NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE IN KURDISTAN, 1918-1985

Amir Hassanpour

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To the People of Sina (Sanandaj)

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FOREWORD

Michael L. Chyet

In this volume, the history of Kurdish literature is traced from its earliest sources, the poetry of such masters as Feqîyê Teyran (c. 1590-1660, in Kurmanji), Ehmedê Xanî (1650-1706, in Kurmanji), and Hacî Qadirî Koyî (1817-1897, in Sorani), to the 20th century with its orthographic standardization and functional elaboration, including the spheres of education and journalism. Rather than limiting himself to his own dialect, the Mukri subdialect of Sorani, Mr. Hassanpour considers the whole picture, looking into how all the Kurdish dialects have contributed to the enrichment of Kurdish language and literature. Rather than minimizing or ignoring the differences between the Kurmanji and Sorani dialects of Kurdish, or advocating the replacement of one by the other, as many previous native scholars have done, Hassanpour reaches the realistic conclusion that Kurdish is a bi-standard language, as are also Albanian, Armenian, and Norwegian, to name but a few.

Mr. Hassanpour is refreshingly objective in his approach; the charges of "research bias" which he mentions in Chapter Two cannot be levelled against him. He gives balanced consideration to Sorani, the most well developed literary dialect and his native tongue, and to Kurmanji, the language of approximately 75% of all Kurds, while mentioning the Hawrami and Zaza (Dimilî) dialects as well. Hassanpour's mastery of all the available materials is evident throughout this study. Much of his information appears for the first time in English, the existing source materials being largely in Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Russian, and one or another dialect of Kurdish. The scientific approach employed by Hassanpour in reaching his conclusions is evident in his frequent use of statistical documentary materials, providing the reader with hitherto unavailable statistical charts and tables. His bibliography is also quite extensive. An important contribution of this study is the emphasis it puts on the insufficient awareness of language inequality and the lack of a universal declaration of linguistic rights.

The age-old phenomena of language death and linguicide are given a deservedly prominent place in this study, as well as the under used concept of "endangered language." In his sociolinguistic study entitled *Welsh and the Other Dying Languages of Europe* (1977), Max Adler makes the observation that "[l]anguage is such a potent symbol of nationality that the official prohibition of its use has often been the prime cause of its survival." Hassanpour cites this exquisite passage in accounting for the survival of the Kurdish language despite attempts by the Turkish, Syrian, Iranian and Iraqi governments to eradicate it. He stresses how important it is that anyone undertaking the study of Kurdish be aware of its status as an endangered language.

In Chapter Four a considerable amount of space is devoted to the question of what differentiates a thriving language from an endangered one. In this context, the relationship between language cultivation (pen) and political power (sword) is introduced. The standardization of a language presupposes a type of political existence which the Kurds have not yet attained. Government recognition which supports an educational system using a commonly recognized vocabulary, and a reading public demanding literary production in the language, are things which English speakers take for granted. With the exception of some Iraqi and Soviet Kurds, however, these remain dreams as yet unattainable. It will be interesting to see how Turkey's lifting on the ban on the Kurdish language in 1991 will ultimately affect the tenuous connection between pen and sword.

In Thomas Philipp's review of Ferhad Ibrahim's *Die Kurdische Nationalbewegung im Irak* (1983) in the *MESA Bulletin* (vol. 18, no. 2, December 1984, pp. 182-3), he comments that "in eight hundred pages about the Kurdish national movement we learn practically nothing about, for instance, the role of Kurdish as a literary language, or about the development of a Kurdish school system, or about the Kurds' perception of their history and their own cultural consciousness." In Chapter Two of Hassanpour's monumental work, he asserts that "[t]his is the first study of the linguistic aspect of Kurdish national building." Mr. Philipp may be happy to know that the gap he identified has been bridged.

The linguistic developments which are the focus of the book are at every turn placed in their proper historical context. Particularly relevant in light of the increasing attention being paid to the Kurds after Mr. Bush's "Operation Desert Storm" are the sections on the development of education in Iraq, which throw new light on the subordinate role imposed on the Kurds in that country from its inception. The parts played by the British Mandate authorities and the League of Nations in the establishment of the state or Iraq, and their insincere concern regarding the fate of the Kurds and other minorities in the area, have sown the seeds for the conflict now being reaped. Hassanpour does not go out of his way to point out how despicable this situation was; his accurate description of it, with frequent quotes from the correspondence and reports of the time, is damning enough.

There is relatively little written on the Kurds in the English language. The present volume is both a welcome contribution to the literature on them, and a

masterful synthesis of the existing materials. It should be considered required reading for anyone aspiring to be a Kurdologist, as well as for those who desire a fuller understanding of what is happening in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey.

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PREFACE

The political map of the world changed dramatically in 1991, when more than a dozen independent nation-states emerged in the wake of the disintegration of the USSR and Eastern Europe. While this transformation was complex, and shaped by decades of ideological, political, social and economic conflict, it is clear that nationalism and language both acted as potent forces, especially in the disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia.

An equally dramatic but contrasting development in the world is the process of unification in Western Europe and, on a less extensive scale, in North America. While this trend of economic integration, including the removal of national symbols such as currency, is in full swing, it is also easy to detect a centrifugal movement within these emerging empires. A powerful wave of nationalism is sweeping Québec and aboriginal peoples in Canada, Flemish speakers in Belgium, Corsicans in France, and the Irish nation in England. Elsewhere in the world--from the aboriginal peoples of Australia and Latin America to the Tamils of India and the Kurds of the Middle East--the struggle for sovereignty has been raging for decades.

The present contradictory trends of integration of nation-states and disintegration of multi-national states are by no means new. Writing in the early twentieth century, V. I. Lenin (1971: 15) referred to two "tendencies":

> Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc. Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its

development, the latter characterizes a mature capitalism moving towards its transformation into socialist society.

Although socialist states were established in Russia and China and other countries, the two large-scale Soviet and Chinese experiments were eventually replaced by capitalism and its nationalist ideology. Now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, nationalism and nation-states continue to thrive in the midst of an emerging "global village."

Nationalism is thus proving to be an enduring and ubiquitous phenomenon. It has been studied extensively by historians and social scientists. However, its complexity and diversity, clearly highlighted in Dr. Zgusta's introduction foreword to this volume, continues to baffle social theorists. Understanding the subject requires frequent reinterpretation, theorization, and more comparative and case studies.

This study seeks to explain the Kurdish experience and its contribution to the understanding of nation, nationalism and language. Kurdish nationalism is probably the oldest nationalist ideology in the Muslim world. It is unique or, as some observers have pointed out, "anachronistic" since it emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not in a flourishing urban middle-class milieu but rather in a feudally-organized, agrarian society, which was ruled by a mosaic of small and large Kurdish principalities. National awakening emerged when two neighbouring and rival empires, Ottoman Turkey and Persia (Iran), began to extend their control over Kurdistan and decided to overthrow the Kurdish system of self-rule. The principalities put up strong resistance until the mid-19th century, when they were forcibly overthrown after three centuries of unceasing wars. During these centuries, the Ottomans and the Persians conducted numerous massacres, forcibly removed entire tribes and peasant communities, resettled non-Kurdish tribes in Kurdistan, and destroyed the booming agrarian economy. This everlasting attack on Kurdish life generated a high degree of political awareness, which is clearly reflected in the struggle for the enhancement of Kurdish language and literature.

Another important feature of Kurdish nationalism is its secular nature. It challenges three dominant nations–Arabs, Turks and Persians--who are fellow Muslims. Although the two apostles of Kurdish nationalism, Ahmadi Khani (1650-1706) and Haji Qadir Koyi (1817-1897), were mullas or clergymen, they did not hesitate to castigate the ruling Muslim states which, they argued, had enslaved the Kurds. This feature of Kurdish nationalism challenges the views of many social scientists who, in the aftermath of the "Islamic Revolution" of Iran, treat religion as the engine of social change in the Islamic world. This nationalism is actually so non-religious that Turkey, a regime espousing secularism, has organized and financed Islamic revivalist groups in Kurdistan in order to undermine the movement. It is significant that in contemporary Iran where the state religion, Shi'ite Islam, is different from the Sunnite sect of most of the Kurds, the nationalist movement has focused its attention not on obvious

religious inequalities (for example, Sunnites cannot assume top leadership positions in the government) but, rather, on secular nationalist demands such as political, administrative, linguistic and cultural autonomy.

Also significant is the fact that, unlike most nationalist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America (in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), Kurdish nationalism emerged before the spread of European colonialism. It acquired an anti-colonial direction only later, in the period after World War II, when it was radicalized by the impact of revolutionary movements in the Middle East and in other parts of the Third World.

The uniqueness of this nationalism is deceptive, however. The two ideologists of Kurdish nationalism, Khani and Haji Qadir, argued that the Kurds could achieve freedom only if they took up two weapons, **the pen** (literary language) and **the sword** (state power). The language weapon was consciously deployed as early as the sixteenth century. However, as this study reveals, the struggle to cultivate and enhance the Kurdish language did not come to fruition until the twentieth century when Kurdish nationalism found an urban, literate, and middle-class social base. This relationship between language development and the socio-economic system in which it occurs remains overlooked, especially on the theoretical level. The simple fact is that the majority of the world's several thousand languages remain unwritten. In terms of functional differentiation (i.e., use in science, technology, literature, trade, etc.), a wide and unbridgeable gap divides these underdeveloped languages from developed ones, such as English, French or Russian. This inequality has nothing to do with the structure of language; no language is inferior or superior in terms of phonological, morphological or syntactic structures. The inequality is, rather, rooted in the non-linguistic world. Developing a dialect or a spoken language into a national medium of communication requires a major social and economic transformation, even in the age of electronic media of mass communication. In fact, the great majority of the languages of the world do not have access to radio and television broadcasting. Access to broadcasting has proven to be as difficult as access to writing.

Traditional approaches to nationalism tend to reduce it to a political phenomenon. My approach is, however, holistic. As a social phenomenon (in the broadest sense of the concept), nationalism is simultaneously political, ideological, economic, cultural and linguistic, and is shaped by the socially stratified society in which it appears and operates. While no explicit theoretical framework is adopted, this study is guided by contemporary critical social theory as well as the insights of the two ideologists of Kurdish nationalism, who saw an inseparable connection between nation-building, literary language (the pen) and the structure of power (the sword).

Although this study covers the entire history of Kurdish linguistic and national development, it focuses largely on the post-1918 period. World War I changed the balance of forces throughout the Middle East. Kurdistan was redivided among five countries--the newly formed states of Iraq (under British

Mandate, 1918-32), Syria (under French Mandate, 1918-46), Turkey, the USSR and Iran. The European victors of the war initially promised the Kurds an independent state to be formed in the present Kurdish provinces of Turkey. Instead, the Kurds were subjected to a policy of genocide and linguicide in Turkey (since 1923), Syria (since 1962), Iran (especially from 1925 to 1979) and Iraq since 1961. Eliminating the Kurdish language was the corner-stone of ethnocide. In Republican Turkey and Monarchical Iran (especially from the 1930s to 1941), speaking Kurdish was legally proscribed and was punished as a crime against the state. Under such conditions, Kurdish nationalists from all walks of life fought for the maintenance and cultivation of their language. The standardization of the two major dialects, Kurmanji and Sorani, is a major achievement of this movement.

The struggle for language rights (the right to speak, write, print, publish, broadcast, promote, and instruct in one's language) was conducted on all fronts, from parliamentary debates to armed struggle, and in different places, from the modest rural mosque schools in Kurdistan to the sessions of the League of Nations in Geneva. The struggle for the pen and the sword became internationalized, involving Western powers such as Britain and France, the USSR, and the League of Nations. The enhancement of the language was, however, achieved in the prisons, printing presses, caves, and mosque schools where writers, poets, lexicographers, political activists, students and teachers paid a high price for defending their national identity.

Studies of Kurdish nationalism generally ignore the inseparability of the sword and the pen. While this study deals with the pen side of the story, it does not ignore the sword. Attention has also been given to the expanding Kurdish diaspora. While Kurdish nationalism has successfully maintained its language in spite of the linguicidal policies and practices of Middle Eastern dictatorships, it has failed to resist the powerful regulatory forces of the market-based societies in the West. Here, in the absence of political restrictions on the use of Kurdish, the invisible hand of the market determines the distribution of language use, allowing dispersed minorities little chance of survival. Much to the bewilderment of the freedom-hungry refugees, their children readily reject their native tongue soon after they resettle in Europe and North America.

The world did not know much about the Kurds until April 1991 when, in the aftermath of the Gulf War, the tragic exodus of millions of Iraqi Kurds appeared on the small screen. Kurds are the fourth largest nation in the Middle East and the largest non-state nation in the world. In terms of numerical strength, the Kurdish language ranks 40th among the several thousand languages of the world. Yet the very existence of the people and the language is seriously threatened, especially in Turkey, Iraq and Syria. Will they be able to survive? Will there be a Kurdish state? Will the multinational states of Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria allow them any degree of autonomy? While these questions are not easy to answer, this study provides considerable evidence and analysis about the

local, regional and international forces that have kept the Kurds on the verge of extinction throughout the twentieth century.

The methodological framework of this study owes much to Université Laval's research project *The Standard Languages of the World*, later renamed *The Written Languages of the World* which was conducted by Heinz Kloss and Grant McConnell (1978:71-76). Conceptually, the dissertation relies in part on the work of Einar Haugen (1966).

My interest in this case dates back to the late 1950s when, as a primary school student, I began to feel the sting of linguistic repression in Iran. Kurdish dress and language were proscribed in schools. In my high school years, I was able to acquire a few Kurdish books and phonograph records through the underground network. However, fearing house searches, arrest and jail my parents destroyed them, no less than four times during the 1960s and 1970s. In Tehran University classes, symbolic violence against Kurdish and other non-Persian languages was commonplace. In rare occasions when Kurdish was mentioned, it was regularly identified as a "dialect" of Persian; calling it a "language" was considered "secessionism" or "treason."

This study begins with a foreword by Dr. Michael Chyet, a student of Kurdish language and folklore, who evaluates the contribution of this work to Kurdish studies. Dr. Ladislav Zgusta's introduction combines the experience of his own turbulent life with decades of scholarly reflections and research on the topic. It provides a global perspective for this study, which deals with a particular case.

The research is organized into eleven chapters. The first four chapters provide background information and analysis. Chapter 1 presents factual information on the Kurdish speech area, population and dialects. Chapter 2 deals with methodological issues. The core of this chapter is a review of literature which demonstrates the need for (a) socially and linguistically informed studies of Kurdish nationalism, (b) more case studies of language standardization, and (c) theory-building. Theory, research question, research design, data gathering and analysis, the Romanization system, and terminology are also covered. Chapter 3 presents an outline of the social, economic, political and cultural development of Kurdish society. It provides a picture of the evolution of the Kurds as a nation and offers a rough periodization of Kurdish nationalism. Chapter 4 examines the literary evolution of Kurdish society prior to the twentieth century. This period was characterized by the prevalence of literary dialects, each of which had a limited social base and a low level of functional differentiation.

Chapter 5 examines state policy on the Kurdish language. The significance of status planning is discussed, and it is demonstrated that in Iraq, the functional and territorial use of the language was constantly restricted by all Iraqi regimes interested in integrating the Kurds into Iraqi society. In Turkey (after 1923), Iran (especially from the 1920s to 1979) and Syria (after 1962) an overt policy of linguicide was adopted. The chapter concludes with a survey of

language rights which characterizes Kurdish as a threatened language in all the five countries where it is spoken.

Chapter 6 consists of a brief survey of how the Sulemani subdialect of the Sorani dialect group was selected as the base for official Kurdish in Iraq. It concludes that Kurdish is a bi-standard language, with two standardizing norms of Kurmanji and Sorani.

The next five chapters deal with the standardization of the Sorani dialect in the post-1918 period when Kurdish acquired limited regional official status in the newly-created state of Iraq. The focus of all these chapters is on Iraq, although Iran, Turkey, Syria and the USSR are also covered.

Chapters 7 and 8 examine two important processes of standardization. Chapter 7, consisting of six subchapters, deals with the development of new functions in Sorani Kurdish, i.e., its use in the mass media, education, administration, science, cinema, theater and phonograph records. The impact of each function on standardization has been outlined.

The subchapters of Chapter 8 examine the linguistic outcome of functional differentiation i.e., codification of form. All levels of language structure and aspects of language use have been codified: phonology, orthography, morphology, vocabulary, syntax and literary forms. Functional differentiation and codification have involved extensive conflict between the Kurds and the central governments. The two chapters depict the course and outcome of this struggle.

Chapter 9 is a brief survey of the acceptance of codified Sorani among the Kurds of Iraq, Iran and other countries. Chapter 10 provides information on urbanization, literacy, the formation of a reading public, the rise of a middle class, language planning, and the formation of a Kurdish diaspora. This chapter deals with the non-linguistic aspects of standardization in the post-1918 period and, in this sense, is a continuation of Chapter 3.

The final chapter presents a brief summary of the findings of the study and concluding remarks. It is followed by a list of bibliographic references used throughout the text.

As a case study, this research provides considerable detail about the relationship between language and nation-building. Inevitably, much of the detail has not been synthesized on a theoretical level. This weakness, characteristic of case studies, is alleviated by Dr. Zgusta's introduction which provides a vivid picture of the extremely complex world of nationalism, language and minority status. The introduction puts the Kurdish case within the larger historical, comparative and global perspective on processes of national development.

This dissertation was defended in 1986 and deposited in early 1989, under the title *The Language Factor in National Development: The Standardization of the Kurdish Language, 1918-1985*. Covering the period ending in 1985, the manuscript has not been re-written in light of the political developments that changed the status quo in 1990-91, especially in the USSR, Turkey and Iraq. However, I found it necessary to refer to these developments in some chapters and footnotes, and to evaluate their impact on the Kurdish language. Other

changes include minor corrections, re-writing or adding a few paragraphs, incorporation of fresh data that became available after 1986, and addition of a few bibliographic references.

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INTRODUCTION

LANGUAGE, NATIONHOOD, AND MINORITY STATUS

Ladislav Zgusta

This book is about the Kurdish language and its standardization. Standardization of a language has two main purposes: first, to develop the nomenclature, terminology, and whole registers necessary when a language is to be used in many or all areas of modern, complex life; and second, to preserve unity of usage among speakers in various areas. This second task is particularly important in those cases where the speakers of a language live, like the Kurds do, as minorities in several states. Standardization is particularly necessary and difficult when the respective society wishes to absorb modern civilization while using its own language. Several European languages, such as English and French, developed their standard variety slowly; it was a linguistic process that was concomitant to and simultaneous with the development of society. Many European languages had to cope with the necessity of developing their standard in the nineteenth century, when many a nation switched to using its own language in all the registers; such was the case, e.g., of Czech or Romanian. However, some of the European languages developed their standard variety only as recently as the twentieth century, e.g., Albanian or Slovak. Many non-Western languages are coping with the task now. However, in every language, irrespective of whether its standard has been established only recently or not, the standard keeps evolving: standardization is not a task that would once occur and then disappear when satisfactorily solved. Life keeps changing and therefore, yesteryear's satisfactory solutions must be modified again and again, according to new or changed needs always arising. In the case of a language like Kurdish, attempts at standardization have a deep historical background, largely involving and influencing questions concerning the role the language can and will have in the more complex societal functions. Considered from this point of view, the success

or failure of standardization is closely connected with the role a language like Kurdish has as the main element identifying the nation and as one of the main rallying points of the nation as a whole.

In this sense, then, this book is about the Kurdish nation and its language. This simple statement immediately begs the question: what is meant by the word 'nation?' There are more ways of understanding or even defining the term than we can discuss here, but probably for most speakers of English, there are two basically different, if not mutually exclusive, ways to use the word: either in reference to a group of people who share a common language (and usually also culture), or in reference to a group of people who live in one state or state-like organism.

In the first case, one could use the word 'nationality' instead of 'nation,' or one could talk about the 'ethnicity' of that group of people. For instance, one can talk about the Slovak nation living (as of this date, early 1992) in Czechoslovakia, or the Breton nation living in France, or the Frisian nation living in the Netherlands and in Germany, or the German nation having lived up to 1870, in several separate, independent states.

The second, political usage of the word 'nation' has little to do with ethnicity. When we say that 'all Americans are one nation,' we are talking about their being citizens of one country, not about their mother tongues, languages, or ethnical backgrounds. This political understanding was if not introduced, then certainly made explicit at the end of the eighteenth century in revolutionary France: 'la nation française' unequivocally comprised also speakers of Breton, German, Provençal--who were expected to prefer French, the language of Revolution and Freedom, anyhow. Some political nations comprise speakers of dozens of literary languages, and of many more only spoken ones; the Indian nation certainly is the best example of such a situation. Citizens of such multilingual nations are frequently referred to with names that are not connected with the name of a language. Americans and Indians have already been mentioned. Citizens of the former Soviet Union were usually called the Soviets, an artificial designation (Russ. soviet = council; the backbone of the country's administration purportedly were various citizens' councils). Similarly, the Swiss do not derive their name from any language; and in Swiss German, they are usually referred to as 'die Eidgenossen,' which can be translated as 'the Confederates,' but which in a morpheme-to-morpheme translation yields something like 'the participants of the oath' (namely the oath by which the country was founded).

There is a wide variation of usages, opinions, understandings, and approaches in this area. Various students of these notions and terms proposed various other requirements, definitions, and interpretations. For instance, some require the group of people, or at least most of them, to live together in a contiguous territory to be considered a nation. A requirement like this would, however, exclude, e.g., Gipsies, in spite of their linguistic unity. Some other scholars would, on the other hand, exclude both territorial and linguistic unity as

necessary features of nationhood; otherwise, how to categorize the Jews outside of Israel? Constitutions of some states (such as India or the defunct Soviet Union) differentiate expressions such as 'nation' as an administratively or politically higher-status term and 'nationality' as a lower one, with differing consequences as to the official and educational use of the respective languages. In spite of all the efforts at definitional clarity, real life creates so many unique situations that no classification is honed well enough to cover them all in a principled way. Questions like the following can always arise: Are the French Canadians a part of the French nation or are they a French speaking nation of their own? Or are they part of the Canadian nation with French ethnicity? Or are they in a sense all of the above? Or all of the above, plus something else?

There also is a tendency to talk about a 'nation' only in reference to linguistic groups that live above a certain level of cultural standard; one would be hard put if one were expected exactly to quantify such a requirement, but in spite of that, one usually speaks about various aboriginal tribes in Australia, and in some states, e.g., in India, this usage and reference to 'tribes' and 'tribal languages' is anchored both in general usage and in official nomenclature and legal formulations. But, even given the same or a closely similar level of cultural standard, differences in religion and ties to different cultural contexts can have a strong influence on nationhood: for instance, the Serbians and the Croatians speak what is generally considered one language and since 1918 they had lived in one state with the same level of cultural standard, at least in a broad understanding; however, the traditional or rather historical, cultural differences between the Western-centered, Catholic Croatians and the more Eastern-oriented, Orthodox Serbs are such that the idea of one nationhood (in whichever sense) has but few adherents. On the other hand, such divisive influence is not necessarily, in every case, stronger than the opposite centripetal tendencies: in spite of the Germans' linguistic split into speakers of High and of Low German, in spite of their split into Catholics and Protestants that resulted in one of the most horrible wars in European history (1618-1648), and in spite of their having lived for centuries in different independent states, the Germans remained one nation.

The political development of Europe and of other parts of the world in the last centuries was such that the ethnic and the political understanding of the notion of 'nation' tended more and more to coincide. It is by now felt as typical, or--to use modern terminology--prototypical, that the absolute majority of the speakers of Italian are citizens of the Italian state, which, in its turn, consists overwhelmingly of them; that most speakers of French are citizens of France; that most Germans are citizens of Germany--the German-speaking Austrians are one of the difficult cases created by history. This tendency toward a one-to-one correlation of ethnicity and statehood, and to the resulting confluence of the ethnical and the political understanding of nationhood, received strong support from President Wilson's principle of the self-determination of nations which was launched (without a definition of the term 'nation') at the end of World War I; this concept of 'self-determination' was one of the underlying principles of the

A different situation obtains when a nationality becomes a minority. There are various types of cases. So, for instance, there are cases in which a nationality as a whole is a minority in one state; e.g., the Bretons in France. Another type of situation is such that a nationality is split between two or more states; this is the case of the Kurds, but also of the Basques living in France and Spain, or (an extreme case) the Gipsies, living in more states than is useful to enumerate. Yet another type is such that the body of a nationality lives in a state of its own, but that smaller parts of it live in other states; for instance, there is the Danish minority in Northern Germany, the Hungarian minority in Rumania, and many others. Why is the minority status usually or at least frequently considered disadvantageous? It is not necessarily that such a status is a bad one; for instance, the Italian speaking population of Switzerland does not consider itself an Italian minority; they consider themselves Italian-speaking Swiss. Cultural differences can be overcome as well: the Parsees in India (Zoroastrians who emigrated from Iran after the Muslim conquest, keeping their religion and partly also their language) do not consider themselves a separate political entity. These are some of the cases where the political nationhood has prevailed over the ethnical one; the condition for such a development is the greatest possible tolerance of all the participants in the situation.

On the contrary, the worst type of situation obtains when a minority lives in a state which is openly hostile to it. There is no need to discuss this situation at length, as we have seen so much persecution of minorities in the last decades. In such a situation, the very existence of the language and of the national identity is jeopardized. But even in a liberal, democratic, legal state, the linguistic minorities sometimes are uneasy about their situation. This uneasiness can have various roots. Sometimes it is simply the minority's nostalgia for the heyday, an admiration of one's past glory; it would seem that such is the case of the speakers of Welsh in Wales, or of Provençal in Southern France.

Sometimes, the majority can simply be inattentive to a cultural idiosyncrasy, or distinctness, of the minority. For instance, the French revolution brought a trend to give to children first names with meanings like 'Kill the Aristocrats,' or else 'Café Ballard.' To put a stop to this, a law was voted in the year XI of the Republic, that is, in 1804-5, which allowed only names contained in accepted lists of first names, or else known from ancient Greek and Roman history to be given as first names. The law is still valid, and so, only a few years ago, a Breton father had to undertake a long and costly lawsuit to be able to give idiosyncratically Breton names, elsewhere unknown, to his children and have them officially registered.

Apart from cases of inertia, neglect, or open hostility, however, it must be clear that the modern centralistic or, at least, highly organized and all-intruding state and economy do not favor the use of many languages in the administration and, generally, in running the daily business of life in specialized schools (such as universities), central offices (of the government and of big business), etc; and this not necessarily out of malice, but simply because it is

subsequent peace treaties, particularly those which ratified the disappearance of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the Ottoman Turkish empire from the map of Europe.

In spite of this, there are states in today's Europe (some of them created after World War I) which comprise more than one ethnic nation; for instance, Switzerland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia. Notice that the sequence of these examples also shows that the degree of these states' stability may vary: in these early days of 1992, Yugoslavia appears to be sloughing and its neighbor on the scale may follow suit one day; constant, if interrupted, squabbles between the French-speaking and the Flemish-speaking population do cause frequent governmental crises in Belgium without undermining the state, however; and in Switzerland, a linguistic problem is practically non-existent.

On the other hand, there also are ethnic groups, or nations in the ethnic sense, that do not live in one state. Such a division sometimes was caused by some recent political events; such is the case, for instance, of North and South Korea, and until recently, of North and South Vietnam, and East and West Germany. On the contrary, the Kurds have had to live divided in different states since time immemorial, in recent centuries, mostly in the Persian and the Turkish Empire. Since the curtailment of the latter in the aftermath of World War I, the main body of Kurds has had to live in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and in what was the Soviet Union. The main difference between a situation like the Korean one and that of the Kurds is not, however, one of time depth; the difference is that both Koreas are Korean states, strongly differentiated by distinct political ideologies, but quasi-united, or at least rendered similar, by language and by older cultural traditions. A comparable situation obtained in the former South and North Vietnam, and in East and West Germany, with the linguistic minorities (such as the Sorabian one to the east of Dresden) being negligible. On the contrary, the Kurds are not only split into several states but they themselves are a minority in each of them.

Why is such a situation usually considered disadvantageous for the respective nation? If the political split creates two (or more) states in both of which the same nationality has the status of the majority, and particularly if the split is but recent (as in the case of Korea), the linguistic and, to some extent, cultural unity keeps alive for quite a long time the feeling that those two areas belong together, whatever the regimes involved may do to make the split sharper: we have recently seen that in the case of the former two Germanies. However, over time, a tendency towards divergences (rooted in various cultural, political, geographical, demographic, and other circumstances) may create more or less distinctly different national identities; the differentiation of the Austrians from (the rest of) the Germans was brought about in this way and a differentiation of, e.g., the Australians and Canadians from the British nationhood has been taking place in our times while the differentiation of the Americans is only slightly older. That some, but not all, cases of such processes are fully peaceful goes without saying.

costly (requiring more personnel or a more educated personnel) and unwieldy (limiting the mobility of the specialized employees). These are not necessarily malicious stratagems constructed for the discrimination of a minority language group; frequently, there are simple and innocent pragmatic reasons that determine the selection of only one or a few languages as the official means of communication in such enterprises as exemplified; India, Nigeria, and many other states are cases in point. There also are other circumstances; for instance, the highly increased frequency of international contacts and of scientific and other cooperation fosters the use of 'big,' international languages in communication or publication of results of research, etc. This state of affairs, i.e., the selective preference for one or more languages for official purposes does not cause much harm to the language of a minority if the language in question is not restricted to the minority status. For instance, the minority status of German in Northern Italy, in the area called Alto Adige in Italian and Südtirol in German, entails no disadvantage or danger to the German language as a whole, since it also is the language of Germany, Austria, and partly also Switzerland.

On the contrary, if a language is spoken only in a minority situation, and particularly if it is not used for running an autonomous administration, for teaching and discussing research in universities, and for publishing works, both belles-lettres and scientific (to name only a few areas of human effort), several registers normally present in any standard language necessarily tend to remain undeveloped: the administrative, and perhaps also the legal register; the terminology needed to discuss scientific topics and to conduct higher education, etc. A language such as Frisian, spoken only by a minority in Germany and another one in the adjacent part of the Netherlands, can find itself in such a situation, clearly felt as somewhat weakened; that is, not fully developed in all the registers. This example pertains to such liberal, democratic states as today's Germany and Holland; we can easily imagine what the situation may be in a repressively centralistic or even dictatorial state in which the effort to attain the one-to-one correlation of political and ethnical nationhood is being made. As an example, the situation of Catalan during the Franco regime in Spain may be quoted: it was banned from schools, administration, etc. Catalan is a language with an old literary and cultural tradition of its own, and it is spoken by several millions of speakers; also, the hostile regime existed for only some thirty years: still, any expert on Catalan will be able to give examples of how Catalan was weakened during that time and that an effort was needed to make up for it when democracy was restored with and by the monarchy. The case of Korean, suppressed during the 35 years of Japanese occupation, provides another example of such a situation. In weaker languages, suffering a longer period of suppression, various processes of decay can be started; ultimately, language death may threaten. It must be stressed, however, that while the political atmosphere is important, the ultimately decisive factor in each situation is the attitude of the respective community. Ireland has been independent for seventy years now and in spite of governmental support, Irish does not make any

observable progress in spreading among the population, rather the contrary: so strong are the practical considerations concerning the advantages and disadvantages of a 'big' language and a 'small' one; still, hardly any English-speaking Irishman will consider himself anything but a member of the distinct Irish nation. The political nationhood prevails here again.

What can a nation (in the ethnic sense of the term) that is split into territories of several states while being a minority in each of them do to preserve its identity? The first thing that comes to mind is, of course, upkeeping the language; but, in a sense, every cultural property or feature can be important. During the centuries the Poles were divided between Prussia (later Germany), Russia, and Austria, it was not only their language but also their Roman Catholicism that maintained their Polishness, particularly against the Orthodox Russians and the Protestant Prussians. As far as language is concerned, the main means for preserving it is to use it: language lives not by patriotic or chauvinistic outbursts, nor by learned efforts at inventing the necessary technical terms nobody uses because everybody writes in the language of the majority, nor by obscure literary attempts at writing texts few will read, but by being used in speaking and writing in all normal everyday situations, formal or informal, at all levels of society. Also, an effort is necessary to keep the language spoken in different states 'identical' (if there is anything like that). For instance, the situation of Basque, a minority language spoken in an autonomous area of Spain and in several adjacent districts of centralistic France, was scarcely improved by the long inability of the Basques to develop a unified orthography to be used on both sides of the border.

However, as already stated, language, while being overwhelmingly important, is not everything; preserving a cultural unity across the border(s) and an identity at least somewhat contrasted from the majorities is just as important. The study by Dr. Hassanpour treats all the single facets of these multifarious tasks and discusses how the Kurds have tried to cope with them in the several states in which they live as a minority. Naturally, the focus is on the preservation of the linguistic unity across the borders by standardization; once achieved, standardization then helps the language to spread into more registers and to be used in the more formal and pragmatically more complicated situations of life. Considered from this point of view, this book is one of the most exhaustive descriptions of such an effort at preserving and fostering ethnical nationhood with all its interlocked complexities. This detailed discussion of the various efforts at maintaining the ethnic nationhood in daunting situations over a long historical period and in changing political circumstances seeks its equal in the pertinent literature.

What remains is to ask the ultimate question: is such an effort really worth while? Let us leave aside the political nationhood: the relative advantages and disadvantages, putative or real, of the ethnically national state and the ethnically multinational state are not the real subject of Dr. Hassanpour's book (although nobody will doubt that at least since the early nineteenth century, a strong loyalty

to the ethnic conception of nation also entails a desire for political nationhood). But even the preservation of the ethnical nationhood in an infelicitous situation requires no small effort, so what is the value gained by it?

An easy answer is at hand: since our mother tongue is determined by the place where and by the parents to whom we are born, we are imbued with it (together with the culture with which it is connected) from our childhood and we usually continue being educated and living in its sphere; it thus becomes a part of our personality, probably the strongest or at least one of the strongest habits that we have; hence, people usually identify with it and have a strong sense of loyalty to it. Consequently, a struggle for the preservation of an endangered language largely results from this sense of loyalty, from a fidelity to oneself and one's closest ones. While all this is self-evident, we cannot fail to see that, for instance, the strength of the feeling of loyalty varies not only synchronically, from one person to another, but also diachronically, during history. In Europe, it was weaker during the age of Enlightenment (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) but started sharply increasing in the nineteenth century, after the Herderian Romanticism. Such a variation, however, entails that the value of one's language preservation is not an absolute, but a flexible or relative one. Also, people develop various loyalties, not only the linguistic one: there are loyal fans of athletic clubs; of political parties; believers of the exclusive excellence and, therefore, precedence, of their own social class, low or high; and, last but not least, believers and loyal members of various religions and churches. Such loyalties may vary in the importance of seriousness of the purpose, but all of them can be very strong, to the degree of extremism and fanaticism. Is there a way to show the importance of a (or any) single club, or a (or any) political party, of a (or any) church to the non-fan, to the apolitical person, to the nonbeliever? Clearly, only by reference (if such be possible) to a principle or value higher than the single club, party, church, etc. From all these considerations, it follows that the questions concerning the value of an attempt at the preservation of a language (and its culture) must go deeper than to the layer of personal loyalty.

To find an answer to such a deeper question is not easy, particularly because we are living in a time when, on the one hand, there are no (or--let us be optimistic--nearly no) generally held beliefs, no unquestionable values, no values considered self-evident, or universal, or unchangeable; but on the other hand, it is fashionable, or it agrees with the zeitgeist, to present one's opinions in a humanitarian or even moralizing (usually called compassionate) vein. Therefore, overtly egotistic slogans like the nineteenth century English 'right or wrong--my country' or the Italian (of the same epoch) 'sacro egoismo' are not felt to be as acceptable today.

By the same token, our epoch is both anti-elitist and anti-exclusive, but not culturally egalitarian enough to maintain that such components of a culture, as say, human sacrifice, or head hunting, would be worthy of preservation because they were genuine and performed without personal, individual malice; such

a large degree, of single minor nations) consists in the preservation of the rich variety which their totality, their sum, provides, and in the preservation of the broadest possible gamut of human attitudes to the world and its puzzles. Each language and each culture has something individual, something non-existent elsewhere. The differences in the attitudes to the world and life contained in single cultures and expressed in the respective languages are sometimes great and sometimes imperceptibly tiny; but in any case, their totality is richer than any part of the whole, and the loss of any subtracts from the total wealth. Hence, preservation of a language is not necessarily only a matter of personal loyalty (which can, admittedly, be of quite heroic, self-immolating proportions); the preservationist's task renders a service to humanity and is culturally a positive one if undertaken in a non-exclusive, non-chauvinistic spirit, which is the spirit that permeates Dr. Hassanpour's important book.

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institutions as blood revenge, sometimes extending to whole clans, probably are not deemed worth perpetuating even by the most permissive gurus of our days; hence, one cannot maintain that 'everything goes': some change and some loss of cultural components is accepted—only the repertory of such 'rejectable' features seems to be rather narrow, at least for some of us. Nor are we Romantic enough not to realize that nothing or not much will happen to mankind and its culture as a whole if one or another language or culture (or, in other words, nation) disappears, in the same way as humanity and its culture as a whole were not destroyed when even such overwhelmingly important languages as Latin and cultures as Ancient Greece declined.

A cooly rational adherent of the ideals of enlightenment could maintain that in our days, the selection of only some languages for official purposes and for scientific discussion is the price that we pay for what is termed 'progress' or 'development.' Indeed, an enlightened monarch such as Joseph II (Emperor 1765, in full power, 1780-1790), one of the 'enlightened despots' of the day, strong pushed that the use of German in the whole Austrian empire, not out of malice, but because he found it more effective to run a single empire with one single language. (For comparison, he also forbade, for instance, the use of coffins for burial, because of the waste of wood.) So, if language is the means of communication, why not use the most efficient one at hand?

On the other hand, when one hears (as I did in 1956) a young Ossetic linguist saying that it is a waste of effort to go on talking, and particularly trying to write, in all the registers of a language spoken by a few hundred thousand people when a fully developed language like Russian is at hand, one somehow is not fully persuaded, or pleased, either--although one perceives the reasonableness of the point and cannot fail to notice that this is exactly the line pursued by thousands and possibly millions of speakers of minor languages, whether in the Anglophone, Francophone, or any other area of irradiation of a powerful language and culture in the world. One cannot even complain about this being their policy, because the opposite idea, namely, ultimately to develop all the scientific and technical registers in all the languages in the whole world, would represent an impossibly huge effort, at least for today's means and conditions: hence, it is only natural that, for instance, scientists of whatever origin use the so-called international languages instead of trying to develop the terminologies and registers in each language of the world. This also partly explains the constantly spreading use of English across cultures during our times, the only precedent of which seems to be, to some extent, the use of Latin in the Middle Ages.

Within this framework of today's attitudes, but trying to look beyond them, one could perhaps say that, while there are languages and cultures whose import to the general development of mankind was, or is, more extensive and productive than that of other ones, and that, therefore, such languages and cultures are of prime usefulness particularly for higher education anywhere, the value of the preservation of single minor languages and cultures (and hence, to

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I am indebted to many friends for their moral and material support throughout the difficult years over which this study was conducted. Special mention is made of Robert and Elizabeth Abramson, Mary Hegland, Jamil and Afkham Mardukhi, and Thomas and Janice Ricks.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE KURDISH SPEECH COMMUNITY

This chapter provides basic information on the geography and population of the Kurdish speech community, dialects, and a brief outline of differences between the two major dialect groups, Kurmanji and Sorani.

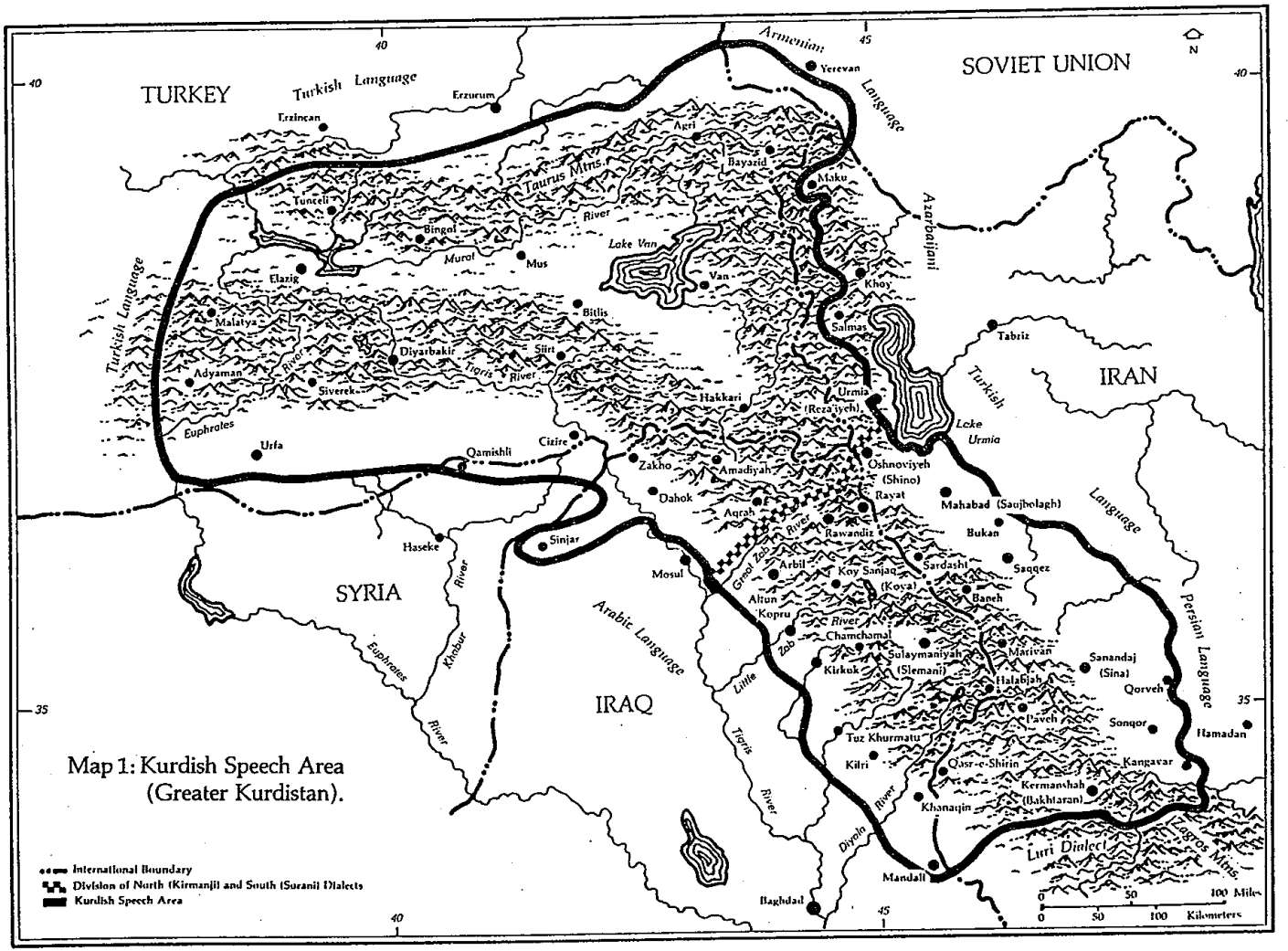
1.0.0 The Kurdish Speech Area

This section deals with the geographical distribution of the Kurdish language. It provides information on the division of the Kurdish speech community among five neighbouring countries of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the USSR.

1.1.1 Greater Kurdistan

The territory inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community is called, in Kurdish, *Kurdistan* i.e., "land of the Kurds." The boundaries of Kurdistan cannot be exactly defined since they do not coincide with international borders or internal administrative divisions. The central governments refuse to provide ethnic or linguistic maps of the country on which the Kurdish speech areas can be properly identified.

The Kurdish speech area occupies northwestern parts of Iran, southeastern Turkey with overlaps into the USSR, parts of northeastern Syria and northern Iraq. The greater part of Kurdistan is a highland lying astride the numerous parallel ranges of two mountain systems, the eastern extension of the Taurus and the northern extension of the Zagros; but on the southwest it spreads across a belt of foothills to the Mesopotamian plain. Lake Van in Turkey lies at an altitude of 5,000 feet (1,500 meters) in the angle where the two systems meet (cf. Map 1). There is a great variety in climate, with temperatures varying between -40°



Map 1: Kurdish Speech Area (Greater Kurdistan).

F (-40° C) in eastern Turkey and the summer maximum of about 110° F (43° C) in the plain (Edmonds 1981:199-200).

1.1.2 The Kurdish Speech Area in Turkey

The Kurdish territory in Turkey is located in the southeastern corner of the country (cf. Map 2) and consists, according to Jafar (1976:42-43), of 14 of the country's 67 provinces: Adiyaman, Agri, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Elazig, Erzincan, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Tunceli, Urfa, and Van. The region is geographically both contiguous and continuous and has, generally, the same or similar natural conditions.

The total surface of the area is 157,137 km^2 which constitutes 20.3% of the total territory of Turkey. It is mostly mountainous and watered by many rivers (*Ibid.*).

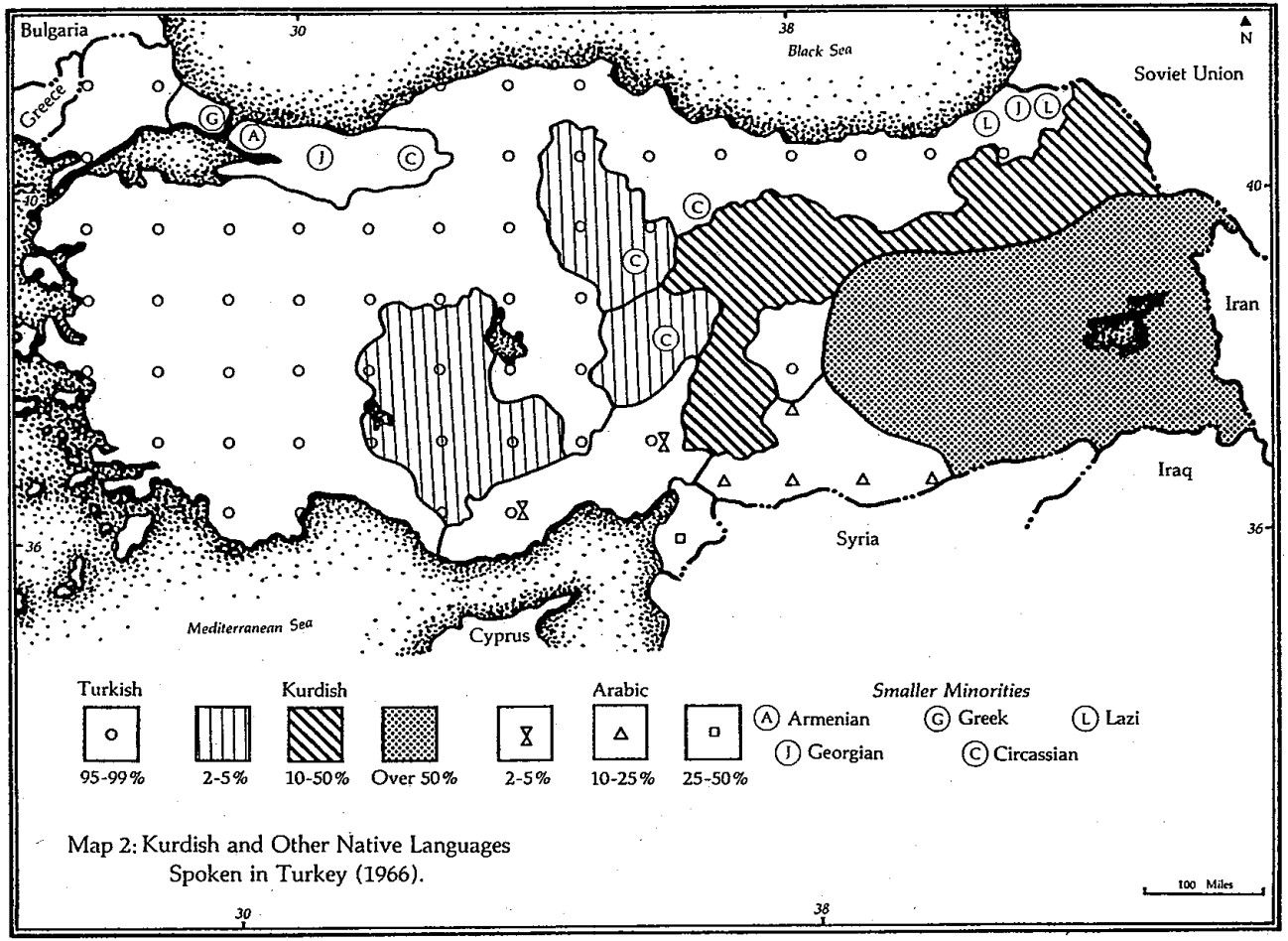
1.1.3 The Kurdish Speech Area in Iraq

The Kurdish areas of Iraq (cf. Map 3) cover roughly 74,000 km^2 (17%) of the total territory of the country's 438,446 km^2 (Vanly 1980:157). The Autonomous Region (cf. Map 5), established in 1975, has a total area of 37,284 km^2 (Dahok 6,374, Arbil 14,428, Sulaymaniya 16,482) which constitutes 8.50% of the total territory of Iraq, 438,446 km^2 (Republic of Iraq, *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, 1976 p. 17).

