fonctionne alors dans ce cas comme une sorte de verbe complexe .

Je montrerai que l'hypothèse de l'incorporation syntaxique qui a été utilisée pour le kurde kurmancî s'avère néanmoins inappropriée au cas du kurde soranî et j'introduirai le concept de « quasi - incorporation » syntaxique pour définir cette relation si particulière entre l'élément nominal et le verbe, dans un verbe composé transitif en kurde soranî.

1. Les verbes composés (nom-verbe)

Pour définir les verbes composés (nom-verbe), nous emprunterons la définition de Samsam Bakhtiari (2000 : 215) qui utilise cette terminologie pour désigner « toutes les constructions où il y a une association syntaxique et sémantique plus ou moins forte entre un substantif et un verbe transitif », à savoir comme l'expliquent Bras & Molinier (2004 : 11) que ces constructions présentent « la propriété d'opacité du sens, c'est à dire que leur sens ne peut pas être calculé en fonction du sens de leurs éléments constitutifs ».

Le tableau suivant présente une liste de verbes composés (nom-verbe) formés à partir des verbes simples les plus utilisés dans la formation de verbes composés, à savoir les verbes dan « donner », girtin « prendre », hênan « emmener, apporter », kirdin « faire », et xuwardin « manger » :

VERBE COMPOSÉ	NOM VERBE	GLOSE
agir dan	(feu) dan (donner)	Tirer.
baz dan	(saut) dan (donner)	Sauter.
çaw kirdin	(œil) kirdin (faire)	Regarder.
dawa kirdin	(demande) kirdin (faire)	Demander (qch à qqn).
êşik girtin	(garde, surveillance) girtin (prendre)	Surveiller.
firîw xuwardin	(fraude) xuwardin (manger)	Se tromper.
gesik lê dan	(balai) dan (donner)	Balayer.
hez lê kirdin	(désir) kirdin (faire)	Aimer (qqch).
jan girtin	(douleur) girtin (prendre)	Travailler, peiner.
kul dan	(ébullition) dan (donner)	Bouillir.

lerz girtin (tremblement, frisson) girtin (prendre) Trembler.

mare kirdin (mariage) kirdin (faire) Marier.

nîşan dan (signe) dan (donner) Montrer.

pişt dan (dos) dan (donner) S'enfuir.

qise kirdin (parole) kirdin (faire) Parler, converser.

qise xuwardin (parole) xuwardin (manger) Être abusé, ne rien dire (être effacé).

qût dan (fait d'avaler) dan (donner) Avaler.

rû dan (visage) dan (donner) Arriver, se produire.

şane kirdin (peigne) kirdin (faire) Peigner.

sipas kirdin (merci) kirdin (faire) Remercier.

şû kirdin (époux) kirdin (faire) Se marier (pour une femme).

tam kirdin (goût) kirdin (faire) Goûter.

waz hênan (le mot waz n'a pas d'existence propre en dehors du verbe composé waz hênan) hênan (emmener, apporter) Abandonner.

xefet xuwardin (tristesse) xuwardin (manger) Avoir du chagrin.

zincîr kirdin (chaîne) kirdin (faire) Enchaîner.

2. Les différents types de constructions syntaxiques des verbes composés (nom-verbe)

Derrière l'analogie apparente des verbes composés se cache en fait une grande variété de différences structurelles. En effet, bien que ces verbes montrent à première vue une structure de surface analogue ou presque, les verbes composés kurdes ne manifestent pas de propriétés syntaxiques homogènes mais

témoignent au contraire d'une grande variété de différences structurelles : l'observation du comportement syntaxique des principaux verbes composés (nom-verbe) nous a permis d'isoler au sein de ce groupe différents types de structures internes. Il convient également de préciser ici que la nature des relations syntaxiques que leurs éléments entretiennent entre eux n'est pas systématiquement analysable d'un point de vue syntaxique (cas des structures syntaxiquement figées). Afin d'établir un classement de ces verbes sur la base de critères syntaxiques, nous avons décidé de retenir comme critère de classement la possibilité pour le verbe composé (nom-verbe) dans son ensemble d'admettre ou non un complément d'objet direct, noté N1.

Le degré d'acceptation du c.o.d. varie en effet selon les suites (nom-verbe) observées. Il est donc possible, sur la base de critères syntaxiques, de les répartir en deux groupes structurellement différents. Le premier rassemble les suites (N-V) intransitives : il s'agit des séquences (nom-verbe) n'acceptant pas de constituant nominal en fonction d'objet. Quant au second groupe, il comprend les suites (N-V) transitives, autrement dit les séquences (nom-verbe) autorisant un constituant nominal en fonction d'objet. Dans ce cas, le verbe composé (nom-verbe), dans son ensemble, a la possibilité d'accepter un argument supplémentaire, N1, en fonction d'objet. Haig (2002 : 26) qualifie cet argument c.o.d. supplémentaire de « additional direct object », terminologie que je traduirai par la formule « objet direct additionnel ».

3. Les verbes composés (nom-verbe) intransitifs

L'observation des structures distributionnelles respectives des verbes composés intransitifs a permis de dresser pour ce groupe de verbes des sous-catégorisations syntaxiques. Les particularités syntaxiques spécifiques à chacun des 3 sous-types dénombrés sont précisées ci-dessous (cf. 3.1, 3.2 et 3.3).

3.1. Les verbes composés du type areq kirdin

Les verbes du type areq kirdin ont pour caractéristique commune de ne pas avoir d'argument additionnel (N1). Ils suivent le modèle opératoire : N0 N V. Dans ce groupe, on trouve notamment les verbes agir girtin « prendre feu », aw kirdin « pleurer », baz dan « sauter », fû kirdin « souffler », çaw kirdin « pleurer » etc…

(1) çaw-im aw e-k-at
[Sharezoor, 33]
(œil-Poss. / eau / tam-faire-Prés.3sg)
« mes yeux pleurent »

(2) (…) ewan-îş bar de-ke-n
[Geda, 40]
(eux-aussi / charge / tam-faire-Prés.3pl.)
« eux-aussi, ils déménagent »

3.2. Les verbes composés du type arezû kirdin

Les verbes du type arezû kirdin ont la possibilité d'accepter un argument additionnel (N1). Ce dernier a la particularité de se construire comme un dépendant syntaxique du substantif N - auquel il est relié par l'intermédiaire de l'ézafé - suivant le modèle

opératoire suivant : N0 - N - Ez - N1 - V. Dans ce groupe, on trouve notamment les verbes arezû kirdin « désirer », sipas kirdin « remercier », temaşa kirdin « regarder », dawa kirdin « demander », yad kirdin « se souvenir » etc…

(3) yekem bûk-î mal-î bû ke dawa-y xanû-y ciya -y le mêrd-eke-y kird-uw-e

[Jan, 54 apud Bassols, 1995 : § 65]

(premier / fiancée-Ez-maison-Poss / être-Prét.3sg / qui / demande-Ez-maison-Ez- différent-Clit.3sg / Prép / mari-le-Poss. / faire-Parf.3sg)

« elle fut la première fiancée de sa maison à demander une maison indépendante à son mari »

(4) sipas-î ew dost-an-e e-ke-m ke yariye-yan da-w-im [Edmonds, 1955 : 502]

(merci-Ez-Dém ami-Pl-Dém / tam-faire-Prés.1sg / qui / aide-Clit.3pl. / donner-Parf.-Clit.1sg)

« je remercie les amis qui m'ont aidé »

3.3. Les verbes composés du type hez lê kirdin

Les verbes composés du type hez lê kirdin ont la particularité de se construire avec un régime prépositionnel (Prép N1) introduit au moyen des prépositions simples le, be et de la postposition -e ou de leurs formes construites respectives lê, pê, tê suivant l'un des deux modèles opératoires suivants : N0 - N - Prép - N1 - V ou N0 - N - V - Prép - N1. Dans ce cas, l'argument additionnel (N1) sera réalisé à l'intérieur d'un syntagme prépositionnel Prép N1 dont la fonction est d'être c.o.i. du verbe composé. Les verbes composés du type hez lê kirdin « aimer », ser lê dan « visiter »,

çaw lê kirdin « imiter », dest pê kirdin « commencer » comptent entre autres parmi les verbes de ce groupe. Il en résulte que la place du syntagme prépositionnel (Prép N1) dans la phrase est variable. Il peut donc se placer soit entre les deux éléments du verbe composé, en les séparant :

(5) serokî hukûmetî Kurdistan pêşwazî le beşdarbuwan-î konfirans-î cîhanî bo roşin--bîrî kurd de-k-at.

[Xebat, 2006]

(président-Ez-gouvernement-Ez-Kurdistan / accueil / Prép / participant-Ez- conférence-Ez-international / pour / culture-Ez-kurde / tam-faire-Prés.3sg)

« le premier ministre kurde accueille les participants à la conférence internationale sur la kurdologie »

Mais il pourra également se placer après la forme verbale :

(6) Şîrîn şû-y kird be Ferhad

[Hilmi, 2000 : 234]

(Chirine / époux-Clit.3sg / faire-Prét.3sg / Prép / Ferhad)

« Chirine a épousé Ferhad »

4. Les verbes composés (nom-verbe) transitifs

Les verbes du type nîşan dan sont les seuls à pouvoir accepter un constituant nominal en fonction d'objet. Dans ce groupe, l'argument additionnel N1 est traité comme un dépendant syntaxique du verbe composé, un c.o.d. du verbe composé (N-V) dans son ensemble suivant le schéma suivant : N0 N1 N V. Les verbes de ce groupe sont donc transitifs relativement à un « deuxième » objet ou « objet additionnel » N1.

Parmi les verbes de ce groupe, on peut citer notamment les verbes nîşan dan « montrer », mare kirdin « marier », şane kirdin « peigner » etc… Dans cette configuration, N1 se place de manière générale avant l'élément nominal du verbe composé, N.

(7) Cwamêr Perwîn-î mare kird

[Hilmi, 2000 : 234]

(Cwamêr / Perwin-Clit.3sg / mariage faire-Prét.3sg)

« Cwamêr a épousé Perwîn »

(8) Awaz qij-î kiç-eke şane de-kat

(Awaz / cheveu-Ez-fille-la / peigne / tam-faire-Prés.3sg)

« Awaz peigne la fille »

Enfin, notons à l'intérieur du quatrième groupe, l'existence d'une variante de construction incluant un argument supplémentaire (N2) et suivant l'un des deux modèles opératoires suivants :

a) N0 N1 Prép N2 N V

(9) hakim Awaz le Karwan mare de-k-at

(juge / Awaz / Prép / Karwan / mariage tam-faire-Prés.3sg)

« le juge marie Awaz à Karwan »

b) N0 N1 N V Prép N2

(10) Paşa beg-ekan-î bang kird-e dîwekhan-e

[Mukriyanî, 1986 : 190]

(pacha / beg-les-Clit.3sg / appel / faire-Prét.3sg-Prép / diwakhan-Déf.)

« le pacha a invité les begs au diwakhan »

5. Le statut syntaxique de N dans les verbes composés

Il n'existe pas d'homogénéité de comportement entre les éléments nominaux des verbes composés transitifs et ceux des verbes composés intransitifs. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous étudierons successivement le statut syntaxique du substantif (N) dans le groupe des verbes composés intransitifs puis dans celui des verbes composés transitifs.

5.1. Le statut de N dans les verbes composés intransitifs

Un verbe composé (nom-verbe) intransitif n'est pas en tous points semblable à une construction libre. En effet, son élément nominal n'est pas un cod prototypique : sa position argumentale est contrainte, et il manifeste certaines restrictions quant aux manipulations syntaxiques propres aux noms c.o.d, l'impossibilité de certaines manipulations syntaxiques propres aux noms c.o.d. sur les éléments nominaux des verbes composés ayant d'ailleurs des origines d'ordre phraséologique.

Dans ce cas, et malgré les restrictions syntaxiques qui lui sont associées, l'élément nominal d'un verbe composé intransitif n'en est pas moins un argument du verbe. Il est donc malgré tout possible de considérer alors que le nom et le verbe forment un syntagme verbal, tout comme l'évoque Alonso Ramos dans les termes suivants (1998 : 349) : « Le fait qu'une séquence donnée soit complètement idiomatisée n'empêche pas de lui trouver une structure syntaxique (…) il est certain qu'il ne présente pas toutes les propriétés des syntagmes libres avec verbe transitif, car il s'agit précisément d'une expression phraséologisée et donc, il peut avoir une perte des propriétés régulières des syntagmes libres. »

5.2. Quel statut pour N dans les verbes composés transitifs ?

Dans ce groupe de verbes, on assiste à l'apparente cohabitation de deux c.o.d., N et N1, dans la même phrase. Or, le kurde interdit cette configuration : la relation de complément d'objet ne peut en effet pas se répéter dans cette langue . Compte tenu de cette interdiction, la question se pose de savoir si dans ce cas précis N est toujours analysable comme c.o.d ou si on ne devrait pas envisager une autre possibilité d'analyse plus en adéquation avec ce nouveau scénario (qui fait cohabiter deux compléments verbaux directs N et N1 dans la même phrase).

La question qui va se poser maintenant est de savoir comment définir le statut syntaxique de l'élément nominal (N) d'un verbe composé transitif.

5.2.1. L'analyse en termes d'incorporation syntaxique

L'analyse en termes d'incorporation syntaxique tend à considérer que l'élément nominal (N) a perdu tout statut syntaxique dans la phrase du fait de son incorporation syntaxique au verbe et que le complément d'objet direct de la phrase est (N1). Je considère pour ma part que cette analyse n'est pas appropriée à la description de ce phénomène.

Nous ne pouvons en effet que rejeter l'hypothèse de l'incorporation nominale qui équivaut à considérer que l'élément nominal (N) est totalement privé dans ce cas de statut syntaxique. Certes, les suites (nom-verbe) transitives manifestent une forte cohésion (nom-verbe), une sorte de fusion syntaxique entre le nom (N) et le verbe : l'élément nominal N ne satisfait pas les

exigences d'un c.o.d. ordinaire et est adjacent au verbe, dont il est d'ailleurs difficile de le séparer linéairement (*şane ser kirdin vs. ser şane kirdin (« peigner la tête » litt. « tête peigne faire »).

Cependant, le fait que N puisse être le support d'affixes flexionnels - le pronom personnel enclitique peut en effet s'y affixer - nous semble pourtant constituer un argument suffisant contre l'hypothèse de l'incorporation syntaxique :

(11) ewan, jin-ekan-yan maç-yan kird-in
[Hilmi , 2000 : 253]
(eux / femme-les-Poss / baiser- Clit.3pl / faire-Prét.-Clit.3pl)
« eux, leurs femmes les ont embrassés »

(12)min sönd-î de-de-m
[Saeed : 82]
(moi / serment-Clit.3sg / tam-donner-Prés.1sg)
« je lui fais prêter serment »

Dans les phrases (11) et (12), on peut en effet noter que les pronoms personnels enclitiques –yan et –î s'affixent respectivement sur les éléments nominaux maç et sönd.

L'analyse en termes d'incorporation syntaxique a notamment été adoptée pour le kurde kurmancî par Haig (2002) dans le cas des constructions à « double complément d'objet ». Mais les exemples suivants, empruntés au kurde kurmancî, semblent aller à l'encontre de cette analyse et montrent qu'on ne peut pas suivre totalement Haig en déclarant que (N) est syntaxiquement inerte :

(13) Dayik zarok-a xwe maç-î di-k-e
(mère / enfant-Ez.fém-Réfléchi / baiser-OBL.masc. / tam-faire-Prés.3s)
« la mère embrasse son enfant »

(14) deşt-ê bav-ê xwe maç-(î) bi-k-e
[Rizgar : 121]

(main- / père-Ez.masc.-Réfléchi / baiser-OBL.masc./tam-faire-Subj.3s)

« embrasse la main de ton père (en guise de respect) »

Dans ces deux exemples, on peut observer que l'élément nominal du verbe composé maç kirdin, à savoir le nom maç reçoit un marquage casuel. Il porte en effet la marque du cas oblique masculin : -î. Ce marquage différentiel de (N) indique l'existence d'un statut syntaxique pour N, et par la même infirme l'hypothèse d'une incorporation syntaxique.

Certes, dans ce cas, l'élément nominal n'est pas un argument du verbe, son autonomie syntaxique est pratiquement nulle et il tend à s'amalgamer au verbe sans toutefois s'y incorporer. Le verbe composé ne constitue donc pas un syntagme [verbe + c.o.d.], mais on ne peut tout de même pas aller jusqu'à parler de figement syntaxique. Le verbe composé, même dans ce cas extrême, ne constitue pas un mot-forme. Comme on a pu le montrer en amont, quelles que soient les configurations syntaxiques considérées, l'analyse consistant à traiter les verbes composés comme un seul nœud syntaxique n'est pas compatible avec le kurde soranî.

5.2.2. L'analyse en termes de « quasi » incorporation syntaxique

Nous avons vu que nous avons donc affaire à une relation (nom-verbe) d'un autre type : nous avons vu qu'il ne s'agit ni d'une relation (verbe-objet), ni d'une incorporation syntaxique. Cette relation se situe pour ainsi dire à mi-chemin entre une relation

(verbe-objet) prototypique et une incorporation syntaxique. Pour définir le statut de N dans ce cas de figure, je parlerai pour ma part non d'incorporation syntaxique proprement dite mais de relation de « quasi » incorporation syntaxique.

6. Conclusion

Il n'existe pas de statut syntaxique unique pour l'élément nominal des verbes composés (nom-verbe). En effet, on a pu voir que les conclusions diffèrent selon que l'on considère les verbes composés transitifs ou les verbes composés intransitifs.

Cette étude a permis de mettre en perspective les notions mêmes de complément d'objet et de transitivité, en nous interrogeant d'une part sur la transitivité du verbe composé en tant qu'ensemble à l'intérieur de la phrase et de l'autre sur la transitivité interne du verbe composé, à savoir sur la nature de la relation syntaxique entre le nom et le verbe au sein même d'un verbe composé.

Pour conclure, nous pensons que d'autres facteurs de classification, notamment l'adoption de critères de classifications sémantiques pourraient être introduits et par là même enrichir l'étude des verbes composés. Il s'agirait tout d'abord d'observer de façon systématique l'influence de la nature sémantique de l'élément nominal sur le comportement syntaxique du verbe composé, à savoir essayer de trouver des régularités sémantico-syntaxiques. Puis, de façon complémentaire, une autre étude pourrait consister à observer si un classement organisé selon des critères syntaxiques « permet de dégager des classes présentant une certaine homogénéité sur le plan sémantique » (modèle du lexique-grammaire de Gross).

Cette étude, de grande envergure, qui pourrait d'ailleurs être mené en parallèle sur le kurde soranî et le kurde kurmancî, devrait à mon sens reposer sur un corpus informatisé de la langue kurde et trouver sa place dans le cadre d'une collaboration avec les chercheurs et les universités kurdes car elle exige, à

partir d'un corpus considérable , d'observer des régularités et de passer à la formalisation. Plusieurs questions pourraient d'ailleurs être liées à ce projet :
(1) L'étude des fréquences respectives des différents types de constructions (nom-verbe)
(2) L'étude de la prosodie (pour marquer l'autonomie d'un objet par rapport à un verbe support)
(3) L'emploi des clitiques dans les verbes composés : ordre et place des clitiques.
(4) Enfin, l'observation des évolutions, n'y aurait-il pas une tendance (motivée par l'économie du langage ?) consistant de plus en plus à aller vers des constructions à
« double objet »?

Abréviations

1	=	1ère personne
2	=	2ème personne
3	=	3ème personne
cf.	=	confer : se reporter à
Clit.	=	pronom personnel enclitique (clitique)
CN.	=	complément du nom
c.o.d.	=	complément d'objet direct
c.o.i.	=	complément d'objet indirect
Déf.	=	suffixe de définitude
Dém	=	démonstratif
etc.	=	et cetera
Ez	=	ézafé
N	=	nom formant un verbe composé (N-V)
N0	=	sujet
N1	=	le premier complément (dans l'ordre d'apparition dans la phrase de base) (éventuellement CN de N)

N2 : = le deuxième complément (dans l'ordre d'apparition dans la phrase de base)
OBL = cas « oblique »
Parf. = parfait
Pl. = pluriel
Poss : = possessif
pp. = pages
Prép : = préposition
Prés. = présent
Réfléchi = pronom personnel réfléchi
sg. = singulier
tam. = marque de temps-aspect-mode
V = verbe
vs. = versus

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N.B. : Il va sans dire qu'on ne peut pas tout trouver dans un corpus. C'est pourquoi, quand cela s'avérait nécessaire, j'ai fait appel à des locuteurs natifs du kurde (cas des exemples (8), (9) et (13), fournis par des informateurs kurdophones).

LA LANGUE MATÉRNELLE KURDE EN SUISSE, ÉTUDE ANALYTIQUE DE

Giawdat Mahmood Sofi

Première partie
La langue maternelle
Entre deux identités et deux attentes
Introduction,
pourquoi cette recherche ?
(Les limites de ma langue sont les limites de mon monde)

Depuis leur arrivée dans les pays d'accueil, les Kurdes de la diaspora s'efforcent d'offrir des cours de kurde à leurs enfants. Ces cours sont dispensés par le biais d'associations culturelles, d'initiatives personnelles et dans le cadre des programmes de promotion des langues maternelles mis en place par les institutions officielles des pays d'accueil. Heureusement, depuis près de quatre ans, un autre mouvement a émergé au sein de la diaspora kurde, et la notion de langue maternelle entre dans une nouvelle phase. Il est à noter que, outre le travail de construction et de renforcement du lobby kurde au sein de la diaspora, les dirigeants de la Confédération de la diaspora du Kurdistan semblent conscients que la langue est un outil fondamental dans la construction de l'identité kurde au sein de la diaspora. C'est pourquoi, depuis sa création, ils accordent une attention particulière à la langue maternelle des enfants kurdes de la diaspora. Ils ont déployé des efforts considérables pour organiser des cours de kurde, en présentiel et en ligne, en kurde et en sorani. Plusieurs enseignants dévoués se sont portés volontaires pour cette tâche, non seulement importante mais aussi sacrée pour les Kurdes, sans doute parce qu'elle est liée à leurs efforts pour préserver l'identité kurde face à la menace d'extinction. Cependant, force est de constater que peu de parents inscrivent leurs enfants à des cours de langue. Par ailleurs, il semble exister un autre objectif,

non avoué, derrière ces cours de langue maternelle pour les enfants kurdes de l'étranger.

Cette observation découle du fait que certains responsables politiques et parents kurdes, animés d'un fort sentiment national, ont évoqué à plusieurs reprises, outre le souhait que leurs enfants apprennent leur langue maternelle, la protection et le renforcement de leur sentiment d'appartenance et d'identité nationale. Ils expriment également, directement ou indirectement, le désir de voir ces enfants devenir les porte-parole de la communauté kurde à l'étranger et faire de la langue la langue officielle de la nation kurde à l'international. Ainsi, ils semblent vouloir que la prochaine génération défende les droits de leur terre et de leur nation à l'étranger afin d'obtenir un Kurdistan libre et indépendant et d'atteindre les objectifs pour lesquels eux-mêmes et plusieurs générations avant eux se sont battus, sans toutefois parvenir à les réaliser pleinement.

Ce sur quoi je souhaite me concentrer ici, c'est soulever des questions concernant différentes perspectives et réflexions sur la complexité du concept de langue maternelle en exil, afin d'aider les responsables et les enseignants de la langue kurde, fidèles à leurs convictions, à aborder l'enseignement du kurde dans un contexte différent à l'étranger. Il s'agit notamment de prendre en compte les caractéristiques de la diaspora, contexte complexe pour les enfants kurdes. Par souci de simplicité, je propose d'aborder cette discussion sous trois angles :

Première perspective : considérer que la langue n'est pas seulement un moyen de communication entre l'enfant, sa famille et la société, mais aussi un outil fondamental pour la construction de

l'identité personnelle et culturelle (ethnique, spirituelle, nationale, etc.). En effet, la langue véhicule également les sentiments et les valeurs de la famille et des groupes environnants. Ainsi, l'enfant commence à percevoir les valeurs et les principes de vie d'abord à la maison, puis à l'école et dans la société, et ceux-ci s'intègrent ensuite à sa personnalité, à sa structure mentale et à sa vision du monde.

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Deuxième perspective : Observer la situation des enfants kurdes à l'étranger, où ils construisent leur identité, présente un caractère complexe. Travailler dans ce domaine exige de prendre en compte les points importants liés à la nature de leur situation, tiraillée entre deux cultures et deux mondes.