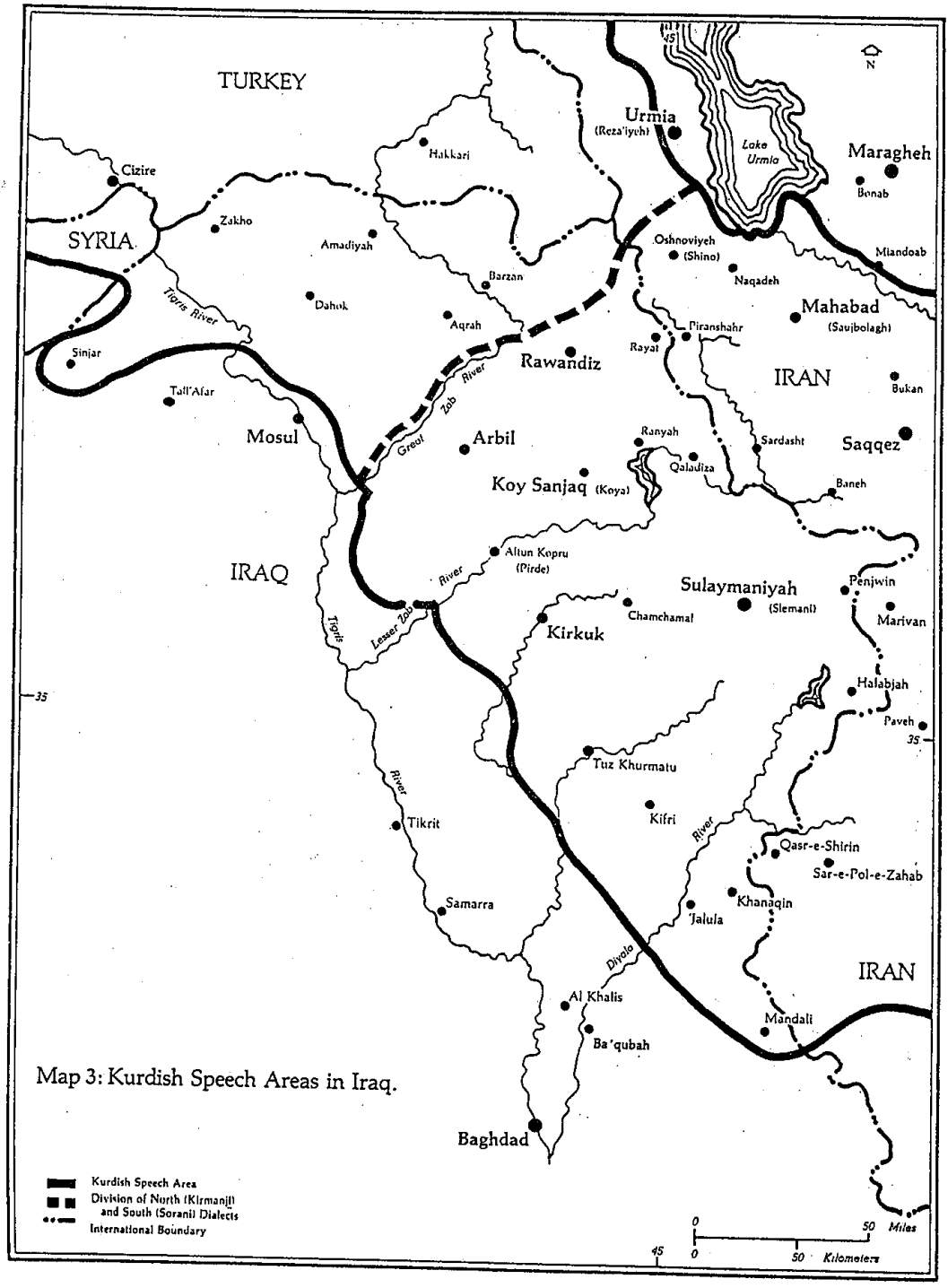
The present territory of Iraq comprises three provinces (*vilayet*) of the Ottoman empire--Mosul, Baghdad and Basra--which were known in the West as "Turkish Arabia" or "Mesopotamia." Under the British occupation (1918) and Mandate (1920-32), the three provinces were renamed Iraq and a new administrative division composed of 14 *liwa*s (under *mutasarrif*s or Governors) was adopted. The Kurds came within the confines of the five *liwa*s of Mosul, Kirkuk, Arbil, Sulaymaniya and Diyala (cf. Map 4). *Liwa*s were subdivided into *qadha*s (large districts under *qaimmaqam*s), which were further subdivided into *nahiya*s (smaller regions or counties, under *mudir*s).

Five *qadha*s of Mosul *liwa*--Zakho, Dahok, Aqra, Amadiya and Zebar--were Kurmanji Kurdish and together they correspond to the territory of the former Kurdish principality of Badinan. Zibar *qadha* was divided between Mosul and Arbil *liwa*s in 1944.

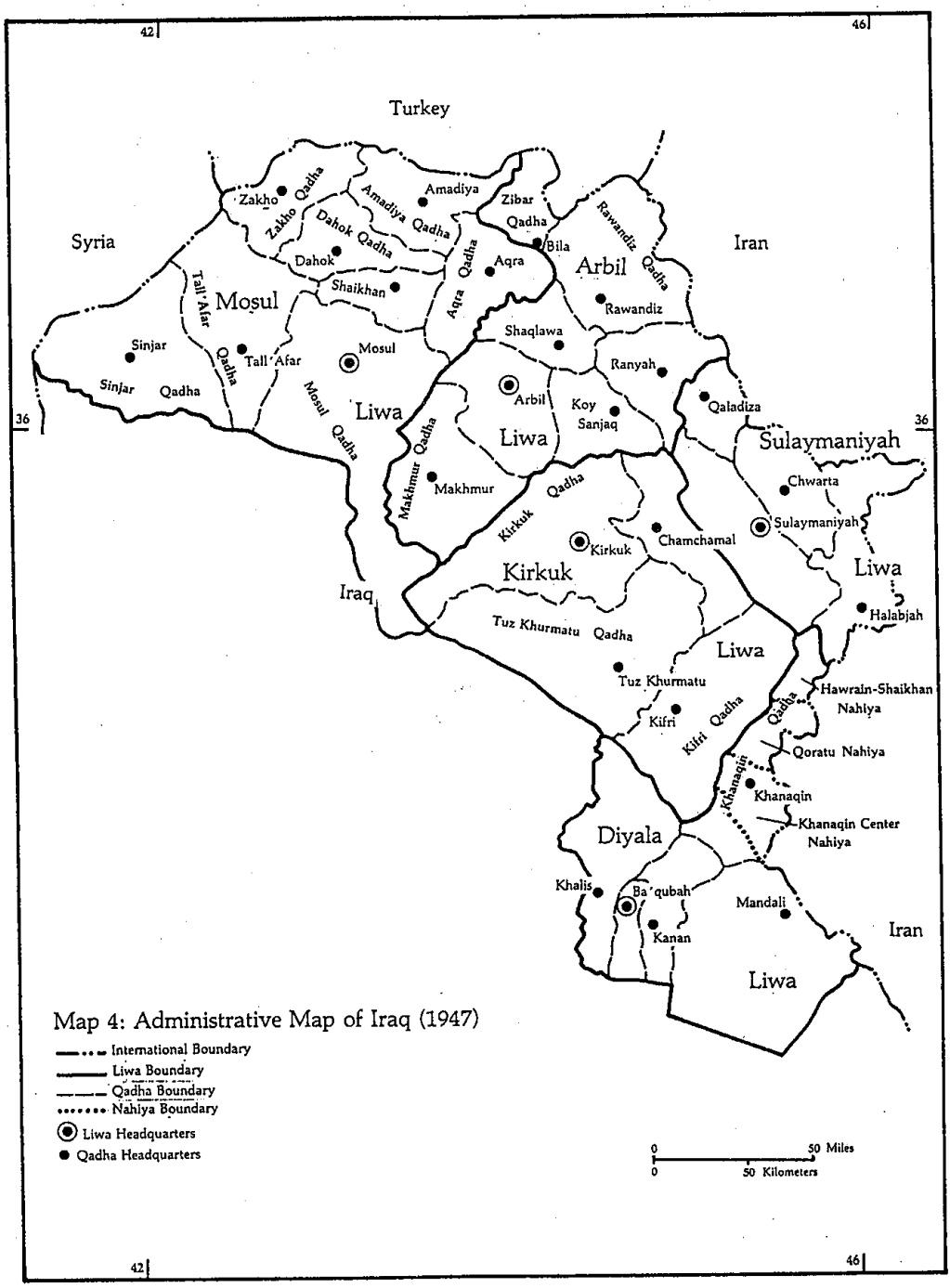
In 1975, eighteen *muhafaza*s (governorates) were created, three of which--Sulaymaniya, Dahok and Arbil--formed the "Autonomous Region" (cf. Map 5). However, a number of *qadha*s and *nahiya*s with a majority (over 50% according to Edmonds 1957:438-40 estimate) Kurdish population were left out: In Al-Ta'meem (Kirkuk) Governorate, the three *nahiya*s of Qara Hassan, Shuwan, and Altun Kopri; in Nineveh (Mosul) Governorate, the three *qadha*s of Sinjar, Shaikhan, and Aqra; in Diyala Governorate, the three *qadha*s of Khanaqin, Mandali, and Kifri; in Salahadin Governorate, one *nahiya*, Qadir Karam.

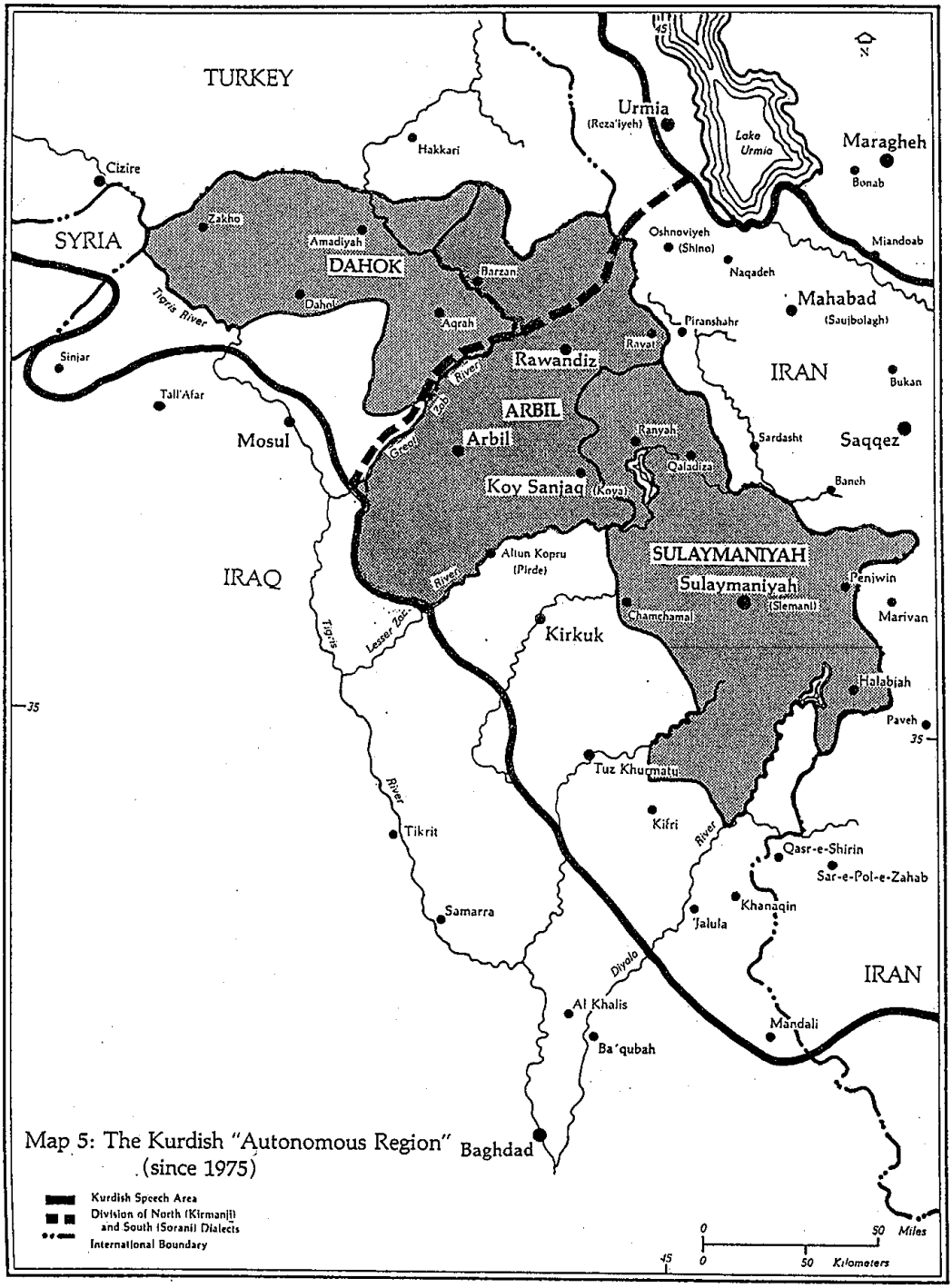


Map 2: Kurdish and Other Native Languages Spoken in Turkey (1966).



Map 3: Kurdish Speech Areas in Iraq.


42
46
Turkey
Syria
Iran
Iraq
Zakho
Zakho Qadha
Amadiya
Amadiya Qadha
Zibar
Qadha
Rawandiz
Qadha
Dahok
Dahok Qadha
Bila
Arbil
Aqra
Qadha
Shaikhan
Rawandiz
Mosul
Tall 'Afar
Aqra Qadha
Shaqlawa
Sinjar
Tall 'Afar
Qadha
Mosul
Ranyah
Sinjar
Qadha
Arbil
Koy
Sanjaq
Qaladiza
Liwa
Mosul
Qadha
Liwa
Sulaymaniyah
36
36
Makhmur
Qadha
Makhmur
Chwarta
Kirkuk
Qadha
Sulaymaniyah
Kirkuk
Chamchamal
Kirkuk
Liwa
Halabjah
Tuz Khurmatu Qadha
Liwa
Tuz Khurmatu
Hawrain-Shaikhan
Nahiya
Kifri
Kifri Qadha
Qadha
Qoratu Nahiya
Khanaqin
Khanaqin
Khanaqin Center
Nahiya
Diyala
Khalis
Ba'qubah
Mandali
Kanan
Iran
Liwa
42
46
Map 4: Administrative Map of Iraq (1947)
International Boundary
Liwa Boundary
Qadha Boundary
Nahiya Boundary
Liwa Headquarters
Qadha Headquarters
0
50 Miles
0
50 Kilometers



Map 5: The Kurdish "Autonomous Region" (since 1975)

Kurdish Speech Area
Division of North (Kirmanji) and South (Sorani) Dialects
International Boundary

1.1.4 The Kurdish Speech Area in Iran

The Kurdish region of Iran (cf. Map 6) is divided among the three northwest provinces of West Azerbaijan, Kordestan and Bakhtaran (formerly Kermanshah in Persian and Kirmashan in Kurdish). Iran is the only country that uses the name Kurdistan (Kordestan, in Persian pronunciation) for part of the territory. According to one estimate (Ghassemlou 1980:108), the Kurdish areas of Iran occupy 125,000 (7.6%) of the total 1,640,000 km^2 of the country's territory (cf., also, 1.1.7).

1.1.5 The Kurdish Speech Areas in Syria

The majority of the Kurds live in the northeastern part of the country which forms, in ethnic terms, an extension of Turkish Kurdistan into Syrian territory with parts of it bordering on Iraqi Kurdistan (cf. Map 7). Three regions–Northern Cizire (Jzira), Kurd-Dagh and Ain-Arab–are predominantly Kurdish. Unlike other parts of Kurdistan (in Turkey, Iran and Iraq) which are geographically and ethnically homogenous, these three regions are separated from one another by Arab populated stretches of land (Nazdar 1980:211-13).

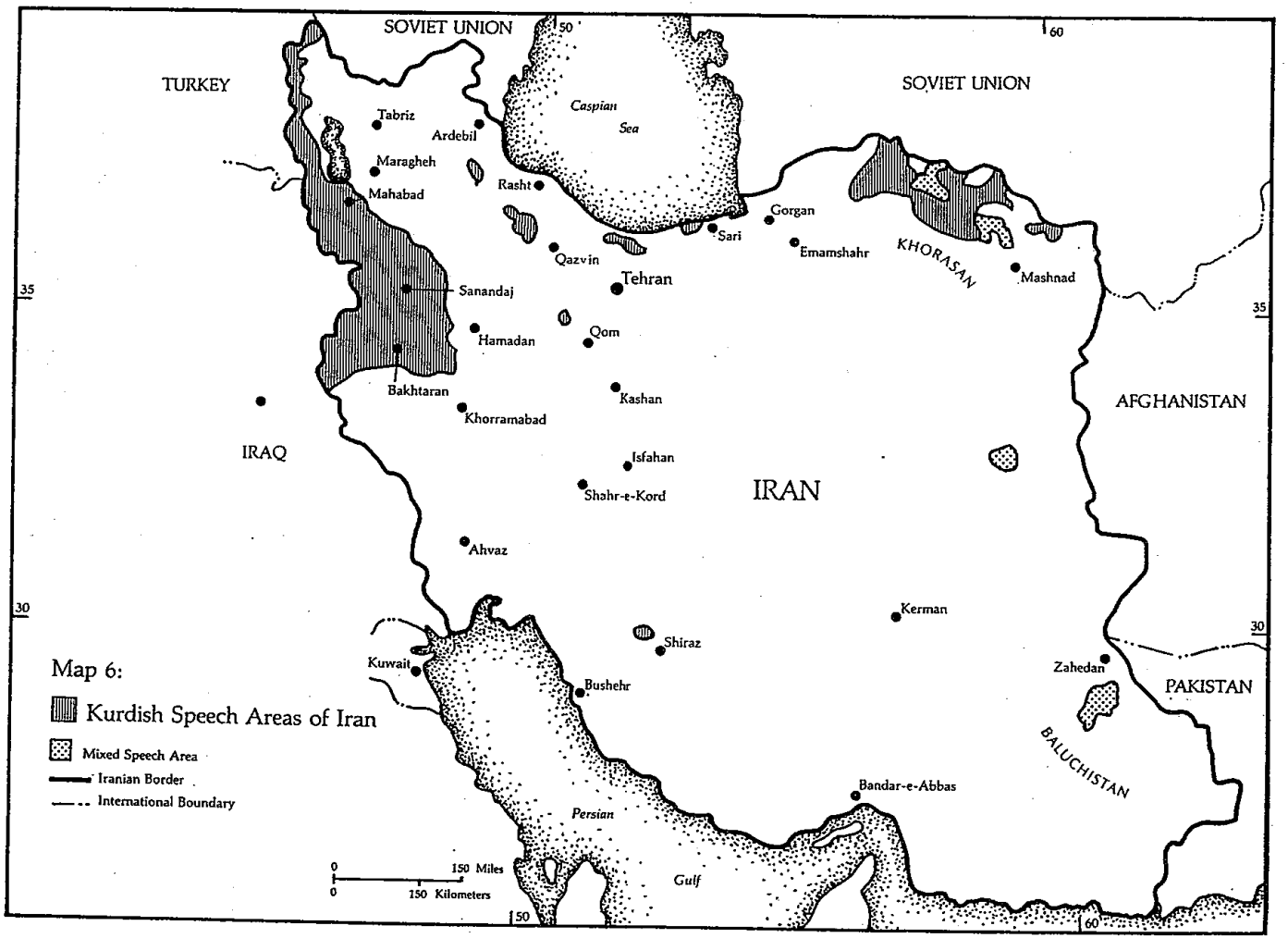
1.1.6 The Kurdish Speech Areas in the USSR

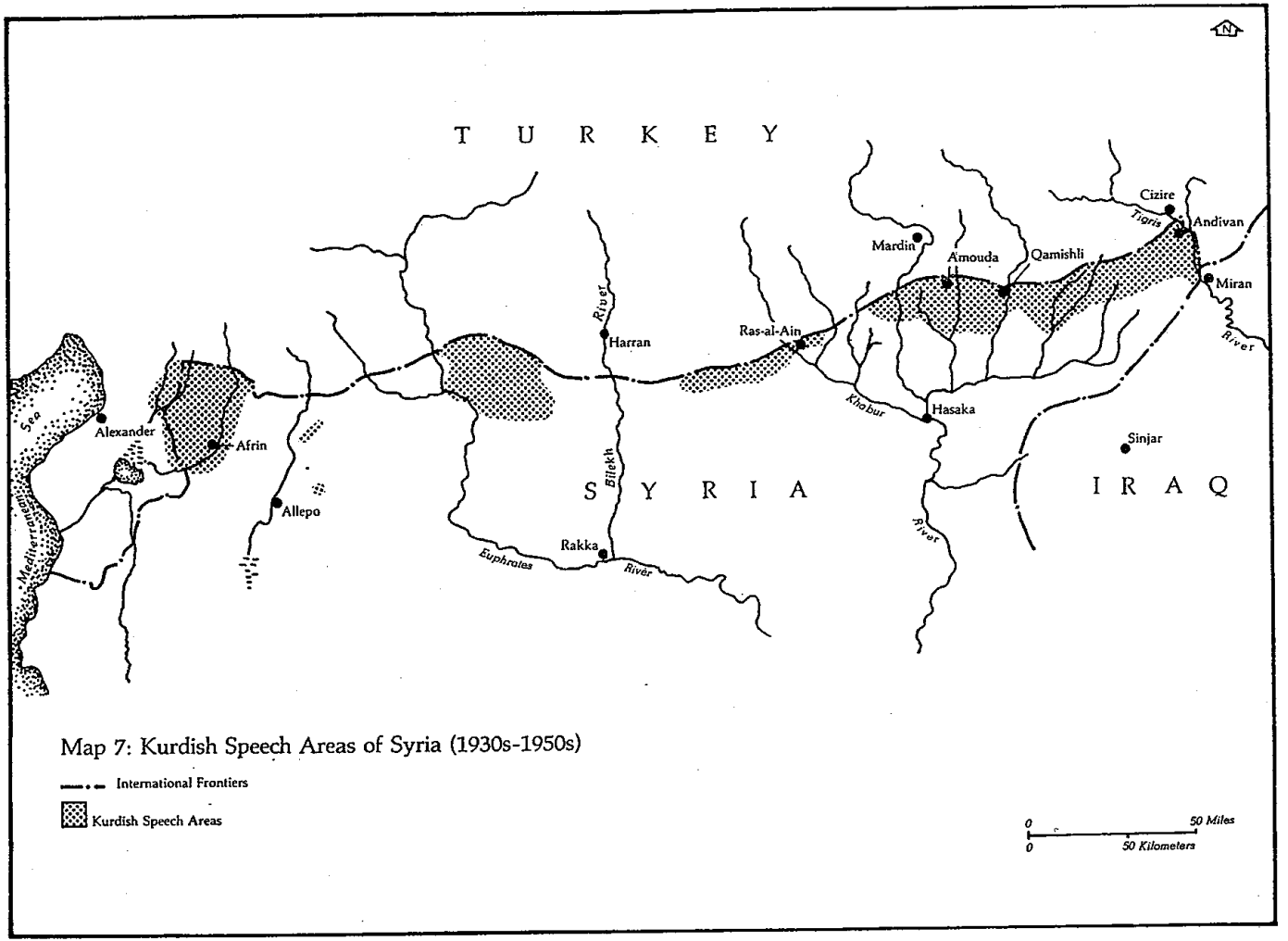
According to 1970 official data 42.2% of the Kurds live in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic mostly to the south of the capital city Yerevan and on the Soviet-Turkish border (cf. Map 8). The rest are scattered in the Georgian (23.3%), Kazakh (13.8%), Kirghiz (9.0%), Azerbaijan (6.2%), Turkmen (3.3%) Republics and elsewhere (2.3%) (Akiner 1983:210).

1.1.7 The Kurdish Speech Areas Outside Kurdistan

Entire Kurdish communities (tribes, peasants, townspeople) have been forced into migration by the central governments, especially since the 17th century (cf. 3.1.2). The largest Kurdish community lives some 600 miles to the east of Kurdistan in the province of Khorasan in northeast Iran (cf. TSukerman 1986). Its population was estimated at one million in 1979[1]. There is also an extension of this community across the border in the Soviet Turkmen Republic where its people are being rapidly assimilated (cf. Bakaev 1962; 5.5.0). Deported Kurdish communities are found also in the province of Baluchistan in southeast Iran (Bestor 1979) and in Pakistan (*Gel/al-Sha'b*, No. 19, October 1985, pp. 3,9). Smaller communities live around Qazvin and the Caspian Sea in Iran (cf. Map 6). The Kurds of Khorasan, the Turkmen Republic and Qazvin speak in Kurmanji dialect.

In Turkey, Kurdish colonies live in Cihanbeyli, Haymana, Kurtoghe, Tokat, Çankiri, etc. (Kendal 1980a: 48). In Iraq, some 200,000 Kurds were

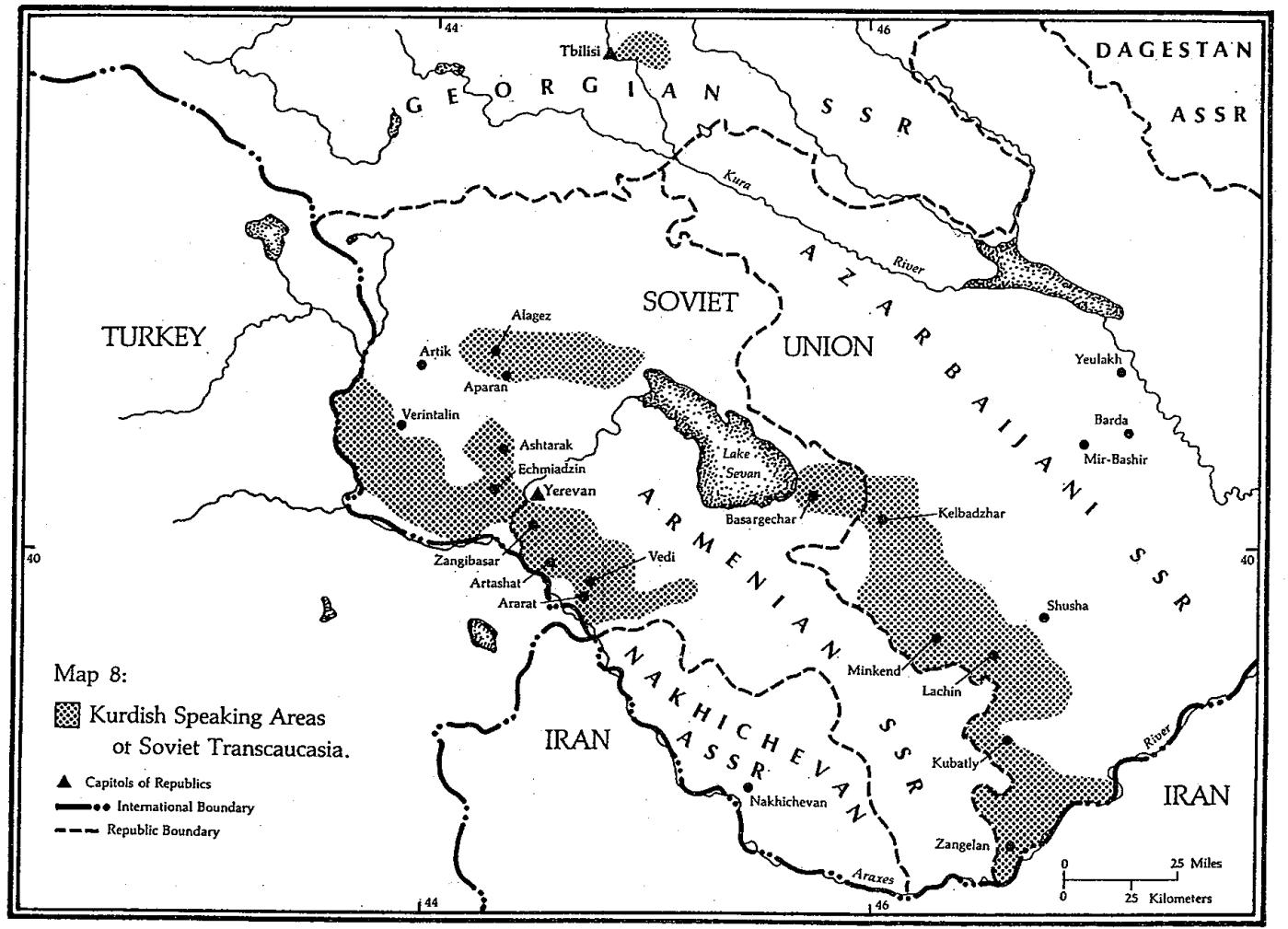

SOVIET UNION
TURKEY
SOVIET UNION
Caspian Sea
Tabriz
Ardebil
Maragheh
Mahabad
Rasht
Gorgan
Sari
Emamshahr
KHORASAN
Mashnad
Qazvin
Tehran
Sanandaj
Hamadan
Qom
Bakhtaran
Kashan
Khorramabad
AFGHANISTAN
IRAQ
Isfahan
Shahr-e-Kord
IRAN
Ahvaz
Kerman
Shiraz
Kuwait
Bushehr
Zahedan
PAKISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
Bandar-e-Abbas
Persian Gulf
0 150 Miles
0 150 Kilometers
50
60
35
30
Map 6:
Kurdish Speech Areas of Iran
Mixed Speech Area
Iranian Border
International Boundary



Map 7: Kurdish Speech Areas of Syria (1930s-1950s)

International Frontiers

Kurdish Speech Areas



Map 8:

Kurdish Speaking Areas of Soviet Transcaucasia.

▲ Capitols of Republics

International Boundary

Republic Boundary

transferred by the government to Nasiriya (Thi-Qar), Diwaniyya (Qadisiyya), Muthanna (the deserts near Samawa), Ramadi (the Habbaniyya marshlands west of Baghdad and the surrounding steppes), and to Amara (Maysan province, near Basra) (Vanly 1980:201; cf., also, 5.1.9).

There are some 60,000 Kurds in Lebanon. They are mostly refugees from the Turkish repression of the 1920s-1940s and Syria's Arabization program of the 1960s (cf. 5.3.0. and 5.4.0.).

1.2.0 The Size of the Kurdish Speaking Population

Enumerated at eight million speakers, Kurdish ranked 70th among the top 200 languages of the word (Décsy 1983:132). In a more recent count (20 millions) it ranked 40th (Leclerc 1986:55, 138). The relative numerical strength is, however, undermined by the division of the language between five states that do not allow linguistic and cultural contact within the fragmented but territorially homogeneous speech community.

Exact figures for the size of the Kurdish speech community are not available. This is primarily due to the reluctance of the central governments to reveal the ethnic diversity of their countries generally and to admit the existence of a sizeable Kurdish population in particular. Iran and Iraq have only once, throughout their history, publicly released figures on the number of speakers of each language, while no information from Syria has come to light. Turkey, where the very existence of the Kurds is denied, and the USSR are the only countries that have released census figures on the Kurdish language speakers.

Another problem is the unreliability of the official figures since they tend to minimize the population[2]. To compensate for this deficiency, Kurdish sources, relying on their knowledge of geographical distribution of the Kurds, impressionistic knowledge of population density, annual rates of growth, etc, present their own figures which are usually considered as inflated by third party observers. Figures are thus available that may be labelled "moderate" or "extremist," "objective" or "non-objective," and undernumerated or inflated.

An "objective" estimation based on information and figures available in 1967 was made by C.J. Edmonds (1971:92), a specialist on Kurdish affairs in Iraq during the British Mandate and, later, advisor to the Iraqi Government. Other impartial estimates are provided by van Bruinessen (1978:22) and McDowall (1985:7) whose update for 1980 depends on percentages of Kurdish population calculated by the former and applied to the latest available census figures (cf. Table 1)

Estimates by Kurdish nationalists (cf. Table 2) are of a "moderate" and "extremist" type. The figures in Table 2 are to be considered moderate. In the 1980s, the total population was estimated at no less than 20 million to 20.1 million by More (1984) and 22 million by Zaza (1982:255). Estimates of the percentage of Kurdish population within each country also vary considerably (cf. Table 3).

Table 1. Moderate Estimates of Kurdish Population

(in thousands)

	1967[a]	1975[b]	1980[c]
Turkey	3,200	7,500	8,455
Iran	1,800	3,500	3,701
Iraq	1,550	2 to 2,500	3,105
Syria	.320	.500	.734
USSR	.80	.100	.265
Lebanon	—	—	.60
Total	**6,950**	**13,500-14,000**	**16,320**

Sources: [a] Edmonds (1971:92); [b] van Bruinessen (1978:22); [c] McDowall (1985:7)

Table 2. Estimation of Kurdish Population during 1970-76 by Kurdish Nationalists

Country	Population	Kurds	% of Total
Turkey[a]	35,700,000 (1970)	8,500,000	23.8
Iran[b]	28,258,800 (1970)	4,521,280	16.0
Iraq[c]	11,124,000 (1975)	3,000,000	28.0
Syria[d]	7,500,000 (1976)	825,000	11.0
USSR[e]		278,000	
Total		**17,124,280**	

Sources: [a] Kendal (1980a:47-48); [b] Ghassemlou (1980:108); [c] Vanly (1980:156-157); [d] Nazdar (1980:211); [e] Kendal (1980b:221-2)

Table 3. Estimates of the Percentage of Kurdish Population

Country	van Bruinessen (1978:22)	More (1984:21)
Turkey	19	24
Iran	10	16
Iraq	23	27
Syria	8	9

1.2.1 The Kurdish Speaking Population in Turkey

Turkey is a multilingual society (cf. Table 4) in spite of several decades of planned Turkification of all the minorities. Arabic follows immediately behind Kurdish in terms of numerical strength. The data from the two censuses of 1935

Table 4. Population of Turkey by Mother Tongue, 1935-65

Language	1935		1965	
	,000	(%)	,000	(%)
Turkish	13,899	86.0	28,289	90.1
Kurdish	1,480	9.3	2,219	7.1
Arabic	154	1.0	365	1.2
Greek	109	0.7	48	0.2
Circassian	92	0.6	58	0.2
Armenian	58	0.4	33	0.1
Georgian	57	0.4	34	0.1
Yiddish**	43	0.3	10	--
Lazi	63	0.4	26	0.1
Other	138	1.1	309	1.0
Total	16,157	100.0*	31,391	100.0*

* % does not total because of rounding. ** Judao-Spanish *Source:* Dewdney (1971:88).

and 1965 show increasing Turkification of all languages (cf. 5.3.0) except possibly Arabic which shows a slight percent increase. The ratio of Kurdish population was reduced from 9.3% to 7.1% in thirty years (cf. Table 4).

Kurdish was in direct contact with Armenian in the area surrounding and north of Lake Van until the genocide of the Armenian nation by the Ottoman government in 1915. At present, the immediate neighbours are Turkish and Arabic (cf. Map 2). For more census figures on Kurdish language in Turkey cf. 5.3.0, Jafar (1976), and Kendal (1980b).

1.2.2 The Kurdish Speaking Population in Iraq

Official figures on the languages of Iraq were released only once following the 1957 decennial census; Kurdish language speakers ranked second, forming 16.4% of the total population (cf. Table 5). According to estimates made by Edmonds (1957:438-40) on the basis of the first census (1947) figures, the Kurdish population was 900,000 comprising 18.6% of the total population of 4,816,000. These estimates provide some insight into the density of Kurdish population in each *liwa* (cf. Table 6).

Table 5. Official Population Figures for "Original Languages" of Iraq, 1957

Language	# of Speakers	%
Arabic	5,018,962	79.16
Kurdish	1,042,774	16.44
Turkish	136,806	2.15
Kaldanian** & Assyrian	61,053	0.96
Iranian [Persian]	21,200	0.33
English	8,337	0.13
Indian	3,068	0.04
French	886	0.01
Others	27,480	0.43
Indefinite [Undeclared]	19,394	0.30
Total	**6,339,960**	**100.00**

*Percentages do not total because of rounding
Source: Republic of Iraq, *Statistical Abstract*, 1963, p. 126.

It must be noted that the percentages for Mosul (35.0%) and Kirkuk (53.0%) do not correctly portray their densities at that time since most of the non-Kurdish population was concentrated in the two major cities of Mosul and Kirkuk leaving the rural areas predominantly Kurdish. The ratio of Kurdish population, especially in Kirkuk, Diyala and Mosul *liwas*, has changed since 1963 due to Arabization of the oil rich and strategic area (cf. 5.1.9 and Map 12). Soon after the formation of the Autonomous Region, the following population figures were given: Dahok 217,000, Arbil 493,000 and Sulaymaniya 656,000, making a total of 1,366,000 which was 11.87% of the total population of 11,505,000 in 1976 (Republic of Iraq, *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, 1976, p. 52).

Table 6. Percentage of Kurdish Population in Northern Liwas of Iraq, 1947

Liwa	Total Population	Kurds	(%)
Sulaymaniya	222,700	222,700	100.00
Arbil	240,500	218,995	91.00
Kirkuk	285,900	151,575	53.00
Mosul	602,000	210,970	35.00
Diyala[1]	110,200	27,360	65.60
Other Places[2]	n.a.	23,400	
Total		**900,000**	

[1] Khanaqin and Mandali only [2] Baghdad & elsewhere
Source: Edmonds (1957:430-40); % provided.

1.2.3 The Kurdish Speaking Population in Iran

The first nation-wide census of Iran was conducted in November 1956, followed by two decennial censuses in 1966 and 1976. None of the detailed census reports includes any information on the linguistic or ethnic composition of the population. Based apparently on the 1956 census, figures for the speakers of nine languages were released in an article published in the journal of the Statistics Office (Shahin 1960:101). The only other estimate on languages of Iran based on official sources are the calculations made by a Soviet researcher, G. M. Petrov, who used the data from the Iranian Army's 10-volume Geographical

Dictionary of Iran (Aliyev 1966:64). The dictionary gives population figures for every village and town and indicates the language(s) spoken without numerical breakdown of bi- or multilingual locations (cf. Table 7).

In spite of the different percentages found in the two sources, it is obvious that the official language of the country, Persian, was not the mother tongue of more than half the population. Turkish (Azerbaijani) ranks second followed by Gilaki according to 1956 census figures and by Kurdish according to the other source. The under-numeration of Kurdish in the census is quite obvious from the map in the cited source, (Shahin p. 102), which identifies the mostly Kurdish-inhabited areas to the west of Lake Urmia (i.e., Iran-Turkey border areas; cf. Map 6) as entirely Turkish.

Table 7. Population of Iran by Mother Tongue

	Census		Geographical Dictionary	
	1956		1949-53	
	#	%	#	%
Persian	9,500	50.1	7,445.1	40.1
Turkish	3,910	20.6	4,525.2	24.3
Gilaki	1,160	6.1	877.3	4.7
Luri	1,080	5.6	973.5	5.2
Kurdish	1,060	5.5	1,632.4	8.8
Mazandarani	920	4.8	685.2	3.6
Baluchi	430	2.2	541.2	2.9
Arabic	380	2.0	458.5	2.4
Turkmani	330	1.7	227.6	1.2
Armenian	115	0.6	134.9	0.7
Assyrian	70	0.3	70.0	0.0
Other	15[c]	0.0	1041.9[b]	5.6
Total	**18,960**	**100.0**	**18,549.8**	**100.0**

[a] Echo of Iran: *Iran Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1976 (Fifth Edition), Tehran, 1976, p. 357. [b] This figure includes 11 languages/dialects added up here for convenience. [c] Pashtu, Tajik and Taleshi; (*) Percentages provided.

Sources: A: Shahin (1960:101); B: Aliyev (1966:64)

1.2.4 The Kurdish Speaking Population in Syria

Official figures on the size of the speech community are not available. A French mandate official gave 110,000 as a "moderate" estimate in the late 1930s (Rondot 1939:97-99). A Kurdish source, Nazdar (1980:211), provided an estimate of 825,000 in 1978 of which 85,000 lived in Arab towns and regions. The forced migration and Arabization of the Kurds are discussed in chapter 5.

1.2.5 The Kurdish Speaking Population in the USSR

The Kurds in the Soviet Union are divided, from the religious point of view, into two groups–Moslems and Yazidis. The following figures are based on official sources[3] (Akiner 1983:210-213):

Table 8. Population and Language Use of the Kurds in the USSR

	1926		1959*	1970	1979
	Kurds	Yazidis			
Total Population	**54,661**	**14,523**	**58,799**	**88,930**	**115,858**
% claiming Kurdish					
as Mother Tongue	34.4	96.4	89.9	87.6	83.6
% claiming Russian					
as Mother Tongue	0.1	0.2	2.9	3.8	4.8
as Second Language	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	19.9	25.4
% with good knowledge of a third language					
as Mother Tongue	65.2**	3.2	--	8.6	11.6
as Second Language	n.a.	n.a.	--	36.2	40.7

* From 1959 the Yazidis are included with the Kurds.
** For an unknown reason, 42.9% of the Kurds in Azerbaijan SSR claimed Turkish as mother tongue (cf., however, 5.5.0).

Source: Akiner (1983:210-13).

The data show increasing bilingualism and multilingualism and gradual, though slow, de-Kurdization of the speech community (on the Kurdish language in the USSR, cf. Bakaev 1973; on Soviet policy toward Kurdish, cf. 5.5.0).

1.3.0 Dialects

The numerous dialects of Kurdish are roughly divided, for the purpose of this study, into two dialects or, rather, dialect groups–Kurmanji and Sorani. There are two more groups: one called Hawrami by the Kurds (Avrami or Avramani, in Persian) and Gorani/Gurani in Western literature; the other is a heterogenous group called, here, Kirmashani after the name of the major city Kirmashan (Kirmanshah in Persian, renamed Bakhtaran in 1979).

1.3.1 Dialect Names and Grouping

Many dialects have remained as yet unstudied; a satisfactory classification in not, thus, possible. Kurdish sources do, however, agree on isolating four groups though there is no consensus on naming them.

The Kurds inhabiting the northern parts of Kurdistan call themselves *Kurmanj* and their speech *Kurmanji*, while Sorani-speakers call themselves *Kurd* and their speech *Kurdi*. In the Kurmanji literary dialect, however, Kurd/Kurmanj and Kurdi/Kurmanji are used interchangeably (e.g., as early as the 17th century in Ahmadi Khani's *Mam and Zin* (cf. 4.3.0; cf., also, Bayazidi 1858/9:73-202). In Iraq, Kurmanji has also been called "Badinani" after the name of the former Badinan principality (cf. Map 10) the border of which roughly corresponds with the Kurmanji speaking areas of Iraq (cf. Map 3). The name is pronounced Kirmanji in Sorani.

"Sorani" is a recent labelling after the name of the former principality of Soran (cf. Map 10). Objections have been made to this name on the grounds that the name of one dialect, Sorani, spoken in the region Soran, should not be extended to cover a group of dialects (cf., e.g., Rasul 1971:33). The labelling is, however, widely used and it is unlikely that it will be replaced by any alternative nomenclature. To avoid ambiguity in this study, Sorani will be used as the name of the dialect group while Soran will be retained for the few references to the subdialect spoken in the region known as Soran.

The other groups, Hawrami and Kirmashani, have not played any noticeable role in the standardization of the language and, as such, are only marginally referred to in this study. Hawrami is structurally different from the other dialects except the related Dimili (local Kurdish name) or Zaza (Turkish name) spoken in Turkey. The fourth group includes heterogenous dialects most of which have not been studied yet. The largely Persianized city of Kirmashan is the location of one of the better known dialects of the group.

Another group, *Luri*, is spoken by Lurs most of whom live in Luristan in Iran. It is considered a Kurdish dialect by Kurds and a Persian dialect by others.

It is beyond the scope of this study to prove or disprove the Kurdishness of the Lurs and their speech. Their exclusion is simply due to the fact that the Lurs in Iran have not been within the mainstream of the literary and linguistic life of Kurdistan and have left no impact on the standardization of the language. The smaller Lur community of Iraq known as Fayli do, however, consider themselves Kurds and adopt Sorani Kurdish as their literary language (for background information on Lurs cf., e.g., Minorsky 1936; Amanolahi 1985). Table 9 provides alternative dialect names used by different sources.

Table 9. Some Alternative Names for the Dialect Groups

This Study	Zabihi (1977:42)	Nebez (1967:33)	MacKenzie (1981)
Kurmanji	North	North Kirmanji	Northern Group
Sorani	Central	Middle Kirmanji	Central Group
Hawrami	Hawrami/Zaza	Gorani/Zazayi	[Non-Kurdish]
Kirmashani	South	South Kirmanji	Southern Group

1.3.2 Dialect Population

The numerical strength of dialects cannot be determined accurately except in Iraq where estimates can be made on the basis of the 1947 census figures calculated for the Kurdish speaking regions of Iraq (cf. 1.2.2. and Table 10).

Table 10. Population by Kurdish Dialect in Iraq

Region	A	B	C
	# of Kurds	Dialect	% of Total
Mosul *Liwa*	210,970	Kurmanji	23.4
Kirkuk *Liwa*	151,575	Sorani	16.8
Arbil *Liwa*	218,995	Sorani	24.3
Sulaymaniya *Liwa*	222,700	Sorani	24.7
Khanaqin & Mandali	72,360	Kirmashani/Fayli	8.0
Baghdad & elsewhere	23,400	Unknown	2.6
Total	900,000		100.00

Sources: A. Edmonds (1957:440); B and C provided.

There can be little doubt that Kurmanji is, on the all-Kurdistan level, spoken by no less than 50%. Two impressionistic estimates give the following percentages: Kurmanji 62% and Sorani 38% (Vanly 1959:7) and Kurmanji 63-64%, Luri 16% and Sorani 20% (Akrawy 1982:18). The population of Hawramani speakers was estimated in the 1960s at 10,000 persons (Hawraman region) and 4,000 to 5,000 houses for the "Gurans" (MacKenzie 1971:292; 1965:1139)

1.3.3 Subdialects of Sorani Group of Dialects

A subdivision of the Kurmanji into Eastern and Western, each with literary records, has been suggested by MacKenzie (1981:479). For the purpose of this study the Sorani group has been divided into the following subgroups and subdialects:

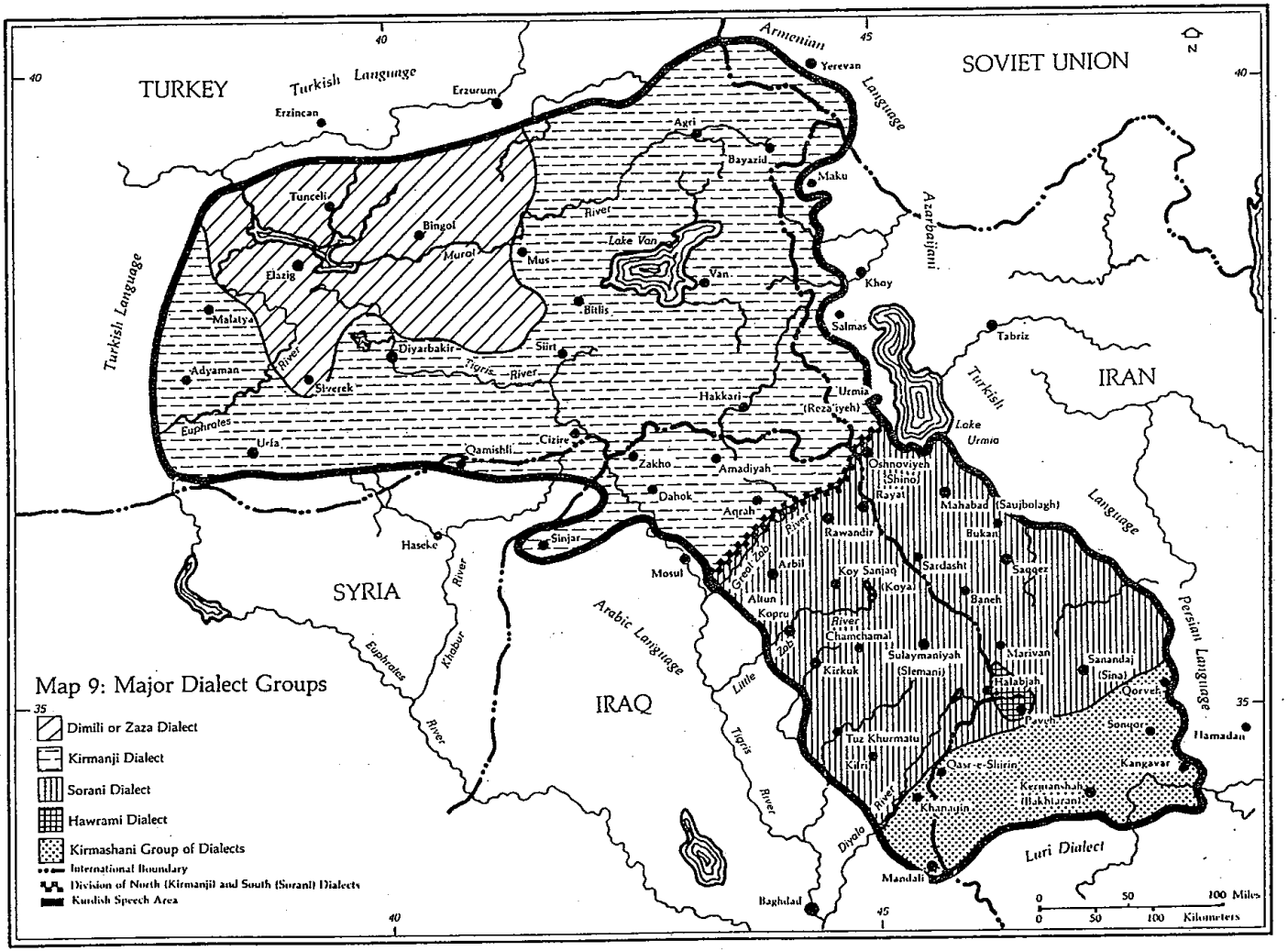
Subgroup & Subdialect	Other name(s)	Major City	Country
"SULEMANI"			
Sulemani	Silemani, Slemani	Sulaymaniya	Iraq
Sinayi	Sanandaji, Ardalani	Sanandaj	Iran
"MUKRIYANI"			
Soran	Sorani	Arbil, Rawandiz	Iraq
Mukri	Mukriyani	Mahabad, Bukan	Iran

These four major subdialects are subgrouped, on the basis of phonemic and morphological features, into two blocks that have not been named yet. The differences have, however, acquired considerable significance in norm selection (cf. 8.1.0, and Map 14) and are, therefore, labelled and written as "MUKRIYANI subgroup" (including the subdialects of Mukri and "Soran") and "SULEMANI subgroup" (including Sulemani and Sinayi).