Troisième perspective: Les patriotes et les intellectuels kurdes espèrent que ces enfants deviendront, à l'avenir, un puissant lobby kurde au sein de la diaspora, afin de faire progresser notre cause nationale menacée.

Autrement dit, les parents souhaitent que leurs enfants à l'étranger atteignent ces objectifs et perpétuent la tradition familiale, qui relève de la défense nationale.

Quatrième perspective : S'interroger sur notre capacité à questionner le contenu et les méthodes pédagogiques des enseignants kurdes afin de renforcer le sentiment national chez les enfants kurdes de l'étranger grâce à leur langue maternelle.

La plupart de ces enfants sont nés dans un environnement familial imprégné, d'une certaine manière, du désespoir et de la haine de leurs parents envers l'ennemi extérieur, ce qui est malheureusement courant. Ce qui est frappant, en revanche, ce sont les sentiments négatifs que la plupart des parents éprouvent envers les Kurdes eux-mêmes (divisions internes, trahison, corruption, etc.). Ces sentiments ont conduit nombre de ces enfants à entendre des phrases toutes faites et désuètes telles que : « Les Kurdes sont arriérés », « Les Kurdes sont des traîtres », « Les Kurdes ne deviendront jamais rien », etc.! Pourtant, et c'est peut-être paradoxal, ces parents attendent de leurs enfants qu'ils deviennent de « bons et loyaux Kurdes » et qu'ils perpétuent leurs valeurs. Mais sommes-nous conscients que les enfants de l'étranger, comme tous les enfants occidentaux, sont élevés avec une conception fondamentale basée sur deux valeurs principales :

Première valeur : L'enfant est l'égal de l'adulte. Il s'agit du paradigme d'un changement fondamental dans la relation entre enfants et adultes, où les enseignants et les parents ne sont plus aussi sacrés qu'auparavant.

La seconde valeur : L'éducation des enfants sur la base de l'individualisme. Autrement dit, le principe d'égalité entre enfants et adultes, d'une part, et l'individu et ses droits comme valeurs suprêmes, au-dessus des groupes, des sociétés et des nations, d'autre part .

Bien entendu, nous reviendrons sur ces deux points fondamentaux plus tard.

Compte tenu de ce qui précède, nous tenterons de dresser un tableau des caractéristiques et de l'importance de la langue maternelle pour les enfants kurdes de la diaspora, ainsi que des complexités qui doivent être prises en compte dans les méthodes d'enseignement et le contenu des cours. Enfin, nous présenterons quelques questions pédagogiques stratégiques afin que les enseignants de kurde de la diaspora, qui ont embrassé cette mission (sacrée) , puissent apprécier la spécificité et la complexité de l'enseignement du kurde aux enfants kurdes de la diaspora (l'aspect visible), tout en prenant conscience de leur méconnaissance des aspects indirects des objectifs du projet (l'aspect caché). Le langage, en tant que moyen d'intimité directement lié à l'identité, nous oblige à les aborder simultanément comme deux sujets sociologiquement, psychologiquement et philosophiquement interdépendants. Je suggère de nous concentrer d'abord sur le concept de langage, puis sur celui d'identité, afin de mieux comprendre leurs mécanismes, leurs dialectiques et leurs caractéristiques imbriquées.

Comme nous l'avons vu précédemment, le désir d'apprendre le kurde pour les enfants à l'étranger ne se limite pas à un simple échange, mais poursuit un objectif plus profond, directement lié à la pensée nationale et aux aspirations politiques. Il se dessine donc un mouvement qui se déploie sur deux niveaux : l'émotion et la pensée ;

L'émotion : En tant qu'expression abstraite des états mentaux, physiologiques et biologiques, elle renvoie à notre capacité à former des idées et à nous représenter la réalité par la parole, à travers des chants, des récits et des narrations issues de sources historiques. L'individu exprime des sentiments qui s'intègrent à sa

vision du monde et à celle de son groupe. Par exemple, elle peut développer un sentiment d'appartenance à l'identité culturelle et nationale kurde.

Les pensés : Il s'agit d'images mentales perçues d'un objet, d'un fait, d'une personne ou d'un groupe. Elles renvoient au désir conscient de cultiver, par exemple, une pensée nationale consciente (uniquement par la pratique du kurde). Ceci peut favoriser la compréhension de la situation politique, sociale et humaine du groupe ethnique auquel appartient l'individu.

Bien entendu, il est évident que les niveaux d'émotion et de pensée sont intimement liés, complémentaires et s'influencent mutuellement. Cependant, mes 44 années d'expérience en Italie et en Suisse, mon travail social de terrain, la lecture de nombreux ouvrages, mes recherches, mes propres observations et réflexions me permettent d'affirmer que le travail sur la langue maternelle et la culture kurde à l'étranger est loin d'être simple ! En effet, comme nous l'avons vu précédemment, le caractère et le sentiment d'intimité entre parents et enfants kurdes expatriés présentent des caractéristiques propres qu'il convient de prendre en compte, car ils diffèrent de ceux des enfants d'autres nationalités. Par conséquent, face à ces informations, nous constatons rapidement que nous sommes confrontés à des problèmes de fond et d'application, et une question essentielle se pose :

Peut-on ressentir l'intimité de l'identité et de la pensée kurdes uniquement en apprenant à communiquer en kurde dans un environnement non kurde à l'étranger (au sein d'une culture différente, où le kurde n'est parfois pas parlé à la maison) ? Ces enfants risquent-ils de devenir, à terme, les Kurdes loyaux,

les patriotes et les militants que certains parents, responsables politiques et dirigeants kurdes attendent d'eux ? Bien sûr, nous placerons cette question au cœur de nos recherches et tenterons de l'approfondir. Il me semble donc judicieux de commencer par appréhender la signification et les dimensions psychologiques et sociales de l'identité d'un point de vue théorique.

L'identité

Aujourd'hui, les mots « identité » et « intimité » sont omniprésents et utilisés dans tous les domaines. Cependant, les recherches suggèrent que le concept d'identité, d'un point de vue théorique, exige une grande prudence en raison de sa complexité. Il se compose de nombreux éléments, dont le sentiment d'appartenance… ce que l'on appelle « intimité » en arabe et « affiliation » en français. À quelle terre j'appartiens ? À quel pays ? À quelle famille ? À quelle tribu ? À quel quartier ? À quelle nation ? À quelle religion ? À quelles convictions politiques ou partisanes ? À quel groupe sportif ? À quel groupe artistique ? À quel genre de musique ? À quelles convictions philosophiques ? etc. Nous, Kurdes, ressentons ce besoin depuis près d'un siècle et nous sommes en quête de notre identité, de ce sentiment d'intimité. Ainsi, puisque le terme « identité » est fréquemment employé, il peut sembler, à première vue, un concept facile à analyser et à définir. Par conséquent, lorsqu'on parle d'identité, on l'associe souvent uniquement à la notion de nationalité. Mais lorsqu'on passe d'un langage courant à un langage scientifique, on est vite surpris par la complexité du concept d'identité, par son mouvement paradoxal constant.

C’est quoi l’identité ?

L’identité est un concept controversé. À ce jour, aucun consensus ne se dégage quant aux phénomènes auxquels ce terme fait référence. C’est pourquoi il est souvent employé de manière descriptive, par exemple : « Les adolescents traversent une crise d’identité » ou «Les jeunes ont un sentiment d’appartenance affaibli », ou encore pour expliquer une situation, par exemple : « L’adolescence est une période difficile car les jeunes doivent construire leur propre identité ». On entend souvent dire que « l’identité nationale kurde est en crise », etc.

Par exemple, la Larousse définit le terme « identité » comme suit:

1. Relations entre deux ou plusieurs êtres ou choses parfaitement similaires : par exemple, les goûts et les affinités entre les personnes.

Synonymes du terme « identité » : accord , permanence, similarité

Contraires du terme « identité » : différence, inégalité

2. Les attributs de deux êtres ou choses qui ne sont que deux aspects différents d’une même réalité, constituant une seule et même entité.

3. La caractéristique continue et fondamentale d’une personne ou d’un groupe qui constitue son individualité: une personne en quête d’identité, telle qu’une identité nationale.

On peut toutefois donner une définition large et simple des concepts d’identité personnelle et d’identité culturelle, profondément liés :

L’identité personnelle

L’identité personnelle peut être perçue comme un ensemble de caractéristiques permettant d’identifier un individu. Il s’agit

d'identifier une personne par ses propres caractéristiques ou par celles qui la distinguent des autres. Par exemple : nom, titre, sexe, genre, âge, couleur de peau, taille, niveau d'études, profession, centres d'intérêt, convictions spirituelles, religieuses, politiques et philosophiques, habitudes, projets personnels, etc.

L'identité culturelle

Elle représente le socle commun d'une société humaine, notamment en ce qui concerne ses dimensions intimes (sociales, politiques, régionales, nationales, religieuses, etc.). Elle se caractérise par des valeurs, des pensées et des engagements communs, une langue et un lieu de résidence partagés, ainsi que des pratiques, des traditions et des croyances.

L'identité culturelle combine donc plusieurs aspects des caractéristiques d'un groupe ou d'un peuple qui forment une culture dans son ensemble. En d'autres termes, l'identité culturelle est un « sentiment d'appartenance à un groupe » avec autrui, inscrit dans un réseau d'attachements psychologiques .

Face à ces complexités, nous présenterons brièvement quelques remarques sur les caractéristiques du concept d'identité qui font consensus parmi les chercheurs. Nous nous concentrerons sur sept points :

Première remarque :

On peut dire que l'identité est la réalité de l'intimité qu'un individu entretient avec lui-même. Autrement dit, elle est à la fois psychologique, subjective et objective.

Deuxième remarque :

L'identité est un processus actif qui se confère un caractère

intangible. Ceci est dû aux changements complexes et constants des sociétés, notamment à l'ère de la mondialisation. Autrement dit, les outils de l'identité sont constamment influencés par l'environnement.

Troisième remarque :

Le sentiment d'identité est toujours remis en question par soi-même. Car l'environnement est en perpétuelle évolution. Et ces changements confrontent sans cesse l'individu à ses propres sentiments et suscitent en lui des doutes. Suis-je en accord avec moi-même, en tant qu'individu, sur qui je suis ? À qui est-ce que j'appartiens ? J'appartiens à quelqu'un, mais suis-je en accord avec lui ? Je regarde l'autre personne et la façon dont elle me regarde, et cela me fait penser que cette personne n'est pas moi.

Quatrième remarque :

L'identité est un concept bipolaire et paradoxal (oui et non, je veux et je ne veux pas, j'ai et je n'ai pas, etc.). D'une part, elle renvoie à l'apparence d'être égal aux autres, ou à des êtres complètement semblables. Par exemple (je suis Kurde comme tous ceux qui me ressemblent, parlent comme moi ou viennent du même pays que moi). D'autre part, je suis différent des autres.

Cinquième remarque :

L'identité multiple, c'est-à-dire le caractère du sentiment de pluralité et les variations dans les expériences de l'identité personnelle, qui résultent de la pensée et de l'auto-analyse subjective. Le soi comme « définition et concept de soi » conduit

à un nouveau problème : le problème entre identité et ego, d'un point de vue psychologique et social. Processus. Car l'identité personnelle s'enrichit chaque jour (de façon positive ou négative, selon nos attentes) et évolue au gré des choix individuels. Ces choix (surtout dans les sociétés libres, ouvertes et démocratiques) modifient le cours de la vie et chaque nouvelle expérience permet à l'individu de développer de nouvelles facettes de sa personnalité.

En bref :

- L'identité individuelle (propre à chaque individu), qui lui permet d'être défini et reconnu aux yeux de tous et dans le monde entier ;

- L'identité multiple se compose d'une infinité d'aspects, à la fois divers et communs, car elle se construit jour après jour au contact d'autrui (aujourd'hui par le biais du multimédia, d'Internet et des réseaux sociaux). Les enfants et adolescents kurdes à l'étranger illustrent ce processus (et, dans une certaine mesure, au pays).

Comme on le voit, l'identité en général, et l'identité kurde en particulier, sont des concepts complexes et sensibles. L'histoire, la culture, les coutumes et surtout la partition du Kurdistan ont rendu la dynamique de l'identité kurde encore plus complexe.

Adolescence et la construction identitaire

(Processus psychologiques)

Avant son entrée à l'école, l'enfant établit au sein de sa famille les fondements de son identité personnelle et culturelle.

Cependant, lorsqu'il commence l'école (vers l'âge de 4-6 ans et jusqu'à la fin de l'adolescence), il comprend en quoi il est à la fois

semblable et différent des autres. Ce double mécanisme, constamment à l'œuvre dans son esprit, pose les bases de son identité. Cela lui permet de développer un caractère qui, tout en le rapprochant des autres enfants, porte en lui des traits qui lui sont propres et qui se caractérise par des comportements et des réactions qui lui sont propres. Durant l'adolescence, il a besoin d'autres outils pour poursuivre la construction de son identité personnelle et culturelle. L'adolescence est avant tout une période de recherche et d'expérimentation des différents rôles sociaux. Ainsi, à ce stade, l'adolescent ouvre les portes de sa personnalité au monde extérieur à la famille. Il traverse un processus d'autonomie et d'émancipation vis-à-vis de ses parents. Ce processus est riche en changements, fondamentaux pour la construction et le renforcement de la personnalité. En raison de ces transformations internes (mentales) et externes (physiques), l'adolescent doit trouver d'autres ressources. Parce que les éléments qui ont servi à construire son identité durant l'enfance ne suffisent plus à répondre aux nouvelles exigences et attentes du contexte social de l'adolescence. L'école et la société attendent de l'adolescent qu'il trouve un équilibre conscient entre ses intérêts, ses valeurs, ses aptitudes et ses opportunités sociales, au sein d'un contexte socioculturel bien plus vaste que l'enfance et le foyer. La société attend de lui qu'il explore les possibilités qu'elle lui offre. Il doit être capable de décider de ses aspirations, de choisir ses objectifs et ses valeurs, et d'assumer des rôles d'adulte à la fin de l'adolescence. Par conséquent, l'adolescent déploie une énergie mentale considérable, car il doit activement et rapidement forger son identité personnelle. C'est pourquoi certains adolescents se sentent désemparés, tristes, voire parfois violents et en colère, notamment envers leurs parents et leurs professeurs.

Bien sûr, ces relations profondes et complexes d'intimité (sociale, nationale, ethnique, politique, religieuse) qui forgent l'identité culturelle et relient l'adolescent à son environnement social existent en chacun de nous. La difficulté réside dans le fait qu'à l'étranger, les adolescents doivent traverser un processus où ces dimensions de l'intimité se mêlent et s'opposent simultanément.

En résumé, les composantes de l'intimité chez l'adolescent sont constamment en interaction, tantôt en négociation, tantôt en opposition, car chacune d'elles est constamment amenée à faire des choix. Plus ou moins conscientes, ces interactions influencent sa vision du monde et sa place dans la société. C'est pourquoi ces processus complexes de construction identitaire sont devenus le fondement et le contenu des sciences humaines (sociologie, sciences politiques, psychologie et philosophie).

Qui est le Kurde ? Ou qu'est-ce que l'identité kurde ?

Martin van Bronsen, chercheur néerlandais et spécialiste des questions kurdes, écrit : « J'écris sur les Kurdes depuis quarante ans, mais je n'ai toujours pas réussi à saisir pleinement leur identité et leurs aspirations».

Les parents d'enfants kurdes ont émigré vers une vie meilleure, porteurs d'une identité personnelle et nationale relativement fragile (absence de pays, de langue, de liberté de pensée, et des cœurs meurtris et emplis de haine). Leurs enfants doivent construire leur identité personnelle et culturelle en intégrant les blessures psychologiques et culturelles et les attentes de leurs parents, au sein d'une société radicalement différente (liberté de pensée, individualisme et désir constant de consommer). Discuter de

l'identité des jeunes Kurdes à l'étranger est étroitement lié aux caractéristiques et aux problèmes que pose la définition même de l'identité kurde. En effet, dès le début de notre tentative de répondre à cette question, nous nous heurtons au problème de la définition d'une identité kurde fondée sur les éléments historiques de ses origines. Il n'existe aucun consensus sur ce sujet, et les opinions concernant les origines kurdes sont plus diverses et contradictoires que jamais. Cependant, de nombreux chercheurs et historiens kurdes, tels que Nikitin, Minorisky et Ismet Sharif Vanli, s'accordent à dire que les Kurdes sont l'un des peuples les plus anciens du Moyen-Orient. Abdulrahman Qasemlu explique que les Kurdes descendent des Madyans, qui vivaient dans les monts Zagros vers 2000 avant J.-C., en compagnie d'autres tribus (Goths, Lulobi, etc.). Ils se sont progressivement sédentarisés et intégrés aux tribus déjà présentes. Jacqueline Samali explique que ces tribus se sont divisées en trois branches au fil des siècles, certaines s'étendant jusqu'en Europe occidentale, d'autres partirent pour l'Inde et un tiers resta dans l'actuel Moyen-Orient. C'est pourquoi on les appela Indo-Européens.

Bien sûr, on peut aborder la question de l'identité kurde dans ses relations avec les cultures environnantes. Mais ce qui importe pour nous, c'est le contact de cette identité avec ces cultures. Salim Abu considère que l'identité culturelle est intrinsèquement liée à l'identité nationale. Ce point de vue, partagé par de nombreux sociologues, nous amène à rechercher une conception générale et des points de repère concernant l'identité nationale kurde. L'objectif est de saisir l'importance de la dimension culturelle dans le fossé qui sépare les cultures kurdes des expatriés suisses, notamment

en ce qui concerne leur propre culture et identité nationale, et les éventuels conflits avec le droit civil et la culture suisses, qui constituent le principal sujet de notre recherche.

Pour mieux comprendre ces conflits et ces problèmes, il est important d'examiner brièvement la langue kurde comme un outil de l'identité nationale kurde dans le contexte de l'histoire kurde contemporaine. Car, à mon avis, comme nous le verrons plus tard, les événements politiques que les Kurdes ont vécus pendant plus d'un siècle ont un impact direct sur la langue kurde et sur le processus d'intégration kurde, tant au niveau individuel que collectif. Ils ont influencé le sentiment national de la jeunesse kurde, notamment à l'étranger.

La langue kurde et ses difficultés

Jusqu'à récemment, on pensait que le kurde appartenait à la famille des langues iraniennes (persan, afghan, pachto, baloutche, tadjik, etc.), une branche des langues indo-européennes. Mais aujourd'hui, de nouvelles perspectives, parfois paradoxales, émergent quant aux origines du kurde. Une étude récente remet en question nombre de ces conceptions et avance l'hypothèse que les Sumériens étaient des Kurdes, ou inversement. (Le professeur Shwani répond à ceux qui considèrent les Sumériens comme sémitiques ou jaziri. Il estime que Kurdes et Sumériens partagent le même système linguistique et la même origine historique) . Par ailleurs, pendant des décennies, nous avons revendiqué avec fierté l'origine aryenne des Kurdes, mais depuis quelques années, certains intellectuels kurdes se considérant comme des chercheurs contestent cette thèse et affirment que le kurde est une langue zagrosienne . Cette thèse a

toutefois été remise en cause et critiquée par certains universitaires kurdes .

L'un des récits mythologiques kurdes les plus importants, intimement lié à l'identité historique et culturelle kurde, est la légende de Kaveh le Forgeron . Associée à la fête de Newroz, cette légende était encore récemment transmise aux enfants par les parents à travers des contes, des poèmes et des pièces de théâtre. Elle les transportait dans un monde imaginaire où un jeune Kurde nommé Kaveh triomphe du roi tyrannique Zuhak et s'empare de son château. En signe de victoire, Kaveh incendie le château. Depuis lors, les Kurdes allument un feu le 21 mars pour commémorer cet incendie, symbole de révolution et de victoire sur l'oppression. Bien entendu, cette légende est propre aux Kurdes, à l'instar de celle de toute autre nation, comme celle du Père Noël chez les chrétiens la veille du Nouvel An, qui constitue un élément important de leur histoire culturelle et nationale. Cependant, dans les années 1980, plusieurs intellectuels kurdes sont venus réfuter la légende de Kaveh le Forgeron et ont brisé le charme de cette belle et constructive fiction kurde. Or, les Grecs possèdent des centaines de légendes, et personne n'a jamais prétendu qu'elles étaient fausses ou imaginaires. Au contraire, on reconnaissait leur importance dans la culture et l'histoire grecques. Pourtant, nous-mêmes, au nom de la culture kurde et en tant qu'experts de l'histoire kurde, avons détruit, par la force, le mythe le plus important et le plus précieux de la culture nationale kurde. N'oublions pas que transmettre des histoires et des légendes aux enfants dans leur langue maternelle est essentiel pour renforcer leur sentiment d'appartenance nationale.

Le génocide des kurdes à travers la langue

Il est intéressant de noter que la pratique du kurde est interdite par la loi en Turquie et en Syrie. Comme le souligne Jacqueline Samali, il est révélateur de la version officielle turque, qui considère les Kurdes comme des Turcs des montagnes ayant oublié leur langue .

Ahmadi Mollah estime que le conflit entre Turcs et Kurdes, depuis la période ottomane, a été planifié et a conduit à la destruction d'un émirat après l'autre. Cependant, après Atatürk, ce plan a été entaché par de nombreux complots, donnant naissance à d'autres formes de guerre, comme la propagande, l'éducation, et même la linguistique et les sciences .

En Irak, où les Kurdes sont reconnus comme nation dans la constitution depuis 1958, et dans certaines régions du Kurdistan, l'enseignement est dispensé en kurde dans les écoles. Pourtant, chaque fois que les Kurdes revendiquent des droits politiques, ils sont immédiatement confrontés à la répression et à des massacres . Des centaines de villages et de villes ont été détruits. Malgré la nouvelle constitution irakienne, qui instaure un État fédéral et reconnaît une partie du Kurdistan comme région, les droits de la population kurde sont restreints jour après jour et elle est désormais menacée par l'Irak, l'Iran et la Turquie. Au Kurdistan irakien, la moitié des zones kurdes, comme Khanaqin et Kirkouk, sont privées d'écoles de langue kurde et leurs élèves sont contraints d'étudier en arabe. Par ailleurs, sous la pression des ennemis et face au désespoir quant à l'avenir du Kurdistan, de nombreuses zones situées en dehors du gouvernement régional du Kurdistan (Kirkouk, Sinjar et hanaqin) sont actuellement menacées de voir leur enseignement en kurde interrompu : leurs enfants sont scolarisés dans des écoles

arabes !

En Iran, les Kurdes bénéficient des droits culturels les plus restreints, tels que le chant, la musique, la danse et la pratique de la langue kurde, et sont privés de tous leurs autres droits à l'éducation. Cette situation conduit à l'arrestation, à la torture et à l'emprisonnement des enseignants qui osent enseigner clandestinement le kurde aux enfants. L'oppression insidieuse de l'identité nationale kurde par les quatre États qui composent le Kurdistan a entraîné la disparition d'un grand nombre de Kurdes.

À ce propos, Sherko Kirmanj, écrit ; On estime qu'au cours des cent dernières années, au moins dix millions de Kurdes ont été anéantis, non pas en tant qu'êtres humains, mais aussi en tant que langue, culture et identité, par des forces à la fois coercitives et insidieuses.

L'exil
Conflits culturels
Kurdes et diaspora

Comme nous l'avons constaté, du génocide physique et culturel aux déportations successives, en passant par l'arabisation et les déplacements forcés, des centaines de milliers de Kurdes ont été contraints de fuir leur pays et de chercher refuge ailleurs. Selon un rapport publié par l'Institut kurde de Paris, on estime qu'environ un tiers des Kurdes vivent actuellement hors du Kurdistan . Par ailleurs, les affrontements entre Kurdes au Kurdistan irakien depuis mai 1994 ont accru le nombre de migrants vers l'Europe.

Les Kurdes fuient leur patrie, principalement en raison de la répression ethnique et culturelle qu'ils subissent. Ils arrivent donc

en Europe avec l'espoir de survivre. Ces familles de réfugiés kurdes, porteuses des valeurs culturelles de la société kurde (un peuple musulman religieux et très attaché à ses traditions), constituent un groupe ethnique sans État-nation. Pour les raisons évoquées ci-dessus, des milliers de familles et d'individus kurdes ont fui vers l'Europe pour survivre, retrouver et préserver leur identité menacée (politique, ethnique et culturelle) et assurer un avenir meilleur à leurs enfants. Il est toutefois frappant de constater que les valeurs culturelles de ces familles kurdes entrent souvent en conflit avec les valeurs culturelles, politiques et juridiques de la société suisse, un point important qui sera approfondi ultérieurement.