1.3.4 Location of the Dialects

Kurmanji is divided among five countries while Sorani is found in Iraq and Iran only:

1. *Kurmanji*: All the dialects in Turkey except Dimili, all the dialects in Syria and the USSR, the dialects in the former *qadhas* of Mosul (cf. Map 4 and 1.1.3), Syria, the areas to the north of Oshnaviyeh (cf. Map 9) and northern parts of Khorasan province in Iran (cf. Map 6).
2. *Sorani*: Arbil, Sulaymaniya, and Kirkuk *Liwas* (divisions in Iraq


TURKEY
SOVIET UNION
IRAN
IRAQ
SYRIA
Armenian Language
Turkish Language
Azarbaijani Language
Persian Language
Luri Dialect
Yerevan
Erzurum
Erzincan
Agri
Bayazid
Maku
Tunceli
Bingol
Elazig
Mus
Lake Van
Van
Khoy
Malatya
Bitlis
Salmas
Tabriz
Diyarbakir
Siirt
Adyaman
Siverek
Hakkari
Urmia (Reza'iyeh)
Lake Urmia
Urfa
Qamishli
Cizire
Zakho
Amadiyah
Oshnoviyeh (Shino)
Rayat
Mahabad (Saujbolagh)
Dahok
Aqrah
Rawandiz
Bukan
Haseke
Sinjar
Mosul
Arbil
Koy Sanjaq (Koya)
Sardasht
Saqqez
Altun Kopru
Baneh
Kirkuk
Sulaymaniyah (Slemani)
Marivan
Sanandaj (Sina)
Halabjah
Qorveh
Tuz Khurmatu
Kifri
Qasr-e-Shirin
Kangavar
Kermanshah (Bakhtaran)
Khanaqin
Mandali
Baghdad
Hamadan
Euphrates River
Khabur River
Tigris River
Great Zab River
Little Zab River
Diyala River
Map 9: Major Dialect Groups
Dimili or Zaza Dialect
Kirmanji Dialect
Sorani Dialect
Hawrami Dialect
Kirmashani Group of Dialects
International Boundary
Division of North (Kirmanji) and South (Sorani) Dialects
Kurdish Speech Area
0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers

before 1975, cf. Map 4), Mahabad, Oshnaviyeh, Bukan, Saqqez, Sanandaj, Marivan in Iran.

3. *Hawrami*: Iran-Iraq border (cf. Map 9) near Paveh, and very small scattered pockets of villages east of Mosul (Shabak dialect).

4. *Kirmashani*: Bakhtaran (former Kirmanshah), Sonqor, Qasr-e-Shirin, Kamyaran (in Iran) and Khaneqin area (in Iraq).

1.3.5 Basic Linguistic Differences Between Kurmanji and Sorani

A detailed survey of the linguistic features of the two dialects is beyond the scope of this dissertation which focuses on the standardization of the Sorani dialect. Nevertheless, a brief synopsis of the basic differences between the two major dialect groups is relevant for the discussion of a number of standardization issues.

Two comparative surveys of Kurmanji and Sorani are available. MacKenzie's (1961-62) study, based on ten months of field work in Iraq in 1954-5, takes the dialect of Sulaymaniya (representing Sorani) and the dialect of Aqra (representing Kurmanji) as a basis for a "descriptive grammatical sketch" and describes other dialects of each group to the extent that they differ from these two. Since the author was not permitted by the Turkish Government to study the dialects in Turkey, MacKenzie has critically used the data collected by other students of the language to give a more comprehensive picture of dialect differentiation in all parts of Kurdistan. The second major comparative study is Kurdoev's (1978) grammar based mostly on written data. It provides abundant examples and tables summarizing the main features. Nebez (1976) is a comparative survey of the two dialects written for unification purposes.

The features distinguishing the two dialects or subdialects within each group are mainly morphological. Differences on the phonological level are (cf. Table 54 for the phonemic chart of Sorani): (1) the S(orani) /l: ĺ/ contrast does not appear in Kurmanji (Kj.), (2) /ŋ/ found in some S. subdialects is lacking in Kj., (3) the Kj aspirated distinction /p t k: p t k /, probably borrowed from Armenian, is lacking in S., (4) the Kj. "emphatic" (i.e., velarized) consonants /s̲, t̲, z̲/, probably borrowed from Arabic, do not appear in S. (except occasionally in Sulemani).

Morphological differences include, among others, (1) the definite suffix *-eke* appears only in S., (2) the S. verb suffix *-ewe* appears as preverb *ve-* in Kj., (3) S. pronominal suffixes *-(i)m*, *-(i)t*, etc are lacking in Kj., and (4) the Kj. distinction in case (normative and oblique) and gender (masculine and feminine) in nouns and pronouns is lacking in S. (some of these distinctions appear to a very limited extent in Mukri and other subdialects of S.).

A feature not found in Kj. is Sorani's peculiar treatment of subject and object inflections in the past tenses of transitive verbs. Here, the inflectional suffixes of transitive verbs in the past tenses occur not necessarily on the verb

itself (as in *send+î* 'took+he, he took (it)'), but rather on the first item in the clause after subject position. Thus, in the following sentences (selected from examples quoted by McCarus 1964:308) all translatable as 'He took them from us,' the subject marker *-î* appears after

a) direct object:
ewan+î le ême send
them+he from us took

b) prepositional phrases:
le ême+y send+in
from us+he took+them

lê+man+î send+in
from+us+he took+them

c) verb + object suffix:
send+in+î lê+man
took+them+he from us

d) preposition:
lê+y send+in+în
from+he took+them+us

Kj. has a full oblique case system for both nouns and pronouns while S. has largely abandoned this system and uses the pronominal suffixes to take over the functions of the cases (MacKenzie 1961a:80).

There is no clear-cut single line dividing the two dialect groups (cf. MacKenzie 1961:220-25 for a list and chart of the major isoglosses). For example, some of the subdialects of Sorani, notably Mukri and Pishdari, share morphological features with Kj. Another dialect, Surchi (Sûrçî) which straddles the Kurmanji/Sorani borderline in Iraq is S. in phonology and predominantly Kj. in morphology (cf. Fuad 1970: xxvi-xxix, for another brief comparative sketch of the two dialects).

1.3.6 Mutual Intelligibility

No empirical study of inter-dialectal mutual intelligibility has been made. Speakers of the two dialects do communicate, with difficulty, in normal conversational situations. It is, however, appropriate to state that, until they have had considerable previous contact, the speakers of Kurmanji and Sorani are not able to communicate effectively *in all contexts*. This is borne out by the experience of all-Kurdistan organizations such as the Kurdish Students Society in Europe which had members from the Kurds of Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran. One

of the leaders of the Society, for example, noted that the seventeen participants in the third annual congress of KSSE in August 1958 had to use other languages besides Kurdish to fully understand each other (*Rojî Nö*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1961:31). Likewise, the Kurdish autonomist movement in Iraq (1961-75) used both dialects in clandestine broadcasting (cf. 7.4.6). Also, some Kurdish journals published by emigre intellectuals in Europe are bidialectal.

1.3.7 The Hawrami and Dimili Dialects

Sorani-speakers in contact with Hawrami (or Gorani) consider this latter dialect the "purest" and "oldest" variety of Kurdish. They are shocked to find out that European scholars class Hawrami and the related Dimili (or Zaza) dialects as non-Kurdish tongues. As early as 1921, Soane (p. 59) said, "the Gurani language itself has been termed a Kurdish dialect. It is, however, not so at all." According to Minorsky, a known authority on Kurds, "there cannot be any doubt" that Gorani is very distinct from Kurdish (1943:89). More recently, MacKenzie has not hesitated to emphasize in his works (e.g., 1981) the non-Kurdish nature of the dialect.

The fact that Hawrami is considered Kurdish by both Hawramis and speakers of other Kurdish dialects is well known to outsiders (Edmonds 1957:10). The two names are, in fact, often used interchangeably (cf., e.g., Minorsky's 1943:89 reference to Hajji Ni'mat-ollah). Although structural differences are enormous, Kurdish sources have strongly repudiated the arguments even on linguistic grounds. The most detailed rebuttal is Hawramani (1981).

While Hawrami speakers are small in number they have produced a rich literary tradition (cf. 4.1.1). The Dimilis are, on the contrary, more numerous (probably about one million) but without a written tradition. According to a recent study (Todd 1985:vi), "Dimili speakers today consider themselves to be Kurds and resent scholarly conclusions which indicate that their language is not Kurdish. Speakers of Dimili are Kurds psychologically, socially, culturally, economically, and politically."

The controversy is significant for this study in that it demonstrates the political drive of the Kurds to national unity, i.e., the formation of a unified nation. It may be noted that the Dimili-speaking area was the center of a major Kurdish revolt against Republican Turkey in 1925 and has since remained under martial law almost continuously (*Ibid.* p. v). The controversy is also an interesting example of the unsuitability of purely linguistic criteria in drawing a distinction between "language" and "dialect" (cf., e.g., Hudson 1980:30-37).

Chapter 1 Notes

1. This figure was given by "The Kurdish Community of Khorasan" (Jāmi'i-yi Kurdhā-yi Khurāsān) in a telegram sent to the Islamic government in Tehran in 1979 (Tavahhodi 1980: p. *s*).

2. Cf. Jafar (1976:86 note), on the problems of Turkish census figures and reasons for undercounting of the Kurds. Some observers (e.g., Howell 1965:62-63 and Qazzaz 1971:14) claim that the Kurds themselves, fearing government taxation and compulsory conscription, "have been extremely reluctant, for the most part, to permit the authorities of the governments under which they live to make accurate census." Relating census-taking to taxation and military service has, however, been a common concern of all the rural and tribal populations of Western Asia including the Arabs, Persians and Turks.

3. According to Soviet Kurdish academician Nadir Nadirov (quoted in London *Independent*, October 17, 1989), the 1989 Soviet census had revealed that there were 1,150,000 people of Kurdish nationality in the USSR. Explaining the disparity with the figure of 170,000 reported in the 1979 census, he referred to the artificial nature of the previous counts and the resurgence of Kurdish national feeling under *perestroika*. "Most of the Kurdish population was deported to Kazakhstan in 1937, and many forgot their culture and language. Now, however, Kurdish cultural centres had opened in a number of republics, and the language was once again being taught" ("New data on Soviet Kurds," *Central Asia and Caucasus Chronicle*, Vol. 8, No. 6, December 1989/January 1990, pp. 19-20). On the deportations, see Nadirov (1992).

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents review of literature, research question, scope and significance of study, research design, Romanization system used for non-Roman scripts, and glossary of terms.

2.1.0 Review of the Literature

This section examines the current state of research on the standardization of the Kurdish language, Kurdish nationalism and standardization theory.

2.1.1 Research on Kurdish Language and Nationalism

Although many descriptive studies of Kurdish are available, the study of the standardization process has been virtually neglected. An early work that bears on the non-linguistic aspect of the cultivation of the language is Jemal Nebez's (1957) brief survey of obstacles to the promotion of Kurdish in Iraq.

Standardization. The only monographic work dealing with aspects of standardization is Rasul's, "A Glance at the Unified Literary Kurdish Language" (1971). It consists of a synopsis of the Marxist theory of national literary language (pp. 8-16), a survey of literary dialects (pp. 17-25) and a prescriptive investigation of the unification of the two principal dialects (pp. 52-69). The study is not based on any concrete research and conclusions are mostly impressionistic. Thus, without relying on linguistic data, the writer claims that the present written Sorani standard cannot be identified "in any way" with the subdialect of Sulemani (p. 43) (cf. 8.3.2, Note 2). To cite another example, the author concludes that although Sorani standard has not been accepted by the entire Kurmanji speaking community, it is the only literary language (pp. 46-9). This view is not tenable even impressionistically (cf. chapters 4 and 9).

A more recent work, al-Basir's (1984) "The Kurdish National Language," is a proposal (presented to the Iraq Academy-Kurdish Corporation) for the "revival" of a "common," "national," Kurdish language which, he believes, existed before its split into the dialects of today. As a prescriptive survey aimed at dialect unification, al-Basir's work is of limited interest to this study (cf. 6.7.0).

The works of Nebez (1976) and Akrawy (1982) are prescriptive and aim at unification of Sorani and Kurmanji though the former includes useful information on some aspects of standardization (pp. 15-21, 78-87).

Although Kurdish has undergone extensive standardization in the post-World War I period, there has been a wide gap between theoretical knowledge of the process and the actual practice which involved the activities of not only individual language reformers but also the conscious efforts of several generations of other sectors of the intelligentsia. The gap is most apparent in the rare use of concepts such as "standard language," "codification," "standardization," and "normalization." The concept "unified literary language" has gained currency since the publication of Rasul's work (1971),[1] though "standard language" is being increasingly used especially in the 1980s.

Abdulla (1980) provides the first empirical study, based on written records, of the purification of Sorani Kurdish in Iraq, covering the period from 1924 to 1973. The evidence demonstrates a steady but sharp reduction of loanwords from 46.48% in the 1924-39 period to 4.46% by the early 1970s (cf. 8.3.2 and Table 57). Although purism is treated as a manifestation of Kurdish nationalism, the purpose of the study was to examine the larger issue of "the stages of the development of the Kurdish written language" and to arrive at "general conclusions regarding the development of a written standard language" (p. 1). Purification is, however, but one trend in the more complex process of codification of the written standard (cf. chapter 8). While Abdulla examines in some detail the purification of the parts of speech and phrases and its effect on the phonological, morphological and lexical system of the language, the present study covers also the purification of the alphabet, consonants, prose and poetry (e.g., the metrical system, imagery and diction). Moreover, different tendencies in the purist movement are briefly examined (cf. chapter 8). Needless to say, purism in Kurdish needs more specialized study and must be considered a yet uninvestigated field.

Although standardization has not been studied as such, the Kurdish press carries considerable information in the form of articles, comments, letters to the editor, advertisements, and other features that are relevant to the study of the subject (cf. 2.1.10, on problems of data gathering).

Nationalism. Unlike standardization, Kurdish nationalism has received considerable research attention. A pioneering work is Wadie Jwaideh's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (1960) on the history of the nationalist movement. Jwaideh's study provides rich documentation based on published material in Middle Eastern and European languages. Other general works include Kutschera

(1979) and Chaliand (1980). Kutschera's focus is on the twentieth century, and his sources include press reports and some of the unpublished diplomatic documents of France and Britain. Chaliand's edited work reflects the views of Kurdish nationalists. These studies are not based on an explicit or sophisticated theoretical framework. Lacking an adequate theory of social development or even a theory of nationalism, they are primarily political histories of the nationalist movement. Thus, they fail to account for the social, economic and cultural components of Kurdish nationalism--detribalization, sedentarization, urbanization, the decline of feudalism, the rise of capitalist relations, linguistic consciousness and literary creation, journalism, education, and mass communication.

The most important Soviet work on the nationalist movement is Lazarev's (1972; 1989) study of the "Kurdish problem," covering the period from 1891 to 1923. Based on Soviet Marxist theory, Lazarev avoids the pitfalls of an historical approach that reduces the nationalist movement to political struggle only. A main contribution of his work is the extensive use of documents from the Russian archives. Soviet researchers have generally paid more attention to the process of social and cultural development of Kurdish society. Celil (1985), for example, deals with cultural and political life in Kurdistan during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Several monographic studies of individual movements in Turkey, Iraq and Iran have been published in the last four decades. The best studied case is the 1961-75 autonomist movement in Iraq. Representative examples include Vanly (1970;traditional nationalist view), Ibrahim (1983; based on class analysis), Mgoi (1977 and 1991; Soviet Kurdish author), and Ghareeb (1981; pro-Ba'th perspective). This extensive body of research ignores the literary and linguistic components of nationalism and nation-building. The two ideologists of Kurdish nationalism, Ahmadi Khani (1650-1706) and Haji Qadir Koyi (1817-1897), argued that the Kurds could achieve national sovereignty only if they were armed with two weapons–the "pen" (literary language and literate culture) and the "sword" (state power; cf. chapter 4). The "pen" side of the story has been ignored in the literature on the subject. This dissertation deals with the "pen" element in the process of nation-building.

2.1.2 Theories of Language Standardization

During the last two decades, there has been repeated reference to a wide gap that exists between the centuries-old experience of language standardization and its theoretical understanding. According to Zgusta (1964:435), the theoretical points underlying the practical solutions of concrete problems of standardization were not sufficiently studied. Noting that the process of language standardization was not "well understood," Ferguson (1968:32) emphasized the need for both case studies and attempts at generalization.

According to Fishman (1968:11), although numerous languages underwent standardization during the past century, there are surprisingly few complete case

studies of these processes (i.e., selection, elaboration, and codification), "even fewer that relate them to the ongoing societal developments with which they co-occurred..., and fewer yet that attempt to do so on a comparative or contrastive basis so that generalizable parameters can be formulated and their relative significance estimated..."

Similarly, Byron (1976:12) notes that the process, on the whole, has not been thoroughly investigated and that too little is known about it; progress in theorization requires, therefore, many more case studies than are now available (Byron 1981:87).

The literature does not, however, point to the lacunas in theory except incidentally nor does it indicate the present stage of theorization nor its formal requirements. This situation makes it difficult to relate available hypotheses, generalizations or theories to particular topics or problems covered in this dissertation. Summing up "the state of the art" is an immense and much needed task which requires careful study of especially the rich East European literature. Under the circumstances, the most widely accepted model is reviewed here and used in this study with a view to illustrating a number of problematic issues addressed by the findings of this study.

2.1.2.0 Current State of Theorization

The gulf between theory and practice was first bridged in the 1930s by the founders of the Prague Linguistic School in Czechoslovakia (cf. Vachek 1966:96-99; Johnson 1978:10-12). The theory inspired all later work (Eastman 1983:109-110) and has been considerably elaborated in its homeland (Jedlicka 1974:187-194) though its recent contributions are not known in the West. Theorization also made considerable progress in the Soviet Union especially after the linguistic debates of 1950 (Stalin 1954) which removed political and ideological obstacles to the study of the subject.

Language standardization has not been a favorite topic in much Western, especially American, language sciences. Since the 1960s, however, the upsurge in sociological and sociolinguistic study of language has given rise to the new field of "language planning" which considers standardization one of its main thrusts of research (Eastman 1983:21-9).

2.1.2.1 Haugen's Model

In a much quoted article, "Dialect, Language, Nation," which appeared in 1966, Einar Haugen presented a theory or, rather, model of language standardization that has since become widely accepted (cf., e.g., Hudson 1980:33; Cobarrubias 1983:4-5). The author revised his model for language planning purposes in 1983 without finding anything in the literature to require altering its basic elements (Haugen 1983:269-70, 274).

According to Haugen, the development of a vernacular, popularly called

a dialect, into a language is intimately related to the development of writing and the growth of nationalism (1966:922). This process of sociolinguistic change involves four "aspects": (1) ***Selection of Norm***, i.e., one of the dialects of the language is selected as a norm, (2) ***Codification of Form***, i.e., the norm is codified so that there is minimal variation in form, with one spelling, one pronunciation for every word, one word for every meaning, etc., (3) ***Elaboration of Function***, the codified form acquires maximal variation in function, i.e., it is used in science, literature, journalism, etc., and finally, (4) ***Acceptance by Community***, i.e., the codified form must be accepted by a body of users.

Haugen relates the first two processes primarily to the form, the last two to the function of language. The first and last are concerned with society, the second and third with language. "They form a matrix within which it should be possible to discuss all the major problems of language and dialect in the life of a nation:

	Form	*Function*
Society	Selection	Acceptance
Language	Codification	Elaboration" (p. 933).

One requirement of the model is the presence of all the four features in a standard language. Thus, highly codified languages such as Sanskrit, Latin, and Classical Arabic are to be distinguished from standard languages in so far as they (a) lacked a nationwide body of users and (b) suffered from fixed, if not limited, functional variation.

Except for their formulation into matrix form, these four "processes" or "steps," had been identified by both Prague Linguistic School and Marxist theorists.[2] There is, thus, considerable consensus on the essential features of standardization.

2.1.2.2 Need for Theory Building

If we maintain a distinction between "theory" as fundamental explanation and "model" as representation of reality (Dubin 1978:18), Haugen's formulation is certainly closer to the latter. In fact, applying it to language planning, Haugen (1983:274) emphasized that his model was descriptive rather than explanatory.

To acquire explanatory character, the model must, for example, not only relate "selection" and "acceptance" to "society" but also predict how and why they are related. Also, "form" and "function" enter into complex interaction as do "language" and "society." Their dynamic interrelationships all need explanation.

Haugen's model is successful in conceptualizing the major processes of standardization and establishing relationships among them. The four concepts (selection, codification, elaboration, acceptance) represent observable processes in the languages studied thus far. Thus the model provides a framework for

further conceptualization, growing of hypotheses to be confirmed or infirmed against new evidence and, thereby, formulating generalizations or propositions that are necessary for theory formation.

2.1.3 Selected Theoretical Issues

Explanation, the main concern of scientific enquiry, is based on generalization (in the form of propositions, theories, scientific laws). Empirical generalizations require comparison between at least two individual cases. While it is beyond the scope of this study to attempt new generalizations, the following theoretical issues are raised here and discussed in the concluding chapter in order to place the Kurdish case within the general historical and comparative context of language standardization. Other, less general issues (e.g., the scope of standardization, the elite/non-elite role in the process, the problem of quality and quantity in literacy production) will be discussed in relevant chapters.

A. The Universality of Western Experience. One obvious requirement of a general theory is its ability to account for standardization in both Western and non-Western languages. Standardization as defined in this study is a post-Renaissance West-European phenomenon and its world-wide occurrence, like other Western features of historical change, has become a controversial issue between universalists and particularists.

Representing the universalist view, Guxman (1960) found "general regularities" in the development of thirteen West European, Asian, and Latin American national languages. These processes of development are: (a) the gradual penetration of the literary language into all spheres of communication, including the vernacular, (b) the formation of unified grammatical, lexical, and orthoepic norms, (c) a striving to liquidate the gap between the written-literary and colloquial-folk varieties of the language which existed in many countries, and (d) the assimilation of the styles of these two varieties (Guxman 1968:768). According to Haugen (1972:276), the development of two Scandinavian languages, Danish and Swedish, followed the pattern outlined by Guxman. Another researcher, Alisjahbana (1965:519) contends that standardization in the young countries of Asia and Africa is similar to the West-European process except it is more rapid and more complex in the former.

The particularist view has not been sufficiently elaborated. While Garvin (1973:31-32) underlined the duplication of the Western experience "in many other parts of the world" (both in the Scandinavian and East European nations in the first half of the 19th century and the developing nations), he suggested that (a) some speech communities in the non-Western world might not be desirous of "modernization," and (b) European-based notions of language standardization and related processes (e.g., literacy, standard/folk dichotomy, intellectualization, language loyalty, etc.) might not be applicable to many languages in the developing countries. The success of the "lesser nationalities" of Europe in following the already established West European model was due to "cultural

similarities" and similar "historical precedents"--a situation which, according to Garvin, "clearly does not apply to many of the emergent nationalities of today." This particularism is said to be especially apparent in the former European colonies. It has been suggested, therefore, that some of the nationalities in these countries "might not necessarily go through a process of literacy and language standardization, but might pass directly into a 'Macluhanesque' period where oral mass communication in the local traditional style would be made possible by the electronic media" (Garvin 1973:32; cf., also, Byron 1976:138-39 and Kloss 1978:19).

One may argue that an "oral" language, no matter how extensively codified, is not yet a "standard language" since, lacking a developed written variety, it cannot function in important domains such as modern education, journalism, administration, and science.

Indeed the functional differentiation of language requires far-reaching changes in the social and economic life of the speech community. This is borne out by, for example, the failure of literacy campaigns in many contemporary rural societies, even in speech communities with an old literary tradition. This and other evidence point to the inseparable interaction between linguistic and non-linguistic factors involved in the standardization process.

B. Linguistic and Socio-economic Modernization. Traditional studies of standardization have usually focused on the linguistic component of standardization. While non-linguistic factors such as "trade," "industry," "civilization," and "cities" were often mentioned, the two aspects--social and linguistic--were never viewed, theoretically and methodologically, as two sides of the coin. As a result, these studies are often reductionist.

Historically speaking, we may view standardization as the linguistic component or aspect of social, economic, political and cultural changes that characterized the transition from the Medieval Age to the Modern period in the West. This process, once called "Europeanization" and "Westernization," was later conceptualized as "modernization" by some social scientists (cf., among others, Parker (1983:348), on "the linguistic revolution that accompanied the transition from feudalism toward capitalism"). Marxist social theory explains this process in terms of the rise of the socio-economic system of capitalism.

Modernization, or the rise of capitalism, affected all aspects of Western society. In the sphere of economic life, it included, among other changes, the replacement of self-sufficient agrarian production by mercantile and, later, industrial capitalist economy. Changes in social organization included the decline of the landed nobility, the rise of the middle class, and the transformation of the land-tied peasantry into urban wage-earners. The most prominent change in political life was the democratization of the system of political rule. Of the numerous changes in culture, we may refer to secularization, the growth of literacy, mass media and mass education especially after the Industrial Revolution. These concomitant transformations (cf. Germani and Hauser:1985 for a recent sum-up) which brought the entire population into intensive contact

could hardly materialize without a new form of speech--the standard language.

The most important change in language use was the mechanization of writing, and the increasing mediation of communication through the printed word. It is no accident of history that the invention of paper and printing in feudal China did not lead to the emergence of mass media in its birthplace or in literate neighbouring countries of Asia including the Moslem world (explanation of the Chinese situation in terms of their complex writing system is not tenable in so far as mass literacy through the same script has been realized in recent decades). The mass media emerged and were institutionalized on the ruins of feudal European society, where restricted use of writing and face-to-face communication alone were no longer adequate for the functioning of the new social and economic order of capitalism. The mass-mediated use of language through printing and, later, the airwaves is inseparably linked with standardization.

C. Standardization and Nation-Building. One by-product of modernization of West European societies was the transformation of "ethnic peoples" (consisting mostly of land-tied rural population) into distinct nations such as the English, French, Dutch, German, etc. The development of the "vernacular" of one region into a national language was the hallmark of this evolution. Waging a difficult battle against the authority of the Latin language, the national languages were able to replace it in all functions including religion and to become powerful vehicles for literature, administration and the rapidly growing domains of commerce, science and technology.

The connection between standardization and national development was understood as early as the Renaissance (Haugen 1966:923). It is well known that the French revolutionaries passed a resolution, in 1790, condemning the dialects as remnants of feudal society (*Ibid.*, p. 928). Co-occurrence of nation-building and standardization in the eastern part of Europe (including the Balkans and Scandinavia) during the first half of the 19th century is documented in the literature (cf., e.g., Byron 1976:39; Deutsch 1942).[3]

Although there is abundant evidence on the correlation between nation-building and standardization (cf., e.g., Fishman 1972 for a sum up), consensus is far from universal. This situation is largely due to divergent theoretical assumptions on the nature of language/society interactions. At present, there are at least four principal perspectives on the causal relationship between social structure and language: (1) language is fundamental, (2) social structure is determinant, (3) the two are "co-determining and co-occurring," and (4) both are determined by a third factor e.g., *Weltanschauung*, the human condition, the organization of human mind, etc. (Grimshaw 1971:95).

The literature on the subject reflects two theoretical perspectives. The Marxist theory finds a causal relationship between standardization and the formation of nations, which is considered to be a product of the capitalist stage of history. The need for a standard language is, thus, dictated by the non-linguistic requirements of the capitalist economy--i.e., commodity production, social and geographic division of labor, the formation of a "national market,"

and, in a word, economic and political concentration. According to this theory, standard languages did not, and could not, exist before the formation of nations. Although non-Marxist studies emphasize the significance of economic, political and cultural centers of power in the formation of national languages, they do not predict a one-to-one correlation between linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of standardization (cf., e.g., Zgusta 1971:174-75).

While a breakthrough in this area seems to depend on the formulation of general theories of society capable of explaining the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic (i.e., social, economic, political, religious, cultural) components, case studies of emerging standards are expected to provide fresh insight on these complex processes.

D. Standardization and Language Maintenance. "Language death" is a recurrent phenomenon throughout history and in every part of the world (Dorian 1981; Adler 1977). While circumstances leading to language death differ considerably, it is clear that languages die for non-linguistic reasons (Adler 1977:2).

Although standardization entails the existence of a growing, usually autonomous, population of native speakers of a language interested in cultivating their speech, the process does not exclude the possibility of "threat," "loss," "extinction," or "linguicide" (cf. 5.6.0). Indeed, some languages undergoing standardization in the developing world are faced with enormous obstacles including especially assimilationist state efforts (cf. Adler 1977:95 and Laponce 1987 on the assimilationist role of the state). Supported by either state power and/or market forces, the spread of official language(s) threatens the life of "vernaculars" or minority languages. Prospects are, in fact, more prominent for extinction than standardization when we consider the fact, for example, that fewer than four per cent of the world's states are nation-states (i.e., monolingual) and that there are 1,250 to 2,100 spoken languages in Africa, 700 in Papua, New Guinea, and more than 1,600 in India (Jacob and Beer 1985:1).

Kurdish is a case of a numerically important langauge of the world which is reduced to minority status and endangered by official linguicidal policies of the central governments ruling over the speech community. Here, standardization has not been an end in itself; it has, rather, been employed as a means of linguistic and national survival.

E. Typology, Periodization and Measurement. Generalization depends on comparative knowledge of various standards which show considerable diversity in type and stage of development. Although standard languages are still imprecisely labelled "emergent," "incipient," "stabilized," "established," "full-fledged," etc., we may refer to several attempts at more precise periodization and typological survey of the process (cf., e.g., Zima 1974).

Relying on the work of Kloss (1952), Ferguson (1962) proposed two criteria for the measurement of language development: the degree of use of written language and extent of standardization; a simple approach was to establish a scale of standardization, St^0 — St^2, where one end, zero, referred to a language

with no important amount of standardization and the other end represented an "ideal" standard. Further refining this notion, Ferguson (1968) singled out "three dimensions relevant for measuring language development": (a) *graphization*, the regular use of writing in a speech community, (b) *standardization*, the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects, and (c) *modernization*, the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized, structurally differentiated, "modern" societies. Using data from African languages, Zima (1974) found it feasible to attempt a typology of standardization on the basis of the three variables though he emphasized that they formed not a linear set but rather a hierarchy of factors, all three being potential, but not obligatory, features of standard language development.

Haugen's (1966) four-dimensional matrix adopted in this study provides another basis for classification, elaboration and acceptance of the standard norm. Interesting ideas on such measuring tools are, in fact, to be found in Kloss (1978), who underlines the significance of "literary growth" generally and the development of non-fictional prose especially. To give an example, the latter is said to have four stages or levels: "popular," "refined," "learned" and "all round" non-narrative prose. Each stage is roughly "measured" or specified by criteria such as correspondence to level of education (primary, secondary, college), type of research, books and periodicals published, subject matter, etc. (cf. 8.6.1).

Although quantifying qualitative phenomena in language development may not be possible or desirable, it is already obvious that preliminaries for more precise comparative and diachronic studies in standardization are at hand. While it was beyond the scope of this case study to attempt a general typology, two stages (pre-standard and standard) in the development of the Kurdish language were identified on the basis of social, linguistic and literary features (cf. 11.0.0). The first stage witnessed the cultivation of the language and began before the emergence of the Kurds as a nation. Standardization occurred during the second stage when feudal and tribal systems of social organization experienced increasing decline, and a vocal urban middle class emerged.

2.1.4 Research Question

The selected issues examined in the preceding section provide an adequate conceptual and theoretical framework. Still, the topic of this study--language and national development--is broad in scope. In order to maintain a coherent and clear focus, the following research question was adopted as a guideline: How and why did the Sulemani subdialect of Sorani dialect develop as the standard Kurdish language in Iraq and adopted as such in Iran?

2.1.5 Scope of the Study

As a case study, this dissertation is a more or less intensive survey of the

major standardization processes (selection, codification, functional elaboration, and acceptance) of the Sorani dialect spoken in Kurdistan in Iraq and Iran. Limitations on the scope of this broad topic are as follows: (a) emphasis was on the written variety since adequate oral data were not available and the written element plays a more central role in standardization, (b) the social or extralinguistic aspects of standardization received due attention since it has been, and continues to be, of crucial importance in this case and has not been studied before, (c) prescriptive considerations have been entirely left out, and (d) the Kurmanji dialect was studied in so far as it was necessary for understanding the total linguistic situation or particular aspects of Sorani standardization.

2.1.6 Type of Research Design: Case Study

Case studies are distinguished from other research by their concentration on the case rather than a particular form of data gathering, analysis, etc. As such the dissertation is a fairly intensive investigation of all pertinent aspects of the standardization of a language in its incipient stage.

Considering the time span covered by this research, the case study is of the "retrospective" type. This kind of study attempts to answer a fairly general question such as "why did X happen?" It is expected that a detailed knowledge of what happened in a particular case will lead to principles which help the understanding of other similar cases (Stern 1979:27).

The value of case studies for establishing general propositions that are required in theory-building is being increasingly appreciated (Campbell 1975; Stake 1978). According to Lijphart (1971:691), cases may be selected for analysis because of an interest in the case *per se* ("atheoretical" and "interpretative" case studies) or because of an interest in theory-building. Although the dissertation generated considerable knowledge about the insufficiently studied case, it was intended to be of the latter type--"hypothesis-generating," "theory-confirming" and "theory-infirming."

No case study in language standardization is conducted in a theoretical vacuum. Standardization is a complex social and linguistic process that involves the interaction of numerous factors. There is still considerable room for new hypothesizing and infirming or confirming of available generalizations. This type of research design is, therefore, especially appropriate for the subject and purpose of the dissertation.

2.1.7 The Data

The two major components of standardization, linguistic and social, required different sources of information. The corpus of data used for the description and analysis of codification (cf. chapter 8) consisted of anything written (printed or manuscript) in Kurdish together with taped recordings of radio programs; they included: a) periodicals (at least one issue of periodicals listed in

Table 30, Nos. 1-2, 4, 7, 9, 13, 15, 17, 18-22, 24-32, 34-38, 40-41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 53, 60, 67, 69, 72, 79, 86, 89, 96, 104, 115, 121, 122, 131-133, 135-137, 141-145, **b)** periodical literature: books, pamphlets, and leaflets, **c)** private correspondence and manuscripts, and **d)** tapes of Radio Kermanshah, Radio Mashhad, Radio Reza'iyeh, Radio Yerevan, and Radio Baghdad (1968), about 12 hours.

Other sources, used primarily for the study of non-linguistic aspects of standardization include documents, interviews, participant observation, and secondary sources.

2.1.7.1 Documents

Documents, i.e., any written materials that contain information about the phenomena under study, constitute a major source of data generally (Bailey 1982:301-302) and for this study particularly. Two types of document, personal and non-personal, were used.

Non-personal documents included official government reports, laws and constitutions, statements and published interviews of government officials, etc. Access to archives of state documents related to the modern period in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran is almost impossible. Documents from the British Mandate period are, however, available in India and England. These extensive documents provide an indispensable source of information for this period of Iraq's history. About a dozen confidential documents from this period were used. The Annual Reports of the British government submitted to the League of Nations (1920 to 1932) and published for public use are also a major source of information on official policy (cf. references under G.B. in the Bibliography).

Non-personal documents of the Kurdish side include the programs and publications of Kurdish political parties, documents and reports of negotiations between the Kurdish autonomists and Iraqi governments, Kurdish press, etc. Personal documents were also very useful. They comprise the diaries, autobiographies, letters, and travel reports. They included, among other things, the autobiographies and diaries of S. al-Husri, a top educational administrator and policy maker of Iraq, Hazhar and Hemin, two prominent Kurdish poets of Iran, and Tawfiq Wahbi, a Kurdish language reformer.

2.1.7.2 Interviews

No less than forty Iraqi Kurds were interviewed in Britain (1976), the United States (1977-78, 1985-86), and Iran (1979-80). The interviewees were mostly refugees of the 1974-75 autonomist war and included teachers, government clerks, students and others. Interviews were also made with Tawfiq Wahbi, the late Sadiq Baha'addin Amedi, member of the Kurdish Academy, and Rahman Zabihi, lexicographer, journalist and political activist.

Questionnaires of an unscheduled, open-ended and informal type were sent

to both government authorities in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and to Kurds involved in the cultivation of the Kurdish language. The purpose was (a) gathering data which could not be acquired by other means, (b) finding out about current government policy, Kurdish attitudes and views and, (c) confirming or infirming the writer's conclusions on specific issues or unsubstantiated information.

2.1.7.3 Participant Observation

As a native speaker of Mukri Kurdish, the writer had the advantage of first-hand experience including involvement in the sociolinguistic and political environment under study. The disadvantages are equally clear; what methodologists call "research bias" can affect all levels of research including data-gathering, analysis and conclusions. Bias can appear from the perspective of a Kurdish speaker opposed to official linguicide policies, as a speaker of Sorani (vs. Kurmanji), and as a speaker of Mukri subdialect (vs. Sulemani subdialect). The impact was partly minimized by (a) attempting to document, verify or duplicate such observations through private correspondence, secondary sources, etc., and (b) corresponding with various government organs in Iraq, Iran and Turkey soliciting official views on language policy issues; the fact that correspondence with government organs remained unanswered confirms in part the analysis presented in this study.

"Objectivity" is, however, a very complex issue involving much more than covering "both sides" of a controversy. The standardization of the Kurdish language started and has continued as part of the conflict between Kurdish nationalism, *Kurdayetî*, and the states ruling over Kurdistan. This conflict has entailed political, ideological, diplomatic and armed struggle and has, at times, become "internationalized," i.e., turned into an arena of conflict between the Kurds, the League of Nations, and major Western powers--France, Britain and the United States. Within the divided Kurdish society, too, standardization has been an arena of struggle between social classes, political parties, individuals and speakers of different dialects. While every attempt was made to document the other, i.e., government, side of the conflict, this study was intended to provide a picture of the Kurdish language from the point of view of the speakers of the language.

2.1.8 Data Analysis

It was not possible to apply a single analytical procedure to the data which cover different linguistic and non-linguistic (political, educational, etc.) phenomena. The basic approach was explanatory though considerable effort and space had to be devoted to a descriptive and exploratory survey of the case which has not been sufficiently studied so far.

The principal explanatory task was to elucidate "causal relationships" between changes in the Kurdish language on the one hand, and in Kurdish society

and government policy on the other. An event "is explained if a satisfactory account can be given which shows why an event occurred rather than not, or why one event occurred rather than another" (Miller and Wilson 1983:42). The sections on official language policy and parts of chapter 7 rely, in part, on the poorly-defined methods of policy analysis and document study.

Due to political restrictions on conducting research in Kurdistan, certain types of data that depended on field work, opinion or attitude survey, extensive mail and telephone surveys, etc. could not be collected. This deficiency was partly compensated for by using evidence from various Kurdish sources including items such as stories, plays, poems, advertisements, letters to the editor and correspondence. The use of this type of data and analysis is appropriate to case studies in the social sciences which, according to Stake (1978:7), feature "descriptions that are complex, holistic, and involving a myriad of not highly isolated variables; data that are likely to be gathered at least partly by personalistic observation; and a writing style that is informal, perhaps narrative, possibly with verbatim quotation, illustration, and even allusion and metaphor. Comparisons are implicit rather than explicit. Themes and hypotheses may be important, but they remain subordinate to the understanding of the case."

2.1.9 Significance and Purpose of Study

This study contributes to the understanding of language standardization which is of both practical and theoretical significance. On the practical level, individual problems of each language in the developing societies are basically standardization problems. The Kurdish case sheds light on various processes of language development including aspects such as language policy, language rights and langauge planning that have recently received fresh attention. On the theoretical level, the findings of this study will be useful for better understanding of linguistic/communication components of socio-economic change and nation-building. As far as the case itself is concerned, this is the first study of the linguistic aspect of Kurdish nation-building. Although it is not prescriptive, the dissertation may contribute to a more adequate, empirically based, understanding of the problems of Kurdish language planning. It will also contribute to our knowledge of nation-building and of "modernization" in the Middle East.

2.1.10 Obstacles to Research

Research on the standardization of the Kurdish language as well as other aspects of Kurdish society and culture is hampered by several barriers, which are mostly political. The states that rule over Kurdistan have not allowed, with few exceptions, field research by natives or foreigners. Neither do the governments themselves provide information that is related specifically to the Kurdish provinces. Libraries do not hold Kurdish books, at least for public use, in Turkey, Syria and Iran. A very important source, Kurdish periodicals, is most

difficult to find.

Few libraries outside Iraq possess Kurdish material; those that do (e.g., Harvard University Library and the Library of Congress) had not yet cataloged them. The only library specializing in Kurdish material, that of Institut Kurde de Paris established in 1983, proved to be uncooperative (in 1986, a Kurdish library was set up by the Kurdish Heritage Foundation in Brooklyn, New York).

Under the circumstances the researcher has to rely on private connections. Except for the material consulted at the libraries of London University, Harvard University, the Library of Congress and the British Museum, the author acquired all the printed sources privately. Still, in spite of two years of correspondence with Iraq, Iran and acquaintances in Europe, it was not possible to find a copy of a bibliography of Kurdish literary prose works published in Baghdad in 1979.

Another problem is the underdeveloped nature of research in the countries concerned generally and in Kurdistan particularly. Serious research by the Kurds themselves, within the political limits set by Iraqi and Iranian governments, has only recently begun. As a result background data and analysis for many aspects of the broad topic of standardization were lacking. The writer was not able to find, for example, even one article-length survey of the development of broadcasting, printing, education, and book publishing. One newspaper article on cinema and two articles on phonograph records have only recently appeared in the press.

Especially lacking are quantitative data and reference works. Sources must often be squeezed (cf., e.g., Tables 12 to 15) to provide a quantitative verification of usually accurate, common sense, observations on, for example, the clerical composition of poets or changes in the composition of the intelligentsia.

2.1.11 Romanization

This study is addressed to a wide audience that includes those not familiar with Kurdish or other Middle Eastern languages. Narrow transcription and transliteration were, therefore, avoided or reduced to a minimum whenever possible.

In order to reduce the extensive use of diacritical marks, Anglicized names and titles such as "Muhammad" (except when used in Kurdish, "Mihamad"), "Baghdad," "Koran," and "Agha" were not transliterated. Also, non-Anglicized personal names (including the names of authors), names of printing presses, publishers, and bookstores were recorded according to the phonetic values of the English alphabet and its conventions of spelling (cf. Table 11). Geographical names are taken, with slight change, from the *Times World Atlas*.

Kurdish names are generally Romanized in their Sorani pronunciation. For example, "Ahmadi Khani" [Ehmedî Xanî] instead of Kurmanji "Ahmade Khani" [Ehmedê Xanî]. Sorani speakers pronounce the name of the Northern

Table 11. Romanization of Arabic-based Alphabets[4]

A. Consonants				
Kurdish		Persian	Arabic	Proper Names
ئ	'	'	'	'
ب	b	b	b	b
پ	p	p	-	p
ت	t	t	t	t
ث	-	s̲	th	th
ج	c	j	j	j
چ	ç	ch	-	ch
ح	ĥ	ḥ	ḥ	h
خ	x	kh	kh	kh
د	d	d	d	d
ذ	-	z̲	dh	d
ر	r	r	r	r
ڕ، ڕە	ř	-	-	r
ز	z	z	z	z
ژ	j	zh	-	zh
س	s	s	s	s
ش	ş	sh	sh	sh
ص	-	ṣ	ṣ	s
ض	-	z̤	ḍ	dh
ط	-	ṭ	ṭ	t
ظ	-	ź̤	ẓ	z
ع	'	'	'	'
غ	ẍ	gh	gh	gh
ف	f	f	f	f
ڤ	v	-	-	v
ق	q	q	q	q
ك	k	k	k	k
گ	g	g	g	g
ل	l	l	l	l
ڵ	Í	-	-	l
م	m	m	m	m
ن	n	n	n	n
و	w	v	w	v, w
ھ	h	h	h	h
ی	y	y	y	y

Table 11. Romanization of Arabic-based Alphabets (continued)[4]

B. Vowels						
Persian		**Arabic**	**Proper Names**	**Kurdish**		**Proper Names**
ـَ	a	a	a	ا ، ئا	a	a
ـُ	u	u	o	ه ، ە	e	a
ـِ	i	i	e		i	i
آ ، ا	ā	ā	a	و	u	u
ـُو	ū	ū	ou, u	وو ، ۆ	û	ou, u
ـِی	ī	ī	i, y, ie	ۆ	o	u
ـَیْ	ay	ay	ay	وێ	ö	we
ـَی	á	á	a	ی ، یی	î	i, y, ie
ـَوْ	aw	aw	aw	وی	ü	wi
				ێ	ê	e

dialect group as *Kirmanji* while the speakers of the dialect call their speech *Kurmanji*. The latter is used throughout the text (except in quotations) while the former is used in the maps.

The linguistically important material such as the Kurdish language corpus, the titles of articles and books, and the names of periodicals and organizations are recorded in the Latin alphabet developed in Syria in the 1930s and currently used, with few modifications, in some Kurmanji Kurdish publications (for the phonemic values of the letters cf. Table 54).

The Romanization system of the Library of Congress has been used for Arabic, Persian, Russian and Armenian material. While the LC system uses the symbols for *transliteration* purposes (i.e., representing non-Roman *scripts* by Roman signs), this study uses the same symbols for *transcription*, i.e., for representing the phonemes or speech sounds of languages that are not written in the Roman alphabet (for example, the LC transliterates شاهنامه as *Shāhnāmah*, which is transcribed as *Shāhnāmi* in this study). Ottoman Turkish is Romanized according to the Latin alphabet of Modern Turkish.

A number of factors make the consistent application of the rules impossible. For example, the Kurdish writer, Jamal Nabaz, spells his name invariably in the Roman Kurdish script as Jemal Nebez. The name of the Soviet Kurdish author Celîlê Celîl has appeared in at least four scripts--Cyrillic, Armenian and (Roman and Cyrillic) Kurdish (cf. Bibliography). Also, the frequently used name of the city of Sulaymaniya and its dialect appears in numerous English-language quotations with various spellings based on either the Arabic or Kurdish pronunciation of the word. Moreover, in order to make necessary distinctions between dialects and subdialects, this study has used

capitalization and quotation marks on two frequently used names, "SULEMANI" and "MUKRIYANI" (cf. 1.3.3). To give another example, the word قضاء (an administrative unit in Iraq) is Romanized *qadha* in British and official Iraqi literature while ض is represented by *ḍ* in the Library of Congress system. The same word in Ottoman Turkish is Romanized as *kaza*. Proper names in quotations have not been modified. This is a major source of inconsistency. Since the geographical area is limited to Kurdistan, it is hoped that the reader will not be confused, for example, by the various Romanizations of the same name, e.g., Sulaymaniya(h), Sulaimaniya, Sulaimnia, Sulemani, etc.

2.1.12 Terms: Definitions and Cross-references

Language Planning

Some writers use LP and standardization synonymously (e.g., Byron 1976:11). Many have defined LP almost exclusively as standardization (Eastman 1983:153). In this study, LP is used to indicate a conscious effort (by governmental and/or non-governmental groups or agencies and individuals) to solve various language problems including standardization.

Modernization

The term is used in two senses: (1) the post-Renaissance process of social, economic, political and linguistic transformation of West European societies that characterized the transition from the Middle Ages into the Modern period; according to Marxist social theory, this process was transition from feudalism to capitalism. Standardization is considered to be the linguistic component of this historical change, and (2) innovations in vocabulary (especially terminology), punctuation, literary forms, and style, along the lines of standardized Western languages, e.g., English, French, and Russian.

While innovation is an ever-present process in all written and oral languages, modernization refers to innovations that are part of the standardization process, i.e., based on the pattern of standard languages of the West.

Nation, National Development/Nation-building

"Nation" is used consistently in the social or "ethnic" sense (cf. Scruton 1982:312-13). Thus the following definition makes a distinction between *nation* and other forms of social organization such as *tribe*, *peasantry*, *state*, *class*, *group* or any casual/unstable union of human beings and, especially, territorial/political concepts such as *country*: a nation is an historically formed community of people bound together by common language, culture, homeland, and community of economic life (i.e., existence of division of labor among various parts of the territory, and especially the existence of a middle class). Based on this definition, national development is the process of consolidation of "ethnic peoples" or tribal/rural societies into modern nations.

National Language

Used synonymously with *standard language* (q.v.); it is the standardized norm of the language of a *nation*; it may (e.g., German) or may not (e.g., Kurdish in Iran) be the *official language* of a state, a country or a region of it. It may (e.g., Basque in Spain and France) or may not (e.g., French in France, Turkish in Turkey) be a *minority language*.

Standardization

An historically evolved process in which one variety (dialect) of a language becomes elaborated in function (i.e., used in education, literature, science, commerce, industry, mass media, administration), codified in form, and widely accepted and used throughout the speech community as a supradialectal medium in both written and oral forms of linguistic communication.

Standard Language

SL is a product of language standardization (q.v.). Synonymous terms found in the literature are *national language* (q.v.), *standard national language*, and *literary language*.

2.1.13 Glossary

Agha

(1) a feudal lord owning one or more villages, (2) chief of a tribe or section of it.

Beg

Together with *agha*, *amir*, *khan*, *mir*, the title *Beg* refers to a member of feudal class or landed aristocracy in Kurdistan: ruler of a principality, tribe or peasant community.

Beyt

A genre of Kurdish folk art which is similar to but not identical with British and Scottish popular ballads, Azerbaijani *dāstān* or *hekāya*, Danish *vise*, Spanish *romance*, Russian *bylina*, etc. *Beyt*s are, usually, long narrative performances, which are either entirely composed of sung verse or a combination of verse and prose. Contemporary singing is generally not accompanied by instruments. In the absence of a more suitable term, *beyt* is translated, in this study, as "popular ballad." Also, the word for the singer of a *beyt*, called *beytbêj* or *dengbêj*, is translated as "bard" or "troubadour" (for more information on this genre, cf. Hassanpour 1989; Chyet 1991).

Bid'et

(Heretical) innovation (cf. 4.3.2.1).

Derwêş/darvish
: In Kurdistan, the word refers to a disciple of Qadiri religious order; also, a pious poor man.

Dîwan
: Collected poems of a poet.

Feqê or *Telébe*
: A student of the mosque schools, who will become a mulla on completion of his studies.

Khan
: Cf. *Beg*.

Khutba
: Sermon in the Friday prayer (cf. Chapter 3, Note 2).

Kurdayetî
: The Kurdish nationalist movement and ideology (cf. 3.2.1.II.C).

Kurdewarî
: Kurdish way of life; Kurdish culture; also, Kurdish country or homeland (cf. 3.2.1.II.D).

Liwa
: The largest administrative unit (province) in Iraq (cf. 1.1.3 and Map 4).

Mir
: Cf. *Beg*.

Mîrza
: A scribe.

Muhafaza
: Governorate in Iraq (cf. 4.3.2.1).

Nahiya
: Administrative unit, county, in Iraq (cf. 1.1.3).

Pasha
: Synonymous with *khan* (q.v.) etc.; also means 'king'.

Qadha
: Administrative unit in Iraq (cf. 1.1.3).