La diaspora kurde en Europe est un phénomène récent. Dans les années 1960, des Kurdes de Turquie, chassés de chez eux par les grandes villes comme Istanbul et Ankara et confrontés au chômage, sont arrivés d'abord comme travailleurs migrants en Allemagne, puis en Autriche, en Suisse et en France, dans le cadre d'accords signés entre la Turquie et les gouvernements européens. On sait que les Kurdes de Turquie étaient à l'origine du chômage et des difficultés économiques, mais en réalité, ils cherchaient à quitter le pays en raison d'une politique de nettoyage ethnique et culturel. Cette politique visait à assimiler leurs enfants à la culture de ces pays, à leur faire oublier leur langue maternelle et à les éloigner de leurs racines kurdes. Les données suggèrent que les Turcs ont globalement obtenu de bons résultats dans cette politique.

Il n'existe pas de statistiques officielles et fiables sur le nombre d'immigrants kurdes en Europe. En effet, les réfugiés et les immigrants en Europe sont enregistrés en fonction de leur passeport ou de leur pays d'origine (turc, iranien, syrien ou irakien,

par exemple), et non selon leur appartenance ethnique. Cependant, les dernières estimations, datant de 2023, indiquent qu'il y aurait entre 2,25 et 2,75 millions de Kurdes en Europe occidentale, dont environ 95 000 en Suisse. On compte également environ 50 000 Kurdes aux États-Unis et plus de 40 000 au Canada.

La diaspora kurde en Europe est composée à environ 75 % de Kurdes turcs, dont la plupart vivent en Allemagne. Les Kurdes irakiens forment une importante communauté en Grande-Bretagne, aux Pays-Bas, aux États-Unis et en Suède. Le nombre de Kurdes syriens est en augmentation en Allemagne, en France et en Suède.

La diaspora kurde est présente en Europe depuis plus de 50 ans et a joué un rôle culturel et politique en Turquie. Elle a également contribué, dans une moindre mesure, à informer les Occidentaux du sort des Kurdes dans les différents pays où ils sont persécutés. Après une période d'expérimentation, la diaspora kurde, inspirée par l'exemple d'autres nations, a progressivement mis en place ses propres institutions afin de préserver la langue et la culture kurdes, de promouvoir la cause kurde et de favoriser une meilleure intégration des Kurdes dans leurs pays d'accueil. De nombreux Kurdes participent aujourd'hui activement à la vie politique et culturelle de leur pays d'accueil, en tant qu'écrivains, journalistes, artistes, musiciens et même députés en Suède, en Allemagne et aux Pays-Bas. Cependant, le manque d'unité kurde à l'étranger demeure un point faible, ce qui nuit considérablement à la cause nationale.

Sur le plan de la politique internationale, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), parti politique kurde de Turquie, a joué un rôle important dans la promotion de la cause kurde à l'étranger

et l'ouverture de nombreux centres culturels kurdes (dite « kurde ») en Europe. Cependant, la lutte armée contre la Turquie, la mobilisation des Kurdes de l'étranger et certaines actions militaires visant les intérêts diplomatiques, économiques et commerciaux entre la Turquie et l'Europe ont incité l'État turc à faire pression sur les États membres de l'OTAN afin de limiter l'influence du PKK.

Ces pressions ont naturellement conduit l'Union européenne et les États-Unis à inscrire le PKK sur leur liste des organisations terroristes et à l'interdire officiellement, ainsi qu'à fermer les organisations culturelles où la langue kurde était enseignée.

Relations sociales de la diaspora kurde en Suisse

En Suisse, comme dans tous les autres pays européens, les Kurdes dispersés à l'étranger entretiennent des relations conflictuelles, tant politiques que sociales. Un climat de méfiance règne entre eux. Cette situation contraste avec celle des diasporas d'autres groupes ethniques du pays, qui sont relativement proches et unies. Un jour, un Kurde vivant loin de chez lui m'a dit : « Qui est loin des Kurdes est proche de Dieu. Car les relations avec les Kurdes ne peuvent que causer des problèmes. Bien qu'il existe des dizaines d'organisations et d'associations culturelles kurdes à l'étranger, chacune d'elles compte en réalité un petit nombre de membres et de sympathisants de partis politiques. Ils refusent même de participer ensemble aux fêtes nationales, comme Newroz, aux commémorations kurdes telles que le sinistre Congrès de Lausanne, ou aux commémorations de dizaines de génocides comme ceux d'Halbja et d'Anfal. Par exemple, en 2024, Lausanne a marqué le centenaire du partage du Kurdistan. Au lieu d'organiser une conférence d'une seule voix, chaque parti est venu commémorer cet épisode tragique dans

des dizaines d'endroits différents, chacun à sa manière. Bien sûr, beaucoup d'énergie et d'argent ont été dépensés pour un résultat quasi nul. Car cette commémoration n'a été mentionnée que dans quelques journaux et à la télévision, non seulement dans le monde, mais aussi en Suisse. »

Nous avons déjà vu que l'identité culturelle rassemble plusieurs aspects représentatifs (caractéristiques) d'un groupe ou d'un peuple qui forment une culture dans son ensemble. Autrement dit, l'identité culturelle est un « sentiment d'appartenance » à autrui, inscrit dans un lien psychologique.

Une question importante se pose alors : Est-ce que la réalité sociale fragmentée des Kurdes de la diaspora rend-elle difficile une définition globale de l'identité kurde ?

Le multiculturalisme

Étant donné que la politique multiculturelle occidentale, notamment celle de la Suisse, est directement liée à la politique de langue maternelle des enfants d'immigrés, il convient de s'intéresser à ce concept.

Le multiculturalisme est une doctrine ou un mouvement qui met l'accent sur la diversité culturelle comme source d'enrichissement pour la société. La politique multiculturelle peut se manifester par des mesures concrètes visant à lutter contre la discrimination fondée sur l'identité et le racisme, à promouvoir le caractère unique des différentes cultures et à reconnaître le statut juridique et officiel des membres de chaque groupe culturel. Selon le dictionnaire Larousse, le multiculturalisme est défini comme « un mouvement de pensée américain qui remet en question la domination culturelle des classes

dirigeantes blanches sur les minorités (ethniques, culturelles, etc.) ». Le multiculturalisme est perçu comme une politique de progrès et d'ouverture, synonyme de modernité, et s'oppose au biculturalisme, défini comme un régime politique autorisant la coexistence de deux cultures nationales sur un même territoire. Au fil du temps, le multiculturalisme a constitué un modèle de politique d'intégration, grâce à la reconnaissance nationale du pluralisme culturel et à l'accent mis sur les spécificités identitaires.

Le multiculturalisme en Suisse

La conception suisse du multiculturalisme interne, entre sa politique étrangère neutre, ses intérêts stratégiques et la défense des droits de l'homme, l'a amenée à se confronter constamment au paradoxe du multiculturalisme. Dès lors, comprendre la politique multiculturelle générale de la Suisse et son lien avec l'éducation multilingue peut s'avérer complexe.

Claudio Bolzman estime qu'aborder la situation multilingue et multiculturelle concrète en Suisse revient à s'aventurer en terrain miné. Chaque chercheur, en effet, défend sa propre théorie et tend à imposer ses propres faits, souvent à travers une approche théorique. Les coups d'État et les recherches approfondies, ainsi que les données empiriques, complexifient souvent le sujet. Cela montre à quel point la diversification culturelle croissante de la Suisse n'est pas une question politiquement neutre. Tout commentaire sur ce sujet, même fondé sur des données empiriques et objectives, revêt immédiatement une signification politique et est interprété selon les orientations partisanes et idéologiques des partis. L'impossibilité de comprendre le développement de la diversité culturelle dans les

pays européens ayant connu d'importants mouvements migratoires s'explique par le recours à des concepts tels que la division, le multiculturalisme, la citoyenneté, le relativisme culturel, l'assimilation, les différences culturelles, l'unité nationale, etc. Bolzman constate qu'en général, la recherche tend à aborder des questions comme la diversité culturelle et l'immigration de manière purement théorique, abstraite et globale.

Le modèle de conception et de gestion du multiculturalisme qui a prévalu consiste, en termes de conscience sociale et politique, à transposer la question de l'immigration et de la coexistence multiculturelle dans le contexte axiologique suisse. Les questions politiques étant rarement abordées à l'école, les minorités immigrées sont, de manière tacite, instrumentalisées comme groupes de pression dans le discours politique. En effet, les valeurs nationales restent conservatrices et profondément ancrées dans le protestantisme .

Mes observations de terrain à l'étranger

Contraint de quitter ma terre natale en 1980, comme la plupart des Kurdes, je me suis installé en Italie. Depuis 1985, je vis à Genève, en Suisse. Il y a trente-trois ans, alors que je travaillais comme interprète auprès de réfugiés kurdes dans le canton de Fribourg et à Genève, j'ai constaté de nombreux problèmes culturels fondamentaux qui affectaient un grand nombre de familles kurdes. Au départ, je ne comprenais pas vraiment pourquoi des membres de familles autrefois si unies souffraient autant de séparation et de souffrance psychologique. Ce qui m'inquiétait le plus, c'était de voir tant de jeunes Kurdes en quête d'intimité, un besoin essentiel à

la construction de leur identité personnelle et culturelle. Ces jeunes étaient en réalité perdus, incapables de trouver leur place entre ces deux cultures et ne comprenant pas les réactions violentes de leurs parents. En Suisse, les jeunes Kurdes apprennent et grandissent en dehors du cadre familial, à l'école et au sein de la société et de la culture suisses ; de l'autre, ils vivent chez eux, imprégnés de la culture et de la pensée de leur famille. J'ai donc constaté que le profond décalage entre les attentes des parents et les exigences de la société suisse les plongeait parfois dans un profond conflit, tiraillés entre deux intolérances et deux systèmes de valeurs différents.

En tant que réfugiée politique kurde, j'attends une réponse à ma demande d'asile depuis plus de vingt ans. Ce délai est dû à l'incompréhension des autorités suisses quant aux raisons de mon exil, une situation qui m'a profondément affectée. En 2000, je suis devenue citoyenne suisse et fonctionnaire, enseignante spécialisée et assistante sociale, travaillant directement avec des familles et des enfants suisses et d'origine étrangère. Par ailleurs, je dois dire que cette situation me touchait personnellement, car le fait que mon enfant ait grandi entre deux cultures m'avait rendue quelque peu mal à l'aise et hésitante quant à l'avenir de notre relation. Cette situation a fait naître en moi le désir d'étudier et de comprendre la question de l'identité culturelle des enfants et des jeunes kurdes dans le contexte de la migration et de l'exil. En résumé, les principales raisons qui ont attiré mon attention et motivé ce travail sont les suivantes :

- Le manque d'informations sur le peuple kurde et sa culture, notamment sur les problèmes politiques et sociaux des réfugiés kurdes en Suisse, a considérablement compliqué la tâche des

acteurs sociaux (enseignants, travailleurs sociaux, etc.) suisses pour comprendre les intentions, les besoins et les attentes des familles et des jeunes kurdes. En effet, ces acteurs (enseignants, travailleurs sociaux, etc.) devaient accompagner les familles de réfugiés dans leur intégration à la société suisse.

- Je souhaitais comprendre le rôle de la politique suisse à l'égard des étrangers résidant en Suisse, qui semble être une condition préalable et un élément essentiel de leur intégration dans la société d'accueil.
- Je voulais savoir quel degré d'intimité les jeunes Kurdes de la deuxième génération entretiennent entre la culture du pays d'accueil et celle de leur pays d'origine. Existe-t-il une différence entre le sentiment d'intimité des jeunes et celui de leurs parents ? Si oui, comment cette différence influence-t-elle les relations parents-enfants ? Pourquoi certaines familles kurdes, si fortes et unies dans leur pays d'origine, se désagrègent-elles à leur arrivée en Suisse ? Quelles en sont les conséquences ? Ces questions m'ont incitée à réaliser mon mémoire de fin d'études en sciences sociales, intitulé « Les enfants kurdes en quête d'identité », et à obtenir une licence à Genève en 2001 .

La langue

Le rôle de la langue

Comme mentionné précédemment, le langage permet aux individus de formuler et d'exprimer leurs pensées. En tant que moyen de communication, il joue un rôle essentiel dans notre compréhension du monde et nos interactions avec lui. Il nous semble donc important de présenter ici quelques points clés concernant la

dialectique du langage et son influence sur nos pensées et notre vision du monde :

Le langage, comme moyen d'expression des idées : Le langage nous permet de formuler des pensées complexes et d'exprimer des sentiments. Grâce aux mots, nous pouvons exprimer nos pensées, nos désirs et nos préoccupations, facilitant ainsi la communication avec autrui. Mais le langage n'est pas seulement un moyen de communication ; il influence également notre façon de penser. La manière dont nous formulons nos pensées peut affecter notre observation et notre compréhension des choses. Elle détermine l'orientation de nos sentiments, de nos paroles et de nos actions.

La pensée abstraite : Le langage nous permet de penser de manière abstraite. Il nous donne la capacité de penser à des concepts qui ne sont pas immédiatement présents ou tangibles, tels que des idées philosophiques, des hypothèses ou des projets d'avenir.

L'interaction sociale : Le langage est un outil pour construire et renforcer les relations sociales. L'échange verbal nous permet de partager des expériences, de tisser des liens et de développer une meilleure compréhension mutuelle. Il renforce le tissu social et favorise le rapprochement et la coopération entre les individus.

Développement cognitif : Chez l'enfant, l'apprentissage du langage est intrinsèquement lié à son développement cognitif . Ce dernier évolue à mesure qu'il acquiert de nouveaux mots et de nouvelles structures, et que sa capacité à penser et à comprendre le monde se développe. Ainsi, le langage devient un vecteur d'apprentissage, de découverte et d'innovation.

Langage intérieur : De nombreux psychologues s'accordent à dire que nous possédons un langage intérieur, une sorte de dialogue

intérieur qui nous aide à organiser nos pensées . Edgar Moran affirme : « Ce phénomène est fondamental pour la pensée cognitive, complexe et critique, ainsi que pour la prise de décision. »

Comme nous l'avons vu, le langage est bien plus qu'un simple moyen de communication ; c'est un outil puissant qui façonne notre pensée, influence notre vision du monde et enrichit et complexifie nos interactions sociales. Par conséquent, le rôle du langage dans le développement cognitif et la construction de nos idées devient un élément central de l'expérience humaine et une composante majeure de l'identité personnelle et culturelle (nationale, politique, spirituelle, etc.) sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus loin.

Le langage

Il est clair que le langage est nécessaire à la constitution d'une identité collective, car il garantit l'unité sociale et nationale d'une société. Le langage est le lieu où se renforcent les liens sociaux, devenant ainsi le terreau de la culture linguistique. C'est là que se construit le symbolisme identitaire. Il est également clair que le langage nous responsabilise, crée de la solidarité, ancre notre identité dans notre histoire et, par conséquent, nous oblige à rester toujours connectés à nos descendants. Cependant, les chercheurs s'accordent à dire que la relation entre langage et identité est très complexe, car le langage n'est pas seulement un moyen de communication, mais aussi un concept linguistique qui englobe un ensemble de codes et de symboles implicites propres à un groupe, ainsi que son histoire et ses récits. Il peut donc être nécessaire de distinguer le langage de la culture. Par exemple, lorsqu'un Kurde du Kurdistan apprend l'anglais ou le français, cela ne signifie pas qu'il

apprend également la culture anglaise ou française. Pour connaître et comprendre la culture d'une autre nation ou d'un autre pays, il est nécessaire de s'imprégner de ses valeurs, de les accepter et de les nommer en vivant au sein de cette culture. M. Latif Omar a publié un article court et important intitulé (N'oubliez pas vous-même). Dans cet ouvrage, citant Voltaire et, je crois, Nietzsche, il affirme : « Afin de toujours se souvenir de soi-même, il faut réfléchir à ce dont on a besoin dans son existence pour retrouver le soi perdu au plus profond de soi. Qui êtes-vous ? Qu'y a-t-il en vous, qu'est-ce qui est secret, qu'est-ce qui est révélé ? »

Bien sûr, la connaissance de soi implique de connaître ses propres pensées, son discours et son comportement, ce qui permet de mieux appréhender son identité et sa culture. Pour découvrir qui l'on est, il faut prendre conscience des éléments cachés et profonds qui constituent notre identité. C'est pourquoi il nous semble important d'aborder la question de l'identité, et plus particulièrement la construction de l'identité personnelle à l'international. Car n'oublions pas que le langage est le principal symbole d'identité ; il est utilisé par celui qui parle pour affirmer son identité. Les individus s'en servent également pour catégoriser leurs pairs en fonction de la langue qu'ils parlent. Chacun appartient à plusieurs groupes sociaux et possède plusieurs identités sociales.

Ludwig Wittgenstein , philosophe et linguiste autrichien du XXe siècle, soutient que (malgré les idées reçues sur le rôle que peut jouer une langue en relation avec… L'identité sociale d'un groupe, son identité linguistique, ne doivent pas être confondues avec son identité discursive. Autrement dit, les mots véhiculent la culture, non pas par leur morphologie ou leurs règles grammaticales, mais

par les manières de parler propres à chaque groupe, par l'usage qu'ils font des mots, par la façon dont les arguments et les récits sont utilisés pour argumenter, plaisanter, expliquer, persuader (et ainsi capter l'attention de l'autre).

Ainsi, on peut distinguer la pensée en kurde de celle en arabe, en français, en espagnol et en portugais. On peut exprimer une forme de pensée, c'est-à-dire parler, dans une autre langue, même si celle-ci exerce une certaine influence sur cette pensée. Tous les auteurs qui ont exprimé leurs idées directement dans une langue autre que leur langue maternelle en sont la preuve vivante. En effet, la pensée est nourrie par le discours ! Le discours, c'est-à-dire un langage dont la caractéristique est une vision du monde. Celle-ci dépend des coutumes culturelles du groupe auquel appartient la personne qui parle ou écrit.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, à travers ses deux œuvres majeures, le Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus et les Études philosophiques, a développé une vision profonde de ce sujet. L'influence de Wittgenstein sur la philosophie du langage et la linguistique est indéniable. Dans le Tractatus, il propose une conception du langage comme moyen structurel de décrire et d'exprimer la réalité. Il soutient que le langage est une sorte d'image reflétant les réalités du monde de l'individu. Selon lui, les propositions linguistiques n'ont de sens que lorsqu'elles peuvent être vérifiées par des faits empiriques. Cette approche est souvent résumée par sa célèbre phrase : « Les limites de mon langage sont les limites de mon monde. » Par conséquent, dans ses études philosophiques sur la linguistique, Wittgenstein adopte une perspective différente et critique l'idée que le langage ne soit qu'un moyen d'expression. Il

développe le concept de « jeux de langage », qui met l'accent sur la complexité des idées sous-jacentes aux mots et considère que le sens des mots évolue selon leur usage dans différents contextes, faisant ainsi du langage une activité collective.

Le langage est ainsi perçu comme une activité sociale, où les significations émergent des interactions humaines et des pratiques culturelles.

En bref, pour Wittgenstein, le langage est à la fois un moyen de décrire le monde et un outil dynamique qui évolue et se transforme au gré de nos pratiques et de nos interactions avec notre environnement. Ces deux principes ont ouvert de nouvelles perspectives à la philosophie du langage et continuent d'influencer la pensée occidentale contemporaine.

Bien entendu, les conceptions et analyses philosophiques d'Edgar Moran, et plus particulièrement de Wittgenstein, que nous avons présentées ci-dessus, nous permettent, à notre avis, de mieux appréhender et analyser l'identité de la jeunesse kurde à l'étranger. Ceci nous aidera à adopter une méthode scientifique et efficace pour former ces jeunes et constituer un lobby kurde fort et influent à l'international, notamment grâce à des cours de langue maternelle.

Les enfants kurdes de diaspora et leur langue maternelle

Comme tous les enfants de leur pays d'accueil, les enfants kurdes à l'étranger vont à l'école dès l'âge de quatre ans, voire plus tôt, et y reçoivent une éducation complète, du matin au soir, dans la langue du pays. On leur apprend à parler, penser, voir et agir dans cette langue. L'école joue donc un rôle fondamental dans le développement du langage et de la pensée des enfants. Elle leur permet d'acquérir un vocabulaire riche et varié, et les interactions

avec les enseignants et les camarades leur offrent la possibilité de pratiquer et d'améliorer leurs compétences linguistiques. Ceci contribue de manière essentielle à la construction de leur identité.

Comme nous l'avons vu, le langage, le discours et la linguistique sont indissociables de la notion d'identité et ont un impact direct sur la construction de l'identité des enfants et des jeunes kurdes à l'étranger. Il est donc important d'insister sur ce point afin que le lecteur comprenne ce que nous entendons par identité. Bien sûr, en réfléchissant et en œuvrant à la réalisation de ces objectifs, nous pouvons affirmer sans hésiter qu'ils s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'une préoccupation et d'une loyauté envers les Kurdes, ainsi que dans la volonté de défendre la langue kurde, un droit humain fondamental, et de s'opposer aux tentatives et menaces que les ennemis continuent de faire peser sur la culture kurde. Par conséquent, non seulement les Kurdes, mais tous les défenseurs des droits humains devraient saluer et féliciter cet effort, car cette volonté et cet effort relèvent du respect des droits humains fondamentaux.

Ce qui me laisse perplexe aujourd'hui, c'est la réaction conciliante de certaines associations culturelles kurdes qui pensent que la connaissance de la langue est la seule arme pour renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance à la culture kurde chez les enfants kurdes de l'étranger. Certes, cela est vrai en théorie, car il a été démontré que la langue maternelle est l'outil fondamental d'une nation. Cependant, je crois que la situation des Kurdes est complexe et différente de celle des enfants d'autres nationalités à l'étranger. Elle exige une approche très prudente, consciente, responsable et courageuse. Les nombreuses épreuves subies par les Kurdes (génocide, Anfal, déportations forcées, pressions

psychologiques, etc.) et les dissensions, trahisons et guerres fratricides ont rendu difficile pour beaucoup d'entre eux de se sentir Kurdes et ont engendré une perte de confiance en l'avenir de leur nation. Ce contexte a pu entraîner un affaiblissement du sentiment d'appartenance, notamment national, à l'identité kurde. On constate par ailleurs que le taux de participation des enfants kurdes aux cours de langue kurde à l'étranger est très faible par rapport au nombre de familles kurdes.

Le diaspora kurde : une nouvelle initiative

Outre les petits groupes culturels existants, le Centre de la diaspora kurde a été créé en 2021 grâce au soutien financier et moral de certains partis politiques et du gouvernement régional du Kurdistan . Il s'efforce de fédérer tous les centres kurdes et a entrepris, lentement mais sûrement, de rassembler les Kurdes de l'étranger afin de faire de l'indépendance du Kurdistan une réalité. Pour atteindre cet objectif, qui constitue un droit légitime pour les Kurdes, le Centre organise des cours de langue kurde, en présentiel et en ligne, pour les enfants kurdes de la diaspora. Bien entendu, l'organisation est consciente de l'importance de la langue maternelle et son principal objectif est que les enfants kurdes apprennent leur langue maternelle.

Cependant, face à la méfiance, au désespoir et à la dispersion des Kurdes de l'étranger, une question importante se pose : ce désir de proposer des cours de langue maternelle aux enfants kurdes de la diaspora cache-t-il un autre objectif, non exprimé ?

Ma question découle du fait que certains dirigeants politiques loyaux et certains parents kurdes, animés d'un fort sentiment nationaliste, souhaitent non seulement que leurs enfants apprennent

le kurde, mais évoquent aussi régulièrement la protection et le renforcement de leur sentiment d'appartenance et d'identité nationale. Ils expriment également, directement ou indirectement, leur ambition de devenir, une fois adultes, les porte-paroles de la communauté kurde à l'étranger et de promouvoir sa langue. Ils semblent ainsi vouloir que la prochaine génération défende les droits de leur terre et de leur nation à l'étranger, afin de parvenir à un Kurdistan libre et indépendant et d'atteindre les objectifs pour lesquels ils se battent depuis des années, sans toutefois y parvenir pleinement.