Re'iyet

A serf; a land-tied peasant ruled by an *agha, amir,beg, khan,* etc.

Sanjak/Sancak

Administrative unit in Ottoman Turkey, subdivision of *eyalet* (province) until 1864.

Sayyid

Descendant of prophet Muhammad.

Shaikh

In Kurdistan, it refers to the head of Qadiri and Naqshbandi religious orders, *tariqats*.

Sofi

In Kurdistan, a devoted disciple of Naqshbandi religious order (cf. *derwesh*); also, pious, old and, usually, poor man.

Tekye

In Kurdistan, a building used usually by Qadiri shaikhs and their disciples, *derwêşes*, for religious rites and teaching.

Telebe

Cf. *Feqê*

Vilayet (Turkish)/*wilāyat* (Arabic)

Province in Ottoman Turkey after 1864 (cf. 1.1.3).

Chapter 2 Notes

1. For example, Sharaza's (1984) survey of "Nali and the Unified Kurdish Literary Language" draws on the theoretical premises of Rasul's work. Generalizing on the basis of 24 words used by Nali, Sharaza argues that the poet's language was a mixture of all dialects.

2. In 1958, A.V. Isaçenko, a Soviet linguist, defined "literary language" as one possessing the following characteristics: 1) it is polyvalent, that is to say it is suitable for serving all spheres of the national life; (2) it is normalized (with respect to orthography and orthoepy, grammar and lexicon); (3) it is obligatory for all members of the given national society and consequently permits of no dialectal variation; (4) it is stylistically differentiated (quoted in Auty 1978:193).

3. According to Deutch (1942:532), "in the hundred years between 1800 and 1900, the number of full-fledged national languages in Europe increased from 16 to 30, that is, at a faster rate than in any of the preceding ten centuries."

4. Sources for Table 11 include: "Persian" (Library of Congress. Cataloging Service, *Bulletin 119*, Fall 1976, p. 57), "Arabic" (*Ibid.*, No. 118, Summer 1976, p. 15), Kurdish (Nebez 1976:88-9).

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF STANDARDIZATION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE KURDISH NATION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical outline of the non-linguistic–i.e., social, economic, political and cultural–development of the Kurdish people. Literary and linguistic aspects of this development will be examined in chapter four. The focus of this chapter is the evolution of Kurdish ethnic awareness and the consolidation of the Kurds as a *nation*.

3.0.0 Origins and Ancient History

Reference to the ancient, pre-Islamic history of the Kurds is not relevant to this study in so far as the first literary use of the Kurdish language, as it is spoken now, began much later in the fifteenth century. It is relevant, however, to note that the as yet controversial origin of the Kurds is traced by many researchers and all Kurdish nationalists back to an "Iranian" migration in the first millennium B.C. from an unknown eastern territory into the present area of Western Iran, northern Iraq and southeastern Turkey. It is often argued, on the basis of geographical and historical evidence, that the Kurds are descendants of the Medes who were, together with the Persians, part of the migrating peoples and who established the Median Empire (728-550 B.C.) in Western Iran.[1] The territory occupied by the Kurds had been populated by many peoples, such as the Assyrians, who had established great civilizations based on agricultural economies. After the fall of the Median Kingdom, the area inhabited by the Kurds formed part of various empires: the Achaemenid (550-331 B.C.), Seleucid (331-129 B.C.), Parthian (247 B.C.-226 A.D.), Sasanian (226-636) Empires, the Arab Caliphate (636-1258), the Mongol and Turkmen (1258-1501) and finally the Ottoman and Persian Empires. Throughout these centuries, many Kurdish

dynasties and principalities established their independent, or semi-independent, rule over parts of Kurdistan.

3.1.0 Kurdistan After the Islamic Conquest

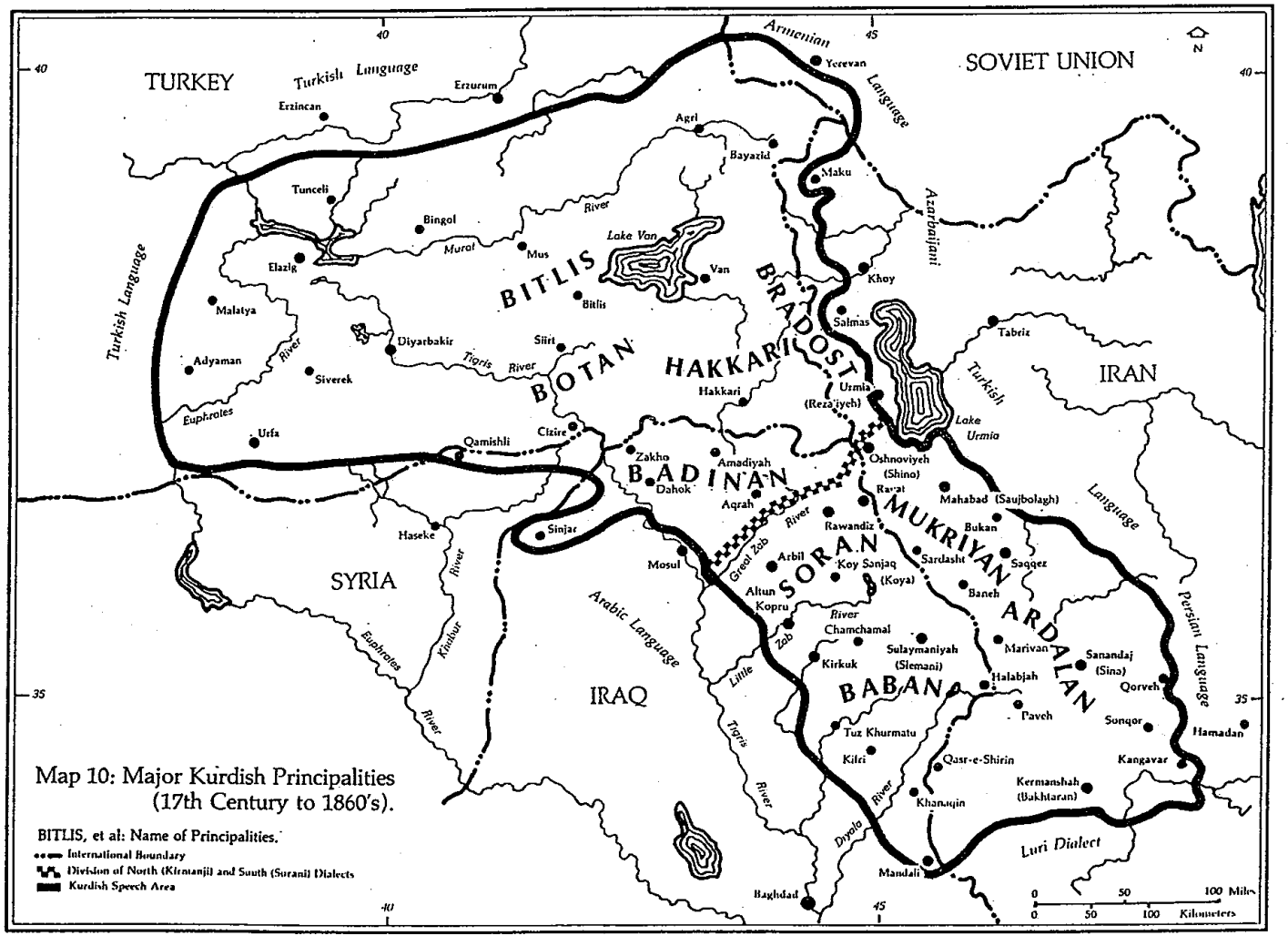
Little is known about the language, script and religion of the Kurds before the Islamic conquest of the seventh century. The majority of the Kurds became Moslems though they did not, unlike some peoples such as the Copts, become Arabized in language. Kurdish language and culture were, however, profoundly affected by the new religion and the Arabic language which formed pillars of the power structure of the Caliphate.

Islam introduced literacy in the Arabic language into Kurdistan and elsewhere. The Holy Book, the Koran, was considered "the word of God" and the Arabic language was believed to be the only language chosen by Allah to impart the divine message. To safeguard the divine character of the book, Koran could not appear in translation. Even the obligatory daily prayers (five times a day) and other (e.g., burial) rituals could not be conducted in the native tongue. Thus, in order to propagate the new faith in a language previously unknown to the populace, individuals had to be trained who could read and write in Arabic, and who were able to interpret and put into practice the religious laws. These men, known as mullas (*mela* in Kurdish), were local Kurds trained in schools which formed part of the mosque system. The earliest Kurdish poets came, invariably, from the ranks of the clergy (cf. 4.2.3 and Table 12).

Even before the collapse of the domination of the Arab Caliphate in the mid-thirteenth century, several Kurdish dynasties--the Shaddadids (951-1174, Transcaucasia), Hasanwayhids (959-1095, Dinawar), Marwanids (990-1096, Diyarbakir), and Annazids (991-1117, Hulwan) had established their power in various parts of Kurdistan. These dynasties were, however, wiped out between the 11th and 15th centuries by invading Seljuq Turks (11-12th c.), the Mongols (13th century) and their successors. Many parts of Kurdistan were depopulated by massacres and migration as a result of the Mongol invasion (Jwaideh 1960:37).

3.1.1 The Rise of Kurdish Political Power: The Principalities, 15th-17th Centuries

In less than a century after the Mongol invasion, life came back to Kurdistan and a process of increasing detribalization and sedentarization led to the formation of no less than forty large and small principalities by the end of seventeenth century (cf. Map 10). The principalities, called *amārāt* in Arabic (Emirates), were characterized by these features: a) power was in the hands of the Emir, Khan, Pasha, Beg or Agha whose rule was hereditary; b) each principality had a territory whose borders were defined by custom and dictated through power; c) an army with standing members and recruits from tribes was


TURKEY
SOVIET UNION
IRAN
SYRIA
IRAQ
Armenian Language
Turkish Language
Azarbaijani Language
Persian Language
Arabic Language
Luri Dialect
Erzincan
Erzurum
Yerevan
Agri
Bayazid
Maku
Tunceli
Bingol
Elazig
Malatya
Adyaman
Siverek
Diyarbakir
Siirt
Mus
Bitlis
Van
Lake Van
Murat River
Tigris River
Euphrates River
Khoy
Salmas
Tabriz
Urmia (Reza'iyeh)
Lake Urmia
Hakkari
Zakho
Amadiyah
Dahok
Aqrah
Oshnoviyeh (Shino)
Rawandiz
Mahabad (Saujbolagh)
Bukan
Saqqez
Baneh
Sardasht
Koy Sanjaq (Koya)
Arbil
Great Zab River
Altun Kopru
Chamchamal
Kirkuk
Sulaymaniyah (Slemani)
Halabjah
Marivan
Sanandaj (Sina)
Qorveh
Pavch
Sonqor
Hamadan
Tuz Khurmatu
Kifri
Qasr-e-Shirin
Kangavar
Kermanshah (Bakhtaran)
Khaniqin
Mandali
Baghdad
Sinjar
Mosul
Haseke
Qamishli
Cizire
Urfa
Little Zab River
Tigris River
Diyala River
Khabur River
BITLIS
BOTAN
HAKKARI
BRADOST
BADINAN
SORAN
MUKRIYAN
BABAN
ARDALAN
Map 10: Major Kurdish Principalities (17th Century to 1860's).
BITLIS, et al: Name of Principalities.
International Boundary
Division of North (Kirmanjil) and South (Sorani) Dialects
Kurdish Speech Area
0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers

kept for purposes of defence and expansion; d) the prince was the sole ruler of the whole territory and owned a considerable number of villages though there were many tribes and smaller feudal lords who were direct owners of the land where they settled and had to contribute to the treasury and army of the prince; e) the more powerful principalities were independent and struck coins and the *khutba*[2] (Friday prayer sermon) was read in the name of the prince; f) the settled population was made up of serfs, *re'iyet*,[3] who were personally dependent upon the feudal lord and were tied to the land; and, g), the seat of the civil and military bureaucracy was usually the largest town in the principality.

Kurdish society had undergone a complex state of social differentiation, especially due to the flourishing of agriculture which allowed limited urbanization. To give one example from the best known case, Bitlis, the capital of the principality bearing the same name, nurtured some five hundred scholars and religious students by the end of the sixteenth century (Bidlisi 1964:447-55). A century later, there were five large mosques, a great number of smaller ones, five *medreses* (religious schools), about seventy *mektebs* (primary schools) and some twenty *tekyes* (according to the seventeenth century Turkish traveller Çelebi 1979:109-110). These institutions were supported by revenues from endowed lands, villages, shops, public baths, etc. The city consisted of five thousand houses and a citadel of three hundred houses (Lewis 1960:1207) which made for an estimated population of 26,500 souls.

The town was also a center for artisans and traders. According to Bidlisi (1964:456) the town had eight hundred shops run by experts in professions and techniques. According to Evliya Çelebi (1611-1684), who had stayed in the town, there were armorers, tailors, weavers, dyers, tanners, etc., working in some 1,200 shops and workshops. Prince Abdal Khan, ruler of the principality, was a scholar, a physician and an able artisan; he owned a library of several thousand volumes (Çelebi 1979:279-87; 1990; cf., also, van Bruinessen 1978:195-212 on Bitlis and Baban principalities and Vasil'eva 1991, on Ardalan and Baban principalities).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the literary use of Kurdish coincides with the rise of Kurdish political power in the 15th and 16th centuries. Writing in Kurdish was in itself a political undertaking in that it involved a challenge to the established norms of linguistic and literary authority associated with the rule of the Arab caliphate and its self-appointed successors, the Ottoman caliphate. Kurdish literature was born in the mosque schools of cities and villages. The princely families and feudal lords were also involved in both literary production and patronage (cf. 4.2.3 and 4.2.6).

3.1.2 The Principalities and Ottoman-Persian Centralization Policy

The social, economic and cultural development of Kurdistan was, however, soon inhibited due to the rise of two powerful states to the west (the

Ottoman Empire) and to the east (the Safavid Persian Empire) of Kurdistan. Pursuing a policy of expansion and centralization, these two states engaged in a destructive war in Kurdistan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan that lasted until the mid-19th century.

The Safavids began first by attempting to remove the Kurdish princes and administrating their territory through governors appointed from the center. This policy met stubborn resistance and the Safavids had to engage enormous numbers of troops in order to extend their control over Kurdistan. The populations of entire principalities were massacred and many conquered tribes were forced into migration to the eastern borders of Iran. Shah Abbas alone deported 15,000 Kurds to Khorasan (Minorsky 1927:1143; cf. Eskandar Monshi 1978:1010-19, official chronicler of Shah Abbas, on the massacre of Mukri Kurds).

The Ottomans at first tried to profit by winning the support of the Kurds in their war with the Persians. They promised to respect the autonomy of the principalities in exchange for military support. After the defeat of the Safavids in the famous battle of Chaldiran (1514), in which the Kurds participated, the Ottoman Sultan Selim officially recognized some sixteen "Kurdish Governments," *Kürd hükumeti*, (cf., among others, van Bruinessen 1978:181-94). The discordance between the princes, characteristic of feudalism, was skilfully utilized by both sides, and a number of principalities fought on the Iranian side.

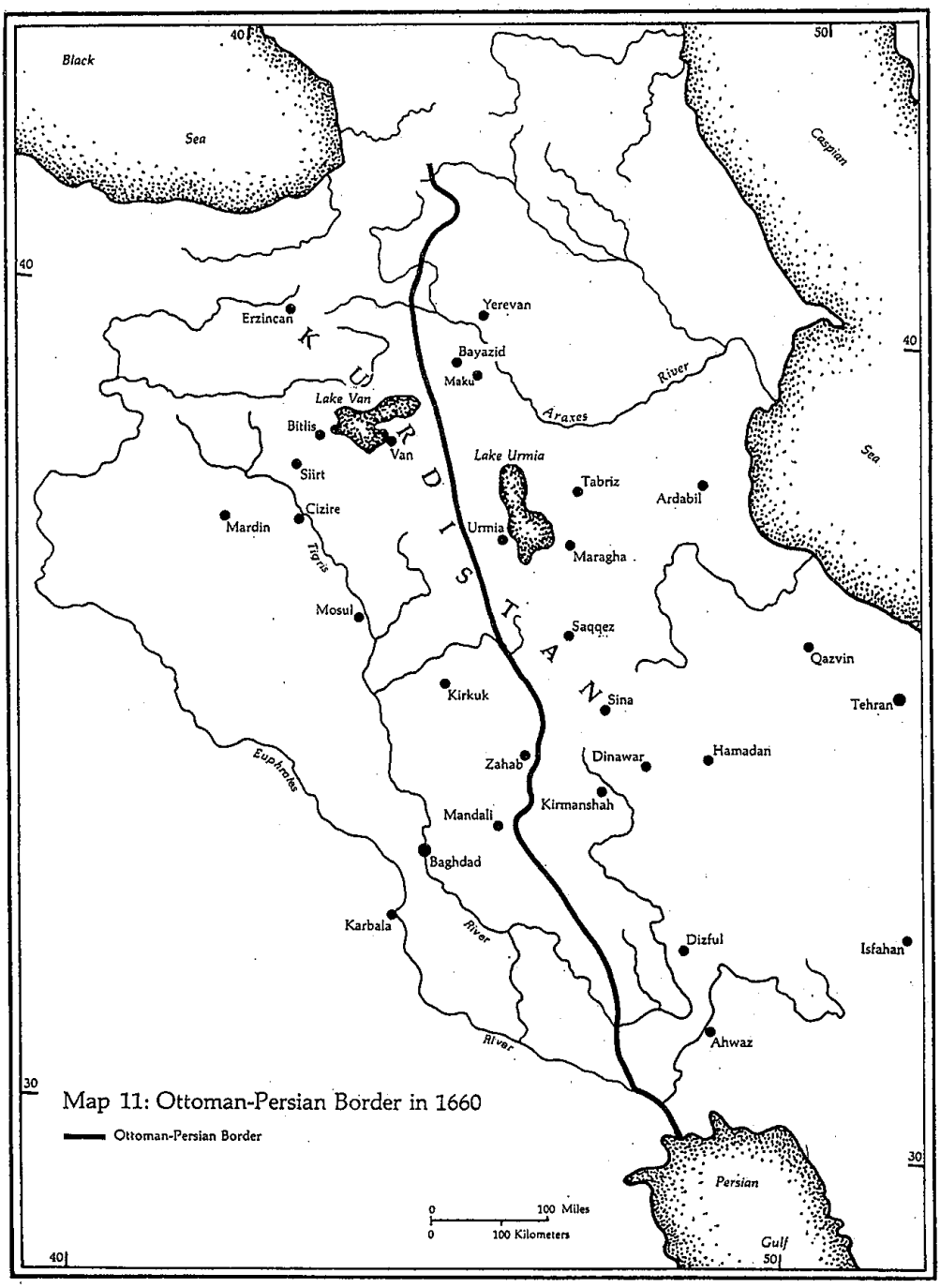
The wars brought incalculable devastation to Kurdistan; the destruction of agriculture, villages, towns, and numerous massacres profoundly retarded the process of social and economic development in Kurdistan and the unification of the Kurds into a nation (for an eyewitness account of the suppression of the Bitlis principality and the destruction of the prince's unique library see Sakisian 1937).

3.1.3 The First Division of Kurdistan, 1639

A treaty signed between the Ottomans and Persians in 1639 established a frontier that survived subsequent wars and other regional upheavals until 1918 (cf. Map 11). The political and economic life of the Kurds has been profoundly affected by their position astride this international frontier (Edmonds 1957:125). "Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralization" (Minorsky 1927:1146). From 1650 to 1730, most of the autonomous principalities in the Diyarbakir-Van area were suppressed (Jwaideh 1960:39), a process that was completed in the mid-19th century.

The impact of the division on Kurdish society was analyzed by the seventeenth century poet Ahmadi Khani (1962: couplets 220-225; cf., also, 4.3.0 to 4.4.0) who wrote:

> Look, from the Arabs to the Georgians,
> The Kurds have become like towers.
> The Turks and Persians are surrounded by them
> The Kurds are on all four corners.


Black
Sea
Caspian
Sea
40
50
30
Erzincan
Yerevan
Bayazid
Maku
Araxes River
Lake Van
Bitlis
Van
Siirt
Cizire
Mardin
Tigris
Mosul
KURDISTAN
Lake Urmia
Tabriz
Ardabil
Urmia
Maragha
Saqqez
Qazvin
Kirkuk
Sina
Tehran
Euphrates
Zahab
Dinawar
Hamadan
Mandali
Kirmanshah
Baghdad
Karbala
River
Dizful
Isfahan
Ahwaz
River
Persian
Gulf
0 100 Miles
0 100 Kilometers
Map 11: Ottoman-Persian Border in 1660
Ottoman-Persian Border

Both sides have made the Kurdish people,
Targets for arrows of fate.
They are said to be keys to the borders
Each tribe forming a formidable bulwark.
Whenever the Ottoman Sea [Ottomans] and the Tajik Sea [Persians]
Flow out and agitate,
The Kurds get soaked in blood
Separating them [the Turks and Persians] like an isthmus.

bifkir ji ʿEreb heta ve Gurcan
Kurmanc çi bûye şibhê burcan
Ev Rûm û ʿEcem bi van ẖesarin
Kurmanc hemî li çar kenarin
Her dû terefan qebîlê Kurmanc
Bo tîrê qeza kirîne amanc
Goya ku li serẖedan kilîdin
Her taʾife seddekin sedîdin
Ev qulzimê Rûm û Beẖrê Tacîk
Hindê ko dikin xirûc û teẖrîk
Kurmanc dibin bi xûn milettex
Van jêk vedikin misalê berzex

Similarly, in the last decade of nineteenth century, Haji Qadir Koyi (cf. 4.5.0) wrote:

[Trapped] between Red-hats [Ottoman Turks] and Black-hats [Persians]
We are wrecked, and will be like branded cattle.

Le mabeynî kiĺaw sûr û kiĺaw reş
Perêşanîn, debîne misalî gay beş

3.1.4 Kurdish National Awakening in the 17th Century: Feudal "Nationalism"

The wars and the division of Kurdistan had two contradictory effects on the national development of the Kurds. On the one hand, they retarded the growth of the Kurds as a unified nation and inhibited the formation of a united Kurdish state. On the other hand, the enormous destruction and suffering caused by foreign domination resulted in the genesis of national awakening in a feudally organized society where loyalties were primarily to family, tribe and birthplace. The idea of nation and nationalism, an apparent anachronism in this part of the world in the seventeenth century, did in fact develop in the particular circumstances of Kurdistan at this time.

This national feeling, distinct from tribal and local attachments, was voiced by both individuals and the masses of the people:

a) The prince of Bitlis, Sharaf al-Din Bidlisi, wrote the first history of the Kurds in 1597. His purpose, he noted in the introduction, was to save the story of the lives of great princes from oblivion. The book covers all parts of Kurdistan though, significantly, the material is not presented on the basis of geographical domain or tribal groupings. The chapters are, rather, arranged on the basis of the degree of independence enjoyed by each principality. The first chapter is about the dynasties that enjoyed the privilege of royalty; the second deals with those who have not claimed royalty but have sometimes struck coin and had *khutba* recited in their name (both were criteria for independent rule); the third is about the families of hereditary governors (*hukkam va umarā*) and the last is on his own principality. The author complained about the disunity of the Kurds (p. 31) but praised the princes of Cizire who united to fight their enemies and were, in this respect, unique in Kurdistan (p. 157).

b) The idea of a Kurdish nation distinct from, and at war with, the ruling Turks, Persians and Arabs was formulated for the first time by Ahmadi Khani in his *Mem û Zîn*, written in 1693-94. Khani believed the Kurds were superior to the neighboring peoples in qualities of valour, hospitality, and munificence. Their inferior political status was due to the absence of a Kurdish state which was, itself, a result of disunity among the princes. The solution was to have a Kurdish King who would protect the Kurds and encourage Kurdish language and literature (cf. 4.3.0).

c) Granted that *beyts* (popular ballads) reflect, in part, the views of rural and tribal people, we find in them the idea of national attachment. For example, in the Ballad of Dimdim[4] which depicts the resistance of the Khan of Bradost against the army of the Safavid King (in 1608), the local Khan is quite often referred to as "the Kurdish Khan" (cf., e.g., Dzhalilov 1967:78, 89, 95, 109) and the support extended by a neighboring Mukri Khan is extolled (p. 93, 133). The Khan of Baban principality is also referred to as "the King of Kurdistan" in the Ballad of Abdulrahman Pashay Baba (Mann 1906) while the Ballad of *Qer û Gulezer* speaks of some of the problems caused by the division of Kurdistan between the empires of Turkey and Persia (cf. *Ibid.* for the text of the ballads).

The many revolts of the Kurdish princes against the two powers undoubtedly followed one single aim—to protect their autonomous hereditary rule. To achieve this purpose, they often fought each other and sided with one of the powers against the other. It seems, on the strength of the evidence from the ballads, that the princes rallied the rural and tribal masses against the Iranians by appealing mostly to religious differences (Sunnite Kurds and Shi'ite Persians) and against the Turkish and Arab rulers by emphasizing ethnic differences (e.g., Kurds versus *Rumi*s, i.e., Ottoman Turks). As far as the limited written sources suggest, all resistance to foreign domination was led by the princes, who defended their own territory, rather than the whole, or major parts, of Kurdistan. This "nationalism" is thus labelled "feudal" in this study to distinguish it from the

modern middle-class nationalism of the present century.[5] This distinction is significant in terms of language development.

3.1.5 The Fall of the Principalities

In spite of the unceasing centralizing efforts of the two states, several principalities were able to survive into the nineteenth century. After much resistance (e.g., Mir Muhammad of Rawandiz, 1826-33; Badir Khan Bag, 1843-46; Yazdan Sher, 1853-55), however, these principalities were all suppressed by the 1860s (Hakkari, Badinan, Soran and Baban in Turkey and Ardalan and Mukri in Persia).

The fall of the Kurdish kinglets did not end the feudal system, which continued to tie the peasants to the land until the late 1950s (Barth 1953:9, 13-14, 80, 132). This system worked as an economic and social impediment to the consolidation of the Kurdish nation. Politically, however, the fall of the principalities put an end to the system of self-rule and brought all parts of Kurdistan under the direct control of the two central governments that extended their military and administrative system together with their language to all the urban centers as well as to parts of the countryside. Another important development, in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the turning of Kurdistan into an arena of conflict for the economic and political interests of the European powers, especially Russia and Britain.

This period is also marked by the development of trade in the towns. Some of the agricultural and natural products of Kurdistan found their way into Europe and Kurdish merchants travelled as far as St. Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw. By the end of the 19th century, post and telegraph services had been established in many larger Kurdish towns and a number of roads had been constructed. The Ottoman government opened a number of secular, including military, schools in some Kurdish towns (cf. 4.2.4, Table 15).

A group of the uprooted princely families and other feudal nobility sided with the central government in order to protect what was left of their property and authority. Another group, however, continued opposition and, whenever possible, armed revolt. Some of the resisting nobility sought the support of European powers, especially Russia and Britain. Members of the nobility who were deported to the cosmopolitan city of Istanbul were experimenting with modern forms of political organization by the turn of the century. The most prominent were the members of the Badir Khan princely family who published the first Kurdish newspaper in 1898 (cf. 7.3.1).

3.1.6 New Trends in the Nationalist Movement

The ideas of Haji Qadir Koyi (1817-1897), the second apostle of Kurdish nationalism, represent the dawn of a new stage in the Kurdish nationalist ideology: breaking with feudal "nationalism" and transition to middle class

nationalism. He strongly reacted against the traditional aristocratic leaders and the clergy, called for the formation of a Kurdish state, propagated the use of Kurdish language and literature, and encouraged the adoption of modern secular education (cf. 4.5.0).

The three revolutionary movements of Russia (1905), Persia (1906-11) and Turkey (1908) gave new impetus to Kurdish nationalism. A number of Kurds were among the leadership of the Young Turks movement led by the Committee of Union and Progress (Jwaideh 1960:290-301). The first Kurdish political organization, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Kurdish Cooperation and Progress Society) appeared in the liberal environment prevailing between July 1908 and April 1909 in Istanbul, and was followed in later years by other political and literary associations. Kurdish leaders used journalism, book publishing and the cultivation of the language as a means of fostering Kurdish nationalism.

The leadership of the organizations remained, however, in the hands of the feudal nobility. The partial transfer of leadership to the middle class elements was not to happen until much later during the years of World War II in Iraq and Iran--a process that is still in the making.

3.1.7 Kurdistan During World War I Years

Kurdistan turned into a battlefield for Russia, Ottoman Turkey and later, in 1917, Britain. Kurdish casualties during World War I have been estimated at 300,000 (out of an estimated population of 3 million). The number of those who perished from cold, famine and pestilence was equal to, if not more than, 300,000. The population of the towns of Rawandiz and Saujbolagh[6] were massacred while seventy per cent of the population of Sulaymaniya region starved to death in 1917 (Jwaideh 1960:360-69).

After the genocide of the Armenian nation in 1915, the Ottoman government began a deportation program in Kurdistan. According to the plan, Kurds were to be broken up into small groups and settled in specified zones in the Turkish speaking areas of Anatolia where their numbers were not to exceed five percent of the total population. Arrangements were also made to settle Kurdish notables and chiefs in cities where they were forbidden to maintain connections with their followers. Kurdish sources, using records of the Turkish Refugee Administration, put the number of the deportees at 700 thousand most of whom died of hunger, cold and disease in the winter of 1916-17 before reaching their destinations (*Ibid.*). Under these circumstances, literary and publishing activity came to an abrupt end during the war years.

3.2.0 The Second Division of Kurdistan, 1918

The defeat of the Ottomans in the war brought most of the territories of the empire under European control. Britain took, among other territories, the three provinces (*vilayets*) of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra which formed the new

country of Iraq. The three *vilayets* were later divided into fourteen *liwas* directly subordinate to Iraq. Syria came under French rule (1918-46). In Turkey, Ottoman rule was replaced by a Republican regime headed by secular nationalist forces led by Kemal Atatürk (cf. 5.1.0 to 5.1.3, for a history of the period).

The second division of Kurdistan found the Kurds further divided amongst five countries with different political systems ranging from monarchist to European mandates to a socialist regime which pursued different policies ranging from linguistic genocide to official promotion of the language (cf. chapter 5).

3.2.1 The "Middle Class" Nationalism

The second division of Kurdistan was markedly different from the preceding one in so far as its consequences on the Kurdish ethnic development are concerned. After the first division, self-rule in the form of (semi-)independent principalities was maintained until the mid-19th century; the second division, however, reduced the Kurds to a divided "non-state nation" (cf. Benjamin 1977) directly ruled by different centralist states.

I. The New State System

Soon after World War I, centralist state systems–Republican Turkey in 1923, Iran in 1925, Iraq and Syria under British and French mandates since the early 1920s–replaced the two loosely integrated states of Ottoman Turkey and Persia. Like other traditional, pre-industrial and pre-capitalist states, Ottoman Turkey and Persia were unable to extend effective political control over all provinces and ethnic groups. Incorporation of the population was possible only collectively–i.e., by ensuring the loyalty of a religious or ethnic community or a geographic region. Integration or assimilation was minimal under this system.

The post-war modern states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria were, on the contrary, strongly centralist in all aspects of national life–economy, politics, language and culture. The integration of ethnic minorities through linguistic and cultural assimilation was a primary objective of these states. Their ideal models were the developed "nation-states" of Europe with one language and culture and one center of political power. The citizens were to be incorporated into the state structure individually rather than collectively. Individuals with different ethnic and linguistic affiliations were assigned *equal* rights and duties with respect to the state. However, the implementation of this principle of "equality" entailed the assimilation of the ethnic peoples because the language and culture of the dominant nation alone was recognized as "official" (cf. chapter 5).

Unlike contemporary Western states, the four regimes ruling Kurdistan aimed at direct control of the major industries, mining, transportation, foreign trade, education, mass media, scientific and cultural associations, and even religious education. The system of political power has been equally centralized leaving no space for opposition of any form. This type of despotic rule has

required the militarization of the entire country, especially politically sensitive areas such as Kurdistan. Since the 1950s, planning of both economic and cultural life of the country, on the national and regional level, has given the states enormous power in their ability to assimilate the ethnic peoples. The Ottoman and Persian states lacked these integrating capabilities especially before the overthrow of the principalities in the mid-19th century.

Quite naturally, assimilation efforts resulted in much resistance which took different forms ranging from peaceful political protest to armed struggle. All forms of protest were suppressed, however, quite often by violent means. According to a study of the management of conflict in the Middle East focusing on the Kurds, "from World War I until 1975, suppression and other violent means were the prevalent means used by Middle Eastern countries to manage the Kurdish problem. Preventive and peaceful measures, on the other hand, were devised to appease the Kurds" (Khosrowshahi 1983: abstract). These violent means include, among others, forced assimilation, resettlement and deportation, confiscation of lands and property by force, imprisonment and execution, genocide, etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 210).

One impact of the 1918 division of Kurdistan was the regionalization and internationalization of the "Kurdish question." Kurdish demands for self-rule in each country became a major concern for the other neighboring states that tried to oppose these demands by diplomatic and military means. The countries involved have generally acted to curb the nationalist movement through military cooperation. Prominent examples were the Treaty of Sa'dabad (1937) between Turkey, Iran and Iraq (Edmonds 1971:91) and the Baghdad Pact of 1955 (Rondot 1956) between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Britain. Other examples include pacts between Turkey and Iraq (1926), Turkey and Iran (1932), Iraq and Syria (1963), Iran and Iraq (1975)–all of these were designed to, among other things, counter and suppress Kurdish nationalist movements (Khosrowshahi 1983:211). The interference of countries outside the region, whether the great powers or others (such as Egypt in the late 1950s; cf. 7.4.3.1), has quite often affected the Kurds in many ways including the use of their language (cf., e.g., 5.1.1 to 5.1.4 on the League of Nations and British involvement in Kurdish rights in Iraq; subchapter 7.4 on the impact of the international situation on the development of broadcasting in Kurdish).

II. The Consolidation of the Kurdish Nation

The partition of Kurdistan amongst five countries and the extension of state power to every corner of the region has undermined the ethnic consolidation of the Kurdish people. However, the Kurds, who were disunited under the regionally and socially divisive feudal conditions, are now more closely bound together by nationalist aspirations. The four parts of Kurdistan are thus united by a well-defined nationalist ideology called *Kurdayetî*. These developments are briefly outlined below.

A. Social and Economic Changes. The major change in social organization is the almost complete sedentarization of the rural population, the growth of urbanization and the rise of a new middle class composed of white-collar groups. A politically important social group is the new intelligentsia (cf. chapter 10).

A very significant change has been the release of the land-tied peasantry as a result of the land reforms of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although the reforms did not aim at liquidating the feudal system, they contributed to its weakening and resulted in the migration of many peasants to urban centers where they became wage-earners.

B. Political Developments: The Ascendancy of the Modernist Leadership. Some of the political consequences of these social and economic changes were the gradual loosening of tribal loyalties, the weakening of both the personal dependence of the peasantry on the feudal lord and the adherence of the rural-urban populace to religious leaders, the shaikhs. The political organizations that were first formed in the post-1908 years had, in fact, been dominated by these traditional leaders. Among the first political parties to renounce the "betrayal" of tribal and feudal lords was "Komeley J.K." (J.K. = Jiyanewey Kurdistan), Society for the Revival of Kurdistan, formed in 1943 in Iranian Kurdistan. This party launched an effective campaign against the traditional leadership of the movement.

The successor of Komeley J.K., the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (of Iran), was able to establish the Kurdish Republic under the favorable conditions of the post-World War II years. However, the leaders of the republic not only toned down the anti-feudal campaign, but tried to win the support of the traditional chiefs by putting them in positions of power. This was bound to be a temporary compromise. Many of the traditional chiefs acted against the republic both prior to and during the central government's offensive in order to overthrow the autonomous state.

It was during the autonomist war of 1961-75 in Iraqi Kurdistan that the most radical breach between the traditionalists, led by Mustafa Barzani, and the modernists, led by the Political Bureau of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq, occurred in 1964. A similar split happened in the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran in the latter part of the 1960s.

The policies, programs and practices of the two trends, traditionalist and modernist, reflect different views of the nation-building process. The modernist leftist leadership aims at eliminating both "national oppression" and social-economic injustice. National oppression, perpetrated by the central governments, includes suppression of language and culture. Social-economic oppression is considered to be perpetrated by both the central government and the local or native system of class rule, i.e., the feudal class. Unlike the traditionalists, the modernists combine the struggle against national oppression with a struggle to overcome backwardness maintained by the native oppressor–i.e., feudalism and tribalism. This struggle includes the organizing and politicizing of the peasantry,

literacy campaigns, organizing women, students, the urban masses, and others, distribution of land among the peasants, and other forms of radical political action. Naturally, the conservative traditionalists feel threatened by these measures.[7]

While the old, feudal nationalism had several centuries of experience of self-rule under the principalities, modern nationalism boasts of the experience of the Kurdish Republic of 1946, which is admired by almost all Kurds as the most glorious achievement of this nation (cf. Roosevelt 1947; Eagleton 1963; and Bois 1964, on the history of the Republic; cf. chapters 7 and 8, on the language situation.)

C. Ideological Developments: Kurdayetî.[8] Although Haji Qadir Koyi (1817-1897) is the forerunner of modern nationalist thinking, the triumph of the modernist trend occurred in the post-World War II period. In 1943, the newly formed political party Komeley J.K. published, clandestinely, selected poems (by Haji Qadir, Mulla Muhammad Koyi and some younger poets) which exposed the negative role of the feudal lords (*axawet*) and tribal chiefs in the nationalist movement. The introductory statement of the book, *Diyarî Komeley J.K. Bo Lawekanî Kurd* (Gift of Komeley J.K. for the Kurdish Youth), said: "In order to make the Kurds advance and succeed on the road to civilization, Komeley J.K. tries with all its power and abilities to uproot, with God's support, tribalism which is the source of all misery and bitter outcomes" (Komeley J.K.:1943, Introduction, unpaginated; cf., also, Figure 1). This idea, already proclaimed by Haji Qadir, stands in sharp contrast to that of Ahmadi Khani who advocated, in the seventeenth century, the unity of the princes and the formation of a single state under a Kurdish king. What connects Khani with modern ideas is his strongly critical view of the discordance of the princes and their inability to unite (cf. 4.3.0).

By the 1960s, the modern nationalist ideas had developed into a coherent system of thought that was named *Kurdayetî*. This term means the idea of and struggle for relieving the Kurds from national oppression by uniting all parts of Kurdistan under the rule of an independent Kurdish state. The main claims of this nationalism have been summed up as follows:

> The Kurds constitute a single nation which has occupied its present habitat for at least three thousand years. They have outlived the rise and fall of many imperial races: Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Turks. They have their own history, language, and culture. Their country has been unjustly partitioned. But they are the original owners, not strangers to be tolerated as minorities with limited concession granted at the whim of the usurpers. (Edmonds 1971:88)

It must be noted that religious considerations play no significant role in *Kurdayetî*; it is a basically secular nationalism although its two apostles, Ahmadi



Fig. 1. Title-page and section-pages of *Diyarî bo Lawekanî Kurd*, a landmark in the development of Kurdish nationalism (cf. 3.2.1.II.B).

Khani and Haji Qadir Koyi, were both clergymen. The minor role of religion can be partly explained by the fact that religious oppression is not a component part of national oppression. The Kurds and the dominant nations of the area are Moslems. In Iran, where sectarian differences do exist (Kurds are Sunnis and the "official religion" of the country is Shi'ism), religious grievances have been voiced (cf. 3.1.4). In Republican Turkey, the coercive Turkification and secularization of the 1920s and 1930s led to two revolts which were led by religious leaders together with nationalist minded figures.

Kurdish nationalist ideology has undergone considerable differentiation, especially since the 1960s. By the 1980s, ideological/political trends that may be identified as "populism," "socialism," "national democracy," and "national socialism" had appeared in the literature and programs of the political parties. Marxism-Leninism has exercised considerable influence on *Kurdayetî*.

D. Cultural Developments. Kurdish culture, *Kurdewarî*,[9] has undergone considerable changes since the beginning of the century. One trend is the increasing urbanization, which is occurring under conditions of intensive contact with the dominant cultures. The mass media, especially broadcasting, together with formal education are rapidly spreading the urban culture through the countryside.

Another important trend of cultural change is the spread of literacy. Although Kurdish culture has been a literate one for centuries, the society was more than 97% illiterate at the beginning of the century (cf. 10.2.0). However, primary education has gradually spread to the countryside. Post-secondary education, a persistent demand of the Kurds, was instituted in some cities in the 1970s. The scribal culture has slowly, but steadily, turned into a print one since the beginning of this century (cf. 7.1.0).

The diversification, modernization and mass-mediation of culture are other visible trends of socio-cultural change. Television (in Iraq and Iran), radio, books and journals have enriched the intellectual life of the Kurds. Kurdish literature has become more diversified with new genres (plays, novels, short stories, essays, new poetry and other literary forms) and new schools of literary creation such as realism, romanticism and naturalism (cf. 8.6.0).

All manifestations of Kurdish culture have persistently been suppressed by Syria (since 1962) and Turkey. While foreign broadcasting carries Kurdish music and some forms of literature (plays and stories) into the confines of the home in these countries, some cultural traits such as dance and national dress are eliminated wherever state power is present. Strict political control, together with widespread poverty, make the use of modern tools such as videos and other electronic media difficult. Transistor radios and cassette tape recorders have, however, found their way into many remote villages. In Iran, for example, where music is no longer on the air (except "revolutionary," i.e., Islamic songs approved by the state) the tape recorder helps the maintenance of national music.

The impact of modern technology on Kurdish culture is, thus, twofold: on one hand, it acts as a powerful tool for assimilating the Kurds into the dominant

culture (Turkification, Arabization and Persianization); on the other hand, it helps the Kurds, if they enjoy political and economic freedom, to resist planned assimilation.

By the mid-1980s, three major parts of Kurdistan (Turkey, Iraq and Iran) were engaged in a bitter war for self-rule. Turkey carried out population transfer plans and the formation of "strategic hamlets."[10] Turkey also carried out military actions against the Kurds inside Iraqi Kurdistan while Iran and Iraq were engaged in suppressing the Kurdish autonomist movement within their borders and, at the same time, helping each other's Kurds in order to win their own war. Some Kurdish political organizations of Iraq, disappointed by the failure of negotiations with the central government and affected by the prospects of the disintegration of Iraq, were reconsidering their demand for autonomy and envisaging secession, i.e., the formation of an independent Kurdish state.[11]

3.2.2 Summary and Conclusions

A major trend of social and economic change involving detribalization, sedentarization and urbanization in Kurdistan is discernible as early as the fifteenth century. These changes were accompanied by: (a) the rise of Kurdish political/state power in the form of kinglets and principalities that ruled over most parts of Kurdistan from the 15th to mid-19th century; (b) national awakening and the idea of a Kurdish nation distinct from the neighbouring Arab, Turkish and Persian peoples; this anachronistic, feudal "nationalism" grew partly in response to Ottoman-Safavid attempts to overthrow Kurdish political power and to incorporate Kurdistan into their empires; and, (c) the literary evolution of the Kurdish language.

Until the early 20th century, Kurdish society was characterized by: (a) a feudally organized structure that was disunited politically and divided between two powerful empires; (b) the absence of a unified Kurdish state; (c) the essentially rural and tribal nature of the speech community; and, (c) an early growth of a strong nationalist thinking. While nationalism was a major driving force for creating a national language, the other "external" factors (i.e., a, b and c) worked as obstacles towards this end.

The 1918 division of Kurdistan reduced the speech community to minority status, a "non-state nation" divided amongst five countries. The post World War I period is characterized by two conflicting trends: (a) efforts by "modernizing" states, especially Turkey, Iran and Syria, to eliminate the ethnic identity of the Kurds and (b) Kurdish efforts to resist assimilation by different forms of nationalist struggle ranging from language cultivation to armed resistance. Kurdish nationalism has, in fact, grown stronger under conditions in which ethnic loss is eminent. A new middle class nationalism and increasing diversification in the ideology and culture of the speech community has gradually replaced the traditional way of life. The next chapter examines literary-linguistic trends of development before the twentieth century.

Chapter 3 Notes

1. Cf., among others, Minorsky (1927:1132-34; 1940) and Jwaideh (1960:20-27); a more recent summation is Limbert (1968); for an argument against the Median origin, based on philological considerations, cf. MacKenzie (1961a) and response by Wahby (1965). Several reprints and translations of Wahby's article demonstrate the significance of the Median origin for the modern nationalists. The Median connection not only provides "authenticity" but, also, distinguishes the Kurds from the linguistically related dominant Persian nation.

2. *Khutba* is a pulpit address of prescribed form that is read in mosques on Fridays at noon prayer and contains an acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the reigning prince (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Langauge*, 1981).

3. Kurdish *re'iyets*, called by different names in Kurdistan, were tied to land and personally dependent on the landlord, *agha*, *khan* or *beg*. Until the land reforms of the 1960s, they had to get the landlord's or his agent's permission for travelling or marriage.

4. The following story depicts the political awareness of the *beytbêj*, bards. The author and a friend, Abd ul-Hamid Huseini, were collecting ballads (*beyts*) in March 1971 in Mahabad. Mr. Huseini learned about the visit to Mahabad of a peasant and bard who was known as Ahmadi Dimdimi [Ahmad of Dimidim] because he and his forefathers were famous for reciting the "Ballad of Dimdim." On first contact, through an acquaintance of Mr. Huseini, he refused to recite the ballad to us, strangers he could not trust. Faced with insistence and after inquiry about us, we were finally received by Ahmad in a humble home in a suburban quarter of the town where rural migrants were dwelling. The bard apologized sincerely and said, "I did not know you when I was first contacted; to tell you the truth, I don't dare have this ballad recorded by anyone [that I don't know] because thousands of *'Ajams* (Persians) are killed in the ballad." The bard was referring to the contemporary political, anti-government implications of the seventeenth century revolt against the Safavid king of Persia. He would have faced persecution by the Shah's secret police, SAVAK, if they found out about the singer through the tape.

5. On Kurdish feudalism, cf., among others, Nikitine (1925), De Morgan (1914) and Barth (1953:13-14).

6. For an eye-witness report on the massacre of Saujbolagh (today's Mahabad), cf. Fossum (1918).

7. It is interesting to note that during the 1964 split, the feudal lords (*axawet*) who were against Mustafa Barzani and the autonomist movement sided with Barzani against the modernists. (on the split, cf. Jawad 1981:159-73 and Ibrahim 1983: 517-32). Chaliand (1980:16), writing in 1977, refers to the persistence of the traditional retrogressive trend in the leadership of the Kurdish nationalist movement.

8. *Kurdayetî* is a noun formed of *Kurd* and the suffix *-ayetî* used for forming abstract nouns. Wahby and Edmonds (1966) define it as the "Kurdish patriotic movement" (cf., also, Kurdoev and IUsupova 1983, for a similar definition).

9. *Kurdewarî* (*Kurd*+*-ewarî*, nominal suffix meaning 'in the manner of') is defined as "the Kurdish world, something typically Kurdish" by Wahby and Edmonds (1966); Kurdoev and Iusupova (1983) give a similar meaning as well as "Kurdish country." The term is widely used in Kurdistan. The earliest written record is probably Ahmadi Khani's *Mem û Zîn* composed in 1693-94 (Khani 1962, couplet 356).

10. The population of twenty villages was resettled in the first "security village," Derelerin Şirnak district in 1986 (*Milliyet*, May 3, 1986 reprinted in Institut Kurde de Paris, *Information and Liaison Bulletin*, No. 18, May 1986, p. 55. For information on deportations, cf. *Ibid.*, No. 23, February 1987, p. 7).

11. During the post-World War II period, most political organizations have been demanding autonomy within the borders of each country. This demand appeared under the slogan "Democracy for Iraq (or Iran), autonomy for Kurdistan." This slogan has never removed or disguised the desire for an independent united Kurdistan. The adoption of the slogan reflects both the influence of the communist movement in these countries and political expediency. While the communist organizations have generally been sympathetic to the "right of self-determination" for the Kurds, they have emphasized the need for a common struggle of all the nationalities within the borders of each country. The nationalists have generally considered autonomy as a first stage in the process of unification and the formation of a united Kurdish state. For an example of recent changes in strategy (the shift to "self-determination"), cf. *Kurdayetî* (Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1985, pp. 2-9), journal of the Union of Revolutionaries of Kurdistan (Yeketî Şorişgêranî Kurdistan), one of the two organizations forming the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Since 1984, a radical political party, Partîya Karkerên Kurdistan (the Kurdistan Workers Party), has has conducted armed struggle for independence from Turkey.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRE-STANDARD STAGE: THE KURDISH LITERARY DIALECTS, 15th CENTURY TO 1917

The previous chapter provided an overview of non-linguistic trends in the development of the Kurds as a nation. This chapter will deal with changing trends in the development of the written use of the Kurdish language, the scope of its literary growth, and the obstacles to the development of a standard variety. The focus of this chapter is on the efforts of two nationalist poets who strived for the cultivation of the language in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The purpose of the chapter is to provide a basis for identifying standardization trends in the post-1918 period (chapters 5 to 9).

4.1.0 Basic Data on the Literary Dialects

A considerable portion of the Kurdish literary heritage has not been printed due to political and economic constraints (cf. 7.1.0). Most manuscripts, especially those in private possession, were destroyed under repressive conditions in Turkey, Iran and Syria (cf. chapter 5). The available sources do, however, provide a fairly clear picture of the trends of literary growth of the Kurdish language.