Obstacles liés à l'apprentissage de la langue maternelle kurde à Genève

Bien que 60 % des enfants d'origine étrangère nés en Suisse parlent leur langue maternelle à la maison, la politique d'intégration suisse, dans les faits, n'accorde pas suffisamment d'importance à l'apprentissage de la langue maternelle. La Suisse s'est en effet concentrée sur l'enseignement de la langue nationale, conformément à ses trois régions linguistiques : l'allemand, le français et l'italien. Cette approche se justifie par la conviction que ces enfants d'origine étrangère deviendront les citoyens suisses de demain. Pour ce faire, il est essentiel qu'ils soient formés et adaptés aux coutumes, à la culture et aux lois du pays, et qu'ils deviennent des citoyens suisses actifs et productifs. Cependant, certains défenseurs de la langue maternelle plaident pour une meilleure prise en compte des langues autochtones dans les programmes scolaires. Ainsi, jusqu'à récemment, les cours de kurde n'étaient ni obligatoires ni optionnels dans les écoles suisses. Seuls les cours de langues

nationales, disposant d'États et d'ambassades, étaient dispensés. Ce sont leurs ambassades qui organisaient et soutenaient ces cours pour leurs enfants, notamment en italien, espagnol, arabe, turc, albanais, etc. Ces cours avaient lieu soit dans les écoles, soit dans les bâtiments culturels des ambassades, les mercredis et samedis pendant les vacances scolaires. Bien sûr, comme les Kurdes n'avaient ni État, ni ambassade, ni représentants, il n'existait pas de cours officiels de langue maternelle. C'est pourquoi, en 1996, avec plusieurs autres parents kurdes, nous avons commencé à organiser des cours de kurde pour nos enfants tous les samedis matin. Des militants kurdes se portaient volontaires pour les enseigner avec beaucoup d'efficacité. D'autres organisations et associations kurdes proposaient également des cours de badini aux enfants kurdes de parents badini originaires du Kurdistan turc et membres de partis politiques.

En Suisse, le Groupe d'intérêt pour la langue maternelle, qui rassemble des organisations et des personnes œuvrant dans les domaines de la formation, de la recherche et de l'immigration, a commencé, à l'occasion de la Journée mondiale de la langue maternelle le 21 février 2008, à appeler les écoles suisses à intégrer le kurde résident dans leurs programmes d'apprentissage des langues. Par ailleurs, un groupe de défense des intérêts linguistiques a lancé un appel aux écoles suisses afin qu'elles proposent des cours de langue et de culture autochtones aux enfants d'immigrés sans État, comme les Kurdes, même en dehors du programme scolaire. Dans le même temps, les Nations Unies ont rappelé à la Suisse que plus de 50 % des 6 700 langues du monde sont menacées d'extinction. C'est pourquoi les cours de langue et de culture autochtones peuvent

désormais être dispensés dans 35 langues , dont le kurde.

Ce qui était frappant, c'était que malgré leur bonne maîtrise du kurde, les pensées, les comportements, les désirs et les rêves de nos enfants étaient bien loin de nos attentes parentales. Nous souhaitions qu'ils incarnent les sentiments, les idées, les pratiques culturelles et le sentiment national kurdes. Or, la réalité fut tout autre. J'ai alors compris que ce problème était partagé par la plupart des parents kurdes en Suisse et en Europe en général. Mon expérience au sein du service de protection de l'enfance à Genève, de 1990 à 2000, m'avait permis de constater que certaines familles rencontraient fréquemment des difficultés relationnelles avec leurs enfants. Les pères, en particulier, étaient très tendus. Parfois, cela dégénérait en violence, notamment envers les adolescentes kurdes. Cela aurait entraîné la séparation de certaines familles.

25 ans plus tard

Nombre des familles arrivées en Suisse dans les années 1990 et avec lesquelles j'ai entretenu des liens étroits, tant comme traductrice que dans le cadre d'activités politiques et culturelles, étaient pour la plupart kurdes et issues de la révolution. Certains de ces parents étaient âgés, d'anciens Peshmergas, et beaucoup sont encore actifs au sein du mouvement kurde. Cependant, leurs enfants, aujourd'hui adultes et âgés de 20 à 30 ans, bien qu'ils parlent toujours kurde avec eux à la maison, participent rarement aux célébrations nationales telles que Newroz, aux manifestations et aux conférences sur les Kurdes. Après avoir discuté avec certains parents et directement avec les jeunes, j'ai constaté que, malgré leur maîtrise du kurde, certains d'entre eux éprouvent un faible

sentiment d'appartenance à la culture, à la nation et au Kurdistan. Ils parlent de la culture kurde avec haine et la rejettent, affirmant qu'ils ne sont pas Kurdes, mais seulement Suisses ! Cela a soulevé plusieurs questions pour moi, notamment :

- Peut-on dire que certains de ces jeunes ont adopté une stratégie d'adaptation fondée sur l'aliénation ? Qu'est-ce que l'étrangeté et pourquoi ?

- Quel est le lien entre la langue et le sentiment d'intimité et d'identité ?

- Quel est l'impact de l'environnement (système politique et culturel européen) sur la formation ou l'affaiblissement du sentiment d'appartenance nationale kurde chez les enfants kurdes ?

- Existe-t-il un paradoxe fondamental entre les principes éducatifs des écoles suisses, comme en Europe, et ceux des familles kurdes ?

- Observe-t-on un conflit entre les personnalités et les outils utilisés pour construire l'identité des enfants kurdes à l'étranger ?

- Existe-t-il un conflit entre les attentes des parents et la réalité du système social, culturel et éducatif suisse ?

Outre les questions précédentes, ce qui m'inquiète quelque peu aujourd'hui, c'est la réponse simpliste de certaines associations et organisations culturelles kurdes qui estiment que la connaissance de la langue est le seul moyen de renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance des enfants kurdes à l'étranger.

Bien sûr, de nombreux psychologues, sociologues, philosophes et anthropologues ont confirmé ce point de vue à travers des dizaines d'études sur l'importance de la langue maternelle dans la construction de l'identité personnelle et nationale. Par conséquent, ces organisations font certainement du bon travail du point de vue kurde.

Questions clés

Pourquoi de nombreux jeunes Kurdes arrivés en Suisse enfants ou adolescents, ou nés ici et qui y grandissent aujourd'hui, malgré leur connaissance du kurde, ne ressentent-ils aucun attachement à la culture kurde et aux questions nationales ?

Pour répondre à cette question, je vais tenter de partir des hypothèses suivantes, puis de les confirmer ou de les infirmer.

De manière générale, je pense que la situation des Kurdes est exceptionnelle et complexe, et différente de celle des enfants d'autres nationalités à l'étranger, pour les raisons suivantes :

- Les Kurdes sont un peuple sans terre et leur pays est divisé en quatre parties.
- Il n'y a pas de Kurdes de manière formelle dans les deux parties du Kurdistan ; la Turquie et la Syrie, et parler le kurde est interdit par la loi, sous peine d'emprisonnement et de torture. Dans les autres régions du Kurdistan, comme l'Irak et l'Iran, les Kurdes sont considérés comme une minorité et leurs droits sont limités et bafoués. Cette situation pèse lourdement sur leur quotidien.

-Toutes les épreuves qu'ils ont subies (génocide, massacres, déportations forcées, etc.) et, d'une part, les dissensions, les trahisons et les guerres fratricides ont fragilisé le moral des Kurdes, qui ont perdu confiance en l'avenir de leur nation et parfois même sombré dans le désespoir.

L'identité

Les frains à la langue maternelle en contexte diasporique

Bien sûr, comme mentionné précédemment, la simple connaissance d'une langue étrangère n'enrichit pas un individu à l'étranger. En revanche, la vie dans un monde différent favorise

l'intégration d'un autre système de pensée, celui de la culture du pays d'accueil ! Outre l'enrichissement de leurs connaissances générales, les enfants développent également leurs capacités cognitives : il est important de noter que le système éducatif occidental encourage l'esprit critique. Les enfants apprennent à analyser l'information, à formuler des arguments et à développer des idées, ce qui renforce leur réflexion. Mais cela les amène aussi à questionner les opinions et la culture de leurs parents. Car on leur apprend à penser de manière critique en exprimant leurs propres opinions, plutôt qu'en se soumettant aveuglément aux adultes (parents et enseignants).

Afin de comprendre certaines des dynamiques contradictoires à l'œuvre dans la construction identitaire des adolescents kurdes à l'étranger, nous nous appuierons sur une étude sociologique majeure et reconnue portant sur les processus de changement social actuels en France et en Occident, qui ont modifié les méthodes d'enseignement et les paradigmes de pensée dans le domaine de l'éducation.

Concernant la nature de la relation entre enfants et adultes en Occident, Jean-Paul Gaillard, psychologue et pédagogue français, explique dans deux ouvrages des points importants relatifs à l'évolution de cette relation :

1. Autrefois, la relation entre enfants et adultes était hiérarchique : l'adulte, en tant que décideur et autorité supérieure, et l'enfant, en tant qu'autorité inférieure, obéissaient à son autorité, à ses conseils, à ses opinions et à ses attentes. Aujourd'hui, cette relation est devenue horizontale : l'enfant se perçoit comme un égal, doté des mêmes droits que l'adulte. En effet, l'évolution du système éducatif et la reconnaissance des droits de l'enfant ont affaibli le rôle des

parents et des enseignants en tant qu'autorités sur les enfants. En revanche, l'individualisme et l'éducation des enfants en Occident, fondée sur les droits et le savoir, ont placé l'individu au-dessus de la société, un point que nous aborderons plus loin.

2. Autrefois, les écoles et les enseignants, à l'instar des églises et des prêtres, des familles et des parents, revêtaient un caractère sacré. Aujourd'hui, les églises, les écoles, les enseignants, les familles et les parents ont perdu ce caractère sacré et sont devenus des lieux tout à fait ordinaires.

Comme nous l'avons vu, l'école est un lieu de socialisation où les enfants et les jeunes apprennent à communiquer, à coopérer et à comprendre les points de vue d'autrui. Cela contribue à leur développement affectif et à leur socialisation, mais influence également leur façon de penser.

3. Un autre point très important et délicat est qu'en Occident, à travers les matières enseignées, les enfants et les jeunes, grâce aux contes, légendes et histoires qu'ils entendent, découvrent différentes idées qui élargissent leurs horizons et leur compréhension du monde . Ils les découvrent et les expriment à leur manière. Mais comme nous l'avons vu, à l'étranger, ils peuvent souvent se détacher de la culture de leurs parents. En effet, ils n'étudient pas l'histoire, les contes et légendes kurdes à l'école et les entendent rarement à la maison, or ces éléments jouent un rôle important dans la construction de leur identité culturelle.

Individualisme

Les cours et activités scolaires, tels que les débats, les présentations et les travaux écrits, encouragent les enfants à exprimer leurs pensées et leurs opinions. Cependant, outre le développement et

le renforcement de la confiance en soi et de la capacité à exprimer leurs idées, ils développent et renforcent également un sens de l'individualisme. Autrement dit, on leur inculque que leurs droits individuels priment sur ceux de la société et des groupes. Autrement dit, l'école et le système occidentaux constituent un environnement déterminant pour la formation d'un individu qui deviendra indépendant et défendra ses droits individuels face à ceux de la société. C'est pourquoi certains parents kurdes ont le sentiment que leurs enfants sont incontrôlables, égoïstes, distants, immoraux, irrespectueux et imprégnés de la pensée et des comportements européens.

L'individualisme se définit généralement comme le processus par lequel l'individu s'affranchit progressivement des lois et valeurs sociales issues de la conscience collective.

D'un point de vue politique, l'individualisme est une conception de la vie en société qui place l'individu au centre des préoccupations, d'où l'importance accordée à sa liberté, à ses droits et à sa personnalité.

D'un point de vue sociologique, l'individu se détache des règles collectives et s'affranchit des normes imposées par autrui, devenant ainsi autonome. Cependant, Matthew Peltier

souligne quatre principaux dangers de l'individualisme :

Une menace pour la démocratie ; L'individu cesse de participer à la sphère publique et à la vie de la société. Ce repli sur soi peut engendrer une forme d'oppression insidieuse.

Menace pour la cohésion sociale ; À la fin du XIXe siècle, le philosophe Émile Durkheim soulevait la question du respect des valeurs et des normes partagées face au déclin de la société rurale

traditionnelle et d'institutions telles que l'Église. Comment parvenir à la cohésion sociale lorsque chacun évolue vers une individualité plus marquée ?