Basic information on "major" poets, their dialect, and dates of their lives or works is provided in Table 12. A "major" poet is here defined as one possessing a *dîwan* (collection of poems), or any compilation with more than one piece of poetry, whether published or in manuscript form which is available in a public library.[1]

According to the information in Table 12, literary production began in the Hawrami dialect and soon after in Kurmanji. Although the Sorani dialect was the last to develop literature, its growth has continued uninterruptedly. The following

Table 12. Poets and their Dialects, to 1917

	Name	Date	Dialect		
			K	S	H
1	Mala Pareshan	c. 1398-9	.	.	+
2	Ali Hariri	c. 1425-1490?	+	.	.
3	Malay Jiziri	c. 1570-1640	+	.	.
4	Salim Sleman	w. 1586-7	+	.	.
5	Raza Khan	c. 1570-1640	+	.	.
6	Faqe Tayran	c. 1590-1660	+	.	.
7	Mistafa Besarani	1641-1702	.	.	+
8	Ahmadi Khani	1650-1706	+	.	.
9	Mala Bate	c. 17th cen.	+	.	.
10	Mihamad Quli Kandolayi	late 17th-18th cen.	.	.	+
11	Haris Bitlisi	c. 1758-9	+	.	.
12	Khanay Qubadi	1700-1759	.	.	+
13	Wali Dewana	1747-1798	.	.	+
14	Mirza Almas Khan	c. 1763	.	.	+
15	Mirza Shafi' Kulyayi	c. 1763	.	.	+
16	Shah Perto	w. 1820	+	.	.
17	Mawlana Khalid	1777-1826	.	.	+
18	Mala Khalidi Si'irti	d. 1835	+	.	.
19	Wida'i	c. 1840	+	.	.
20	Mistafa Kurdi	1809-1849	.	+	.
21	Sayday Hawrami	1784-1852	.	.	+
22	Khidir Nali	1797-1855?	.	+	.
23	Ahmadi Kor	1856	.	+	.
24	Abdul Rahman Salim	1800-1866	.	+	.
25	Ahmad Begi Komasi	1793-1876	.	.	+
26	Malay Jabari	1806-1876	.	.	+
27	Abdul Rahim Mawlawi	1806-1882	.	.	+
28	M. Wasman Haji Isma'il	1796-1889	.	.	+
29	Haji Qadir Koyi	1817-1897	.	+	.
30	M. Nur'Ali Kandolayi	19th cen.	.	.	+

Table 12. Poets and their Dialects, to 1917 (continued)

	Name	Date	Dialect		
			K	S	H
31	M. Wali Kirmashani	d. 1900	.	.	+
32	Mihamad Amin Say-ul-	c. 1903	.	.	+
33	Sadat	1837-1906	.	+	.
34	Mala Marifi Kokayi	1830-1904	.	+	.
35	Mihamadi Mahwi Salih Hariq	1851-1907	.	+	.
36	Shaikh Raza	1835-1909	.	+	.
37	Abdulla Adab	1859-1912	.	+	.
38	Abdul Rahim Wafayi	1844-1914	.	+	.
39	Tahir Bag Jaf	1875-1917	.	+	.

Abbreviations: c, circa; d, died; H, Hawrami; K, Kurmanji; M., Mala; S, Sorani; w., work (book, poem, etc).
Source: Cf. Note 1.

survey of the nature of the literary dialects is based mainly on data from the Kurmanji dialect which has a longer, albeit declining, literary life.

4.1.0 The Hawrami Literary Dialect

The Hawrami dialect (cf. 1.3.7.) has developed, in spite of a relatively small number of speakers (cf. 1.3.2), a rich body of poetic literature devoted mainly to epics, lyrics and religious themes. It has also served as "the sacred language" of a secret religion, Ahl-i Haq (Minorsky 1960:262), prevalent mainly in Iranian Kurdistan.

The Hawrami dialect developed into a literary koine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was also used as a medium of poetic expression by non-Hawrami speakers in neighboring areas. The dialect was adopted, along with Persian, as the literary language of the court of the Ardalan principality (Minorsky 1943:76) and also in the rival Baban court, although the latter switched to the Sorani dialect towards the end of its rule (Edmonds 1957:10). Ardalan patronage was perhaps due to the fact that the Ardalan princes originally came from Hawraman, the homeland of Hawrami speakers.

Several factors have contributed to the decline of this literary dialect. One major factor was the fall in the mid-19th century of the Ardalan principality and its replacement by direct rule of the Persian government. Another factor was the

flourishing of Sorani poetic literature in southern Kurdistan at the Baban court. Of even greater significance, however, was the officialization of Sorani in Iraq in the post-1918 years.

Hawrami literature consists of romantic and heroic epics, lyrics and religious poetry. A considerable portion of the epic material is translated from Persian literature, notably *Shāhnāmi* (Book of Kings). This borrowed portion of the literature is apparently produced by the Hawrami poets of the Shi'ite sect who because of common religious bonds felt close to Persian. Literary production in Hawrami has at the present time come to a virtual standstill (cf. 7.2.2.4.A). The increasing literary decline of the dialect can be attributed to other unfavorable circumstances, e.g., (a) the speech community is an impoverished peasant society with no significant degree of urbanization (cf. 10.1.0), (b) there has been no visible Kurdish nationalist activism; and, (c) most of the speech area lies within the Iranian side of the frontier where literary activity in any dialect was proscribed under the Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-79). It is interesting to note that the use of the dialect as a vehicle of the religious literature of Ahl-i Haq has not enhanced its status because of the secrecy associated with a minority religion practiced under unfavorable conditions. Similarly, the use of the dialect in state broadcasting (in Iran and Iraq) since the 1960s has not helped the proliferation of the literary dialect (cf.4.7.10.2).

4.2.0 The Kurmanji Literary Dialect

The Kurmanji dialect produced a considerable number of important literary works until the mid-19th century when a decline in output can be discerned (cf. Table 11). Revival came about, however, in the post-1918 period when poets from the USSR, Syria and Turkey began to engage in literary production.

4.2.1 Literary Production and "Linguistic Nationalism"

The earliest written use of the dialect was for poetic literary expression. The poets, Ali Hariri, Malay Jiziri, Salim Sleman, etc., were all mullas who had acquired literacy not in their mother tongue but in Arabic and Persian. A number of these poets have stated their reasons for choosing to compose literary works in Kurdish. For example, Malay Jiziri (c. 1570-1640) wrote that his poetry made the Kurds free of dependence on the Persian poets of Shiraz (quoted and translated by MacKenzie 1969:126):

> If you want strewn pearls from verse
> Look into Mala's poems; what need do you have of Shiraz?
>
> *Ger lu'lu'ê mensûr ji nezmê tu dixwazî*
> *Der şi'rê Melê bîn, te bi Şîraz ci ḧacet?*

Another poet, Haris Bitlisi (1965:6-7), wrote in the introduction to his work, *Leylî û Mecnûn* (c. 1758-9), that on one beautiful day in spring, while watching the wonders of nature, a "sun" (*şamis*), i.e., a maiden or beauty, appeared to him. Their prolonged dialogue ended in a discussion of poetry and the elegance of rhythm and diction. They agreed that poetry "was appreciated by both the nobles and the common people." Then,

> I asked what her hidden desire was.
> She said, "A translation of [the Persian] *Layli and Majnun*
> into Kurdish verse so that we understand it,
> Since we do not know Persian."
>
> *Pirsî me vê miraz meknûn*
> *Go, 'Tercimekî ji 'Leylî û Mecnûn'*
> *Kurdî tu veznikî da bizanîn*
> *Lo em çu bi Farsî nizanîn.*"

Another poet composing in Hawrami, Khanay Qubadi (1700-59) (quoted in Hawramani 1981:28-29), wrote that "although Persian was said to be as sweet as sugar, Kurdish was sweeter than Persian."

These ideas reflect a sense of "linguistic nationalism" among the early poets who could not compare Kurdish with Arabic (because of its divine aura) but felt free to confront the prestigious Persian language. In fact, literary and linguistic independence were regarded, by Ahmadi Khani (17th century), as a major condition for building a sovereign Kurdish state (cf., 4.3.0).

4.2.2 Functions of the Literary Dialect: Literature, Education, and Religion

Literary creation remained the only written use of the language until the 17th century when attempts were made to introduce Kurdish as a medium of instruction into the educational system of the mosques. The purpose of mosque schools was to train mullas, i.e., the clergy, in Arabic and, to a lesser extent, in Persian. The core of the mosque school curriculum consisted of Arabic grammar, the fundamentals of Islam, logic, elementary arithmetic, and jurisprudence. According to Islam, the holy Book Koran is the word (*kalām*) of Allah and cannot be translated into other languages. This explains why obligatory daily prayers (*nöj*) and other religious rites, such as burial, are conducted solely in Arabic.

Taking the practice of mosque schools since the nineteenth century as a guide, we may infer that Kurdish was always used to explain the unfamiliar Arabic language to the student. The introduction of Kurdish textbooks into the linguistically closed education system was, therefore, partly a response to a real need (cf. 4.3.2.2).

Writing in the mid-19th century, Mala Mahmud Bayazidi (in Jaba 1860:17-9) elaborated on how Kurdish language textbooks were compiled. Before the year 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.), according to Bayazidi, Kurdish *telebes* and *feqês* (theological students) had to learn Arabic grammar from very difficult Arabic textbooks. About this time, however, an intelligent person named Ali appeared in the village of Taramakh in Hakkari region. He had travelled to Baghdad, Mosul, Badinan and Soran (cf. Map 10) in order to acquire education. He was especially well-versed in grammar. "Ali Taramakhi established a mosque and a school in the village and taught for a time. He saw and observed that the science of grammar was a very difficult art" and that the beginner was unable to derive the fundamental principles from the Arabic textbooks. He, therefore, composed a grammar for the beginners which is still (1850s) "extremely well-received among Kurdish *telebes*; it is an important and required text" (*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18).

Bayazidi (*Ibid.*, p. 17-18) gave a brief account of the curriculum of the mosque schools. To graduate or, rather, to be licenced ("*me'zûn bûn*") as a mulla, the student must acquire twelve "sciences." Three of these "sciences" or, to be more exact, subjects, were taught with the aid of books written in Kurdish. The books were: (1) *Mewlûda Kurmancî*, a work on the birth of the prophet Muhammad, (2) *Nûbehar*, Khani's Arabic-Kurdish lexicon and, (3) *Taṣrîf, Ẓurûf wa Tarkîb*, on Arabic grammar composed by Mala Yunis [Halqatini]. Another text, not mentioned by Bayazidi, was a popular short work, written in verse or prose, usually called *'Eqîde*, which was a compendium of Islamic doctrines (cf. 4.3.2).

While the translation of Islam's holy book, the Koran, into Kurdish was not permitted, the small persecuted Yezidi religion used Kurdish as one of its vehicles of religious expression. According to Menzel (1980: 208), "...the religious language of the Yazidis is Kurdish and all the prayers of the Yazidis known to us are in Kurdish (for example, the chief prayer, the morning prayer, the formulae used at baptism and circumcision, the proclamation at the assembly of *Sandjak*, and God Himself in the apocryphal continuation of Mashaf-rash speaks Kurdish." The two sacred books, *Kitab al-Djilwa* (the Book of Revolution) and *Maṣḥaf-rash* (Black Book) are written in both Arabic and Kurdish. Because of persecution, the books have been kept secret and as a result, their impact on the development of the Kurdish language has been minimal. One of the copies of the books that reached the hands of a Christian missionary early this century is in the Sorani dialect (*Ibid.*, p. 209) though the followers of the religion are all Kurmanji speakers.

Outside the sphere of literature, education and religion, a medical text written by Mala Mihamadi Arvasi in 1790 is known (Bois 1966:123; Khalidi 1892:267; Hartmann 1898:109). During the mid-19th century, a number of works on history, grammar, social customs, etc., were compiled by Mala Mahmud Bayazidi (cf. below).

4.2.3 The Poets: Restricted Social Background

An examination of the social background of poets sheds light on some of the limitations on the production and reception of literary work. During the period under review, poets came from two distinct backgrounds--the clergy and the feudal nobility. They were, in fact, the two main groups which had access to education (cf. Table 13).

Table 13. Social Background of Poets

	Social Base[a]	No.	% of Total	% of A+B+C
A.	The Clerical Groups	100	45.24	68.5
	Mulla	65	29.41	44.2
	Shaikh	25	11.31	17.0
	Mewlana	5	2.26	3.4
	Feqê	3	1.35	2.0
	Sofî	1	0.45	0.6
	Derwêş	1	0.45	0.6
B.	Non-Clerical	17	7.69	11.5
	Mirza (scribes)	10	4.52	6.8
	Women	7	3.16	4.7
C.	Feudal Nobility	30	13.57	20.4
	Bag	17	7.69	11.5
	Khan	7	3.16	4.7
	Agha	3	1.35	2.0
	Mir	2	0.90	1.3
	Pasha	1	0.45	0.6
	Total	**147**	**66.51**	**100.00**
D.	Untitled/Unknown	74	33.48	50.3
	Grand Total	**221**		

[a]Cf. 2.1.13 for definitions of professions/titles.
Source: Cf. Note 2.

According to the data in Table 13, the mullas formed the largest constituent section of the poets in pre-1918 Kurdistan. Together with other clerical groups, they made up 68.5% of the total 147 poets whose social background is known. This situation, by no means uncommon in traditional societies, can be explained by the fact that the propagation of Islam which requires literacy in Arabic depends on the presence of at least one mulla in each mosque. In order to train mullas many mosques include a school which train a number of students (*feqê*). Kurdish literature emerged in these mosque schools (cf. 3.1.0; cf., also, 5.4.0, on the Syrian government's plan to deport the mullas because of their literary activism).

Mullas often came from the poorest families in the villages or towns. Throughout their schooling and during their lifetime, they were supported by both peasants and the village landlord (each contributing a specified share of support) and, when available, through endowments (usually income from real estate). In the towns, mullas were supported by residents in the neighborhood served by each mosque as well as by endowments. The seventeenth century poet, Ahmadi Khani, put the "poets and the poor" in sharp contrast with "the governors and Amirs" (cf. 4.3.1.2).

Naturally, there was considerable differentiation among the mullas in terms of competence and obligations. The most refined and knowledgeable were *melay muderris* (teaching mullas), who in addition to their recognition as authorities on religious affairs, regularly taught a number of students; lower in status were *melay pêşnöj* (prayer-leading mullas), who led prayers and advised on religious practice. Naturally, some overlap occurred between the two functions. Another significant distinction was made between *melay dwazde 'ilm*, fully educated mullas who were knowledgeable in the "twelve sciences," and *kolke mela*, uncultivated mullas who were barely literate.

Shaikhs, in Kurdistan, are religious figures who teach their Path (*terîqet*) to their followers or aspirants (*mirîd*) in their headquarters called *tekê* or *tekye* or *xaneqa*. Although some shaikhs are from lower-class origins, they ultimately have become wealthy landowners through the acceptance of gifts from thousands of their followers and by other means (cf. van Bruinessen 1978:318-9). *Derwêş* (dervish) are practicing disciples of the Qadiri Path while *sofis* belong to the rival Naqshbandi Path. *Shaikhs* are less numerous than mullas.

Some members of the feudal nobility acquired literacy skills through private tutoring provided by mullas. This class has traditionally tended to look down on literacy and enjoyed the services of a *mîrza* (scribe) or a mulla whenever necessary. The few women poets all belong to the nobility whose daughters could be provided with private tutoring.

The untitled/unknown group in Table 13 includes those names without sufficient information on dates and other details. It is unlikely that other social classes or groups, e.g., merchants, might be represented in so far as the available biographical data (e.g., in Sajjadi 1971) do not corroborate it.

The evidence presented thus far has shown the restricted nature of the social bases from which literary figures could emerge. It also points to the absence of professionalization in the literary field.

4.2.4 The Absence of a Reading Public

By "reading public" is meant a population, over fifteen years of age, capable of reading independently. To qualify as a "public," rather than a small circle of bibliophiles, the body of readers must be large and economically affluent enough to create a demand for literary production and, thus, contribute to the sustenance of a number of writers (cf., below, 4.7.0. and 10.2.0).

In the predominantly illiterate society of Kurdistan the size of a body of potential readers was too small to be called a "public." The potential audience for poetic literature were the clergy, the literate feudal nobility, scribes and, in the towns, the few literate individuals in the administrative apparatus of the larger principalities. Throughout Kurdistan, in villages and towns, the mosque schools were the main centres of literary production and reception.

According to Çelebi (1979), the major 17th century source on Kurdistan, mosque schools and primary schools (*mekteb*) flourished in Kurdish towns at this time. The town of Bitlis (about 26,500 inhabitants) had some 110 large and small mosques (110 altars, "*mihrab*," each mosque having only one) five of which were, also, important schools (pp. 109-110). Diyarbakir had fourteen mosques each of which housed two schools (p. 44). The city of Van had six mosque schools and about twenty primary schools (pp. 213-4). Travelling in Kurdistan, Çelebi, met a large number of learned mullas, scholars and poets in these towns. It is not possible to estimate the percentage of the literate population in any part of Kurdistan though we know that in 1597 the town of Bitlis nurtured some 500 religious scholars and students (Bidlisi 1597:447-55).

The great mosques maintained their own libraries. For example, the Red Mosque (Mizgewtî Sûr) of Saujbolagh (now Mahabad) built in 1678 (1089 A.H.) had a large library with "innumerable books" by the early nineteenth century (Banayi 1829/30: 30). Similarly, another library at Sanandaj contained a collection of some 2,000 volumes (Nikitine 1921:103). In the early twentieth century, a *tekye* in Van (Turkey) had a library of 3,000 volumes with about forty to fifty volumes in Kurdish (Sykes 1915:425).

The frequent wars in Kurdistan led to a marked decline in the number of mosques and in the literate population. This was especially evident after the suppression in the mid-19th century of the remaining principalities. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the population of Bitlis was estimated at 38,886 souls in 8300 houses with only fifteen mosques, and four *tekyes*, (Cuinet 1892:562; on seventeenth century figures, cf. 3.1.1.). Referring to the flourishing of religious education in the past, Mala Mahmud Bayazidi (in Jaba 1860:18-19) wrote in the 1850s: "...now, schools and clergy and education (*xöndin*) in Kurdistan have become very scarce and are rarely found." At more

or less the same time, Haji Qadiri Koyi wrote

> The mosques, altars and pulpits are unattended
> Nor ask about the sad affair of the school[s]!
>
> *Mesjid û mihrab û minber bêkese*
> *Her mepirse halî çone medrese*

A fairly clear picture of the number of mosque schools and their students at the turn of the century in Sulaymaniya region is provided in Table 14.

Table 14. Mosque Schools in Sulaymaniya Region, 1901

Location	a	b	c	d	e
	Number of				
	Schools	Teachers	Students	Popul.	Villages
Sulaymaniya (Qadha Center)	33	33	242	26,000	104
Ma'murat al-'Aziz [Pishdar/Marga]	17	17	160	6,600	60
Gul'anbar [Halabja]	4	5	77	700	95
Bazian, Sharbazhêr	0	0	0	12,000	94
Total	**54**	**55**	**479**	**51,600**	**353**

Source: **a**, **b** and **c** are based on Ottoman Government (1901:913-14); **d** and **e** are from Cuinet (1892:866).

One major impact of the extension of Ottoman rule over all parts of Kurdish provinces in the latter part of 19th c. was the opening of modern schools. These schools nurtured a new generation of intelligentsia that was different from the traditional clerical and aristocratic literati. First, their students were educated in Turkish and learnt a European language, usually French. Secondly, they were secular in world outlook and education; the schools taught natural sciences, mathematics, history, and geography, while military education provided training in cavalry, artillery and engineering. And finally, the graduates of these schools

became cadres for the Government's civil and military bureaucracies. The new intelligentsia played a significant role in the new literary, linguistic and political upsurge during and after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. A general view of the size of the new intelligentsia is provided by data on Rüşdiye schools (a type of middle or "upper elementary" school with a graduating age of approximately twelve years), and their students and teachers in three Kurdish regions in 1898 (cf. Table 15).

Based on the data presented in Tables 14 and 15, it is possible to draw, for comparative purposes, a picture of the size of the educated group of Sulaymaniya region at the turn of the century. In 1901, there were 479 religious students (*feqê*) in Sulaymaniya *Sanjak* out of a population of 51,600 (cf. Table 14). The number of Rüşdiye school students was 170 (figure based on Table 15). While these figures show a much higher population of religious students, combined they indicate an insignificant proportion to the total population i.e., 649 students in a population of 51,600 (1.2%). The ratio of teachers, seventy to total population was obviously much smaller, 0.1%. A significant change in these ratios of students/teachers to total population occurred in the 1970s (cf. 10.2.0).

At the turn of the century, oral literature, i.e., popular ballads (*beyts*) and stories drew a larger audience than written literature. In 1904, Mann, a German linguist doing field research in Kurdistan, was able to purchase and have numerous Kurdish manuscripts copied in the towns he visited while he found the teahouses (*qawexane*) of Saujbolagh overcrowded with the enthusiastic audience of a visiting bard (*beytbêj*) (Mann 1906:XXIX). In the countryside, the feudal aristocracy had their own bards who also sang for the village folk whenever the latter had the leisure to listen to the highly esteemed performance. This predominance of oral literature was, thus, little different from that of Medieval Europe. To sum up, the reading circle in the early centuries of literary growth was small and of primarily clerical background. By the end of 19th century, however, literacy was growing and a new secular intelligentsia was rising.

4.2.5 Literary Forms: Prose and Poetry

Reflecting a universal trend in literary development (cf., among others, Peyre 1983:1074), Kurmanji literature had its origins in poetry and remained a predominantly poetic medium until 1898 when the first newspaper written in Kurmanji appeared. Poetic literature is usually divided into three different types–narrative, lyrical and dramatic–based upon the poet's subject matter and his own relationship to it (Alden 1957:470-71). Kurmanji poetry, however, is composed of narrative and lyrical types only. The narrative poetic type includes both romantic (e.g., *Mem û Zîn*, *Leylî w Mecnûn*) and heroic (e.g., *Beytî Dimdim*) epics. Non-narrative poetry is quite diversified in form.

The Kurdish poetic literature employed the stringent formal pattern and the conventional imagery of Persian and Arabic literatures. The borrowed metric system (*'arūḍ*) did not fit the Kurdish language though its employment was

Table 15. Schools and Number of Students in Bitlis, Diyarbakir and Kurdish Towns of Mosul Vilayet, 1898

Location	Students	Teachers
Bitlis Vilayet		
Bitlis City		
Rüşdiye (Adolescence) Schools	45	5
Military Rüşdiye	?	15
Muş R.	93	3
Siird R.	54	3
Ganj R.	36	1
Akhlat R.	30	2
Total	**258**	**29**
Diyarbakir Vilayet		
Diyarbakir City		
Idadi [Middle] School	51	16
Military Rüşdiye	255	13
Girl's Rüşdiye	122	5
Siverek R.	67	3
Silvan R.	33	1
Mardin R.	64	3
Jizire R.	26	2
Ma'dan R.	55	3
Charmik R.	28	2
Palu R.	34	2
Akil R.	34	1
Chunkush	30	1
Total	**799**	**52**
Mosul Vilayet		
Sulaymaniya City		
Rüşdiye	21	3
Military Rüşdiye	149	12
Rawandiz	22	2
Arbil	28	2
Total	220	19
Grand Total	**1277**	**100**

Source: Based on Ottoman Government (1898:948-49, 1048-1051, 1201-02).

facilitated by the frequent use of Arabic and Persian loan words and phrases. The stereotyped images carried the associative meanings found in the poetry of Persian and Arabic literatures–e.g., a "star" was invariably a symbol of hope, a "butterfly" represented a true lover ready to die for the beloved, symbolized by the "candle," while the "zephyr" was a messenger between lovers. In terms of content, both narratives and lyrics were influenced by the worldview of Islam.

The few prose works that appeared before 1898 were non-literary and composed for didactic purposes only. They include two grammars of Arabic, one by Ali Taramakhi (1971), composed in the seventeenth century, and another by Mala Yonis Halqatini (died 1785) which has remained unpublished (for descriptions of some manuscript copies cf. Rudenko 1961:102-3; Fuad 1970:119; cf., also, 4.2.2). Another brief work, a compendium of Islamic doctrine, was compiled by Shaikh 'Abdullay Nahri around the year 1800 (MacKenzie 1962a:162-170).

During the 1850s, Mala Mahmud Bayazidi compiled and translated a number of works on Kurdish grammar, manners and customs of the Kurds, and Bidlisi's history of Kurdistan, at the request of Alexander Jaba, Russian consul at Erzurum, whom Bayazidi was tutoring in Kurdish. These works, together with other manuscripts, were uncovered in a library in the USSR in the 1950s (Rudenko 1961). The work on Kurdish customs (Bayazidi 1963) is in a simple straightforward prose close to the spoken language. There is little doubt that had it not been for his patron Jaba, Bayazidi, an unknown mulla, would not have undertaken such extensive literary work. Another person, Mala Sa'eed, compiled a number of works in Kurmanji prose for Basile Nikitine (cf. MacKenzie 1962a:163 and footnotes 3 and 4) during World War I years. These two experiences highlight the significance of the extra-linguistic factor in the process of literary growth of emerging standard languages. The two mullas, and many others like them, had the ability to compile in their native tongue prose works on different subjects. The missing link was a significant social demand in the Kurdish society of the time for works in prose, an adequate level of literacy, an affluent reading public, native tongue education, printing facilities, etc.

The only prose work in Sorani is the rhymed prose of Shaikh Huseni Qazi (1793-1871), *Mewlûdname*, on the birth of Prophet Muhammad, and a brief tract of a translation of the great Persian poet Sa'di's *Gulistān* printed in Lerch (1857:98-103), apparently taken from a manuscript described by Rudenko (1961:30-31; cf. 7.2.2.4.C on the development of prose).

4.2.6 Patronage

Producers of literature and other forms of art throughout the world were dependent upon patronage for their livelihood (Thomas 1987:114). As a form of relationship between the author and the readership, patronage by the court, the nobility, and religious institutions were replaced by the publishing market for the first time in Western Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

when the middle class acquired economic, social and political supremacy (cf. 4.7.0.). The transformation of the literary product into a commodity occurred much later and more slowly in Third World societies.

In Kurdistan, the majority of poets who were mullas did not earn a living as producers of literature; most of them lived in poverty, on support given in kind (e.g., wheat, bread, dairy products) by the community they served. In some rural areas, the landlord gave the mulla a piece of land, which he could cultivate. Mullas were expected to provide religious services rather than produce poetry in their native, or any other, language. Poets from the ranks of shaikhs or feudal nobility were equally non-professional, although they generally afforded more leisure and were not as needy as the mullas.

No research has been done on princely patronage even though it is common knowledge that Hawrami was cultivated in the court of the Ardalan principality (MacKenzie 1965:1140) and, together with Sorani, at the court of Baban principality (Edmonds 1935:113). There is little doubt, however, that this courtly support never reached the extent provided for Persian (Rypka 1968:194, 200), Arab or Ottoman (Pellat 1971:1261; Jurji 1946:41) poets by their more stable and prosperous kings and Sultans.

Limited patronage is best discerned by the near absence of "court poetry" or "panegyric poets" in Kurdistan. Among the earliest poets, Malay Jiziri has three panegyric pieces (Jiziri 1977:416-425,541-564). The only poet known to directly associate with a ruler is Salim Sleman who ended his book *Yosif û Zilexa* (1586-7) by declaring himself "servant of the ruler of Hizan...Mir Sharaf, ruler of the town of Khizan" (quoted from a manuscript described by Rudenko 1961:55). Ahmadi Khani criticizes one of the princes for his unwillingness to support Kurdish literature while he repudiates all the princes for their separatist tendencies and unwillingness to unite (cf. 4.3.1.2). Rudenko (1961:90) has, however, found a poem among the Leningrad manuscripts which is entitled "Ahmadi Khani's Praise of the Ruler of Bayazid, Mihamad Bag."

In modern times, Haji Qadir is famous for castigating the feudal nobility's indifference toward the fate of the Kurds and their language, though he praises a few of them who were exceptions to the rule.[3] To cite another example, the famous poem of Shaikh Raza (1835-1909) glorifying the Baban court was motivated solely by nationalist feelings on the part of the poet (translated by Edmonds 1935:116-17):

> I remember Sulaimani when it was the capital of Babans;
> It was neither subject to the Persians nor slave-driven by the House of Uthman [Ottoman].
> Before the palace-gate Sheikhs, Mullas and Ascetics stood in line;
> The place of pilgrimage for those with business was Gird-i Saiwan.
> By reason of the battalions of troops there was no access to the Pasha'a audience-chamber
> The sounds of bands and kettle-drums rose to the halls of Saturn.

Alas for that time, that epoch, that age, that day,
When the tilting-ground was in the plain of Kaniyaskan.
With the shock of one charge he took Baghdad and smote it;
The Solomon of the Age, if you would know the truth, was the father of Sulaiman.
Arabs! I do not deny your excellence; you are the most excellent; but Saladdin who took the world was of Baban-Kurdish stock...

It is not known which poets were directly supported by Baban princes although we know that the greatest Kurdish bard, Ali Bardashani, was the pride of their court. In contrast with poets, bards were supported by the feudal nobility until the 1950s.

4.3.0 The Cultivation of Kurmanji Literary Dialects in the 17th Century

This section examines the efforts of Ahmadi Khani, mulla, poet and teacher, to cultivate his native tongue and develop it into a prestigious literary language on a par with the Arabic and Persian languages.

The seventeenth century has been described by many as the era of the Kurdish cultural and literary Renaissance (cf., e.g., Rudenko 1971:93-101; Vanly 1971:11). This revival owed much to the contribution of Khani in the fields of language, literature and education.

Khani elaborated his views on the difficulties which the Kurdish language faced and his efforts at its enhancement in the introductory parts of his narrative poem, *Mem û Zîn* (Mam and Zin). What follows in an account of Khani's views on the language and his cultivation efforts. References are made to the Moscow "critical edition" (Khani 1962) wherein the couplets are numbered.

4.3.1 The Status of the Kurdish Language

When Kurdish began literary life in the late fifteenth century, Arabic, as the "language of God," and Persian, as the language of the most brilliant literature, dominated intellectual life in all Islamic countries. According to a study of the arts of Islamic peoples,

> ...the prime importance and special authority of the Arabic language was to remain largely unquestioned after the spread of Islam. The Arabic poetry of pre-Islamic Arabia was regarded for centuries afterward as the standard model for all Islamic poetic achievement, and it directly influenced literary forms in many non-Arab literatures. The Qur'an, Islam's sacred scripture, was accepted by pious Muslims as God's uncreated word and was considered to be the highest manifestation of literary beauty. A whole literature defended its inimitability (*i'jāz*) and

> unsurpassable beauty. Because it was God's own words, the Qur'an could not legitimately be translated into any other language; the study of at least some Arabic was therefore required of every Muslim. Arabic script was used by all those peoples who followed Islam, however much their own languages might differ in structure from Arabic. The Qur'an became the textbook of the Muslim's entire philosophy of life; therefore, lexicography, geography, historiography, and mysticism all grew out of a deep study of its form and content; and even in the most secular works there can be found allusions to the holy book. Its imagery not unexpectedly permeates all Islamic poetry and prose. (Schimmel 1983:954)

Persian was the only language that began literary growth two centuries after the Islamic conquest, and was able to keep pace with Arabic in administration and literature but not in the fields of science, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and theology. Under the circumstances, languages such as Kurdish, Pashtu and Baluchi were in a disadvantaged, inferior, position. Turkish enjoyed the support of the Ottoman rulers but, nevertheless, ranked below Arabic and Persian in terms of prestige.

4.3.1.1 The Inferior Status of Kurdish

Why were the Kurds and their language considered to be inferior to Arabic, Persian and Turkish? "People" would say, according to Khani, that the Kurds were "uncultivated, without origins and basis," that "all nations[4] possess books, [and that] the Kurds alone are without [books]"; "people of vision" (*ehlê nezer*) would say that "the Kurds had not made love their [lofty] aim"; that they were neither "seekers (*talib*) nor sought (*metlûb*) ...neither lovers nor beloved" (couplets 240-44).

Rejecting these arguments, Khani said the Kurds were not "without perfection" (*bêkemal*) but were, rather, "orphans and without chance" (cp. 245); they were not "all ignorant and unknowing but rather distressed and without a protector" (cp. 246). He believed that Kurdish was not a "worthless" language even though it did not enjoy state support (cp. 269).

4.3.1.2 Status Planning of a Subordinate Language

Although Khani admitted (cp. 238) that Kurdish suffered from some weaknesses (it had "dregs"), he emphasized that the inferior status of Kurdish was not intrinsic to the language but, rather, was due to the absence of a "protector" (cps. 245-6 and 270). According to the poet, the enhancement of the status of the Kurdish language was, thus, contingent upon the assumption of state power by the Kurds, which could only be realized through a Kurdish king able to unite all the "discordant" (*bêtifaq*) principalities (cp. 230).

A king could serve the language by (a) giving it official status; this idea is repeated throughout the text by, among other things, comparing Kurdish with a coin that would gain currency through the king's minting (e.g., cps. 200, 269-272), (b) providing for the "perfection of religion and state," access to "science and philosophy" (cp. 233), and (c) encouraging science, the arts, poetry, and books (cp. 248). Would it ever be possible, he asked, that a "king, a protector may appear among us, so that the sword of our art becomes distinguished, the value of our pen is appreciated, our pain finds a cure, our science gains currency?" (cps. 196-8).

Khani underlined the role of a sovereign state in the ascendance of language to a position of prestige. Calling on all the princes to unite their efforts, he warned them that the protection of Kurdistan's sovereignty was the responsibility of the princes, not of "the poets and the poor." "Subordination" to the Persians and the Turks was a shame on the ruling nobility, he said (cps. 208-210).

The second effective means of elevating the position of Kurdish was, according to Khani, the efforts of men of learning, especially poets and educators, who would use the language for literary, scientific, religious and other scholarly purposes, compile books, and raise the intellectual level of the nation. He considered his *Mem û Zîn* a major contribution in this area (cf. 4.3.2.1).

The two tasks, political (i.e., formation of a Kurdish state) and literary (i.e., writing and compiling in the native tongue), were considered by Khani to be two sides of the same coin. He did not consider language cultivation as an end in itself. A prestigious language, together with a sovereign king, was the hallmark of a civilized and independent nation.

The political conditions during Khani's lifetime were, however, far from conducive to the unification of the principalities (cf. 3.1.2. to 3.1.5.) and officialization of the language. Not surprisingly, none of the princes responded to the poet's call, and consequently they were criticized by Khani (cps. 274-284): the "knowledgeable ruler of the time" who could, in a glance, turn a heap of worthless coins into gold, and attended a thousand destitute people every day... did not listen" (cp. 274),

(276, 279)

281 If he had once given us a look
From the elixir of his blessed attention
These sayings would all change into poems...

Ger dê vî nezer bida me carek
Iksîrê teveccuha mubarek
Ev qewl hemî dikirne eş'ar

The poet did not, however, wait for that day, and used his "pen" in the absence of "the sword."

4.3.2 The Corpus of the Kurdish Language

In the absence of court patronage, Khani moved to develop his native tongue by using it in literary and educational domains. His main contribution was a narrative poetic romance, *Mem û Zîn*, which has been called the national "epic" of the Kurds because its introductory parts contain a clear statement of Kurdish nationalist ideology. His second important work was an Arabic-Kurdish lexicon, written in verse, which paved the way for introducing Kurdish into the Arabic-dominated educational system of the mosque schools.

4.3.2.1 The Heresy of Corpus Planning

Writing about his purpose in composing *Mem û Zîn*, Khani said:

237 Whether a product of obstinacy or injustice
He [=Khani] made this innovation (*bid'et*) against tradition
He cleared from its dregs,
The Kurdish language, [and put it] on par with Persian,
239 Put it into order and system,
Tolerated much suffering for it.

Ḧasil ji 'inad eger ji bêdad
Ev bid'ete kir xilafê mu'tad
Safî şumurand vexwar durdî
Manendê Derî lisanê Kurdî
Înaye nizam û intizamê
Kêşaye cefa ji boyê 'amê

The term *bid'et* (*bid'a*), according to the *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Vol. 1, 1913:712-13), "means some view, thing or mode of action the like of which has not formerly existed or been practiced, an innovation or novelty... [T]he word...came to suggest individual dissent and independence, going to the point of heresy although not of actual unbelief (*kofr*)."

Since Khani was not the first person to compose in Kurdish, one may ask why he considered *Mem û Zîn* a *bid'et*? Among the innovations introduced, the poet emphasized the originality of the work--it was a product of his own "mind," having borrowed nothing from Arabic and Persian literatures. The originality was obvious in both linguistic features, "words, meanings, phrases" (cp. 346), and the literary component, "subjects," "stories," "content," (cps. 347-49).

The author of *Mem û Zîn* was, however, educated in Arabic and Persian and could not, therefore, avoid being influenced by them. Hence, features of Arabic and Persian prosody, figures of speech, and imagery can be seen in his poetry. In fact, the very form of Khani's narrative poem was the Persian *masnavī*, the most suitable mold for heroic, historic and romantic epic poetry--a

series of distiches rhyming in pairs, aaa, bb, cc, etc. What clearly distinguish Khani's poetry from modern poetic expression are mostly borrowed figures of speech and literary vocabularies. Yet, even in this area Khani moved close to the Kurdish language and used a variety of original epithets, metaphors, similes and other devices (Rudenko 1971:104) as well as colloquial Kurdish vocabulary. The following examples of colloquial Kurdish words, randomly selected from the segment describing the mourning of the death of Mam (cps. 2245-2286), could all be replaced by their Arabic or Persian literary alternates (some of the words may not, etymologically, be Kurdish):

2248	*biçûkan*	'the young; children'
	kiç	'girl'
	bûk	'bride'
	mezin	'old, great'
2255	*brîn*	'wound'
2262	*leş*	'corpse, body'
	jar	'weary'
	havîtin	'throw'
2266	*lep*	'hand'
2275	*reş girtin*	'to wear black, to mourn'
2278	*şeng*	'charming'
2279	*dar û berd*	'tree(s) and stone(s)'
2283	*verîn*	'to shed, to rain'

The major *bid'et* of Khani was, however, in the content and the message of *Mem û Zîn*. In this work, Khani "preceded his era by several centuries by proclaiming, in a time when nationalism was unknown in the Islamic lands, the individuality of the Kurds and their right to independence" (Lescot 1977:801).

The story of this work is adopted from a Kurdish folk ballad called *Mem û Zîn* or *Memê Alan* which is still recited by Kurdish bards today. The details of the plot, names, characters and setting are all Kurdish. Mam and Zin were two lovers whose union was destroyed due to the discord sown by Bakir. Mam died as a result of Bakir's intriguing. While mourning the death of her lover on his grave, Zin fell dead of grief. Zin was buried next to Mam's grave. Bakir's role in the tragedy was soon revealed. Fearing his fate, Bakir ran away taking refuge between the two graves. Bakir was, however, killed there, out of revenge. Out of Bakir's blood, grew a thornbush which sent roots deep into the earth, separating the two lovers even after death (cf. Chyet 1991, for a comparative survey of literary and folk versions).

Nothing could communicate Khani's message more effectively. Mam and Zin represent the two parts of Kurdistan divided between the Ottoman and Persian Empires. Bakir personifies the discord (*şiqaq*) and disunity (*bêtifaqî*) of the Kurdish princes which Khani considered to be the main reasons for the failure of the Kurdish people to achieve sovereignty. In spite of the divisive thornbush, it

seems that the poet hoped that disunity would finally come to an end. The hope of reunion is expressed in a sequel to the original story wherein Khani relates the dream of a holy man who finds Bakir, in Paradise, as doorkeeper (*paseban*) to the palace in which Mam and Zin lead their heavenly life (cps. 2409-2468).

Mem û Zîn was among the first narrative poems in Kurdish literature and its unusual popularity can be seen, among other things, in many editions (twelve editions between 1921 and 1975 according to Nariman 1977:269; total number of books during the period was 1233) and manuscripts (nine out of 84 manuscripts in the Leningrad collection, cf. Rudenko 1961; and, seven out of 92 manuscripts in the German collection described by Fuad 1970). Besides this, many Kurdish journals–e.g., *Kurdistan* (1898-1902), *Rojî Kurd* (1913), *Diyarî Kurdistan* (1925), *Zarî Kirmancî* (1926-32), *Rûnakî* (1935), *Hawar* (1932-35, 1941-43), *Gelawêj* (1939-49), *Dengî Gêtî Taze* (1943-47) have reprinted the poem's introductory parts. Orbeli notes that Khani was not known to other nations though the Kurds themselves regarded him as a national figure. According to Orbeli (1938:1,2), only three poets in the East have devoted their work entirely to their nation--the Persian Firdowsi, the Georgian Shota Rustaveli and the Kurd Khani.

4.3.2.2 Toward Mother Tongue Education

In spite of his love for his mother tongue, Khani had to teach his students in the mosque schools in the Arabic language. Introducing a minor language such as Kurdish into an educational system where "the language of Allah," i.e., Arabic, was the medium of instruction was a serious *bid'et* which Khani dared to commit. He compiled a brief, easy-to-copy, Arabic-Kurdish lexicon, written in verse, which proved to be well-suited to a learning system based on rote memorization. Anticipating opposition from conservatives, Khani had to justify this innovation by emphasizing that it was not intended for "the learned men" (Khani 1979:28-29):

> These few words from the languages
> Were compiled by Ahmadi Khani
> who named it *Children's Nubar* [first picking of fruit]
> [It is] not intended for the reputable [people]
> But for Kurdish children
> who, after finishing Koran
> should become more literate...
>
> *Ev çend kelime ji luẍatan*
> *Vêk êxistin Ehmedê Xanî*
> *Navê Nûbehara Biçûkan lê danî*
> *Ne ji bo sahib rewacan*
> *Belke ji bo biçûkêt Kurmancan*

Wekî ji Qur'anê xilas bin
Lazime li sewadê çavnas bin

The lexicon became very popular and is still used today in mosque schools in Kurmanji-speaking areas. A century later, a similar vocabulary was composed in Sorani by Shaikh Marifi Nodeyi (1790). The significance of the two works lies more in institutionalizing the use of written Kurdish in the religious educational system than in its lexicographic contribution.

Khani wrote another short work intended for use by mosque school students (*feqês*). Known as *'Eqîda Îman* (Belief in Faith), the work explains, in verse, the principles of Islamic doctrine; it is of special importance in sanctioning the use of Kurdish in religious education. For many centuries, the laity has been told that Arabic would be the only language spoken in the next world. As a consequence many illiterate people worry about the day of resurrection because they do not speak the language (Shakely 1983:17). Although the work did not become part of the mosque school curriculum, it was widely used and other writers imitate Khani (cf. MacKenzie 1962a, for a version of the text which he attributes to "Şēx 'Abdullāh of Nahrī"). The *'Eqîde* has even entered the domain of oral literature and is available in popular ballad form.

4.3.3 Opposition to the Cultivation of Kurdish

In the absence of political and moral support by a sovereign, Khani expected resistance to his *Mem û Zîn* from several sources:

a) *ehlê ḧalan* ("sufis?"), who might condemn (*teqbîḧ*) it (cp. 341);
b) *eṧḧabê ẍerez* (cp. 353), *erbabê ẍerez* (cp. 358, "self-interested person"; intriguers who would discredit or disgrace him (cp. 359);
c) *ẍeyûr* (cp. 352), the jealous and zealous who would slander (*teşnî'*) his work;
d) *xelqê nasaz*, "inharmonious people" (cp. 350)

Khani asked the "self-interested" people to listen to him and to generously conceal his shortcomings (cp. 358). He appealed to other groups who could be well-wishers not to be persuaded by adversaries and to try, instead, to neutralize their opposition:

a) *ehlê 'irfan* (cp. 351), "learned men": not to slander like the jealous but rather correct his mistakes;
b) *eṧḧabê kemal* (cp. 353), accomplished people, to gloss over his faults;
c) *ehlê raz* (cp. 354), "men of secrets," not to scoff.

These pleas, appeals and prohibitions were accompanied by a defence of his work, the Kurdish language, and himself (cps. 336-360). Khani argued that

Mem û Zîn was an infant--innocent, modest and noble; that it was destined to grow and have a bright future--whether sweet or bitter, it was *nûbar*, first picking of fruit, and was to ripen (this line of argument is similar to that of the La Pléiade group of seven poets who aimed at elevating the French language to the level of classical languages; cf. Du Bellay 1549 and Rudenko 1971:105); although his beloved Kurdish was not as "juicy" (*abdar*) as ripe fruit (referring to Arabic and Persian), it was strong just because it was written in Kurdish. His self-defence is humble, yet proud. He calls himself a peddler, not of noble origin, self-grown not educated, and a Kurd from the mountains and distant lands (cps. 355-56).

4.4.0 The Sorani Literary Dialect

The reasons for the delayed development of literary production in the Sorani dialect are unknown. The Sorani literary dialect shares all the major features of Kurmanji–an essentially poetic literature, restricted audience, a clerical and aristocratic base and limited functions.

Non-literary work in this dialect is limited to the Arabic-Kurdish vocabulary, *Ehmedî* (1795), as mentioned above. Two works of prose belonging to the nineteenth century are available in this dialect: one is the *Mewlûdname*, Book on the Birth [of the Prophet Muhammad] written by Shaikh Husen Qazi (1793-1871); the second work is a translation of the introductory part of the famous book, *Gulistān* written by the great Persian poet Sa'di (cf. 4.2.5).

The Sorani dialect has produced its own Ahmadi Khani in the person of Haji Qadir Koyi. Though Haji has not composed a work comparable to Khani's *Mem û Zîn*, his poetry is widely read and memorized because of the patriotism it promotes. Like his predecessor Khani, Haji was devoted to promoting his mother tongue.

4.5.0 The Cultivation of the Sorani Literary Dialect: Haji Qadiri Koyi (1817-1897)

Though the latter part of the nineteenth century was quite different from the seventeenth century (cf. chapter 3), the problems facing the cultivators of the Kurdish language were not much different from those that had challenged Khani two centuries earlier. Khani's major condition for the advancement of the Kurdish language, i.e., the formation of a Kurdish state, had not materialized as he had envisioned it might. In fact by the mid-nineteenth century, the last vestiges of Kurdish political rule, the principalities, had been overthrown. Nor had the literary language achieved any degree of popularity or elaboration beyond that found in the religious schools and in certain poetry-reading assemblies of the clergy and the feudal aristocracy.

Among the Kurdish intelligentsia of Southern Kurdistan, Haji was known for his preoccupation with the fate of his native tongue. All his known works are

in verse and the following excerpts, unless otherwise noted, are from Mala Karim's (1960) brief survey of Haji's poetry.

4.5.1 The Status of Kurdish

Haji was well aware that Kurdish was not a language in vogue but he rejected the idea that, in terms of literary value, it was inferior to Persian:

> Do not say that Kurdish is not as eloquent as Persian
> It possesses such eloquence unmatched by any language,
> It is due to indifference of the Kurds that it is not fashionable
>
> *Meîên fesaïetî Kurdî be Farsî naga*
> *Belaxetêkî heye hîç zimanê naygatê*
> *Le bête'esubî Kurdane bêřewac û beha.*[5]

Elsewhere he addressed the clergy:

> Tell [us], what is wrong with Kurdish?
> It is only the word of God [i.e., Koran] that is faultless.
> Why is it [Kurdish] different from Persian,
> Why is one fine, the other debased?
>
> *Kurdî axir bîê çîye 'eybî?*
> *Her kelamî heqqe niye 'eybî*
> *Ya legeî Farsî çi ferqî heye*
> *Boçî ew raste, boçî em kemîye?*[6]

4.5.2 Causes of Underdevelopment

Haji complained about two sources of linguistic retardation. First, the majority of shaikhs and mullas, who were not interested in the fate of their native tongue, wrote and taught in Arabic and Persian. Second, the general backwardness of the Kurds as manifested in the lack of scientific expertise and techniques, and, most important, the absence of political unity in the form of a Kurdish state.

Angry at the clerics' indifference to their native tongue, Haji devoted much of his poetry to pointing out how the religious educational system had hampered the development of the Kurdish language; to cite one example,

> Now all the nation knows that
> O, you mullas who teach, you *mufti*s [judges] of people
> That texts, elucidations, expositions, and commentaries
> Have all become obstacles to Kurdish learning (*me'arif*)

Êste me'lûme bo ḧemû millet
Ey melay ders û muftîyî ummet
Qeyd û tezbîb û şerḧ û ḧaşîyekan
Bûne seddî me'arifî Kurdan.[7]

He even declared that the clergy were all traitors.[8] In an angry expression of his dissatisfaction, Haji castigated those who refused to read and write in Kurdish. The following couplets have become cliches in Kurdistan:

If a Kurd does not know his/her language,
Undoubtedly, his/her mother is infidel and father adulterous

Eger Kurdê zubanî xoy nezanî
Muḧaqqeq daykî hîze w babî zanî.[9]

If a Kurd does not like his/her language, do not ask, "Why" or, "How?"
Ask his/her mother where she got this bastard?

Le Kurdî ḧez neka Kurdê, meḽên "boçî" we ya "çone?"
Le daykî pirsiyarê ken ew bêçuwey le kö hêna![10]

Haji was even more critical of the shaikhs and exposed their demagogy, greed for accumulating wealth and property, laziness, lack of training in any practical art, parasitic dependence on their followers and, most important, their lack of interest in the use and promotion of the Kurdish language.[11]

4.5.3 Cultivation of the Language

Like Khani, Haji proposed two interrelated solutions. The primary one was simply to compose, translate and write in the native tongue:

Why is it blasphemy to write in our language?
A nation without books and writing,
There is none on earth but the Kurds

Boçî kifre zimaniman binûsîn
Milletî bêktêb û bênûsîn
Ẍeyrî Kurdan nîye le rûy zemîn.[12]

Books, notebooks, history and letters,
Had they been written in Kurdish,
Our mullas, learned men, *mir*s and kings,
Would have become immortal names

Kitêb û defter û te'rîx û kaxez
Be Kurdî ger binûsraye zubanî
Mela w zana w mîr û padşaman
Heta mehşer dema naw û nişanî.[13]

The two most frequently used words in his works on the Kurdish language are, in fact, *nûsîn* (writing) and *kitêb* (book). Although Haji never failed to denounce the clerics for neglecting their native tongue, he held a high opinion of the literary achievements of both past and contemporary poets. In a lengthy eulogy,[14] he extols the works of twenty-five poets who wrote in the three Kurdish literary dialects. He also glorified the popular ballads (*beyts*) and called upon the literati to learn them and put them into written form.[15]

The poet spent the last years of his life in cosmopolitan Istanbul and became familiar with the modern world. He argued that countries such as Japan had achieved progress because they translated the sciences into their languages and then learned the applied sciences in their native tongue.

Only the Kurds, among all nations, are
Deprived of reading and writing.
By translating into their own languages, the foreigners
Became familiar with the secrets of other peoples' books
None of our scholars (*'ulema*), great or small,
Has ever read two letters in Kurdish...