Risque de fin possible du changement social et des mouvements sociaux ; En effet, l'individualisme conduit à un déclin de l'action collective. Car pour qu'un mouvement social existe, il faut un but commun, des valeurs partagées, un monde où coexistent des aspirations communes. Or, en Occident, ces aspirations semblent de plus en plus rares.

Risque psychologique, souligné par Alan Ehrenberg dans son ouvrage « La fatigue d'être soi-même ». Il estime que si l'individualisme se développe, l'individu gagnera certes en liberté, mais perdra en réalité en force et en assurance, car il deviendra responsable de nombreux aspects de la construction de sa vie. Ce qui le rendra vulnérable et anxieux. Autrefois soutenu par son groupe, il se retrouve désormais seul responsable des choix complexes qui lui permettront de réussir sa vie, ce qui conduit souvent à une dépression accrue, voire au suicide.

Comme nous l'avons vu, à ce stade, l'adolescent ouvre les portes de sa personnalité au monde extérieur à la famille. Il traverse un processus d'autonomie et de séparation d'avec ses parents. Ce processus est jalonné de changements fondamentaux pour la construction et le renforcement de son identité personnelle. Face à ces transformations internes et externes, les adolescents doivent trouver d'autres ressources. La société attend d'eux qu'ils saisissent les opportunités qu'elle leur offre. À la fin de l'adolescence, il devrait être capable de décider de ses propres aspirations, de choisir ses objectifs et ses valeurs, et d'assumer des rôles d'adulte.

Les adolescents kurdes à l'étranger doivent construire leur identité au milieu du tumulte de deux mondes, parfois marqués par des valeurs contradictoires : le pays d'origine et le monde extérieur. Au pays, les parents kurdes souhaitent que leurs enfants se comportent et pensent comme s'ils étaient au Kurdistan. Or, comme nous l'avons vu, les enfants ont besoin de repères extérieurs durant l'adolescence pour continuer à construire leurs structures identitaires personnelles et culturelles. Il en résulte un choc des cultures, ce que la sociologie appelle un choc culturel. En effet, les parents kurdes attendent de leurs enfants qu'ils atteignent les objectifs qu'ils n'ont pas eux-mêmes pu réaliser, à savoir le projet national kurde. La plupart des systèmes politiques européens exigent l'assimilation des réfugiés, malgré des droits culturels tels que l'accès à des cours de langue maternelle pour les enfants. Mais les parents souhaitent que leurs enfants réussissent à l'école et deviennent médecins, ingénieurs, enseignants, menuisiers, etc., sans être influencés par la culture et les coutumes de leur pays d'accueil . Cela peut engendrer chez l'enfant un sentiment de tiraillement entre les attentes du monde extérieur et celles de son foyer. Les psychologues, les sociologues et les anthropologues ont constaté que raconter des histoires, qu'elles soient individuelles ou collectives, contribue à guérir les traumatismes profonds et nous permet d'aborder des histoires tues. Mettons-les par écrit. Le récit démêle nos contradictions intérieures et nous aide à grandir, à nous identifier et à nous harmoniser avec nous-mêmes et avec les autres.

La stratégie d'aliénation

L'aliénation désigne ici l'état d'une personne qui a perdu sa liberté de choix et est privée de ce qui est essentiel à son existence et à la

raison même de son existence. Autrement dit, selon Frantz Fanon, il s'agit d'un processus par lequel l'individu devient étranger à lui-même, parce que ses pensées, sa langue, ses désirs, ou son identité sont façonnés par une instance extérieure (nation, Etat, idéologie, norme social) .

Psychologiquement, l'aliénation est un état de folie. Ce terme désigne un trouble mental instable dans lequel l'individu est psychologiquement isolé du monde extérieur.

Les recherches en sociologie ont observé que lorsque l'identité des membres de groupes minoritaires est menacée et méprisée, ces individus peuvent être influencés culturellement lorsqu'ils ne peuvent préserver leur identité culturelle. La majorité dominante, voire la majorité tout entière, les influence. Par conséquent, on constate que ces individus ont tendance à rejeter leur culture d'origine et à choisir une culture qu'ils s'imposent eux-mêmes. Cela se traduit principalement par une prise de distance avec leur groupe ethnique, le fait de ne pas parler leur langue maternelle à leurs enfants à la maison, l'adoption des comportements de l'autre groupe, et parfois même des critiques et des insultes envers leur propre groupe. Cette stratégie, appelée aliénation, résulte d'un manque d'espoir et de confiance dans la capacité à défendre et à renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance nationale. Par exemple, les Kurdes entendent depuis leur naissance des phrases telles que « Les Kurdes sont des traîtres, les Kurdes ne deviendront jamais rien », et même des dirigeants politiques kurdes reprennent cette idée. Ainsi, Mam Jalal, l'un des chefs de la révolution armée, a déclaré ouvertement qu'un Kurdistan indépendant relevait du rêve. Tous les partis politiques kurdes revendiquent des droits culturels, à

l'exception du PKK, qui, au début de la révolution contre l'État turc, revendiquait l'indépendance non seulement du Kurdistan turc, mais de l'ensemble du Kurdistan. Cependant, après l'arrestation et l'emprisonnement du président Apo Öcalan, ce dernier a décidé de ne plus lutter pour la liberté et l'indépendance du Kurdistan, mais pour que les droits culturels.

Au Kurdistan irakien, le 7 juin 2017, le Haut Conseil référendaire a été créé sous la présidence de Barzani. Les partis ayant participé au référendum étaient le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan, l'Union nationale du Kurdistan, l'Union islamique, le Mouvement islamique, le Parti Zahmetkeshan, le Parti communiste, le Parti socialiste, ainsi que des représentants des communautés religieuses et ethniques. Le 25 septembre 2017, le référendum populaire sur l'indépendance du Kurdistan a eu lieu. 4,5 millions de personnes, résidant dans la région du Kurdistan et les régions kurdes, étaient inscrites sur les listes électorales. À l'issue du scrutin, 96 % des Kurdes ont voté pour l'indépendance du Kurdistan. Mais ce vote à lui seul a suffi à rallier les trois gouvernements ennemis (Turquie, Iran et Irak). Avec l'aide de l'Iran et de l'Irak, soutenus par l'un des partis kurdes, l'UPK, ils ont attaqué la région du Kurdistan. Ils ont réoccupé la région et lui ont imposé un blocus économique, commercial et aérien qui a duré longtemps. Depuis lors, le gouvernement régional du Kurdistan (GRK) s'est considérablement affaibli et la population est désabusée. Jusqu'alors, les Kurdes n'avaient mené que des révolutions armées pour revendiquer leurs droits. Or, le référendum était un processus pacifique et diplomatique, fondé sur la Constitution irakienne et les droits internationaux, notamment le droit à l'autodétermination. Mais ni les Nations Unies ni aucun

autre État n'ont défendu les revendications légitimes des Kurdes. Naturellement, cette tragédie a accru le désespoir des Kurdes quant à l'avenir du Kurdistan.

En 2021, le Centre de la diaspora kurde a été créé à l'étranger . Il s'efforce de rassembler les Kurdes de la diaspora et d'organiser des cours de langue kurde pour les enfants à l'étranger. Bien sûr, il est conscient de l'importance de la langue maternelle et son objectif principal est que les enfants kurdes apprennent la leur.

Mais à mon avis, il existe un autre objectif, sous-jacent : l'espoir des dirigeants politiques kurdes et de certains parents que les enfants kurdes non seulement préservent leur identité nationale à travers la langue kurde, mais qu'ils deviennent aussi, plus tard, les porte-paroles et les ambassadeurs de la nation kurde. Ainsi, ils pourront défendre les droits de leur terre et de leur nation à l'étranger afin d'obtenir un Kurdistan libre et indépendant.

Le récit et la construction de l'identité chez l'enfant

Le récit est un moyen de consigner des éléments au sein d'une « classe » qui les unit et permet de relier les événements. C'est ce que Jérôme Brunner appelle les « caractéristiques générales », que nous exprimons avec une franchise implacable dans la comédie, la tragédie, la satire, le roman, etc. Si nous examinons les récits de nos histoires difficiles, nous constatons qu'ils contiennent des mots qui nous enveloppent, nous réconfortent et nous guident vers un avenir radieux et bienveillant. Raconter ces histoires de notre peuple à nos enfants, surtout à l'étranger, nous permettra de créer des liens dans leur esprit et de les plonger dans un univers lumineux et stimulant. Ils pourront ainsi plus facilement se situer à la frontière entre le monde imaginaire et le monde réel et ressentir leur appartenance à l'identité culturelle kurde.

À ce sujet, le psychologue français Jacques Salomé estime que le récit contribue à apaiser les tensions internes, parfois dues à des oppositions et des malentendus entre notre esprit, notre corps et notre âme, perturbant certains aspects de notre vie. Dans ce contexte, le personnage s'approprie les dimensions intimes de notre être.

Jérôme Bruner estime que « le récit nous permet de relier histoires et actions de manière à susciter une action ou un projet désiré ». En d'autres termes, le récit, d'une part, engendre une pensée ou une action, et d'autre part, il nous aide à appréhender une vérité pour en faire une « conscience » fondée sur un « projet » souhaité. Cela nous permet, grâce au récit, de comprendre si nos actions servent nos objectifs.

À la lumière de ces remarques, nous pouvons supposer que le récit de notre histoire et de nos récits, à travers les contes, les hairans, les chants folkloriques et les horas, a permis aux Kurdes de surmonter leurs traumatismes et de préserver leur langue et leur culture. Il est essentiel qu'ils préservent leur identité nationale et restent sur leurs terres ! Boris Sirulnik aborde l'usage et la fonction du « récit de soi » dans le monde contemporain : « Lorsqu'une personne au cœur brisé sent qu'elle n'est plus seule et tente de raconter son histoire à des personnes qui l'écoutent avec respect, elle explore et développe ces malheurs, modifiant ainsi ses sentiments pour pouvoir les revivre et se construire un nouvel horizon. »

Comme nous l'avons vu, les enfants kurdes doivent construire leur identité dans un monde en constante évolution (entre les blessures et la douleur de leurs parents et le traumatisme de l'exil). C'est cette confusion qui a conduit Edgar Moran à une étude approfondie, à l'origine de sa célèbre théorie de la complexité. Il

est donc essentiel que les responsables et les enseignants kurdes à l'étranger perçoivent, ressentent et acceptent cette complexité, et surtout qu'ils agissent en conséquence. Les éléments dominants (religion, patrie, nation, pays, etc.) qui constituent l'identité culturelle présentent une dynamique complexe et sont souvent contradictoires pour les adolescents kurdes en exil, car ils sont influencés par la culture du pays d'accueil. Pour sortir de cette situation… Selon Edgar Moran, cette crise survient lorsqu'un individu ou un groupe ignore la complexité et la dynamique des éléments identitaires opposés, ce qui engendre des tensions dans les relations et une crise identitaire.

Par conséquent, les responsables et les enseignants kurdes ne doivent pas négliger ces complexités dans le cadre de la construction d'un lobby kurde à l'étranger. Autrement, comme souvent, nous rencontrerons des difficultés et il sera bien plus difficile d'atteindre notre objectif. Dès lors, pour que la prochaine génération de Kurdes de la diaspora devienne le lobby que nous espérons, il est impératif de répondre à plusieurs questions essentielles :

-Les enseignants kurdes sont-ils prêts à assumer le rôle d'enseignants pour transmettre leur langue maternelle à l'étranger ?

-Les enseignants kurdes à l'étranger, malgré leur expérience au Kurdistan, sont-ils prêts à prendre en compte toute la complexité du système lorsqu'ils enseignent leur langue maternelle à leurs élèves ?

Si la réponse est oui, quelles méthodes pédagogiques les enseignants utilisent-ils pour transmettre un message différent aux enfants, au-delà des mots et des phrases kurdes, pendant

l'enseignement ? Je veux dire un message qui puisse forger une image positive de leur nation et de leur pays, afin qu'ils soient fiers d'être Kurdes !

Quel récit et quelle méthode de narration des légendes et des histoires historiques et culturelles kurdes choisissez-vous pour atteindre ces objectifs ?

N'oublions pas que pour que les enfants kurdes de l'étranger sachent où aller, ils doivent connaître leurs origines.