Her Kurde le beynî kullî millet
Bê behre le xöndin û kitabet
Bêgane le tercumey zubanî
Esrarî kitêbî xelkî zanî
Yekser 'ulema dirişt û wirdî
Ney xönduwe hîç dû herfî Kurdî...[16]

The second important factor in the advancement of the Kurdish language was, for Haji, state power. He compared the Kurds with other advanced nations and pointed out that the Bulgars, the Serbians, the Greeks, the Armenians and others were all on their way to independence though their numbers were even smaller than those of the Kurds of the Baban area of Kurdistan.[17] He called on the people to take up arms, "cannons and rifles," in order to achieve sovereignty. It should be noted that Haji, unlike Khani who relegated the task of political unification to the princes, found no place for them in this cause.[18] Like Khani, however, Haji established a clear relationship between the two necessary elements in language cultivation--state power symbolized by the *sword* (*sîr*) and the literary use of the language represented by the *pen* (*xame*).

Sword and pen are companions in this age; alas,

My sword is a penknife and its scabbard is a pencase!

Seyf û qeĺem şerîkin lem 'esreda, drêxa
Şîrim qeĺemtraşe w kalanîye qeĺemdan.[19]

Haji felt at rest that he had fulfilled his commitment as a man of letters through writing in Kurdish as much as he could. He reminded the Kurds, however, that the "sword" was lacking:

The state is founded on sword and pen,
I have the pen, [but] there is no trace of the sword.
He [Haji] has neither flag, nor kettle-drums
The helpless [man] wrote as much as he could.
I fulfilled all my duties,
The nation's fabric depends [however] on the sword of the state

Be şîr û xame dewĺet payedare,
Emin xamem heye, şîr nadiyare.
Ne beydaxî heye ne tepĺ û kûsî
Emendey pêykira bêçare nûsî.
Wezîfey xom be cê hêna temamî
Be şîrî dewĺete millet nizamî.[20]

As can be seen from the above quotations, Haji did not consider the enhancement of the Kurdish language an end in itself. A prestigious and developed language was, for both Khani and Haji, the mark of a civilized, sovereign nation.

4.6.0 "Sword" and "Pen" in Language Planning

The two activists in the field of language cultivation, Khani and Haji, believed that their mother tongue could achieve a high position among the recognized languages only if its use in literature, sciences and education (pen) was supported by the political, moral and material power of a Kurdish state (sword). They both aimed, as poets and educators, at providing the "pen" but were dismayed by the absence of the more important element, the "sword."

This view of language development was based, apparently, on their knowledge and experience of the two major languages of the Muslim world, Arabic and Persian, which had enjoyed the patronage of powerful dynasties ever since they were put to written use. By the end of the 19th century, Kurdish neither enjoyed state support nor was on par with the other two languages.

4.7.0 Discussion: Pre-standard Literary Languages

To summarize, literary Kurdish was characterized by (1) proliferation of dialect literatures, (2) absence of a reading public, (3) restricted social base of literary producers, (4) limited functional differentiation, (5) limited formal and stylistic differentiation, i.e., predominance of poetry, (6) restricted geographical spread, and (7) insignificant patronage. These features are not, however, specific to the Kurdish language during the period under study.

A survey of the literature on different standard languages reveals that literary languages in "pre-industrial," "feudal," "traditional," "pre-capitalist," or "pre-national" societies are characterized by social, functional and stylistic restrictions (cf., among others, Ackerman 1966:78-80, on Middle English; Auty 1978, on Slavic languages and 1980, on Czech; Auerbach 1965:237-8, Medieval European languages, Ghosh 1948:125-7, Bengali; Guxman 1960 for case studies of Italian, French, German, Albanian, English, Netherlandish [Dutch], Armenian, Bashkir, Uzbek, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and Spanish).

This universal trend can be best explained by extra-linguistic factors rather than the internal, structural properties of these diverse languages. The decisive role of external factors, i.e., the social and economic system of the feudal or traditional society is well known empirically but not theoretically. According to Sjoberg (1952; 1960:1-22, 285-320), in spite of the great impact of writing on feudal society, this social system requires a very limited use of the written word in order to function. Even the literate upper class depends, to a great extent, upon word-of-mouth for the fulfilment of many functions, including the governing of society. Knowledge of the literary language in this social system demands leisure and affluence available only to the elite. With very few exceptions, the educational and the religious establishment are one and the same. Mass education and mass literacy are, generally, nonexistent. Moving from the urban center to the countryside, one finds that fewer and fewer people can read and write (cf., also, Sjoberg 1964 and 10.1.0).

The history of literary growth in Western Europe provides considerable insight into the limitations imposed by the social and economic system on the standardization process. Although literary prose began to develop during the Renaissance, it was not recognized as a legitimate literary form. Prose literature was widely disseminated much later in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when a "reading public" (i.e., a comparatively wide circle reading and buying books regularly and thereby assuring a number of writers a livelihood free from personal obligations) emerged. The formation of such a public and authorship was due primarily to the rise of an economically, socially and politically influential middle class (Hauser 1962:38-84). It was at this time that patronage, as the purely aristocratic form of the relationship between author and public, came to an end and the patron's place was taken by the publishing market--a development that gave authorship a potential of becoming an independent and regular profession. The literary product became a commodity the value of which

conformed to its saleability in the free market. The novel is, thus, considered a product of modern Western civilization, although extended prose fiction had emerged in the Far East as early as the tenth century (Rexroth 1987:93). As the latest of literary forms to develop, fiction has become quantitatively the chief domain of literature in the West (Warren 1965:569). In the Far East, the delayed dissemination of literary prose and printing underlines the restrictive power of social and economic factors in the literary development of language.

Just as traditional societies differ in particulars, their literary languages also show considerable variation in *degree* of functional elaboration and popularization. Kurdish and Arabic (or Persian), for example, stand at two extremes in this respect. Persian and Arabic were used in diverse domains such as administration, trade, science, medicine, religion, philosophy, law, private communication, etc. Also, despite universal mass illiteracy, the size of the literate elite among Arabs and Persians was certainly larger as is evident in the complex bureaucracies, more developed trade, science and medicine, and larger institutions of religious education.

Among external factors which have contributed to the underdevelopment of Kurdish, Khani, Haji and other writers have stressed the absence of Kurdish state power. While the absence of a Kurdish state has put the Kurdish language in obvious contrast to Persian and Arabic, the absence of the "sword" itself needs to be explained. One may refer to the fact that Kurds lagged significantly behind the Arabs and Persians in detribalization, sedentarization, and the urbanization process, as well as in the institutionalization of political power.

4.8.0 Summary and Conclusions

The preceding survey of pre-standard Kurdish has been necessarily detailed in order to provide a basis for analyzing changes introduced by the standardization process. Pre-standard features of Kurdish were summarized in the preceding section.

The efforts of two nationalist language reformers, Khani and Haji, to cultivate their native tongue and to elevate its status failed due largely to restrictions imposed by the feudally organized society of Kurdistan. Both reformers believed that the status of the Kurds as a nation could be elevated only if they had both *sword* (state power) and *pen* (literary language). Relating the cultivation of language to political power is still a widely shared view among the Kurds.

Of the three literary dialects in use at the turn of the century, Hawrami had lost any chance of developing into a supradialectal standard language. Kurmanji boasted a rich poetic literature, a literary masterpiece (*Mem û Zîn*), and limited use as a medium of instruction in the mosque schools. Sorani, a late-comer to the field, had acquired considerable prestige due to the works of several great poets. The two dialects were developing more or less independently each in their speech area and by their speakers.

The prospects for either the ascendence of one of the two dialects or their unification remained uncertain. Kurmanji speakers were, however, more numerous, more urbanized and received a better share of the modern Turkish-language educational establishments in the Ottoman parts of Kurdistan. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first journal and printed books appeared in the Kurmanji dialect (cf. 7.2.1 and 7.3.5.1). However, the second division of Kurdistan in 1918 put Kurmanji at a disadvantage, especially in Turkey where the dialect was proscribed in both speaking and writing (cf. 3.2.1.I and 5.3.0). The development of a national standard language was, henceforth, to a large extent shaped or, rather, impeded by the policies of the modern centralizing states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. This is the subject of discussion in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Notes

1. Although this is an arbitrary criterion, it happens that some twelve of the sixteen poets (cf. Note 2) who lived before 1917 and whose biography and poetry were surveyed in Sajjadi's (1971) history of Kurdish literature appear in Table 12.

The principal sources used were (a) Nariman's (1977) bibliography of printed books which covers the period from the beginning of printing until 1975, (b) Iraq's National Bibliography, (c) Rudenko's (1961) description of 84 manuscripts of the Kurdish collections of Leningrad, (d) Fuad's (1970) catalogue of 92 manuscripts most of which belong to the Staatsbibliothek Marburg in the Federal Republic of Germany, and (e) a number of non-bibliographic works such as Sajjadi (1971), Fuad (1972; 1975) MacKenzie (1969) and Rudenko (1965; 1986).

2. The evidence is based on the biography of 16 poets and a list of 205 poets who lived before 1918. The information was culled from Sajjadi's "History of Kurdish Literature" (1971) wherein he discusses the lives and works of 24 poets and provides brief biographical references to 296 poets (pp. 581-607). The listing includes, whenever known, information on names, dates, and works. Most of the forenames are prefixed by clerical titles, e.g., "Mulla," "Shaikh," *Feqê*, or followed by honorific titles of the feudal nobility, e.g., "Agha," "Khan," "Beg." These titles provide fairly reliable information on the social origins of the literary figures (it happens in Kurdistan that some non-clerical individuals are sometimes called "Mulla"; in the list provided by Sajjadi, the titles indicate real mullas since they are used for literate persons). Information on each poet's dialect affiliation is usually not provided. Some 205 out of 296 poets listed in the book lived prior to 1918: numbers 1 to 186 (excluding 117, 150, 152, 162-4, 168, 171, 179, 181-3 for which information was lacking), 242-3, 259, and 268-295. Also 16 out of 24 poets whose lives and works are presented in detail lived before 1918 and their names were added to make a total of 221 poets (Baba Tahir who lived before 1918 was not included since he wrote in Luri dialect).

3. There is an interesting controversy on the poet's attitude towards the feudal lords. Although Haji's poetry is predominantly anti-feudal, Mihamad (1973:307-12) argues that Haji was not against "the elder brothers" (*bira gewre*), i.e., members of the landed aristocracy. He also denies the existence of a feudal system similar to that of Europe. Cf. Mihamad (1977a; 1985) and, for a counter-argument, Sharif (1977).

4. The word used by Khani is *milel*, plural of Arabic loan *milla* which meant "one's faith or religion, a people united by a common faith, religious community" (cf. articles "Milla" and "Millet" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*,

Vol. VII, Fascicules 115-16, 1990, pp. 61-64). Since the late 19th century, the word has been used in a number of languages including Persian, Turkish and Kurdish as synonym for the Western concept of "nation" (in recent decades, Kurdish has purified *milet* and replaced it with the native word *netewe* which seems to be etymologically related to *nation*). Khani's use of the word clearly imparts ethnic rather than religious connotations in so far as he applies it to Turks, Kurds, Persians and Arabs who were Muslims but were different, from his point of view, in language, culture, values and access to state power. Khani's attitude toward Arabs and the Arabic language was clearly secular. He considered Arab state power as oppressive as Persian and Turkish rule.

5. *Hîwa*, vol. 3, No. 4, May 1960, p. 22.

6. Mala Karim (1960:19).

7. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-44.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-32.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

19. *Dîwanî Hacî Qadirî Koyî*, edited by Giw Mukriyani, Arbil, 1969, p. 45.

20. Mala Karim (1960:69).

CHAPTER 5

STATE POLICY ON THE KURDISH LANGUAGE: THE POLITICS OF STATUS PLANNING

Language is certainly the most important system of human communication. However, its function is not limited to the transmission or communication of information, ideas or emotions. In part because of its great communicative power, language is closely tied to ethnicity, class, gender, race and every component of culture. It does not simply reflect the world; it creates worlds or realities. Literature, politics, science, religion and other manifestations of culture are inconceivable without language. Language is, therefore, a source of power. It is a site of struggle within a single speech community whose members are divided along social, economic, political, religious and ideological lines.

While language is in itself a source of power, it is also closely tied to the structure of power in society. This relationship can be seen in the unequal distribution of linguistic power throughout the world. On the global level or within bilingual or multilingual countries, prestigious languages of culture, trade and religion, for example, confer authority or power upon their speakers. In the post-World War II period, English has assumed a monopolistic status as a language of science, technology and trade. While English continues to spread throughout the world, many languages face extinction. Even established literary languages such as Persian, Danish or Chinese are dwarfed by the power of English, which has been nurtured by the Industrial Revolution and the powerful economies of the United States and Britain. Within bilingual or multilingual countries, inequality is manifested in, among other things, the political, legal, social, economic, religious, cultural and literary status of each language. Some languages dominate or rule over other (dominated) languages. They possess strong assimilative or killing power, which is often associated with state power. The status of Latin in Europe and Arabic in the Islamic world as ruling languages

is well known.

The status of a language is not fixed or pre-determined. It changes in relationship to the political, economic and cultural destinies of the speakers of the language. Changes in the status of a language imply first and foremost the allocation or reallocation of its functions (on the development of functions, cf. chapter 7). A language which acquires, for example, official status will inevitably be used for purposes of government, which includes regular use in administration, justice, military, state publishing, broadcasting, and, usually, formal education. As an historical process, status change involves both planned and spontaneous development.

According to one approach (Cobarrubias 1983), "status planning" comprises decisions and actions meant to establish, influence or change the roles of a language in society. The other side of this coin, "corpus planning," is deliberate change in the structure of language–grammar, vocabulary, morphology, phonology and their written representations.

Decisions on the status of a language are usually of an extra-linguistic nature; they regulate the language needs of a monolingual state or the position of a language or languages in bi- or multilingual circumstances (*Ibid.*).

"Status planning," especially when minority languages are present, is primarily a political issue involving both the state and the entire population of a country. The experience of European minority languages, for example, demonstrates that the attitudes of the states together with the numerical strength of these minorities have been the most important factors in their survival or death (Adler 1977:96).

"Status planning" has largely been ignored in the literature on standardization and language planning and the need for more research has been emphasized (cf., e.g., Cobarrubias 1983:42; Rubin 1983:340).

5.1.0 The Policy of Iraq, 1918-85

Until the late nineteenth century, the Kurdish language developed more or less free from the direct interference of the central governments. As loosely integrated traditional states (cf. 3.2.1), Ottoman Turkey and Persia were not in a position to adopt or implement effective policies regarding language use in Kurdistan.[1] The central governments were able to spread the use of the official language only to the civil (including educational) and military establishments that they had set up in Kurdistan after the fall of the principalities in the mid-nineteenth century.

By contrast, the "modern" states that were formed after World War I were extremely centralist in economy, politics, culture and language. They aimed at building a nation-state with one language and culture. The political integration of subordinate nations or minorities was to be accomplished through their assimilation into the dominant nation. Government monopoly over the educational system and the mass media (especially broadcasting) gave the center

enormous power in imposing the official language on non-native speakers.

5.1.1 British Occupation and Mandate, 1918-1932

British policy on the Kurdish language was dictated by political considerations of post-World War I years which included, among other things, the stabilization of the political and technical status of the occupied areas renamed "Iraq," continuation of her mandatory rule and protecting the security of the country. Kurds had to be taken into account in these political calculations because they were actively seeking independence from both Iraq and Turkey. Reflecting the changing political circumstances, two distinct policies of initially encouraging and later restraining the Kurdish language were pursued.

5.1.2 Policy of Encouraging Kurdish Language, 1918-1926

The encouragement policy was amply explained by a British administrator of the Kurdish areas of Iraq, C.J. Edmonds (1925:83,84) who wrote that during World War I,

> ...both sides set to work to fan the flames of a new nationalism among the subject races of enemy Governments. The Turkish Empire was most vulnerable to such propaganda in its Arab and Kurdish elements. The effects on Arabs are well known, and are attested today by three infant Kingdoms of Hijaz, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan. The results in Kurdistan are less familiar, and, in any case, seem likely to be soon forgotten.
>
> One of the devices adopted by the British officers in Kurdish territory for consolidating Kurdish national sentiment was the introduction of Kurdish as the written official language in place of the Turkish of Government offices and the Persian of private correspondence.

Although an armistice between the two belligerent sides (Britain and Ottoman Turkey) was effected on October 30, 1918, conditions that made it necessary to encourage Kurdish nationalism prevailed intermittently until 1926. The factor that kept the two sides at war was a dispute over the oil-rich *vilayet* (province) of Mosul (under British occupation since 1918) with a majority Kurdish population. Turkey was in no way ready to lose the ownership of the territory, while Britain had no intention of leaving the oil fields.

The Mosul Question, as far as the Kurdish side was concerned, was bound up with the provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres signed in August 1920, by the delegates of the Allies including England and the Ottoman Sultan. The Treaty incorporated the covenant of the League of Nations and, among other stipulations,

provided for the recognition of the newly formed Arab states of Hijaz, Syria and Iraq, and the creation of Armenian and Kurdish states. According to Articles 62 to 64, the Kurdistan state included the Kurdish territories that had remained under Turkish rule after 1918 to which the Kurds of Mosul province, now under British occupation, had the option to join.

Britain faced, thus, the dilemma of relying on Kurdish nationalism (against Turkey) and, at the same time, restraining this nationalism which sought independence from Iraq and which was encouraged by both the provisions of the Sèvres Treaty and Turkey.[2]

Defeated Turkey was recovering in 1920-23 under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk who abolished the Sultan's rule and established the present Turkish Republic in 1923. This and other considerations led to a new arrangement, spelled out in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which repeated the recognition of the three Arab states but made no mention of Kurdish and Armenian states. The impact on Iraqi Kurds was, according to a British official document, obvious:

> The whole aspect of Kurdish question had undergone change. With the disappearance of the idea of autonomous Kurdistan, the position of the Kurdish provinces in the 'Iraq had radically altered, inasmuch as there was now no prospect of the creation in Turkey of a Kurdish state to which they might subsequently transfer their allegiance. the Kemalist representatives pressed to their inclusion in the Ottoman Empire on the ground that they were non-Arab; the 'Iraq Government countered by replying with equal justice that they were non-Turk, and added thereto the cogent argument that economically and strategically these areas were too closely welded with 'Iraq to suffer amputation. (G.B. 1922-23:38)

From the British point of view, then, the main obstacle to integrating the Kurds into the Iraqi state had been removed. The Lausanne Treaty excluded, however, the settlement of the future ownership of the Mosul province and left it for direct negotiations between Turkey and Britain, which ruled over Iraq as the mandatory power. Negotiations soon broke down and the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. The Kurdish voice had again become important in deciding the fate of the province. After a survey on the spot by a Commission of Inquiry (cf., among others, Edmonds 1957), the Council of the League of Nations awarded Mosul to Iraq on December 16, 1925, subject to certain guarantees respecting the Kurds (cf. below). Turkey opposed the award but finally renounced her sovereignty over the area in June 1926, by signing the Treaty of Ankara with England and Iraq.

The settlement of the dispute through the League of Nations made Kurdish national rights in Iraq once more a matter of international concern. The decision of the League to award Mosul to Iraq included the following recommendation:

> The British Government, as Mandatory Power, is invited to lay before the Council the administrative measures which will be taken with a view to securing for the Kurdish populations mentioned in the report of the Commission of Enquiry the guarantees regarding local administration recommended by the commission in its final conclusions. (League of Nations. *Official Journal*, February 1926, 7th Year, No. 2, p. 192)

The report of the Commission had favored the union of Mosul with Iraq subject to two conditions one of which required that:

> Regard must be paid to the desire expressed by the Kurds *that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services.* (L.N. 1925:89, emphasis added)

Britain pledged at the League: "His majesty's Government gladly gives an assurance that the existing system which does to a large extent carry out the recommendations of the Commission, will be continued and made even more effective" (L.N. *Official Journal*, October 1925, 6th Year, No. 10, p. 1314). Similar pledges were repeated by the King and the Prime Minister of Iraq.

The "existing regime" that Britain promised to continue more effectively consisted, according to British official reports addressed to the League, of one Kurdish newspaper published in Sulaymaniya (G.B. 1920-22:25), six Kurdish schools (G.B. 1923-24:218), employment of Kurdish officials, conducting official correspondence in Kurdish and, by 1925, teaching in Kurdish in fifteen schools (G.B. 1925:23, 139).

In a "Memorandum on the Administration of Kurdish Districts in Iraq" prepared by the British Government (February 24, 1926) and submitted to the League (L.N. *Official Journal*, April 1926, pp. 552-23) the following language-related measures were reported: ten out of thirteen officials of the Ministry of Justice were Kurds; cases were heard in Kurdish and, in Sulaymaniya and Koy Sanjaq *qadha* of Arbil *liwa*, the records of the proceedings were in Kurdish; sixteen schools gave instruction in Kurdish and forty-four out of fifty-two teachers were Kurds. After reporting the progress in Kurdish rights, the Memorandum presented the Mandate's view of the state of the Kurdish language which attempted to relate slow progress to the underdeveloped nature of the language:

> As regards the use of the Kurdish language, it must be remembered that, before the war, Kurdish was not used as a means of written communication, either private or official. A fair number of poetical works in Kurdish were in existence, but the development of the written language as a means of communication

> is entirely due to the efforts of British officials. Persian, Turkish and Arabic were previously used. The use of written Kurdish has not yet spread to the Mosul Liwa, where Turkish and Arabic are used. It has gradually spread to Arbil, where it has recently been recognized as the official language for purposes of written communication with Government offices. Sulaimaniya has for some years possessed a Kurdish newspaper, and the use of written Kurdish for both private and official communication has been general for some time. The work begun by the Government of Occupation is being loyally carried on by the Iraq Government. Two Kurdish news-sheets are published in Baghdad, and everything possible is being done, not only to permit, but actively to encourage, the free use of the Kurdish language.

Having examined the Memorandum, additional explanations given by the Mandate's representative, and the official annual reports for 1923-24 and 1925, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations decided that the "Government of Iraq, in agreement with the British High Commissioner, has carried out the policy recommended by the Mosul Commission" (L.N., PMC. 1926:184).

5.1.3 Policy of Discouraging Kurdish Language, 1926-32

The settlement of the dispute with Turkey relieved Britain of the need for dependence on Kurdish nationalism. Kurds could now be integrated into the Arab state provided that the League of Nations was assured of respect for Kurdish rights. For monitoring the Kurdish situation, the League relied on annual reports (cf. G.B. in the Bibliography) submitted by Britain as the Mandatory power. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League discussed the reports either in the presence of Mandate representatives and/or in privately-held meetings. Due to limited resources, the commission was not able to conduct independent research in Iraq. Another limitation was that petitions from Kurdistan were accepted only if they were sent through the Iraqi Government.

Having lost any hope for the creation of an independent state after the Treaty of Sèvres, Kurdish leaders saw in the League's recommendation prospects for considerable self-rule within the borders of Iraq. Thus, to give one example, six Kurdish Deputies in the Iraqi Chamber addressed a petition to the Prime Minister in February 1929 and complained that the government was not properly carrying out the League's recommendations in regard to the administration of the Kurdish areas. They demanded (a) increased expenditure on Kurdish education, (b) the formation of a Kurdish province (*liwa*) containing the *Liwa*s of Sulaymaniya, Arbil, Kirkuk and the Kurdish *qadha*s of the Mosul *Liwa*, (c) governance of that province by a Kurdish Inspector General as the sole link between the Kurdish province and the central government in Baghdad, and (d)

increased expenditure on public services (G.B. 1920-31:262). According to confidential police reports of the time, this desire for decentralization in Kurdistan was "almost universal" (quoted by Sluglett 1976:186).

These demands were resolutely rejected as being separatist in nature. According to an official report,

> "the Prime Minister consulted the High Commissioner[3] as to the response to be made to this petition and both were agreed that it would be inadvisable to create the new administrative unit since, apart from the serious administrative difficulties which such a scheme would create, it would tend towards separation rather than towards that unity of all the communities of 'Iraq which should be the objective of policy both in the interests of the 'Iraqi State and of the Kurds themselves." (G.B. 1920-31:262)

Far from carrying out the League's recommendations, the Iraqi government engaged in Arabizing the Kurdish schools and the administrative system. Protests were voiced everywhere including in the Chamber of Deputies (cf. 7.5.0). Noting the political consequences of Kurdish dissatisfaction, a Mandate official, C.J. Edmonds, reviewed the numerous stipulations and pledges of British and Iraqi authorities concerning Kurdish rights, including forming a "Kurdish Government." Edmonds complained to the High Commissioner:

> "Some of these stipulations are administratively most inconvenient but unless promises and pledges are to be considered mere scraps of paper or deliberate lies meant to tide over a temporary difficulty they must in present circumstances be honourably observed. It is regrettable that various authorities, both British and Iraqi, have endeavoured to overcome the inconvenience by ignoring the promises." ("The Kurdish Question," Kurdish Policy File No. 13/14, Vol. VI, Secret, May 11, 1929)

5.1.4 Legislation on the Status of Kurdish Language

In early November 1929, Britain informed the League of her decision to end the Mandate in Iraq. This was to be effected through a treaty of alliance between Iraq and Britain signed on June 30, 1930, and the entry of Iraq, as an independent state, into the League of Nations by 1932.

Kurds and Assyrians were alarmed by the Iraqi-British treaty, which contained no provision to safeguard their rights. These concerns over the withdrawal of Britain from Iraq were based on the apprehension that assurances to the League on safeguarding minority rights had been given only by the British government, as Mandatory power, and not by the Arab government in Baghdad. Soon unrest spread everywhere in Kurdistan (Sluglett 1976:187). On July 26,

1930, the leaders of the Kurdish National Central Committee sent a petition to the League in which they asked for the "fulfilment of their national rights which were admitted by the League of Nations, but in no case those have been given" (L.N., PMC. 1930:184, 185). Between August and October, eight more petitions were received mostly complaining about the assimilation policy of the government and demanding either autonomy or an independent Kurdish state (L.N., PMC. 1931a:220-21).

The British and Iraqi authorities rejected the petitioners' demands for either autonomy or separate statehood. Instead, they proposed the drafting of a Language Law as "the key" to a program for redressing Kurdish grievances. According to an official report,

> The problem was carefully studied by the High Commissioner in consultation with his majesty King Faisal, the Prime Minister and the British Advisers concerned, and a programme of constructive measures was prepared designed to redress Kurdish complaints and to give them confidence in their future in the 'Iraq State. The most important step was judged to be a law to safeguard the use of the Kurdish language and this was made the key to the proposed programme. It was a difficult law to draft, as it was necessary to satisfy a variety of interests. (G.B. 1930:25)

However, the drafting of the Law, its approval and enforcement turned into a contest in which four parties–the Arab government of Iraq, the British Mandate, the League of Nations and the Kurds–were involved.

Soon after Kurdish petitions reached the League of Nations, the Acting High Commissioner Major Young and the Acting Prime Minister al-'Askari made a tour of Kurdistan together, during which they underlined complete unanimity of British and Iraqi policy towards Kurdistan, warned Kurdish leaders against "separatism," and promised again to "draft a Kurdish language law" (text of speeches reported in G.B. 1920-32:327-29). After his return to Baghdad, Young realized that the Prime Minister's "statements about the Language Law, justice and officials were promises for the future rather than descriptions of what had been done" (Sluglett 1976:189). In a telegram to the Secretary of State for Colonies, Young warned that if the Iraqi Government did not carry out "in spirit as well as letters" the Kurdish policy endorsed in his speeches during the Kurdistan tour, the League must be informed "that the Iraqi Government are not in fact carrying out their program" (quoted in *Ibid.*).

Although the Kurds had welcomed the decision on language legislation (cf., e.g., *Zarî Kirmancî*, No. 22, April 30, 1930, pp. 10-12), the Minister of Interior, incensed by petitions form Sulaymaniya, removed the popular governor Tawfiq Wahby, while the Prime Minister announced that knowledge of the Kurdish language and not race would be the criterion of government employment in Kurdish areas. Thus, Arab officials professing knowledge of Kurdish could

be appointed to offices in Kurdistan.

By September 1930, London was concerned about the aggravating situation in Kurdistan and the consequences of concealing its seriousness from the League. In a telegram to Young (September 2), the British government required some concrete evidence of the Iraqi Government's good faith, such as the publication of the Local Languages Law. Young was instructed to tell Prime Minister Nuri that the Law must be published, that the present anti-Kurdish attitudes must be eliminated from the cabinet, and that the policy already given publicity should be put into immediate effect (Sluglett 1976:190).

Kurdish protest was mounting especially in Sulaymaniya where parliamentary elections were boycotted and the Army opened fire on the protestors ending in the loss of fifteen lives, according to official figures, and the arrest of many Kurdish leaders. Two days later, a memorandum on Kurdish policy was sent to the governors of the northern *liwas* instructing them to act in accordance with the provisions of the drafted Local Languages Law which had not been published yet (*Ibid.*). That language legislation was intertwined with political considerations is evident in the Acting High Commissioner's second thoughts after the killings. In a telegram to London (September 8, 1930), he wrote, "Apart from the fact that the Iraq Government are not in the mood to reconsider concessions to the Kurds at present I consider that any actual concession, such as the publication of the Local Languages Law at this moment would be interpreted by the Kurds as a result of violent tactics adopted at Sulaimaniya" (quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 190).

The British government was, however, concerned about the forthcoming session of the Permanent Mandates Commission in November. Britain decided not to forward further petitions to the League until the Mandates Commission's satisfaction with Iraq's new policy embodied in the Local Languages Law had been ascertained (*Ibid.*, p. 193). The nineteenth session rejected the petitioners' demand for the "formation of a Kurdish government under the supervision of the League of Nations" but decided to recommend to the Council of the League

> ...to request the mandatory power to see that the legislative and administrative measures designed to secure for the Kurds the position to which they are entitled are promptly put into effect and properly enforced;
>
> ...to consider the advisability of providing for measures to guarantee to the Kurds the maintenance of such position, should Iraq be finally emancipated from the trusteeship of Great Britain. (L.N., PMC. 1930:194)

The Iraqi Government was still delaying the legislative process and in February, 1931, Premier Nuri told the High Commissioner that progress had been halted due to the discovery that no standard form of Kurdish existed. In a

confidential letter, a Mandate official commented:

> My own view is that the King and Nuri are determined to do their utmost to maintain the use of Arabic in these *qadhas*. If they can delay for a few months implementing the stipulation ascertaining the wishes of the people the Mandate may come to an end before the year is up and there will be no one to press them to honour their pledges. (Quoted in Sluglett 1976:203)

The Law eventually passed on May 19, 1931 after considerably reducing its scope. "Technical services" were excluded, knowledge of the Kurdish language replaced race as criterion for government employment, and the Kurdish *qadhas* of Mosul were given a year to decide upon the dialect of their preference (*Ibid.*; cf., also, 6.2.0).

The decision of the League's Council on whether or not Iraq was fit for entry into the organization was deferred until November, 1931. Analyzing the situation at this stage in the light of archival material, Sluglett (1976:205) concludes that

> although individual [British] administrators might make every effort to see that justice was done to the Kurds, it was British policy to support League entry in 1932, and the great weight of evidence showing that the Iraq Government were not fulfilling their obligations to the Kurds, and clearly had no intention of doing so, had to be hushed up rather than brought out into the open.

The confidential correspondence of the Mandate authorities reflects increasing encroachments on Kurdish rights, including more limitations on the use of Kurdish as an official language by excluding *awqaf* (endowments) offices from the Local Languages Law (*Ibid.*, p. 211; cf. 7.6.0.I.A., on the significance of this issue). Besides the killings in the Sulaymaniya election protests, the Army and Air Force carried out operations against a revived Kurdish revolt for independence in 1930. The *Annual Report* to the League, however, carried promising news on Kurdish rights: the opening of five new schools; the appointment of a "Kurdish Inspector of Schools," and the bringing of the Local Languages Law before the Parliament in 1931 (G.B. 1930:27-28, 31, 125).

Besides continued operations to suppress a new Kurdish revolt, the *Annual Report* of 1931 noted further progress in the sphere of Kurdish rights. The language law was approved by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, promulgated by King Faisal on May 23, and published on June 1, 1931 (G.B. 1931:19).

At Geneva, the twenty-first session of the Permanent Mandates Commission was far from satisfied with the situation of Iraq's minorities. The Commission therefore required special guarantees and, moreover, made it clear

that, in the absence of first hand information on the practice of the Iraqi government, they relied on Sir Francis Humphrys' declaration of Britain's "moral responsibility... should Iraq prove herself unworthy of the confidence which had been placed in her" (L.N., PMC. 1931a:134; 1931b:221-22).

The council of the League agreed to Iraq's admission on January 28, 1932, subject to the signature of various guarantees embodied in a "Draft Declaration by the Iraq Government" (full text in League of Nations. *Official Journal*, July 1932, 13th Year, No. 7., pp. 1347-1350). The section on the Kurdish language reads:

Article 9

> 1. Iraq undertakes that, in the liwas of Mosul, Arbil, Kirkuk and Sulaimaniya, the official language, side by side with Arabic, shall be Kurdish in the qadhas in which the population is predominantly of Kurdish race.
>
> In the qadhas of Kifri and Kirkuk, however, in the liwa of Kirkuk, where a considerable part of the population is of Turkman race, the official language, side by side with Arabic, shall be either Kurdish or Turkish.

Having no faith in the guarantees laid down in the Constitution of Iraq or in the sincerity of the government to implement them, Article One of the Declaration required:

> The stipulations contained in the present chapter are recognized as fundamental laws of Iraq and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action *now or in the future* prevail over them (emphasis added).

However, when Iraq signed the Declaration, the stipulations concerning officialization of Kurdish had already been violated. Schools in Mosul and Kirkuk and some of the schools of Arbil had been Arabized (cf. 7.5.1.3); Kurdish was not, nor did it become, official in Mosul and Kirkuk *liwas*. Although the Permanent Mandates Commission suspected that Britain was intentionally withholding information from them (British document quoted in Sluglett 1976:201), Iraq was admitted to the League on October 3, 1932, and, according to the last annual report, "the special responsibilities of His Majesty's Government in regard to the administration and government of the country were thereby terminated" (G.B. 1932:iv).

The evidence presented so far suggests that the officialization of the Kurdish language in Iraq had become a political problem of larger national,

regional and international dimensions. On the Iraqi level, both the Arab government and the Mandatory power associated language claims to Kurdish nationalism's threat to the country's political and territorial integrity. Any concession, especially in language-related domains, was seen as encouraging "secession" or "separatism" not only in Iraq, but also in the three neighbouring countries (cf., e.g., L.N.,PMC. 1926:61). In fact, soon after the settlement of the Mosul Question, these states cooperated in suppressing Kurdish revolts. Iraq, for instance, enjoyed at least twice the military assistance of Turkey and Iran in putting down revolts in 1931-32 (G.B. 1931:18; 1931:4)

The solution sought was integration of the "backward" and "unruly" Kurds into the more civilized Arab nation. Thus, rejecting Kurdish petitions for independence or self-rule, Britain wrote to the League that economically and geographically the Kurdish areas and the remainder of Iraq were interdependent and

> could not exist apart. On political grounds also, the conception is almost fantastic. Although they admittedly possess many sterling qualities, the Kurds of Iraq are entirely lacking in those characteristics of political cohesion which are essential to successful self-government. Their organization and outlook are essentially tribal. They are without traditions of self-government or self-governing institutions. Their mode of life is primitive and for the most part they are illiterate and untutored, resentful of authority and lacking in sense of discipline or responsibility... (L.N., PMC. 1930:186).

The claim that traditions of self-government or self-governing institutions were lacking was unfounded, according to a secret note written by a mandate official[4] (cf., also, Piramerd's poem quoted in 4.2.6). Similarly, the underdevelopment of the Kurdish language was usually exaggerated (cf. above 5.1.2) in order to justify Arabization. The intervention of the League was effective only to the extent that pledges, assurances and stipulations on Kurdish language rights were finally recorded on paper and a minimum of compliance was demonstrated. Through withholding information[5] and misinterpretation of facts and laws, Britain was usually able to justify, in the Permanent Mandates Commission, violations of the assurance made to the League concerning Kurdish and Assyrian rights. In their discussion of the *Annual Reports*, the Commission members asked the Mandate representative questions on what the reports said about the rights of minorities, and the members quite often accepted whatever explanations were offered. They were, for example, easily persuaded by Britain that the "special treatment" of Assyrians recommended by the Mosul Commission did not apply to Iraq's Assyrians who had been earlier uprooted from their territory in Kurdistan of Turkey (Joseph 1961:185-9). As indicated above, Britain was able to ensure Iraq's entry into the League although the Permanent

Mandates Commission did not consider the country qualified on account of her minority policies.

To convince the Permanent Mandates Commission, British Mandate representatives usually made a distinction, in their reports and presentations to the League of Nations, between Kurds who had "moderate opinion" and "those infected by the impracticable idea of Kurdish nationalism" (cf, e.g., L.N., PMC. 1930:187). By 1930, however, moderates and extremists alike felt cheated by both Britain and the League of Nations. This is documented, among other things, in a considerable body of poetic literature on the subject composed by contemporary poets. Ahmad Mukhtar Beg (1897-1935), for instance, had already repudiated the League's 1925 resolution:

> This resolution of the League which is said to be in the interest of the Kurds,
> Is but loose talk, good for nothing...
>
> *Em qerarî 'Usbeye wa xeĺq eĺên bo Kurd ebê*
> *Her qisey rûte, qise naçête naw gîrfanewe*

Another poet, Salam Ahmad 'Azabani (1892-1959) wrote a poem, *Bo Komeĺî Eqwam* (To the League of Nations) in September, 1931, in which he accused the League of "double-dealing," "deceit," and "playing into Britain's hands." The following extract conveys an impression of Kurdish mood at the time:

> Source of intrigue! League of dissimulation!
> Is this how you give the rights of minority peoples?
> Workshop of corruption! League of sufferings!
> "A club in the hands of Mr. Henderson!" [i.e., British Premier Henderson's pawn]
>
> *Menşe'î fitne! Komeĺî tezwîr!*
> *Wa edey ḧeqqî eqwamî seẍîr?*
> *Karxaney fesad! Komeĺî miḧen!*
> *"Kutekî destî Mister Hendirsen"!*
> (Salam 1958:4)

5.1.5 The Text of the Local Languages Law

Information on the process of drafting the Local Languages Law is not available. It is known, however, that a competent person, Amin Zaki, the then Deputy and a former Minister, read about the bill in the press. One version of the draft was published by the League (L.N., PMC. 1930:189-91). The following approved text is taken from the British government's annual report on

Iraq (G.B. 1931:73-75):

Local Languages Law, No. 74 of 1931

WE, KING of 'IRAQ,

With the approval of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, do hereby order the enactment of the following Law:

Article 1. The provisions of this Law shall apply to the Qadhas mentioned in Articles 2 and 3 below:

Article 2. The language of the Courts shall be Kurdish in the undermentioned Qadhas:

(a) Amadiya.	
(b) Zakho.	Mosul Liwa.
(c) Zibar.	
(d) Aqra.	
(e) Koi Sanjaq.	
(f) Rania.	Arbil Liwa.
(g) Rawanduz.	
(h) Gil.	
(i) Chemchemal.	Kirkuk Liwa.
(j) Sulaimaniya.	
(k) Halabja.	Sulaimaniya Liwa.
(l) Shahrbazar.	

Article 3. The language of the Courts may be Arabic or Kurdish or Turkish in the undermentioned Qadhas:

(a) Dohuk.	Mosul.
(b) Shaikhan.	
(c) Arbil.	Arbil Liwa.
(d) Makhmur.	
(e) Kirkuk.	Kirkuk Liwa.
(f) Kifri.	

The Court shall decide the language to be used in each case.

Article 4. An accused person is entitled in all cases and in all the Qadhas mentioned above:

(a) To be tried and notified in the Arabic language if the said language is a familiar one in his home.

(b) To have all proceedings interpreted verbally into Arabic, Kurdish or Turkish and to ask for a copy of a judgement translated into one of the above mentioned languages. Any person may submit a petition to any court in the above mentioned Qadhas or to a higher court, in the Arabic or Kurdish or Turkish languages.

Article 5. Kurdish shall be the official language in the under-mentioned Qadhas, with the exception of technical departments, correspondence between Liwa Headquarters and Ministries and between the Mosul Liwa Headquarters and the Qadhas attached to it, which shall be in the Arabic language:

(a) Amadiya. (b) Aqra. (c) Dohuk. (d) Zakho. (e) Zibar.	Mosul Liwa.
(f) Arbil. (g) Makhmur. (h) Koi. (i) Rania. (j) Rowanduz.	Arbil Liwa.
(k) Chemchemal. (l) Gil.	Kirkuk Liwa.
(m) Sulaimaniya. (n) Halabja. (o) Shahrbazar.	Sulaimaniya Liwa.

Kurdish and Turkish shall be used in Kirkuk and Kifri Qadhas.

Article 6. In all elementary and primary schools in the aforesaid Qadhas, the language of instruction shall be the home language of the majority of the pupils of those schools, no matter whether it be Arabic, Kurdish or Turkish.

Article 7. Any person may apply to the official authorities in the Arabic language, and he shall receive the reply in the same language. Any correspondence made in a language the use of which is permitted under the provisions of Article 5 of this Law shall be accepted and replied to in the language in which it is written.

Article 8. In the Qadhas of Sulaimaniya, Kirkuk and Arbil referred to in this Law, the form of the Kurdish language shall be the form in use at present, and in the Qadhas of Mosul Liwa referred to in this Law the people may choose the type of Kurdish language they desire within one year from the coming into force of this Law.

Article 9. All Ministers are charged with the execution of this Law each in so far as it concerns him.

Made at Baghdad this 23rd day of May, 1931, and the 6th day Muharram, 1350.

[Signed by King Faisal, Prime Minister Nuri as Sa'id, and Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Interior, Finance, Defence, and Education. Published in *Waqayi'al 'Iraqiya* No. 989 of 1-6-31].

5.1.6 Kurdish Criticism of the Local Languages Law

Kurdish dissatisfaction was noted by the Mandate officials when the draft law was published. C.J. Edmonds, a Mandate official, wrote in a secret note:

> ...none of my Kurdish visitors has so much as mentioned it spontaneously. When questioned they have manifested no enthusiasm; on the contrary they have been critical of its shortcomings. This is remarkable because it is in many ways the most concrete promise yet made. But the Kurds have reason to know that there is a great gulf between promise and performance. ("Kurdish Policy," Secret, by C.J.E., File No. 13/14, Vol. X, p. 31)

Amin Zaki informed the High Commissioner of the shortcomings of the first draft in a private meeting and, later, submitted his considerations in the form of a petition on May 29, 1931. Zaki's criticism, not incorporated in the final draft, contains the essence of Kurdish demands in the realm of language. It is significant that when Zaki decided to publish a Kurdish translation of this petition

(together with another petition made to King Faisal in 1930), the booklet, *Dû Teqellay Bêsûd* (Two Fruitless Efforts), was confiscated in the press in 1935 (Nariman 1960:16) and was never distributed.

Zaki began his considerations by criticizing the government's decision to disregard the League's recommendation on appointing officials of Kurdish race in Kurdistan and making, instead, knowledge of the Kurdish language as the basis of appointment. He warned that all Kurds were unhappy and scared, because this had confirmed their apprehension that the government had no intention of respecting their rights. The following are the more specific comments on the bill (synopsis of Zaki 1935:43-65):

1) In violation of the recommendations of the League, the Law does not cover all parts of Kurdistan. Excluded are: (a) in Khanaqin *Qadha*, the *nahiyas* of Hawrain-Shaikhan and Qoratu; and several quarters in the Central *nahiya* and Muqati'a of Khanaqin, etc., (b) parts of Mandali *Qadha*, (c) the Kurds of Baghdad approximately 25,000 or 10% of the city's population, and (d) the *qadhas* of Tel Afar, Sinjar and Mosul.

On the Mosul Qadha (including Mosul city and neighbouring villages), Zaki wrote: "In the city itself there is a considerable number of Kurds besides those in the nearby villages. If the existence of a small majority of Arabs and Turks in the [Kurdish] *qadhas* of Dohuk, Makhmur, Shaikhan, Arbil and Kifri has justified the acceptance of Turkish and Arabic together with the language of the majority [i.e., Kurdish], in the same manner it is necessary to accept Kurdish in the *qadhas* of Tel Afar, Sinjar and Mosul" (p. 52) (cf. Article 3 of the Law, 5.1.5).

In Kirkuk *Liwa*, the ethnographic distribution is 51% Kurds, 21% Turkmens, 20% Arabs, and 8% others. Thus, Kurdish should be recognised as the language of the majority in the *liwa* and its center.

2) "According to the stipulations of the League of Nations, it is necessary to make Kurdish the language of instruction in all Kurdish schools whether elementary, primary or other higher levels, since limiting the teaching in Kurdish to elementary and primary school will hinder the progress and development of the Kurdish language" (p. 59).

3) the medium of instruction should be the language of the majority of residents, not the majority of students of a school, since the latter will be "a cause of misuse in future" (p. 58).

4) Kurdish should be the official language of all government offices including the technical services.

5) The use of Kurmanji dialect in the *qadhas* of Mosul is a cause of destroying the unity of the Kurdish language and will result in the retrogression of education and financial waste (cf. 6.2.0).

6) The adjective "local" in the title of the Law must be omitted.

5.1.7 The Consequences of British Mandate Policy

The development of the Kurdish language was restricted in at least three ways as a result of the country's language policy. Functionally, the use of the language in education was limited to the primary school level and, in the bureaucracy, to occasional correspondence, announcements, etc. The Kurdish language speaker had to depend, therefore, on the Arabic language to varying degrees in both written and oral communication.

In terms of planning the form or corpus of the language, Kurdish reformers were not free to adopt and implement their own policies. They were not free, for instance, to reform the alphabet or to Romanize it (cf., for example, 8.2.3, 8.2.6 and subchapter 8.5).

Geographically, officialization was limited to less than half the Kurdish speaking areas, leaving the rest of Kurdistan, inhabited mainly by non-Sorani speakers, subject to more intensive Arabization. This, together with the government's refusal to allow the formation of a single Kurdish province, negatively affected the ethnic consolidation of the Kurds generally and dialectal unification particularly.

The Mandate's policy of functional and territorial restriction of the Kurdish langauge was followed by succeeding regimes until the 1980s, although its scope and implementation varied under changing circumstances.

5.1.8 The Monarchy, 1932-58

Once admitted into the League, the Iraqi government felt free to ignore or, at best, "grudgingly" implement the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 (Edmonds 1968:514). Schools and administration in all parts of Mosul and Kirkuk *Liwa*s were Arabized.

Between 1943 and 1945, an armed uprising broke out in Kurdistan, and soon after the end of World War II, demands for autonomy or independence were voiced by political parties and individuals (for a translation of original documents, cf. Andrews 1982). The Rizgarî Party complained that "the successive Iraqi governments have denied the Kurds their rights" (*Ibid.*, p. 89); another group, Dengî Rastî (Voice of Truth), demanded autonomy for Kurdistan, including the use of Kurdish as "the official language in government establishments and schools" (*Ibid.*, p. 104). In a manifesto addressed to the United Nations in 1947, a Kurdish political party complained about the violation of Kurdish rights including the right to speak in their language in government offices, and called for the independence of Kurdistan (*Ibid.*, p. 151; cf., also, p. 109).

By the end of the monarchical period, state policy continued to be based on checking Kurdish nationalism and integrating the Kurds into the Arab state. Restricting the development of Kurdish language was a major element in this policy. As in the past, the suppression of Kurdish nationalism was not just a matter of internal politics; it was also a condition for protecting the "territorial

integrity" of Iran, Turkey and Syria from the threat of separatism "instigated by communists." Iraq signed two major treaties with neighbouring countries, which aimed at, among other things, cooperation against the Kurdish nationalist movement (cf. 3.2.1). For more detailed analysis of state policy during this period, cf. 7.1.2.I (printing), 7.2.2 (book publishing), 7.3.2.9 (journalism), 7.4.2 (broadcasting), education (7.5.2), administrative and other uses of Kurdish (7.6 to 7.7), and language academy (10.3.2 to 10.3.3).

5.1.9 Republican Iraq

The monarchy was overthrown in a coup d'état led by nationalist forces on July 14, 1958. The Provisional Constitution described Iraq as part of the Arab world, though it referred specifically to the Kurds as co-partners with the Arabs and recognized their rights within the framework of Iraqi unity (Article 3). The idea of co-partnership found expression in the coat of arms of the Republic in which the Arab sword was matched by the Kurdish dagger. The Kurds were, for the first time,[6] constitutionally recognized as a separate and sizable ethnic entity with rights of their own.

The most radical gains in the sphere of language use were in journalism, book publishing and broadcasting–all due to the relative freedom of the press and freedom of speech. The use of Kurdish in education and administration was only partially affected (cf. chapter 7).

The state of relative democracy which prevailed during 1958-59 gradually began to give way to military dictatorship headed by Karim Qasim who refused to terminate the "transitional period" towards parliamentary rule (Jawad 1981:63). Kurdish demands (cf. 7.5.3.1) were mostly ignored. Qasim cancelled the third Kurdish Teachers Congress which was to convene in February 1961, and all the branches of the Teachers Union in the Kurdish areas were closed down. In fact, Qasim declared that the name "Kurd" did not have any national (ethnic) significance. "This was clearly intended to show the Kurdish nationalists that he did not regard the Kurds as a distinct group that could qualify for nationhood" (*Ibid.*, p. 73). To propagate this view a series of articles appeared in the government daily *al-Thawra* at the beginning of 1961, which attempted to play down national differences in Iraq. The theme of the article was that Iraq was "one nation and not a collection of peoples" (*Ibid.*).

In June 1961, Kurds demanded the full implementation of the third article, of the Provisional Constitution and, among other things, the officialization of the Kurdish language in Kurdish areas. The demands were ignored (*Ibid.*, pp. 74-5) and armed conflict between the Kurds and the government began in September and continued intermittently until the March 1970 agreement. This is a period of coups d'état in Baghdad and war and peace in Kurdistan.

The first Ba'th regime (February 8, to November 18, 1963), which came to power through a coup d'état began negotiations with the autonomists. It published a law on proclaiming a new administrative division of Iraq which

envisioned the formation of a Sulaymaniya Government consisting of Arbil and Sulaymaniyah provinces, Chamchamal district of Kirkuk, and a new Dahok province including Zakho, Dahok, Amadiya, Aqra and Zibar districts of Mosul province. The law also stipulated (in Appendix I, 2-A):

> "Arabic and Kurdish languages are considered the official languages in the Sulaimaniya Governorate, B) Teaching is conducted in the Kurdish language at the primary and intermediate stages and Arabic is taught as a second language, C) Teaching is conducted in the Arabic language at the secondary stage." (Text in Khalidi and Ibish 1963:290-93)

This law was published simultaneously with the arresting of Kurdish negotiators in Baghdad and the opening of an all-round offensive against the autonomists. The inclusion of Kurmanji speaking *qadhas* into a Kurdish province was an advance, although the new division was not acceptable to the Kurds because it left out most of the Kurdish areas of Kirkuk and Diyala. The exclusion of Kirkuk *liwa* (less Chamchamal *Qadha*) was obviously because it was the seat of the great oil industry on which the economic viability of the state depended. Diyala was excluded because there is a small oil-field near Khanaqin and the main highway from Baghdad to Iran passes through it (Edmonds 1967:18, including a map of the proposed governorate).

During the early days of the second offensive "the Kurdish quarter of Kirkuk was bulldozed out of existence, and the inhabitants of many Kurdish villages in the Kirkuk and Arbil plains were driven out to make way for Arab settlers" (Edmonds 1968:515).

A second ceasefire followed the overthrow of the Ba'th regime on November 18, 1963. A new Provisional Constitution, drafted on April 29, 1964, made Arabic "the State's official language" (Article 3) and made vague reference to the Kurds in Article 19:

> "All Iraqis are equal by law. They are equal in their public rights and obligations without distinction of race, origin, language, religion or creed. All Iraqis including both Arabs and Kurds shall cooperate to safeguard their homeland. This constitution shall guarantee their national rights within the framework of Iraqi unity." (text in *Bulletin of the Republic of Iraq*, Vol. V, No. 5, May 1964, pp. 7-11)

The Kurdish side demanded (October 11, 1964), among other things, (a) an amendment of article 19 to read: "This constitution recognizes the rights of the Kurdish people on the basis of self-government within Iraqi unity," (b) the formation of a province of Kurdistan including the *liwas* of Arbil, Kirkuk, Sulaymaniya, and the *qadhas* of Zakho, Dahok, Aqra, Amadiya, Shaikhan,

Sinjar, Tel Afar and Khanaqin, "together with all *qadhas* and *nahiyas* where there is a Kurdish majority in the *liwas* of Mosul and Diyala," (c) that the Kurdish language be the official language of the province while "Arabic should also be used and the minorities right to use their language shall be admitted" (text in Khalid and Ibish 1965:47).

Negotiations continued into early 1965. The Kurdish delegation demanded (January 24) that "the law of local languages" continue to be enforced and in the districts where the Kurds were in a majority, that the local language be used in instruction until the intermediate level. The Government conceded (February 7) the

> [R]ecognition of Kurdish nationalism as an established fact. No Kurds are to be Arabized, either now or in the future. The language of instruction in *qadhas* and *nahiyas* where there is a Kurdish majority shall be Kurdish until the intermediate level.

Kurdish was not, however, explicitly given the status of an "official" language. The document specified that "[T]he official language throughout Iraq is Arabic. Kurds may be taught in Kurdish at elementary and intermediate schools" (*Ibid.*, pp. 33, 41).

The third major offensive began in April, 1965, which was followed by a third formal cease-fire in mid-June, 1966. In the interval, Article 19 of the constitution was amended (September 9) to read: "This Constitution confirms the nationalist rights of Kurds within the framework of the fraternal national unity of the Iraqi people" (Edmonds 1968:517). The Prime Minister announced on June 29, 1966 a twelve-point program for settling the Kurdish question. It stated among other things (quoted in Khadduri 1969:274):

> The Government has categorically recognised Kurdish nationality in the amended provisional constitution and is ready to emphasise and clarify this point in the permanent constitution, whereby Kurdish nationality and the national rights of the Kurds within the one Iraqi homeland, which includes two main nationalities—Arab and Kurdish—will become clear, and Arabs and Kurds will enjoy equal rights and duties.
>
> Needless to say, the Government recognises the Kurdish language as an official language in addition to Arabic in regions where the majority of the population is Kurdish. Education will be in both languages in accordance with the limits defined by law and the local councils.

Little progress had been made in implementing the declaration when a second Ba'th government returned to power in a July 17, 1968 coup d'état.

Promises for a just and peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem on the basis of the 1966 twelve-point program were made. The formation of a Kurdish Academy and a university at Sulaymaniya were among the first actions. Hostilities resumed, however, throughout 1969 while negotiations were going on leading to the March 11, 1970 agreement. It was decided that after a transition period of four years the autonomy of Kurdistan would be proclaimed by March, 1974. The deal, called by the government "March 11 Manifesto on the Peaceful Settlement of the Kurdish Issue in Iraq," met numerous Kurdish demands which previous governments had rejected.

The document recognized the Kurds as one of the two principal nationalities of Iraq, and Kurdish was declared official (Iraq Republic 1974:15):

> The Kurdish language shall, side by side with the Arabic language, be an official language in the areas populated by a majority of Kurds. The Kurdish language shall be the language of instruction in these areas. The Arabic language shall be taught in all schools where teaching is conducted in Kurdish. The Kurdish language shall be taught elsewhere in Iraq as second language within the limits prescribed by the law.

The recognition of the Kurdish nation was soon incorporated in the Interim Constitution promulgated on July 16, 1970:

> "Article 5-(a) Iraq is a part of the Arab Nation. (b) The Iraqi people are composed of two principal nationalisms: The Arab Nationalism and the Kurdish Nationalism.
>
> This constitution acknowledges the national rights of the Kurdish People and the legitimate rights of all minorities within the Iraqi unity...
>
> Article 7-(a) Arabic is the official language. (b) The Kurdish language is official, besides Arabic, in the Kurdish region" (*Constitutions of the Countries of the World. Iraq.* February 1974, p. 1).

In spite of these liberal pronouncements, the agreement did not resolve the problem of Kirkuk, which was agreed to be decided through a plebiscite. Both sides undertook to implement, to varying degrees, their obligations under the agreement, while discord between the two sides was also growing (cf. 7.5.3.2, for information on the progress made in the officialization of Kurdish). On the termination of the four-year transition period, Baghdad announced an all-out war on the autonomist movement whose leader, Mustafa Barzani, was encouraged and backed by the United States and Iran to resume hostilities with the Ba'th Government (Jawad 1981:277-312). After a year of war (March 1974-75), Iran

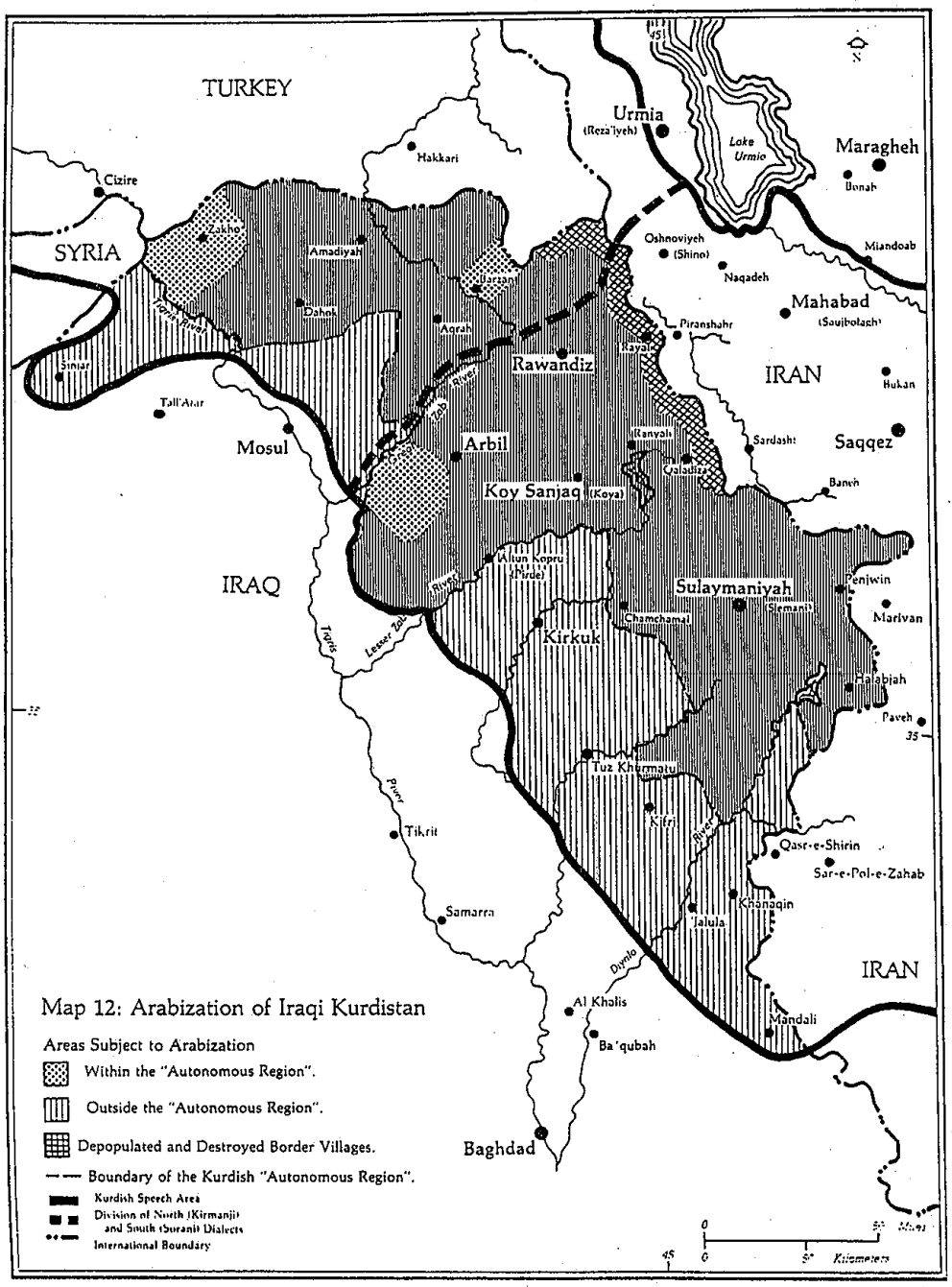
and Iraq resolved their differences and the Kurdish leadership surrendered, taking refuge in Iran.

Now in a position of power, the Ba'th regime began to implement its own version of autonomy. The autonomous region established by the government excluded almost half (Vanly 1980:202) of Kurdistan: Aqra, Shaikhan, Sinjar in Mosul (renamed Nineveh) *muhafaza* (province), and Qoratu, Maydan, Khanaqin, Mandali in Diyala and most of Kirkuk *liwa* (cf. Maps 5 and 12). The remaining areas are grouped into the three *muhafazas* of Sulaymaniya, Arbil and Dahok. This scheme was similar to the proposed Sulaymaniyah Governorate of the first Ba'th regime (cf. above). Arbil, rather than the main intellectual and nationalist center of Kurdistan, Sulaymaniya, was selected as the "chief-town" for the administration.

The government's policy after the collapse of the autonomous movement was to uproot Kurdish nationalism once and for all by eliminating the breeding ground of this political movement–i.e., the Kurdish ethnic entity. To this end, an area 20 kilometers wide along the northeast border with Iran and the northern border with Turkey was forcibly depopulated and the villages, fields, orchards and springs were destroyed. The purpose was to disrupt the homogeneous settlement of the Kurds in their ancient homeland; interrupt connections between Iraqi Kurds and their fellow Kurds across the remote and hilly border area; encircle Iraqi Kurds from the east and north by militarized zones in order to prevent the renewal of revolts; and to facilitate Arabization of the population. This project affected considerable territories in Zibar, Barzan, Atrush and Zakho in the north and in Makhmur plain to the south of Arbil (cf. Map 12). The displaced population estimated in 1977 at 100 to 300 thousand was resettled in strategic hamlets or deported to Arab areas in the south (Kutschera 1977; Vanly 1980:201; for a pro-government account of resettlement, cf. Ghareeb 1981:176-178).

While population transfer and extensive political and physical repression have been at the core of the Arabization program, the Kurdish opposition press has documented numerous methods employed by the Ba'th regime to change the ethnic composition of the Kurdish people (cf., for example, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan 1977; Komeley Rencderanî Kurdistan 1982). It is noticeable that Arabization is accompanied by Ba'thization (*tab'īth*), i.e., the imposing of the ideology and politics of the ruling power–Arab Ba'th Socialist Party (cf. Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett 1986 on the nature and ideology of the party).

Language-related aspects of Arabization include, among other things, the Arabization of Kurdish schools in the Autonomous Region; the dissolution of the "Kurdish Academy in 1978 and the formation of a "Kurdish corporation" within the Iraqi Scientific Academy (the policy was to replace "Kurdish" by "Iraqi" in the name of organizations, institutions and unions); the removal of Sulaymaniya University from Sulaymaniya, main center of Kurdish nationalism, to Arbil and partial Arabization of its faculty and curriculum; and the Arabization of Kurdish geographical names.


TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
IRAN
Urmia
(Reza'iyeh)
Lake Urmio
Maragheh
Bonab
Miandoab
Mahabad
(Saujbolagh)
Oshnoviyeh
(Shino)
Naqadeh
Piranshahr
Bukan
Saqqez
Sardasht
Baneh
Cizire
Hakkari
Zakho
Amadiyah
Dahuk
Aqrah
Harsan
Rawandiz
Rayat
Sinjar
Tall'Afar
Mosul
Arbil
Zab
Ranyah
Qaladiza
Koy Sanjaq
(Koya)
Altun Kopru
(Pirde)
Sulaymaniyah
Chamchamal
Kirkuk
Tigris
Lesser Zab
Greater Zab
Rivers
Zeniwin
Marivan
Halabjah
Paveh
Tuz Khurmatu
Kifri
Tikrit
Samarra
Qasr-e-Shirin
Sar-e-Pol-e-Zahab
Khanaqin
Jalula
Diyala
Al Khalis
Ba'qubah
Mandali
Baghdad
Map 12: Arabization of Iraqi Kurdistan
Areas Subject to Arabization
Within the "Autonomous Region".
Outside the "Autonomous Region".
Depopulated and Destroyed Border Villages.
Boundary of the Kurdish "Autonomous Region".
Kurdish Speech Area
Division of South (Kirmanji) and South (Surani) Dialects
International Boundary
Kilometers

By the mid-1980s, Government-sponsored print and broadcast output in the Kurdish language (cf. 7.2.8) had increased noticeably and was, in absolute figures (cf. Tables 29, 33 and 34), much ahead of other countries. A careful assessment of the impact of this quantitative improvement must, however, take into account the political context in which it occurred. Arabization and Ba'thization continued throughout the decade after the collapse of the 1961-75 autonomist movement. The system of autonomy set up by the government was considered by the majority of the people as a "puppet" administration designed to uproot the Kurdish people. In rural areas, armed resistance was resumed in 1976 by a new, radical political organization, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Soon other political organizations, remnants of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq and its splinter groups, joined the movement.

Determined to survive the opposition of both Arabs (cf. Zaher 1986) and Kurds and the impact of the war with Iran, the Ba'th regime embarked on even more extensive measures of repression. Hundreds of villages around major Kurdish towns have been destroyed to prevent the advance of Kurdish *peshmargas* (guerrillas) since 1984. The entire population of Barzani Kurds estimated at about 8,000 were removed to an unknown place and have disappeared (extensive documentation of the conflict is available in the publications of the opposition groups, e.g., P.U.K.'s *Rêbazî Nö*, *al-Ittihād* and *al-Sharāra*. For Western press coverage, cf., Institut Kurde de Paris, *Information and Liaison Bulletin*).

Evaluating the Ba'th regime's policy in the short-term or on the surface, one may arrive at the conclusion that the Kurds and their language have every chance of survival and even advancement as long as they remain loyal to the Iraqi state and its ruling Ba'th Party. However, a careful synthesis of the facts on both linguistic (cf. chapter 7) and non-linguistic[7] (not dealt with in this study) aspects of Arabization/Ba'thization supports the interpretation of the opposition groups, who believe the goal of the policy is de-ethnicization of the Kurds (cf. chapter 7, for more information on official policy regarding the use of Kurdish in the media and educational system). More information on the genocidal policies of the Ba'th regime is provided in Furubjelke and Sheikhmous 1991; Human Rights Watch 1990:69-96).

5.2.0 The Policy of Iran

5.2.1. ***The Pahlavi Dynasty, 1925-1979.*** The first constitution of Iran, adopted in 1906, made Persian the only official language of the multilingual country (cf. 1.2.3., on the linguistic composition of Iran). Although this may be considered the beginning of an official language policy reflecting the position of Persian nationalists it was not until the coming to power of the Pahlavi dynasty that the central government was in a position to implement the constitutional stipulation effectively.[8]

The Pahlavi dynasty was established by Reza Khan who came to power through a coup d'état in 1921, and declared himself the King of Persia (1925-41).

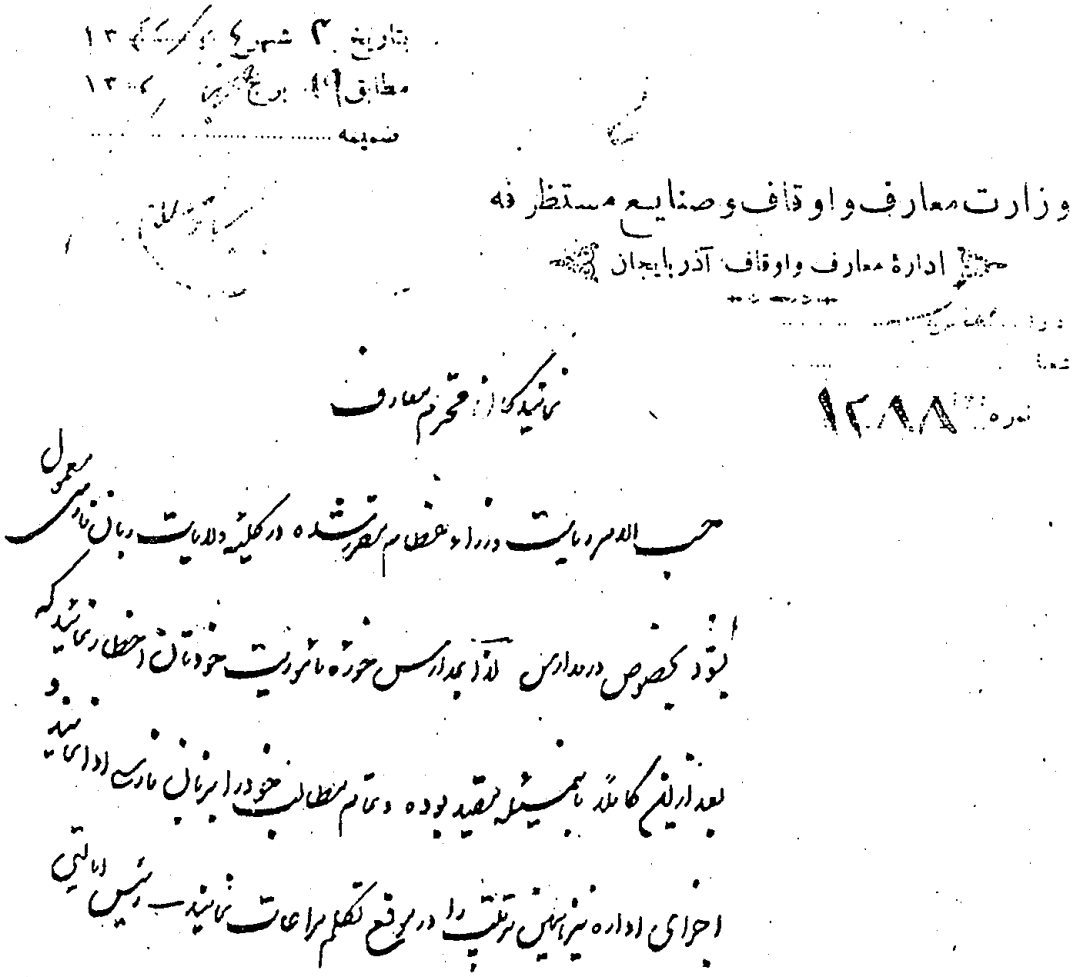
Like Kemal Ataturk in Turkey, he inherited a loosely integrated state and aimed at setting up a highly centralized system of political rule. The integration of the country's ethnic peoples (numbering about 50% of the total population) was carried out by, among other coercive measures, the exclusive use of the Persian language in education, administration, and the mass media.

As early as 1923, the government offices were instructed to use Persian in all oral and written communication. A circular sent from the Central Office of Education of Azerbaijan Province to the education offices of the region including that of Saujbolagh (later renamed Mahabad) reads:

> On the orders of the Prime Minister it has been prescribed to introduce the Persian language in all the provinces especially in the schools. You may therefore notify all the schools under your jurisdiction to fully abide by this and to conduct all their affairs in the Persian language[:] and the members of [your] office must follow the same while talking (printed in *Giřşey Kurdistan*, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1981, p. 34; cf. Fig. 2).

With the consolidation of his power, Reza Shah moved to ban all Kurdish cultural traditions, dress, literature, music and dance. A contemporary poet, Hemin (1972:6) recalled that "thousands of Kurds in schools and offices and even in the street were arrested, tortured and disgraced on charges of speaking in Kurdish..." The horror of police surveillance had a devastating impact on the language. In his autobiography, the poet Hazhar (1968:154-55) wrote that he and his father had put their few Kurdish books in a metal box and buried it in the courtyard in their village house which was far from the closest city. They read the books only during the night and buried them again. Another poet, Khala Min, read his poems only to his closest friends and to make sure that it not appear in writing the poet himself had to memorize the poem. Greatly affected by one of his poems when read by a friend of Khala Min in a private gathering of the village mosque school, young Hazhar walked a distance of three days to Mahabad to ask for his poetry. The poet denied that he had ever composed any poems (*Ibid.*, pp. 155-56).

To prevent the consolidation of the Kurds as a nation, the new administrative system cut across the Kurdish speech area dividing it into three provinces directly attached to Tehran. Efforts to eliminate the Kurdish ethnic identity were extended beyond the borders of the country. The Lutheran Orient Mission which had been operating in Saujbolaq area (at that time part of Azerbaijan province) was forced to remove the name *Kurdistan* from its monthly English language journal *Kurdistan Missionary*. The journal was published in the United States for the members of the church and had no subscribers in Iran. Explaining the change of title to *Lutheran Orient Mission*, the first issue (January 1929) wrote:



وزارت معارف واوقاف وصنایع مستظرفه

اداره معارف واوقاف آذربایجان

نمره ۱۲۸۸

Fig. 2. Text of a circular issued by the General Directorate of Education (West Azarbaijan Province, Iran) proscribing the use of languages other than Persian in Kurdish and Turkish speaking regions of Iran (cf. p. 126).

> THE KURDISTAN MISSIONARY is changing name, not purpose or policy. It seems our friends in Persia [the Iranian Government] are quite Nationalistic. The name Kurdistan, as applied to a district, or province, is not correct; it is divisive, so they think. In the past we have been addressing our mail to Soujbulak, Kurdistan. This latter name was always blue-pencilled. The geographic designation, for what we have been calling Kurdistan, is--Azarbaijan...

Equally revealing is Iranian reaction to the officialization of the Kurdish language in Iraq. While little is known about the behind-the-scene diplomatic efforts, it is known that when the draft of the Local Languages Law was submitted to the Iraqi parliament for approval in 1931, the state-controlled Iranian press attacked the action and tried to persuade the Iraqi government not to accept the "British inspired" project. *Īrān* (December 25, 1931) wrote that the officialization of Kurdish did not benefit either the Kurds or the Iraqis while *Shafaq-i Surkh* complained that the British Minister of Colonies encouraged Kurdish independence but did not consider giving freedom to 350 million Indians (quoted in *Oriente Moderno*, Anno XI, No. 2, 1931, p. 98).

The abdication of Reza Shah in 1941 brought some relaxation of coercive assimilation, although Persianization was continued by Mohammad Reza Shah (1941-79). The Kurds were now considered to be "true-born (*asīl*) Aryans," although their language was called a "dialect" in all official pronouncements. Under the favorable conditions of the post-World War II years, the Kurds and Turks of northwestern Iran established their own autonomous republics in 1946 and made Kurdish and Turkish official languages of their respective states. When the Imperial Iranian Army attacked and toppled the republics, all the written records were destroyed. In Tabriz, Turkish books were piled up in front of the Municipality building and set on fire by government officials (*Ettela'at*, December 18, 1946).

Ideologically, the assimilation of non-Persian nationalities was based on the glorification of Iran's pre-Islamic past and the "Aryan race" to which Iranians were claimed to belong. The political and linguistic aspects of the official line found immediate support among Persian nationalists who went to extremes in order to legitimize the assimilation policy.

Commenting on the dangers of the independence movement of the Kurds of Turkey, Mahmud Afshar, editor of the magazine *Āyandi*, proposed a program for assimilating the Kurds. "Whenever this course, i.e., Persianization (*fārsī shudan*) of the Iranian Kurds is achieved, there will be no danger to us if Ottoman Kurdistan becomes independent" (*Āyandi*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1925, p. 62).

Members of the faculty members of Tehran University and elsewhere also supported the Persianization policy by claiming that Persian was the most exalted language of the world and the only language in Iran. M. Moghaddam (Tehran University), for example, tried to prove that Turkish was a Persian dialect

(Doefer 1970:224). Another distinguished scholar in Iranian philology claimed that the Syriac language, spoken by Assyrians in Iran, Iraq, and elsewhere was a dialect spoken by "a few thousand vagabonds" (Weryho 1971:303-304). Sadeq Kiya, president of Iran's second Language Academy, considered Turkish and Arabic both dialects of Persian. In his book *Qalb dar Zabān-i 'Arabī* ('Metathesis in the Arabic Language', Tehran University Publications, No. 671, 1961), he tried to establish the Persian origins of Arabic vocabulary. Another professor, Basir, devoted a chapter of his textbook on psychosomatics (*Farzān-i Tan va Ravān*, Tehran University Publications, No. 381, 1957) to propagate a Persian version of the Kemalist "Sun-Language Theory" (cf. 5.3.0). Obviously contesting Turkish Sun "theorists" which claimed that all languages were derived from the Turkish word for 'sun', Basir entitled the chapter "*Āftāb āfarīnandi-yi sukhan*," i.e., 'The sun, creator of speech' (cf., also, Basir Astarā'iy 1957).

When census figures on the languages of Iran were released for the first time in 1960 (cf. 1.2.3), the Tehran daily *Kayhan* carried interviews with three philologists one of whom, S. Kiya, claimed that there was only one language in Iran (February 7, 1960). Another authority, Dr. Safa, said that with the exception of some Turkish "dialects" which had "regretfully" become the speech of some Iranians, all other dialects had "Iranian roots" (February 10, 1960). In "Frontiers of Knowledge," a Radio Iran program, Kiya told his audience that attempts were being made "for a number of reasons... to use some dialects such as Pashtu, Baluchi, and the Kurdish of northern Iraq in writing and gradually create for them a special literature." After downplaying the grammatical differences between Persian and these "dialects" he concluded that "terms such as Luri and Kurdish have no value from the point of view of linguistics and it is worthwhile to call each of their dialects by separate names and not to be deceived, in scientific studies, by such names." He emphasized that Persian literature was the product of the mind of all Iranians and warned that "creating such a brilliant literature readily and easily was not possible, not only for the dialects but for many of the world's languages" (Kiya 1960-61:8, 9, 35).

In the late 1960s, the Ministry of Culture and Arts commissioned three experts, two of them linguists from Tehran University, to prepare reports on the "strengthening and spreading (*taqviyat va gustarish*) of the Persian language." One of them, M.R. Bateni (1970:62-63), considered Persianization "an important step toward national unity" though he reminded that "material welfare and political and economic development of the country" were equally important factors in preventing "secessionism." Another linguist, H. Milaniyan (1972:19-44), proposed a step-by-step program to replace the non-Persian languages ("local dialects") by Persian "even in the limited context of meeting the needs of everyday oral communication" (p. 19). In the case of "non-Iranian dialects," obviously referring to Turkish and Arabic, he pointed out the difficulty of "replacement" (*janishīnī*) and proposed "equal footing" (*hampāyigī*) with Persian. Both linguists ruled out the use of coercive measures in Persianization. While the Ministry of Culture and Arts was engaged in finding out about the linguistic

assimilation of non-Persian peoples, there is evidence suggesting that the Iranian regime was considering plans for the transfer of the Kurdish population to non-Kurdish areas of the country (cf. 7.4.3.1).

In spite of the obvious de-ethnicization policy, the last Pahlavi monarch applied his "safety valve" approach to the Kurds whenever the government was weak or threatened. Thus, during the 1941-53 period, when the central government was vulnerable, pressure on the opposition including the Kurds was occasionally relaxed. Two Persian language periodicals, weekly *Kūhistān* (The Highlands, 1945-46) and *Mād* (Media, 2 issues 1945) launched by Kurdish editors/publishers, appeared in Tehran. The former reported on the problems and grievances of the Kurdish provinces and carried articles on Kurdish history and literature including poetry in Kurdish. The latter was a Kurdish studies journal. During the rule of the liberal Prime Minister Dr. M. Mosaddeq, the government published *Baghistān* (one issue, Azar 1331/1952, subtitled as "Historical and Cultural Studies of the Kurdish-inhabited Regions, monthly publication of the General Office of Publications and Propaganda, in Persian and Kurdish Languages") under conditions of resurgence of Kurdish nationalism (cf. 7.4.3).

Even when the Shah was in firm control of the country in the post-1953 period, his government responded to potential developments in the region by, among other things, military and political measures, the initiation and expansion of Kurdish broadcasting, limited publishing in the Kurdish language and even the offering of two courses on the Kurdish language by the Department of Linguistics of Tehran University (cf. 7.4.3 and 7.5.6).

5.2.2 The Islamic Republic of Iran. The Kurds participated in the anti-monarchy revolution of 1978-79 actively and raised demands for autonomy within a federally organized democratic state. A major feature of this proposed system of self-rule would have been the officialization of the language, i.e., its use in education, local administration, and the mass media.[9] These demands were not, however, compatible with the centralized theocratic regime that was being established by the new rulers who chose to Islamize the state system which they had inherited. Thus, within two months after the overthrow of the monarchy, the Islamic Army was mobilized against the autonomy seeking peoples, the Kurds, Turkmens and Arabs.

The new constitution adopted in December 1979 sanctions the centralization of political, economic, administrative and cultural life of the country as had been practiced by the Pahlavi state during the climax of monarchical power.[10] State control of the economy includes oil and other major mineral resources, transportation, large industries, banking, foreign trade, energy, etc. (Article 44). Governors from the highest rank (province) to the lowest (rural areas) are appointed from the center (Article 103). Although political organizations are allowed to operate (Article 26), the ruling Islamic Republic Party was the only one able to function openly. Moreover, the ownership and operation of the influential broadcast media is the prerogative of the state (Article 175).

The more obvious contrast between the old and the new regimes is in the sphere of ideology. A particular brand of Shi'ism is the official religion (Articles 1 and 2), and the state is responsible for propagating this sect and its Persian-based religious culture in Iran and outside the country (Preamble).

The Islamic state's approach to the multilingual and multicultural nature of the country is, with minor differences, a continuation of the old regime's policy. According to Article 19 of the Constitution (*Constitutions of the Countries of the World. Iran.* April 1980. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, p. 24), "color, race, language and the like shall not be cause for privilege." The privilege of official status is, however, granted only to Persian, the native tongue of no more than 50% of the country's population. According to Article 15,

> [T]he official and common language and script of the people of Iran is Persian. Official documents, correspondence and statements, as well as textbooks, shall be written in this language and script. However, the use of local and ethnic languages in the press and mass media is allowed. The teaching of ethnic literature in the school, together with Persian language instruction, is also permitted (*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23).

Thus, conducting education and administration in non-Persian languages would be treated as violation of the constitution. In fact, in conformity with the spirit of this constitution, the Islamic regime has refused to implement the "teaching of ethnic literature" in primary or secondary schools, which is clearly stipulated in Article 15 (cf. 7.5.6).[11] Broadcasting has, however, continued along the lines drawn by the former regime (cf. 7.4.3.2) while publishing, both state sponsored and private, is much more extensive (cf. 7.2.3 and 7.3.2.6).

The Islamic constitution differs from its predecessor in officializing the "Persian script," which is the Arabic alphabet with the addition of four Persian letters formed by the use of diacritical marks. Reflecting the Islamic bias of the regime, this is apparently aimed at preventing any move towards Romanization of the alphabet as was carried out in Turkey. It also implies that the Kurds of Iran cannot opt for the unification of the Kurdish alphabet on the basis of the Roman and Cyrillic alphabets which are currently used by Kurds in other countries. The Islamic regime is, however, currently using the Roman Kurdish alphabet for propaganda purposes (cf. below).

The rather relaxed policy on the use of Kurdish in broadcast and print media can be explained by the political situation prevailing in Kurdistan and the region. The new rulers had virtually no effective control over Kurdistan after they came to power. To win the "hearts and minds" of the secular nationalist Kurds, who were audiences to the media output of the autonomist organizations based in the "liberated areas," the government had to communicate with them in their own language. Another impetus is the regime's expansionist schemes, the

avowed "export of the Islamic revolution," especially to Iraq where an armed autonomist movement has been going on since 1961. In fact, in order to weaken or, ideally, replace the nationalist forces the government went as far as creating its own "Muslim Kurdish" party and armed groups (cf. van Bruinessen 1986:22-24).

To promote the official brand of Shi'ism among the predominantly Sunnite Kurds, the Islamic regime has opened government controlled religious schools (e.g., in Paveh) and has published translations of Shi'ite religious works into Kurdish. The bimonthly *Amanc*, organ of the Islamic Propagation Organization, has even devoted a few pages to propaganda in Kurmanji and in the Roman script for the Kurds of Turkey (cf. 8.2.5).

Although the Islamic leaders regularly renounce nationalism of any sort as "evil" and "Western," their approach to the non-Persian peoples of Iran has rarely deviated from the Persian "national chauvinism" that was openly espoused by Pahlavi monarchs. On the strength of the evidence presented in this study (cf. chapter 7), it seems that assimilation has been the cornerstone of the language policy of both monarchical and Islamic regimes. The flexibility demonstrated since the 1950s (in broadcasting and publishing) has, pragmatically, served the overall assimilation policy rather than maintaining the distinctive linguistic and ethnic identity of the Kurds.

5.3.0 The Policy of Turkey

The policy of Republican Turkey since its establishment in 1923, is a typical case of what has been called "linguicide" or "linguistic genocide" (cf. below). Replacing the loosely integrated Ottoman state, Republican Turkey was established as a highly centralized, secular and Westernized nation-state based on Turkish ethnic identity. The practice of centralization and Turkification led to a number of Kurdish revolts (in 1925, 1927-31, 1930-32, and 1937-38) which were severely repressed (cf. Jwaideh 1960:593-640).

Policy on the Kurdish language was based on a more general and long-term aim of changing the ethnic composition of the Kurds, who formed the most numerous and densely populated non-Turkish people in the country. To achieve this end, the Turkish government deported hundreds of thousands of people from Kurdistan to Turkish-inhabited regions of the country, conducted mass executions after each revolt, and resettled Turkish immigrants from Europe in the Kurdish areas in the 1920s-1940s (documentation is available in Rambout 1947; Kendal 1980a:58-68; Bedr Khan 1928). By the late 1930s, all the Kurdish provinces were effectively controlled by the military who, established a police post in every village of some size (van Bruinessen 1984:8).

Forcing the Kurds to abandon their language and become native speakers of Turkish is the primary goal of the language policy. Various methods have been used in the past seven decades to eliminate the Kurdish language.

A. Proscription of the Spoken Use of Kurdish. The ban on spoken language in public places, government offices and schools was easy to enforce. In the earlier decades, special government officials were charged with enforcing the ban in urban centers. It is known, for example, that even the peasants who brought their supplies to the urban market were liable to a fine of five piasters for every Kurdish word they uttered. A sheep was worth fifty piasters at the time (Kendal 1980a:83).

Physical violence and separation from one's own family were some of the other methods used in Turkish schools to prevent the students from speaking Kurdish. Students were also punished for speaking their language outside the classroom during the breaks. Boarding schools (Bölge Yatili Okullari) were established in 1964, in order to isolate students for the greater part of the year and to encourage them to forget their mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:308-12).

"Symbolic violence" (*Ibid.*, p. 313), e.g., making native speakers ashamed of their language, parents, and origins, has been most intensively carried out against the Kurds. The names "Kurd" and "Kurdistan" were banned and replaced by *Dağli Türkler*, 'mountain Turks' and *Doğu*, 'the East'. The existence of a Kurdish nation was denied in innumerable articles, books, and speeches while the Turks were exalted, under the new version of Turkish history, as the most valiant and noble race on earth. Under the "Sun-Language Theory" (*Güneş-Dil teorisi*), adopted in 1935, it was claimed that Central Asia, the ancient homeland of the Turks, was the cradle of human civilization and Turkish was the mother of all languages. Kurds were considered a tribe of Turanian (Turkish) origin which had forgotten its native tongue due to isolation in inaccessible mountains and by falling under the influence of its Persian neighbors (for a detailed documentation for the theory and its application to the Kurds, cf. Beşikçi 1977).[12]

The denial of the existence of a Kurdish nation was carried out through falsification of both the history and language of the Kurds. In this connection, the Iraqi ambassador to Turkey (1958-64), Talib Mushtaq (Mushtaq 1969:374) recalled, in his memoirs, the Turkish claim that Kurdish was a language with no grammatical rules and with a mixed vocabulary of only 8428 words:

Old Turkmen	3,080
Arabic words used in Turkish	2,000
Zand language	1,240
Modern Persian	1,030
Old Pahlavi	370
Original Kurdish	300
Armenian	200
Chaldean	108
Circassian	60
Georgian	20
Total No. of words used in Kurdish	**8,428**

Indoctrination has been especially intensive in the educational institutions where Kurds are pictured as "bad," "dirty," and "primitive" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:310-12). This view has already made itself felt in the Turkish language. The third edition of *The Oxford Turkish-English Dictionary* (1984), for example, provides two meanings for *Kürt*: "(ethn.) Kurd; (pej.) uncivilized person."

The proscription of the spoken language included also government efforts to dissuade the Kurds from listening to foreign broadcasts in Kurdish (Kendal 1980a:75). Numerous radio stations were set up in Kurdish towns, which together with the powerful central transmitters provide round-the-clock programs in Turkish (cf. 7.4.4, on broadcast policy).

B. The Proscription of Written Kurdish. The suppression of written Kurdish has been more successful than spoken Kurdish since it is much easier to control the possession of print or manuscript material by individuals and groups or their circulation in libraries (cf. 7.2.9). Not only writing in Kurdish but the writing of the name Kurd and Kurdistan in any language is proscribed (the only exception is the word *Kürtçe* 'Kurdish' used in census reports).

During "liberalization periods" (1967-71, 1975-80), however, a new generation of intellectuals and political activists undertook the publishing of bilingual periodicals, two Kurdish-Turkish dictionaries, one grammar and even a self-censored edition of Khani's *Mem û Zîn*. Most of these publications were banned soon after their appearance and their writers and/or publishers were prosecuted on charges of separatism. To cite but one case, an ABC book, *Alfabe*, published in 1968 (cf. Fig. 30), was banned by courts in Istanbul and Diyarbakir two days after its appearance and the writer was imprisoned for four months on charges of separatism and the attempt to form an independent Kurdish state (Bozarslan 1981:3).

Suppression of the language was not limited to the country's territory. One example will suffice. Just before the September 1980 coup, the Nordic Cultural Foundation in Denmark organized a course in Kurdish for training Kurdish teachers from among the emigres in Scandinavian countries. The purpose was to teach writing, vocabulary, and grammar of Kurdish and prepare them for teaching Kurdish children living in Scandinavia. "The Turkish Embassy in Copenhagen tried to stop the course by pointing out that participants were still Turkish citizens and were thus not entitled to break Turkish law, whatever country they were in, and in Turkish law Kurdish is a forbidden language" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:279-80; cf., also, Bozarslan 1981, for clippings from Danish press accompanied by English translations).

The 1980 Coup d'état Regime

The Turkish regime has made no secret of its intention to eliminate Kurdish ethnic distinction (cf., e.g., van Bruinessen 1984; Nezan 1984; Helsinki Watch 1988). The suppression of any manifestation of Kurdish, as well as Armenian or Greek, existence has been extended to such places as the Lufthansa

airline office in Istanbul and the American Library in Ankara. An old globe, for example, carrying references to Kurdistan and Pontus had been used as part of a publicity photograph in the Istanbul Rotary Club magazine. This led to a demand of a three-year prison sentence for the company's Istanbul deputy manager (London *Guardian*, March 23, 1984). The Turkish embassies in Europe have regularly used diplomatic and other pressures to prevent the participation of Kurdish groups in cultural programs sponsored by European states. Similar pressure on the broadcast media has been documented.[13]

Increased militarization and political control of the Kurdish provinces has been accompanied by new assimilation programs: "A general campaign to improve literacy in Turkish, and intensive Turkish-language courses were introduced in primary schools. Provincial commanders had their own programs to stamp out the use of Kurdish, at least in the towns. Traditional Kurdish clothes, which had reappeared in the 1970s, have been banned again" (van Bruinessen 1984:12).

The armed resistance led by a leftist Kurdish political party, Partîya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers Party), in the early 1980s has led to massive deployment of the army in the Kurdish provinces. To prevent the spread of the movement among the rural population, a project of setting up strategic hamlets is being carried out in the rural areas.[14] Another project is the resettlement of thousands of Turkish-speaking Kirghiz refugees from Afghanistan in Kurdistan. The government suggested that the area was chosen because of its similarity to the mountainous homeland of the refugees. Since there is no shortage of mountainous terrain in the Turkish-speaking regions, the real reason has more to do with Turkification of Kurdistan than considerations of landscape (der Manuelian 1986).

The Impact of Turkey's Language Policy

The all-round attempt to eliminate the Kurdish people and their language has partly succeeded in thinning out the once densely populated Kurdistan, in Turkifying large numbers of Kurds, and bringing Kurdish national culture (oral and written literature, music, and dress) to the verge of extinction. The harsh methods of repression have made it difficult for the Kurds to reveal their ethnic identity. A Western student of "political elites," for example, found out that few Kurdish deputies "professed (or acknowledged) an ability to speak Kurdish" (Frey 1965:109). Similarly, a Kurdish official involved in taking the 1965 census observed that many Kurds who were not familiar with Turkish preferred to declare themselves as Turkish speakers to avoid trouble (Kendal 1980a:48).

The impact of repression can be seen even in the census figures (cf. Table 16). The increase (10%) in the number of native speakers from 1955 to 1960 can be explained by the relaxation of pressure in 1960, while the sudden drop of 23% in 1955, is related to the return of pressure rather than assimilation which requires at least one generation to be effected (*Ibid.*). The increase in the number

of speakers of Kurdish as a "second language" apparently reflects the success of Turkification. Since Turks do not learn Kurdish, these figures probably refer to Turkified Kurds who have not yet forgotten their native tongue.

Table 16. Census Figures on the Number of Kurdish Speakers in Turkey

(in thousands)

	1945	1955	1960	1965
Kurdish declared as				
Mother Tongue	1,477	1,680	1,848	1,430
Second Tongue	?	681	712	940
Total	**1,477**	**2,361**	**2,560**	**2,370**

Source: Jafar (1976:86).

Another aspect of forced Turkification is the resistance that it breeds. Complaints on the slow pace of Turkification have occasionally been expressed by official sources. To cite one example, quoted in Nezan (1984:56-57), the Turkish deputy from Aydin told the daily *Cumhuriyet* (July 31, 1966) that 91% of the people of Mardin could not speak a word of Turkish; in other major Kurdish provinces the percentages were 87% in Siirt, 81% in Hakkari, 67% in Diyarbakir, 68% in Bingöl, and 66% in Bitlis.

Although the Kurdish language in Turkey is not dead yet, prospects for its extinction do exist. "Language death" has happened and is happening in all parts of the world (Dorian 1981:1-2) largely due to non-linguistic reasons (Adler 1977:2). In Turkey, the Armenian people and their language were eliminated largely through physical extinction planned by the Ottoman and Republican regimes.[15] Similar methods have been applied to the much larger Kurdish population and, if regional and international conditions permit, the Armenian experience may be repeated.[16] President Özal's policy on lifting the ban on spoken Kurdish in January 1991 does not indicate a change in the ideology and politics of the Turkish state. This policy is tactical and is part of the desperate efforts to save the Ataturkist state in the face of a serious economic, political, cultural and ideological crisis.[17]

5.4.0 The Language Policy of Syria

Soon after the formation of the Syrian state, under French Mandate (1920-46), Kurds demanded self-rule within the borders of the country. A petition addressed to the constituent assembly of Syria on June 23, 1928 included the

following demands:

1. The use of the Kurdish language, in the Kurdish regions, concurrently with other official languages,
2. Education in the Kurdish language in these regions,
3. Replacing government employees of these regions by Kurds (Rondot 1939:105-106).

The Mandate authorities did not favor self-rule in this part of Syria. One reason was Turkish and Iraqi intolerance of an "autonomous Kurdish territory" on their frontiers (*Ibid.*, p. 106). According to one of the Mandate officials, Rondot, the use of the Kurdish language was free, without being official, in the region. Yet the absence of school material in the language and the absence of popular demand had made the organization of education difficult, according to Rondot (*Ibid.*, p. 107). According to Zaza (1982:81), however, the Mandate's refusal to permit mother tongue education was for political considerations. When a young Kurdish writer, Mustafa Boti, asked for authorization to open a school with Kurdish as the medium of instruction, the Mandate authorities refused to grant him permission. They said that France's commitment to Middle-Eastern states prevented her from getting involved in such an "adventure."

Publishing in Kurdish was, however, permitted and a circle of local intellectuals and former political activists from Turkey, e.g., the Badir Khan brothers (cf. Nikitine 1960), began their linguistic and literary work in the Kurmanji dialect, written in the Roman alphabet, in Damascus in 1932. Their major effort was centered on the publication of a journal, *Hawar*. According to Zaza, who was involved in the Damascus circle, the Mandate authorities banned the journal in 1937, after Kurds had supported the struggle of Syrian nationalists for independence (*Ibid.*, p. 85). The journal was permitted to reappear four years later, during World War II, after the arrival of the British in Syria (*Ibid.*, p. 245, Note 40).

In Syria, as in Iraq, Kurds enjoyed more freedom to use their language in writing and broadcasting, during the World War II years when Kurdistan had become strategically important. The Badir Khan brothers published three journals, one of which, *Ronahî*, was almost entirely devoted to war propaganda. Broadcasts from Radio-Levant continued from 1941 to April 1, 1946 (cf. 7.4.1).

During the period between the end of the Mandate (1946) and the union of Syria and Egypt in the United Arab Republic (1958), tolerance of publishing in Kurdish continued, though the journals disappeared. The Kurdish Democratic Party of Syria, founded in 1957, called for the recognition of Kurdish national rights. The United Arab Republic suppressed the party, and possession of Kurdish publications and even gramophone records were enough to send their owners to prison (McDowall 1985:26).

The collapse of the union with Egypt in 1961 brought even more pressure

when a special census taken in the Kurdish province of Jazira (November 1962) discounted some 120,000 Kurds as "foreigners," though they were in possession of Syrian identity cards. The government began to build an "Arab Belt" aimed at Arabizing the Kurdish regions. When the Ba'th Party came to power in 1963, the plan was continued under the slogan of "saving the Arabism of Jazira" (Vanly 1968a; 1968b).

In a detailed secret state document entitled *A Study of the Jazira Province from the National, Social and Political Aspects*, Hilal (1963), Hasaka region's chief of Political Police, proposed a twelve-point plan to Arabize the Kurdish region:

(1) *batr* or dispersion and transfer of the Kurds to the interior,

(2) *tajhīl* or obscurantist policy of depriving the Kurds of educational institutions because they have produced the opposite results,

(3) *tajwi'* or 'starvation' policy of leaving the Kurds unemployed to make them prepared to leave the country,

(4) "extradition" of the Kurds of Turkey who took refuge in Syria after the suppression of the uprisings in the 1920s,

(5) a "divide and rule" policy of setting Kurds, especially those claiming to be of Arab origin, against Kurds,

(6) *hizam* or Arab Belt similar to the one proposed in 1962, to be instituted,

(7) *iskan* or "colonization" policy involving the implementation of "pure and nationalist Arabs" in the Kurdish regions so that the Kurds could be "watched until their dispersion,"

(8) proclaiming the "Belt" a military zone where army detachments supervise the settlement of Arabs and the expulsion of Kurds,

(9) a "socialization" policy of creating collective farms, *mazari' jama'iyya*, for the Arabs who will be resettled in order to train and arm them like the Jewish frontier colonies,

(10) disenfranchising anybody ignorant of the Arabic language,

(11) the Kurdish *'ulama* (clergymen, mullas) must be deprived of their religious authority and replaced by pure Arab clergymen; "the Kurdish *'ulama* may also be transferred to the interior for their assemblies are literally Kurdish assemblies and not of a religious character," and

(12) "launching a vast anti-Kurdish campaign amongst the Arabs" (based on Nazdar 1980:216-17 and, a more detailed description of the plan, Vanly 1968a:27-29).

To implement this plan, the Ba'th regime built an "Arab Belt" 10-15 kilometres deep along the Turkish border (cf. Map 13) resulting in the expulsion of thousands who were replaced by Arabs settled in "model farms." Moreover, the government refused to implement land reform in areas where its application would have given land to Kurdish peasants. The Arabization plan led to the evacuation of no less than 60,000 (120,000, according to some estimates) Kurds who moved to non-Kurdish areas or to Lebanon.

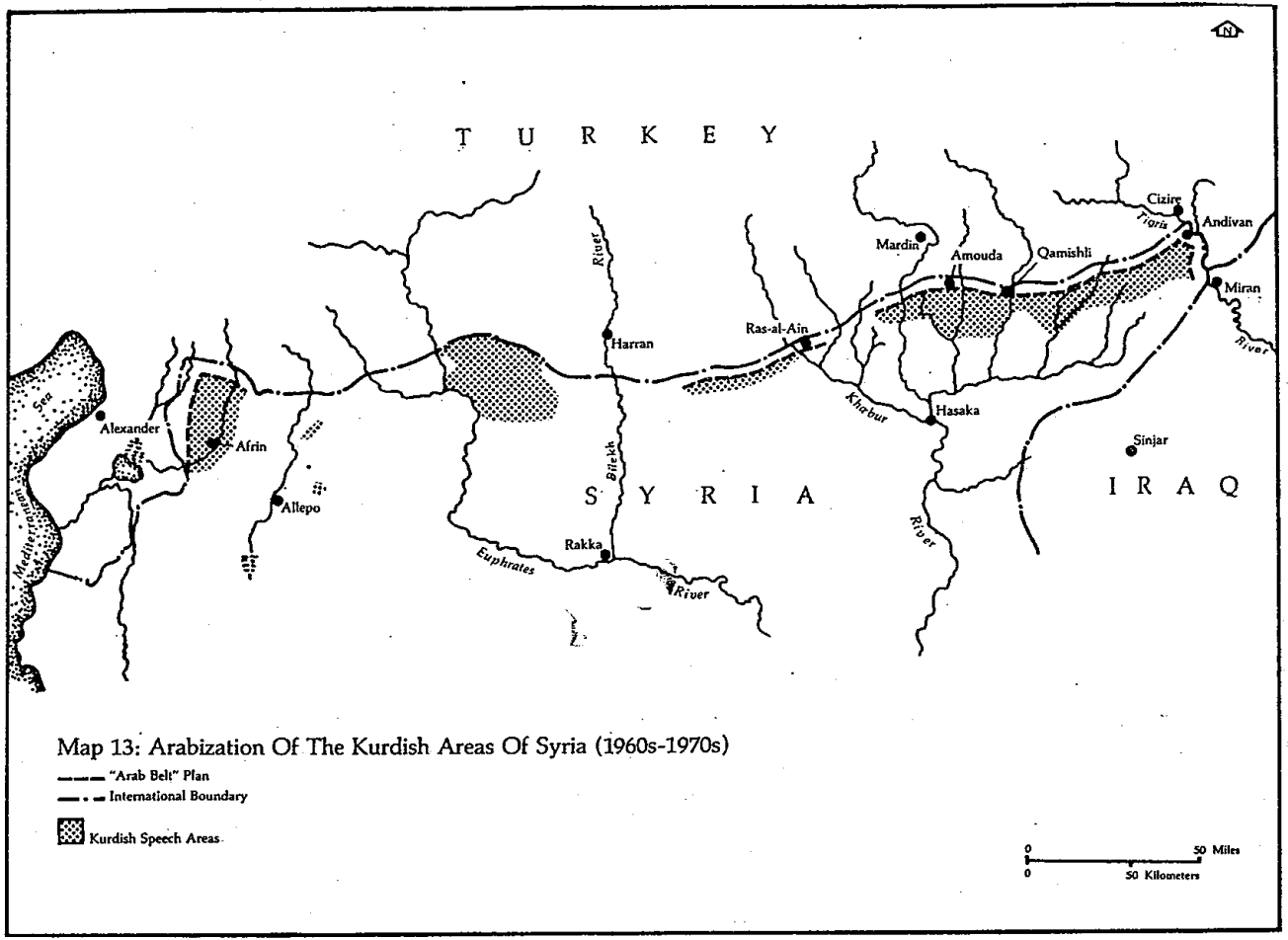
The Arabization plan through population transfer was temporarily abandoned after the breach between the ruling Ba'th parties of Baghdad and Damascus in 1966. One point of disagreement between the two regimes was Syria's opposition to the Iraqi government's overtures to the Kurdish autonomists for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Syria had sent thousands of its armed forces to Iraq to help Baghdad in suppressing the autonomist movement in 1963, and was strongly opposed to any concessions to Kurdish nationalism. In 1976, President Hafez Asad officially renounced the further implementation of the "Arab Belt" project and decided to "leave things as they are" (Nazdar 1980:218). Arabs already moved into predominantly Kurdish areas were allowed to stay, however (McDowall 1985:26).

The "tolerance policy" is to a great extent dictated by pragmatic political considerations rather than a change in belief or attitudes of the ruling party. Damascus has been involved, since the mid-1970s, in a bitter war to overthrow the rival Ba'th party in Iraq and to achieve this end it has given extensive assistance to all political organizations that oppose Baghdad. The Iraqi Kurds received more assistance because they were the only group that offered effective armed resistance to Baghdad. Another factor was Syria's use of the Kurds as a trump card in settling her dispute with Turkey.[18]

One may conclude, on the strength of the evidence presented thus far, that Syria's policy on the Kurdish language has been, like that of Turkey, one of "linguicide" (cf., below). The relatively smaller number and proportion of the Kurdish population in the country together with the territorial discontinuity of the Kurdish regions facilitate the regime's de-ethnicization program (for information on Syria's suppression of religious and ethnic minorities, cf. Human Rights Watch 1991).

5.5.0 The Policy of the USSR

Two distinct stages in the Soviet policy on the Kurdish language can be distinguished. Soon after Soviet power was consolidated in the Caucasus, a Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic was formed in December 1922. Part of this large administrative division was an autonomous Kurdish



Map 13: Arabization Of The Kurdish Areas Of Syria (1960s-1970s)

——— "Arab Belt" Plan

—·— International Boundary

Kurdish Speech Areas

region established in 1923. Kurdish was promoted by making it the medium of instruction in the newly established schools including a technical school, and using it in journalism, book publishing, broadcasting and theater (Nadirov 1992:38). Textbooks were printed in Yerevan, Baku and, even, in Ashqabad for the isolated small community of Turkmen Republic (three textbooks were published in Ashqabad during 1933-35, cf. Alêk'sanyan 1962:68). The climax of these promotion efforts was a congress convened in 1934 in Yerevan which discussed the problems of standardizing and cultivating the language (cf. 6.5.0).

This promotion policy gradually changed in the late 1930s. In 1936, the Transcaucasian Federation was dissolved and replaced by the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republics, which became individual members of the USSR. The Kurdish region, already reduced in 1929, disappeared. This was followed a year later (1937) by forced deportations of Kurds from Azerbaijan and Armenia and in 1944 from Georgia to central Asian republics (Nadirov 1992:38).[19] This wave of repression is clearly reflected in the cessation of book publishing from 1938 to 1945 and its decline afterwards (cf. 7.2.6). The Kurdish newspape *R'ya T'eze* (cf. Fig. 15) was banned between 1938 and 1954 (cf. Subchapter 7.3, Note 2). Broadcasting resumed in the early 1950s (cf. 7.4.5) and has continued since. The main demotion of the language has been the discontinuation of its use as a medium of instruction. Kurdish language and literature were taught as a subject only (cf. 7.2.6).[20] Another indication of the decline of the language is the obvious reduction in the number of copies of Kurdish books printed (cf. 7.2.6). This is especially significant if we consider that the community is fully literate and to a great extent urbanized (cf. 10.1.0 and 10.2.0). Also significant in terms of the growth of the language is the absence of monolingual dictionaries (cf. 8.4.8), reference works, and ideological literature (cf. 7.2.6).

One aspect of Soviet policy is the deliberate isolation of its Kurds from their kinsfolk across the borders. The change of the alphabet into Cyrillic, whatever the purpose might have been, has served isolationism (cf. 8.2.5). Although Kurdish publications from Iraq and elsewhere have been available to Soviet researchers (cf., e.g., Vil'chevskii 1945), there is no evidence to indicate that they circulate in the Kurdish community, which has acquired literacy in the Cyrillic script. Even selections of modern Kurdish poetry from neighbouring countries have rarely appeared in publications directed at the small Kurdish-speaking reading public of the USSR.[21] It is important to note, in this connection, that the first Sorani dictionaries appeared in 1977 and 1983, and their stated purpose was not to acquaint Soviet Kurds with the dialect (cf. 8.4.8). Similarly, broadcasting has followed an isolationist line. Kurdish music from other countries, for example, has rarely been aired and a demand, by Kurds abroad, for a Kurdish language program on Radio Moscow has been ignored (cf. 7.4.10.1).

While publishing has been on the decline in the post-World War II years, "Kurdological" studies (i.e., scholarly works not especially aimed at the local Kurdish reading public) have appeared steadily, though rather slowly. These

include primarily classical literature, linguistic and historical studies. Some works of classical literature such as *Mem û Zîn* (1961), *Şêx Sen'an* (1965), *Leylî w Mecnûn* (1965), *Zembîlfiroş* (1983), and *Yusuf û Zilêxa* (1986) have appeared in the original Arabic script together with their folk versions accompanied by a translation into Russian.[22] While these collections are important contributions to the survival of Kurdish literature at large, the Soviet readers' unfamiliarity with the Arabic script remains a handicap. Linguistics is another developed domain in Kurdish studies. Dozens of grammatical studies of the Kurmanji dialect in the USSR and, in the past two decades, of Sorani are available (cf., e.g., Eiiubi and Smirnova 1968; IUsupova 1985). As academic studies, however, the works on Sorani are not suitable for language teaching purposes.

It is beyond the scope of this study to explain the development of Soviet policy on the Kurdish language, though it is appropriate to assess its impact on the language in and outside the USSR. In spite of the vast literature on the Russification of nationalities in the USSR, recent research indicates that the major Muslim nationalities tend to maintain their languages. "Russification in a political, social and cultural sense" had not advanced "steadily and inexorably" (Henze 1984:119; cf., also, Silver 1976:406). However, an assimilation trend among the small and divided Kurdish community is discernible in the official census figures (cf. 1.2.5). The percentage of the Kurds claiming Kurdish as mother tongue dropped from 89.9 in 1959 to 83.6 in 1979. The most widespread assimilation process was that of Kurds to the languages of the non-Russian republics (Azerbaijani Turkish, Turkmen language, and Armenian). For example, the percentage of the Kurds claiming good knowledge of a third language as mother tongue rose from 8.6 in 1970 to 11.6 in 1979, while those who claimed Russian as mother tongue increased from 2.9 in 1959, to 3.8 in 1970, and 4.8 in 1979 (cf. Table 8). The validity of these census data is corroborated by evidence from other Soviet sources. As early as 1957, Aristova (1959:168) observed that in some Kurdish settlements of Transcaucasia the younger generation was unable to speak the mother tongue and sometimes could scarcely even understand it. Similarly, Rastorgooyeva *et al* (1970:718) wrote about the Kurds of Azerbaijan in 1964:

> Azerbaijan[i Turkish] has also become the main language for Kurds dwelling in hamlets with a mixed Kurd-Azerbaijanian population. They use Kurdish only in a narrow family circle and even then on occasions. Only those of the older generation master well their native tongue. The middle generation knows it much worse and the younger generation does not know it at all.

The Kurds of Turkmen Republic were found to be in a similar situation (Aristova and Vasil'yeva 1965:309).

In order to assess the impact of Soviet Kurdish on the Kurdish language in neighbouring countries, it is necessary to examine the extent of its cultivation.

Progress in the standardization of Kurmanji had been limited to literary output, both poetry and prose, and bilingual lexicography. Although a considerable quantity of poetry and oral folk literature appeared in print, one may note, for example, that the major works of Russian and Soviet literature, e.g., Maxim Gorky's *Mother* or the shorter works of Gogol and Chekhov, which have appeared in Sorani Kurdish in Iraq, were not translated into Kurmanji in the Soviet Union. Also, because of numerous restrictions on the functional and stylistic elaboration of Kurdish (cf. 7.2.6) little progress was achieved in the sphere of scientific terminology. In spite of these and other limitations, the Kurmanji speakers of the expanding diaspora in Europe increasingly draw on Soviet Kurdish sources in their publications and research. This type of linguistic contact, through the print medium, is not possible in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria because of state censorship (cf. 7.2.7, 7.3.4 and 10.4.0).

In terms of per capita output of print and broadcast Kurdish, the USSR was ahead of Iraq and Iran (cf. Tables 29, 33 and 34), and there was apparently no *deliberate* policy of assimilation except in Azerbaijan. Still, the post-World War II restrictions on the functional elaboration of the language (cf. chapter 7) expedited the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the Kurds, especially in the more isolated communities. Thus, according to criteria discussed below, Kurdish should be considered a "threatened language" in the USSR (cf., below).[23]

5.6.0 Language Rights and "Linguicide"

The evidence presented thus far demonstrates that planning the status of the Kurdish language in the post-1918 period has become a question of state policy leaving little or no choice for individual or group decision-making by the speakers of the language. This situation raises the question of "language rights," a phenomenon that has been insufficiently though increasingly studied (cf., e.g., Cobarrubias 1983:71, 73; Gomes de Matos 1985:2).

The concept of language rights is based on the assumption that every human being has an "inborn" right to communicate in his or her own language with his or her fellow citizens, whatever the language may be. Like other human rights, it is not absolute: as long as it is restricted to private, personal use, i.e., as long as it remains in the sphere of the individual, linguistic right is not something granted by the state or by any social institution, or by virtue of any statute, law constitution, etc. The linguistic rights of groups do, however, exist in primary and basic relationship to the law which can admit, restrict or even forbid its use in different contexts, by different groups and in different regions (Rudnyckyj 1967:23-24).

A similar view, not necessarily based on the individual/group distinction, divides language rights into "natural" and "conventional" or "legal" types. Natural rights are considered to be "inalienable and innate"; the freedom of language choice in community life and in private may be considered one example. Conventional rights are those recognized by the dominant community

(Cobarrubias 1983:73-75).

On the basis of these legal distinctions, Cobarrubias (*Ibid.*, p. 74) suggests the generalization that "no state or nation is empowered to control all language functions, since captive communities retain at least natural language rights." The generalization is not, however, supported by the Kurdish case in which both natural and conventional or group rights have been denied (cf. Table 17).

This situation is not unique to Kurdish. Other cases such as Basque in Spain readily come to mind. It happens that there is insufficient awareness of language inequality among the students of language (Wolfson and Manes 1985); not surprisingly, in spite of growing concern and repeated calls (e.g., Rudnyckyj 1967; Gomes de Matos 1985), no universal declaration of linguistic rights has come forth so far.

Linguicide and Language Survival. While there is need for more fact finding, conceptualization and discussion of language rights and policies, it is useful to further analyze available knowledge of the phenomenon. Cobarrubias (1983:71) has proposed the following taxonomy of "official attitudes" toward minority languages:

1. Attempting to kill a language
2. Letting a language die
3. Unsupported coexistence
4. Partial support of specific language functions
5. Adoption as an official language.

Clarification is needed in concepts (*Ibid.*, p. 73) as well as the relationships holding among them. The "attempt to kill" a language or the results of it, for example, has been referred to by different names such as "language suicide," "linguistic genocide," "language death," "disintegrating language," "dying language" (Day 1985:163), "linguicide," and "endangered" or "threatened language." Whatever the concept, the phenomenon is an old one and by no means infrequently encountered (Cobarrubias 1983:72).

The Kurdish case provides sufficient evidence for "linguicide" as characterized by Rudnyckyj (1967:29-30), who defines it as "[A]ny of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or part or to prevent the natural development of a language or dialect...

> a) killing members of a community speaking a respective language or dialect (genocide);
>
> b) imposing repressive measures intended to prevent the natural, organic development of a language or dialect;
>
> c) forcibly inflicting on a bilingual community conditions of cultural development calculated to transform it into a unilingual group;

Table 17. Language Rights Denied the Kurds, 1918-85

Language Right	Turkey	Iran			Iraq*	Syria**	USSR
		A	B	C			
Using the name of the language in writing	D	D				D	
Speaking the language in public e.g. on the street, in *bazars*	D	D				D	
Listening to recorded music & radio in the language	D	D				D	
Production of movies & theatrical performances	D	D	D	0		D	
Owning, sale & purchase of books, journals & records	D	D	1	0		D	
Circulation of print & audio-visuals in public libraries	D	D	D	0		D	
Broadcasting in the language	D	D	1	0		D	
Writing & printing	D	D	1	0		D	
Native-tongue education in primary schools Secondary schools higher education	D D D	D D D	D D D	D D D	 3	D D D	2
Use of language in local administration	D	D	D	D		D	
Forming language academies, literary associations, etc.	D	D	D	D		D	

Notes:

A 1925-41, Reza Shah's rule
B 1941-79, Mohammad Reza Shah's rule
C 1979- Islamic Republic of Iran
D indicates denial of right
0 sponsored or controlled by the government
1 limited and controlled printing and publishing, government broadcasting (cf. 5.2.1)
2 Native-tongue education until the late 193Os (cf. 5.5.0)
3 Limited to a B.A. program in Kurdish language and literature
* Iraq in the early 1980s. Cf. 5.1.0 to 5.1.9, on limitations on these rights
** Syria since 1962

Source: Cf. 5.1.0 to 5.5.0

d) against the will of an ethno-lingual group denying the right of a language to be taught in public schools, to be used in mass media (press, radio, television, etc.);

e) against the demand of an ethno-lingual groups refusing moral and material support for its cultural endeavour and language maintenance efforts."

Linguicidal measures have been undertaken for reasons of uniformity, forcible assimilation, attempted de-ethnicization, de-nationalization, etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 27). In the case under study, de-ethnicization for the purpose of political integration has been the explicitly stated objective of state language policy in Turkey, Iran (1920s-1979) and Syria (since 1962).

The Iraqi and Soviet attitudes towards the Kurdish language demonstrate that Rudnyckyj's categories can be coextensive. Thus, in spite of international commitments and constitutional recognition of Kurdish as an official regional language, the various Iraqi regimes have undertaken numerous linguicidal measures. The Association Internationale pour la Défense des Langues et Cultures Menacées (AIDLCM) located in Brussels, Belgium, called on the Iraqi government in 1976 to abide by the legal and constitutional rights of the Kurds, stop the displacement and Arabization of the Kurdish population, and apply the autonomy law, including teaching in Kurdish in all Kurdish regions. The Association also called on the Iranian Government to recognize the Kurds as one of the principal nationalities of Iran, adopt the Kurdish language as the language of instruction in Iranian Kurdistan and in all regions with a Kurdish majority, open a Kurdish university in a major town of Kurdistan, and permit Kurdish publications and a Kurdish press (Text of resolution of AIDLCM's Seventh Congress held in Chatillan, Italy, July 23-25, 1976, 2 pages, in French). These measures are thought to be necessary for the survival of the language. According to AIDLCM, survival conditions for threatened languages include (a) teaching *in* the language in all the state or private schools of whatever grade in the traditional territory of the langauge, and (b) the use of the language in "public debates and acts of authority at the communal, regional and national levels..." (quoted from the *Statutes* adopted at the second congress of AIDLCM, 1967 and modified in 1972; cf., also, *Encyclopedia of Associations*, Vol.4:International Associations, 1985, p. 162). Thus, the post-World War II policy of the Soviet Union (cf. above) can be considered a threat to the maintenance of the language.

The case of Kurdish is characterized by a preponderance of linguicidal measures. Yet, studies of minority languages indicate that, even when legal restrictions on language rights are not present, the unequal distribution of economic, political and cultural power (cf. Wolfson and Manes 1985 on linguistic inequality) works against the survival of the disadvantaged languages. The American "melting pot" has offered numerous examples of minority language loss under conditions of unequal distribution of power (Stevens 1982). Under these circumstances, even if a minority language is used as a medium of instruction,

the question arises whether the aim of the program is bilingualism or monolingualism? There is enough evidence to suggest that minority bilingual education results in the eventual loss of the mother tongue even if the purposes are language retention (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

5.7.0 Conclusions

Efforts to enhance the status of the Kurdish language in the post-1918 decades have been part of the continuing conflict between *Kurdayetî*, i.e., the Kurdish nationalist movement, and the central governments. During the period under study, linguicidal measures of varying degrees undertaken in all the countries concerned have threatened the very survival of the language. However, as one linguist has observed, language is such a potent symbol of nationality that the official prohibition of its use has often been the prime cause of its survival (quoted in Adler 1977:2). This is especially true in the Kurdish case.

Before the 20th century, the main obstacles to enhancing the status of the language were to be found in the nature of Kurdish society, i.e., its regionally divided feudal agrarian and tribal social and economic system, which was not fertile soil for breeding a standard language. The situation was markedly different later, especially after 1918, when nationalism had taken root and had made the officialization of the language one of the objectives of the nationalist struggle. By this time, however, the central governments of Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq had become the main obstacles to the development of the language. These states threatened the very survival of the language. Chapter 7 will examine the conflict over the functional elaboration of the language especially, in Iraq where Kurdish received *de facto* official recognition as early as 1918.

The fragmentation of the Kurdish speech community among five countries has aggravated the problem of two competing dialect bases in the process of standardization. The next chapter examines the selection of a dialect base.

Chapter 5 Notes

1. Significantly, the two pre-20th century language cultivators, Khani and Haji Qadir (cf. 4.3.0 and 4.5.0), did not complain about linguistic repression of the Ottoman and Persian states but, rather, exposed their policy of subjugating the Kurdish people. While their criticism was focused on the Kurdish literati and the rulers of the principalities, the post-1918 language reformers regarded the central governments as the main obstacle to the development of the language.

2. To illustrate this policy, reference is made to Shaikh Mahmud's autonomous rule in the Sulaymaniya area. As a result of the defeat of Ottoman Turkey in 1918, many parts of Kurdistan had become virtually independent. "To avoid commitments in the [Kurdish] hills" (Edmonds 1925:84), the self-asserted rule of Mahmud over the politically important area of Sulaymaniya was recognized by Britain. Soon, however, restrictions on the scope and geographic limits of his rule were placed. When Mahmud revolted against the impositions, the Army was dispatched to depose him. He was first sentenced to death and later sent into banishment in 1921. Mahmud was reinstated to his position in 1922 because, according to one Mandate official, "We had despaired of keeping out the Turks with our own resources and had brought back Mahmud to consolidate Kurdish nationalist feeling as the sole means of doing so" (Edmonds 1957:303-304; cf., also, G.B. 1922-23:306).

3. The High Commissioner was the highest British Mandate authority in Iraq.

4. At the time when these statements were made to the League, C.J.Edmonds, a British political officer complaining about Mandate policy, wrote in a secret memo: "The first thing to realize is that the Kurdish movement has its roots in history... It is not a hundred years since the Babans were ruling in Sulaimani as quasi-independent princes with uniformed troops of their own, and barely a hundred years since Muhammad Pasha of Rowanduz ruled what the latest history calls an "Empire" that included Zakho, Dohuk and Amadiya..." ("Kurdish Policy," Secret, by C.J.E, Delhi, BHCF, *Events in Kurdistan*, File 13/14, Vol. X, pp. 27-28).

5. Examples of withholding information from the League abound in the documents. To mention only a few, while according to confidential police reports the desire for autonomy was "almost universal" (cf. 5.1.3), the Mandate authorities told the League that the petitioners who demanded autonomy did not represent "the opinion of the masses of the Kurdish population" (L.N., PMC. 1931a:221). Although the petitioners were well known and widely supported in Kurdistan, the Mandatory power emphatically disputed their qualifications to speak on behalf of the Iraqi Kurds (L.N., PMC. 1931b:199). One of the

petitioners, Tawfiq Wahby, language reformer, well-known officer in the Iraqi Army (1920-29) and Governor of Sulaymaniya *liwa* (May 1929-August 1930), was introduced to the League as "a certain Tawfiq Beg Wahbi" (L.N., PMC. 1931a:123). Like the majority of Kurdish leaders he opposed the British-Iraqi Treaty and, in his petition of April 19, 1931, he demanded "a liberal measure of autonomy for the Kurdish part of Iraq" (L.C., PMC. 1931a:221). Wahby, together with fourteen activists, was arrested in May, 1931 (*Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124, 220-22; 1931b:198-99). Cf., also, 6.2.0.

6. C.J. Edmonds has noted, in several of his works (e.g., 1959:1), that in pre-Republican Iraq, Kurds were "legally recognized as a minority having certain rights of their own *qua* Kurds." According to archival documents, however, the Iraqi government had no intention of recognizing the Kurds as a separate entity. Responding to mounting Kurdish dissatisfaction towards the end of the Mandate, Edmonds himself advised the Mandate administration to persuade the Arab Government to identify "the Kurds, qua Kurds, with the central organizations of the State (instead of confining recognition of their existence, and that grudgingly, to the Kurdish provinces as at present)..." One, symbolic, instrument suggested for such recognition was to include a symbol into the "purely Arab" flag (C.J. Edmonds, "The Kurdish Question," Kurdish Policy File No. 13/14, Vol. VI, Secret, May 11, 1929, pp. 50, 51; cf., also, Sluglett 1976:187). The Iraqi government was, however, unwilling to accept a change in the flag. Edmonds wrote: "It is pathetic to find the Iraqi cabinet (Proceedings of Meeting 17-7-30) at this late date dishing up again the old stupid lie that the two stars in the Iraq flag represent the Arabs and Kurds" ("Kurdish Policy," Secret, by C.J.E., Delhi, BHCF, *Events in Kurdistan*, File 13/14, Vol. X, p. 27). The flags remained unchanged until the fall of the monarchy in 1958, when the formal recognition of the bi-national (leaving aside Turkmens and Assyrians) character of the country was represented in the flag by a sword representing the Arabs and a dagger representing the Kurds.

7. Resettlement of Arab tribes in Kurdistan, monetary assistance of 500 dinars (approximately $1,500) to any Arab who takes a Kurdish wife, appointment of Arabs to government offices in Kurdistan are examples of assimilationist policies documented by opposition parties (cf. P.U.K. 1977, for a selection of Western press reports and statements by the International League for Human Rights).

8. Even before the fall of the Qajar dynasty (1779-1925), Mohammad Ali Foroughi, representative of Iran at the League of Nations, sent the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Tehran a confidential report (1920) on the discussion of the Kurdish question at the League and presented his own assessment of the "dangers" of the independence of the Kurds of Ottoman Turkey. To integrate the "minorities," he advised his government to avoid coercion and to propagate the

Persian language, literature and culture. He noted that there was no need to make speaking in Persian compulsory. "By lucky chance," he wrote, "neither Turkish nor Kurdish is a literary language and our minorities do not have literary and cultural capability (*māyi*) and they will be easily absorbed (*mustahlak*) in the Persian language, literature and culture" (extract of the text in *Yaghmā*, Vol. 3, No. 7, Mehr 1329/Sep.-Oct. 1950, p. 266).

9. Detailed information on the demands of the nationalities of Iran in the post-1979 period is found in the Iranian press of 1979-80 especially in *Būltan-i Showrā-yi Hambastigī-yi Khalq-hā-yi Īrān* (Bulletin of the Solidarity Council of the Peoples of Iran), Tehran, 1979-80 and *Āzādī* published by the National Democratic Front in Tehran, 1979-80.

10. For a comparative survey of the two state systems especially in connection with the integration of ethnic and religious minorities, cf. Higgins (1984).

11. Interested in profiting from the disintegrating Soviet empire, the Islamic regime pursued an active policy of influencing the course of events in the latter part of the 1980s. Soviet Azerbaijan was a main target of this policy. Turkey was one of the major rivals in this scramble. In order to win the Azerbaijanis over, the Islamic regime launched Turkish language papers and even a chair for Turkish studies at Tabriz University (cf. subchapter 7.2, Note 6).

12. The circumstances under which Beşikçi conducted and published his research provides insight on Turkish policy. The author, a Turkish sociologist, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 1979, for writing this book. In 1971, he was charged and sentenced to 13 years imprisonment for "making propaganda for communism and separatism" in his seminars, lectures and publications. A general amnesty led to his release in 1974. Beşikçi was released again in April 1981, but rearrested in June and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment because of a letter he wrote to the President of the Swiss Writers Union in which he exposed the Turkish government's denial of the "reality of the Kurdish nation" (*Index on Censorship*, Vol. 12, No. 1, February , 1983, p. 49; cf., also, "The trial of Ismail Beşikçi," *Kurdish Times*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1986, pp. 5-44). Beşikçi was released in 1987. He was arrested again in March 1990, freed on bail in July, tried in September, and was then postponed. After a second case opened against him in 1991 for a new book about the Kurds, Beşikçi was interrogated, served an arrest warrant, and then incarcerated in Ankara Central Closed Prison. He was released in April 1991 (Helsinki Watch 1991:17).

13-14. Considerable documentation of Turkish government repression of the Kurds in Turkey and abroad is available in the Turkish and international press reports reprinted in *Information and Liaison Bulletin* published by Institute Kurde

de Paris since 1983. The first "security village" (*önlem paketi*), in Dereler in Sirnak, was to accommodate the population of 20 hamlets (*Milliyet*, April 3, 1986).

15. As early as 1927, the Iranian ambassador to Turkey, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, wrote to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Turks considered the ethnic heterogeneity of their country "the main reason for their misfortune in the past...and they want to have no element of corruption in their land... they have exterminated the Armenians in Turkey... they cannot exterminate the Kurds like the Armenians, neither drive them away like the Greek; [the Kurd] is Muslim and Asian and is co-religious with the Turkish citizens and has a numerous population and [thus] has no remedy..." The ambassador, then, proposed measures for Iranian-Turkish cooperation against the Kurdish movement ("Confidential letter," dated November 24, 1927, *Yaghmā*, Vol. 11, No. 8, Aban 1337/Oct.-Nov. 1958, p. 346).

16. Turan Güneş, former Minister of Foreign Affairs for Turkey, warned the Kurds in a session of the Council of Europe in 1986: "If you have the courage, then claim independence. And we'll fight. If you think you can defeat the most powerful army in Europe–the Turkish Army–go ahead. And allow me to add that if a number of countries like West Germany, France and England exhibit a little tolerance towards us, we won't have any trouble liquidating a few million Kurds" (quoted in *Kurdish Times*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1986, p. 10).

17. On January 27, 1991, the cabinet of president Turgut Özal decided to submit a bill to the parliament which would allow "the Kurds, concentrated in 13 provinces, to speak–but not write–their language" (Reuters report from Ankara in *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, February 18, 1991). The bill would repeal the 1985 Law No. 2987, which banned the use of written and spoken Kurdish ("Ankara considers authorizing use of spoken Kurdish," *Information and Liaison Bulletin*, No. 70, January 1991, pp. 2-4). In the parliament, the bill ran into stiff opposition ("A Turkish gesture to Kurds falters," *The New York Times*, March 12, 1991, p. A4). By August 1991, it was still illegal for Kurds "to speak Kurdish in court or at public meetings or to give their children Kurdish names" (letter by L. Whitman, Helsinki Watch, *The New York Times*, August 21, 1991). A new "Anti-Terror Law" (Law No. 3713) enacted by the parliament on April 12, 1991 further extended the official repression of Kurdish language and culture (information on the impact of this law is provided in Helsinki Watch 1991).

The language bill was a partial response to a political and economic crisis that has undermined the ability of the Turkish regime to rule over the Kurds by normal means (as outlined above). The bill pursued several objectives:

A) Ankara has failed to stem popular dissent and the resurgent and powerful nationalism in Kurdistan; it has also failed to suppress the

armed struggle led by PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party). The language bill was in part an appeasement of the Kurds; by promising a reform of the repressive state policy, Ankara hoped to deprive PKK and other leftist parties of the increasing popular support they have been enjoying.

B) The bill was also motivated by the crisis resulting from the regional disorder caused by the Iraq-Iran war and, especially, the U.S.-led war against Iraq. The regional crisis might have led to the disintegration of Iraq, in which case Turkey would have moved to annex the oil-rich Kurdish regions of northern Iraq. Pursuing such a goal, requires a more liberal policy toward the Kurds, at least temporarily. Turkey will have to win the support of the leadership of Iraqi Kurds (which commands considerable guerrilla forces) on the one hand, and to compete with Iran on the other. Another aspect of this policy is Ankara's attempt to rally the support of the Kurdish political parties of Iraq, especially the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, against the PKK, which has allegedly used the border areas inside Iraqi Kurdistan as military bases. By early 1992, Turkey had achieved this objective. This cooperation has been reported in Turkey's press, e.g., Yasemin Çongar, "Talabani'nin PKK plani," (Talabani's plan for the PKK), *Cumhuriyet HAFTA*, 1-7 Aralik (December) 1991, and Semih Idiz, "PKK sorunu demokrasiyle çözülür," (The PKK question finds its solution in democracy) *Cumhuriyet*, 12 Ocak (January) 1992. The leaders of PUK and KDP, have justified their cooperation with the Turkish regime by referring to the language bill as a radical change of policy.

C) The bill also addressed the concerns of European Community leaders who oppose Turkey's request for joining the community. Although Turkey's genocidal war against the Kurds and Armenians since the early 1920s is well documented, Western powers, the media and many academics generally ignored it and continue to portray the Turkish regime as a Western-type democracy. Since the 1980s, however, the European Community has thwarted Turkey's effort to join the community. This is apparently due to Turkey's poor economic performance and Greece's (a member of EC) conflict with Ankara. Under the circumstances, Turkey's human rights record has been opened up (Colin Smith, "Human rights the stumbling block on road to Europe," Sunday *Observer*, August 4, 1991, p. 14) for the first time since the late 1920s, when Ankara became one of the West's military and political bases against the USSR. The bill aims at improving Turkey's human rights record.

In early 1992, repression in Kurdistan was continuing (Helsinki Watch 1992) while the central government was not in a position to exercise effective control over the Kurdish people. Kurdish-language books, journals and cultural

activities were flourishing in the midst of increasing state terror.

18. In the mid-1980s, the Turkish press was accusing Syria of supporting the Kurdish "separatists" of Turkey. By this time, Syria had further relieved pressure on the Kurds, who were allowed to celebrate their national New Year (*newroz*) feast everywhere, including in Damascus. According to a statement by the Federation Internationale des Droits de l'Homme dated April 29, 1986 (reprinted in *Information and Liaison Bulletin* of Institute Kurde de Paris, No. 18, May 1986, pp. 14-15), the government prevented the celebration in 1986, and troops killed 10 protestors and wounded and arrested hundreds in the Kurdish regions and in the capital. According to the statement, the action was a result of agreements reached between Syria and Turkey.

19. Cf., also, 1.2.5; chapter 1, Note 3, and Note 23 below.

20. This is verified by Alêk'sanyan's (1962) bibliography of Kurdish books, which does not record the publication of any textbooks in fields other than literature and grammar (cf. 7.2.6).

21. The only exception is the Syrian poet Jigarxwin's [Cigerxwîn] poems. Also, selections or specimen of poems of Hazhar (from Iran) and Goran (from Iraq) have appeared in "Kurdological" works. These include Hazhar's autobiography and poems (in Eiiubi and Smirnova 1968), a study, in Azerbaijani Turkish, of Goran's poetry and a published Ph.D. dissertation on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature (Khaznadar 1967).

22. These, together with other works, are based on the Leningrad manuscripts collected by A. Jaba (1860) and recovered in the 1950s (cf. Rudenko 1961).

23. The writing of this dissertation was completed in February 1986. Although based on limited sources available at that time, the analysis of Soviet policy presented in this chapter is confirmed by new evidence furnished in the post-*perestroika* period. In their writings and conference presentations, Soviet Kurdish intellectuals and political activists have revealed fresh information on the two tendencies or stages in official policy toward the Kurds and their language and culture. According to A. A. Mamedov (department head of the Kurdish newspaper *R'ya T'eze*) and Sh. Kh. Mgoi ((Institute of Oriental Studies, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences), a

> Kurdistan district, with its center in Lachina, existed from 1923 to 1929 in a part of the Azerbaijan SSR where many Kurds lived. At one time, the newspaper *Sovetskiy Kurdistan* was published there, radio programs were broadcast, children were taught in their

> native language, and textbooks and a variety of literature were published. Lenin once took a great interest in the laborers of Kurdistan. Later the district was liquidated, many Kurds were moved to Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics, and the identification papers of the remaining Kurds listed their nationality as Azeri (quoted in *Joint Publications Research Service*, JPRS-UPA-89-065, December 7, 1989, p. 56).

After the outbreak of the Azerbaijan/Armenia conflict over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, the Kurds of Armenia exposed the assimilationist policies of Azerbaijan Republic (cf., for example, the views of two Kurdish intellectuals reported by Radio Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian on December 18, 1989 and Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian on December 20, 1989 (*Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, FBIS-SOV-89-246, December 26, 1989, p. 61; for a non-convincing rejection of this criticism, cf. the editorial in *Kommunist*, in Azeri, Baku, December 22, 1989).

In a conference held in Moscow in July 1990, some 600 Kurdish delegates from nine republics discussed the Kurdish situation and raised several demands including the creation of an autonomous region, founding of Kurdish cultural and publishing centers, launching of a Kurdish newspaper in Moscow as well as Kurdish language programs on Radio Moscow and other radio stations in the republics with a Kurdish population, and the adoption of the Roman alphabet for the Kurdish language (for a report on the conference and its resolutions, cf. *Information and Liaison Bulletin*, Paris, No. 64, July 1989, pp. 1-2 and 6-8).

Kurdish nationalism has been flourishing since the late 1980s; there is considerable cultural and publishing activity in all Kurdish communities. In October 1991, the Kurdish cultural association Yekbûn published a Russian language newspaper, *Kurdistan*, in Alma Ata in Kazakhstan (*R'ya T'eze*, No. 4540, October 12, 1991, p. 4). In Yerevan, *R'ya T'eze* is still published. The content of the paper has changed dramatically. While news reporting about other parts of Kurdistan was generally absent in the past, the reformed paper provides extensive coverage of events in greater Kurdistan and the diaspora. Also significant is the reprinting of material from the Kurdish press of the diaspora. However, the fate of the dispersed Kurdish people in the independent republics is yet uncertain. The republics will no doubt pursue different policies as they did to some extent even under centralized Soviet rule. New contradictions are emerging within each republic and between them; developments in the Middle East, Europe, and on the international level will also affect the course of events.

CHAPTER 6
THE SELECTION OF A DIALECT BASE

The survey of literary dialects during the pre-1918 period (cf. chapter 4) revealed that although Kurmanji and Sorani were both developing along parallel lines in the nineteenth century, Kurmanji had the upper hand as the vehicle of the emerging print media. Kurdistan was redivided, however, as a result of World War I, and the two dialects entered into new interrelationships. The focus of this chapter is the process of the selection of the Sorani dialect as the official Kurdish language in Iraq and its relationship with Kurmanji in Iraq and in the all-Kurdistan context (for a brief survey of the differences between the two dialects, cf. 1.3.5 and 1.3.6). The position of Sulemani subdialect, within the Sorani dialect group, is examined in 8.1.0 and 8.3.0.

6.1.0 From *Kurdistan* 1898 to 1918

During the period beginning with the publication of the first newspaper *Kurdistan* in 1898, until the redivision of Kurdistan in 1918, Kurdish appeared in print, with few exceptions, only in the Ottoman empire. *Kurdistan* (1898-1902, 1908-9, 1917-18), published by the Kurmanji speaking Badir Khan family, was almost entirely in Kurmanji while the two journals *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (1908) and *Rojî Kurd* (1913), published by political organizations formed by speakers of both dialects, were bidialectal. A periodical published in Baghdad in 1914, *Bangî Kurd*, was all in the Sorani dialect of the publisher. The rule was, therefore, for everyone to publish in one's own dialect. A similar pattern has evolved in the Kurdish diaspora (cf. 10.4.0).

In book publishing, too, Kurmanji was ahead of Sorani (cf. 7.2.1). The position of Kurmanji can be explained by the fact that Kurmanji speakers were more urbanized, more numerous and more actively involved in the nationalist struggles.

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6.2.0 Iraq: British Occupation and Mandate, 1918-32

The northern borders of the new country of Iraq were drawn by the British occupation forces, who brought the Mosul province of the Ottoman empire under their control in 1918. An important linguistic consequence of the creation of the Iraqi state was the automatic superiority of the Sorani dialect over Kurmanji within the new country's borders. In terms of territory, most of the Kurdish areas that became part of Iraq were inhabited by Sorani speakers. Socially, the Sorani speaking community was more urbanized, more literate and more nationalistic than the Kurmanji of Iraq, who were tribally organized and lacked any sizeable urban center (cf. 10.1.0). The Sorani town of Sulaymaniya had been, since the last decade of the 19th century, the seat of the only military school of the Mosul province of the Ottoman empire (cf. 4.2.4); Sulaymaniya also had the honor of being the capital of the celebrated Kurdish principality of Baban (cf. 3.1.5 and 4.2.6).

After the occupation of Baghdad in March 1917, the British authorities published newspapers in Arabic, Persian, Kurdish and English. The Kurdish paper, *Têgeyiştinî Rastî* (Understanding Truth), was in the speech of Sulaymaniya, a subdialect of Sorani (cf. 10.1.0). The same dialect was used in the publications of the autonomous government of Shaikh Mahmud (Autumn 1918-June 1919, October 1922-July 1924) centered in the town of Sulaymaniya.

The only available official British reference to the choice of Sorani as the official language is in a document dating from 1931 (G.B. 1920-31:230): "School books have been translated into the Kurdish of Sulaymaniya liwa–the only literary Kurdish at present existing in Iraq... "

The use of the dialect in education, publishing and administration continued without conflict with Kurmanji until 1931, when the Iraqi government came under increasing pressure to enact legislation regarding the status of the Kurdish language. Such legislation was one of the preconditions for gaining "independence" and entrance into the League of Nations (cf. 5.1.4). The first draft of the law presented to the League did not raise the question of dialects. However, unwilling to officialize the language through legislation, the Iraqi government delayed ratification of the draft law by "discovering" that Kurdish had two different dialects (cf. 5.1.4).

Though the Mandate authorities were well aware of the intentions of the Iraqi government, they continued pressuring Baghdad to pass the law in order to convince the League of Nations of Iraq's qualifications for membership. The approved text carried a new Article 8 which stipulated: "...in the *Qadhas* of Mosul liwa referred to in this Law the people may choose the type of Kurdish language they desire within one year from the coming into force of this Law" (cf. 5.1.5). Sir Francis Humphrys, High Commissioner of Iraq, justified the delays in legislation by claiming unjustifiably[1] in the League of Nations that "even in Sulaimaniya liwa itself there were several dialects spoken." He claimed, moreover, that the addition of the new article was done after "consultation with

representative Kurds" (L.N., PMC. 1931a:119).

However, a representative Kurd, Amin Zaki, Deputy from Sulaymaniya and a known historian and literary figure, was not consulted. He was, in fact, surprised to learn, in a meeting with Humphrys (May 20, 1931), about Article 8. Zaki criticized the action and later submitted his complaints to the High Commissioner (cf. 5.1.6). His views are important as they were, and still are, reflective of much Sorani opinion on the dialect question in Iraq. According to Zaki (1935:66-99):

> 1. The general principle which other nations have followed in dialect selection is the [adoption of the] most eloquent (*fesîh*) and orderly (*rêk û pêk*) dialect of the language. In Turkey, as we see, it is the dialect of Istanbul which is prevailing in all the offices of the government in [outlying areas of] Anatolia, although it is quite different from the dialect of this region. Another example is the acceptance of the eloquent [classical] Arabic language in the offices of the government of Iraq while we all know it is quite different from the popular dialect...
>
> If this general rule is observed one must not heed the slight difference between the dialect of the people to the east and west of the Great Zê [Zab River] and not break up the unity of the Kurdish language. In selecting the eloquent dialect according to scientific principles, the Eastern Kirmanji dialect [Sorani] must be accepted since it is very close to the eloquent Mukri dialect, and must be made the official language of all the offices and institutions existing in Iraqi Kurdistan.
>
> 2. If the western Kirmanji (Badinan) language is adopted for the people in the five *qadhas* of Mosul, it will cause the following harms: a) the unity of the Kurdish language will be destroyed. This will be a cause of dissidence and hatred among the Kurds and it will never indicate the good will of the government toward them, b) it will result in the retrogression of education in the five *qadhas* because there are no textbooks in the Badinan dialect and there are not any competent individuals to be assigned to teach in the schools and serve in the offices; very probably, they cannot have access to textbooks for quite a long time and, thus, there will be no benefit in their teaching; it is by no means unlikely that, due to this situation, they might avoid their language and [thus] be forced into accepting another language, c) naturally, the government must: 1. either spend twice as much for producing textbooks in two dialects...and double spending for preparing printed papers, translations of regulations and laws, etc. for both sides--which [this government] is far from undertaking,

> 2. or not listen to the demands of the two sides; this will result in the prevention of all the three *liwa*s and five *qadha*s from making progress and will be a cause for complaining...
>
> I can say, on the basis of my previous experience, that this ill state of affairs will not take long to surface, because this government which has never felt pity for the Kurdish people and has never allotted them a just share of educational funds (see...), now will not spend double amounts for the education of the Kurds in the three *liwa*s and five *qadha*s.
>
> That is why I request you to look at this task sympathetically and intervene so that only one dialect will be accepted for all Iraqi Kurdistan.

The law was, however, ratified and, according to the *Annual Report* of 1931 (G.B. 1931:19), "a committee was set up in each of the Kurdish qadhas of Mosul liwa to advise the Government as to the form of Kurdish which the inhabitants desired should be adopted for use under Article 8 of the Local Languages Law." A year later, "delegates from these qadhas met in March in Mosul liwa headquarters and by seven votes to two they decided in favour of the use of the indigenous Bahdinan [Kurmanji] dialect" (G.B. 1932:5). According to a "secret and very urgent memo No. 205 of 3.3.1932 from Mutasarrif [governor of] Mosul to the Ministry of Interior":

> On 1/3/1932 a meeting took place in the office of this Mutasarrifiyet [governorate] by delegates elected from all the Kurdish Qadhas except Zibar where nobody had... desired to attend the meeting in question [due to weather conditions]... After discussion and conversation for the adoption of the form of the Local Language no agreement has been reached at in opinion, since seven of the members proposed that the Bahdini Language should be regarded as official language against two others who voted for the Soorani Language... (F. No. 13/14, Vol. XII, Kurdistan Policy, p. 2)

Voting for Bahdini [Kurmanji] were two delegates from Shaikhan, three from Aqra and two from Dahok; two delegates from Zakho voted for Sorani (*Ibid.*, p. 3).

6.2.1 Monarchical Iraq, 1932-58

The suspicion, shared by both Kurds and some Mandate authorities, that Baghdad had raised the dialect question to avoid language legislation and to Arabize the Kurdish areas of Mosul proved to be true. In fact, all the Kurdish

qadhas of Mosul as well as other areas had already been Arabized when Article 8 was added to the final draft of the Local Languages Law (cf. 5.1.3 and 7.5.1.3). Thus, the Law was never implemented in the Kurmanji speaking areas during the monarchical period.

Although Sorani speaking areas were subject to the Arabization policy, the dialect made considerable progress in standardization by the end of the period (cf. chapters 7 and 8)—a reformed alphabet, a modernized and purified vocabulary, a growing prose literature, and uninterrupted use in broadcasting and journalism. Its position vis-a-vis Kurmanji was even further strengthened when it was adopted as the official language of the Kurdish Republic established in Iran in 1946. By contrast, the progress made by Kurmanji in Syria was interrupted in 1946 (cf. 6.3.0), and in the USSR it was made ineffectual due to the political isolation of Soviet Kurds.

6.2.2 Republican Iraq, 1958-85

A major change in the relation between the two dialects took place soon after the overthrow of the monarchy. Radio Baghdad began broadcasting in Kurmanji and privately published Kurmanji journals appeared. These developments led to a heated discussion of the dialect base of the standard language.

According to the only available official explanation for broadcasting in Kurmanji, the Kurdish station had failed to serve "all the Kurdish compatriots before the Revolution [1958 coup d'état] since it did not broadcast in the Bahdinan [Kurmanji] dialect which is spoken by Kurdish compatriots in Mosul *liwa* and parts of Arbil *liwa*." Broadcasting time was, consequently, increased to four hours equally divided between the two dialects (Iraq Republic 1959a:257; cf., also, 7.4.2).

The question had already been discussed in the press by October, 1958, when a writer and political activist Mihamadi Mala Karim asked, "In what dialect should we write our language?" The writer referred, by analogy, to the role of the dialect of the Quraish tribe in Arabia which had provided the base for the widely spread literary Arabic. He argued that Sorani could play a similar role in view of the progress made in Iraq (article in *Hîwa*, quoted in Nêrevan 1959:143).

The first congress of Kurdish teachers held in September, 1959 discussed the question and resolved that Sorani was the base of the official literary language in Iraq. A minority opted, however, for the use of both dialects (*Rojî Nö*. Vol. 2, No. 3, June 1961:33-34). The resolution was confirmed again at the second teachers congress held in 1960 (*Hetaw*, Vol. 7, No. 185, September 15, 1960, p. 28).

Apparently responding to the resolutions in an article entitled "The question of the unification of the written Kurdish language, Kurmanji or Sorani?," the head of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe, Vanley (1959:5) noted that

his Sorani-speaking compatriots would be surprised to read about this question since, he wrote, they had never considered the issue in its *national*, i.e., *all-Kurdistan* proportions. Vanley, himself of Kurmanji origins, suggested that the British Mandatory power and the monarchy had conspired with Turkey to prevent the use of Kurmanji because of its repercussions among the Kurds of Turkey, who were speakers of the same dialect (*Ibid.*, p. 9; private correspondence May 4, 1984). He argued that Kurmanji was even more important than Sorani and that its use in Iraq must be promoted alongside that of Sorani.

The reasons for the promotion of Kurmanji in Iraq were thus outlined by Vanley: (a) it is spoken by the great majority of the Kurdish people, 62%, while Sorani is at best the speech of 38%, (b) it has very "clear (and numerous) grammatical rules" which were scientifically studied and fixed in many books of grammar printed in the Soviet Union, Syria and Paris, (c) it is already written in well-adapted Latin characters, while Sorani is written in the unsuitable Arabic alphabet, and (d) Kurmanji is most probably nearest, he asserts, to the "Ancient Aryan" languages and especially to "Zend-Avesta."

Sorani counter-arguments were, according to Vanley, based on (a) its high musicality, (b) the simplicity of its grammatical rules, and (c) the progress it had made after thirty years of written literary experience in Iraq. Vanley concluded that even "practically disregarding dialects advantages, it is IMPOSSIBLE to impose, under the present political conditions, one of them on the whole Kurdish people" (p. 7). Even on the regional level in Iraq where Kurmanji speakers are in a minority, Sorani should not be imposed on them (pp. 8-9) for these reasons: (1) to avoid the injustice of depriving them of the right to have schools and newspapers in their dialect, (2) to make mass education possible, (3) the Kurmanji of Iraq is not an isolated dialect but part of the "biggest dialect on a thorough national level," (4) to compensate, as a patriotic duty, for the suppression of the language in Turkey where Kurmanji alone is understood, and (5) to make possible a progressive solution of the unification of the written language on a true national basis.

Vanley's article, written in English, was published in Arabic translation in pamphlet form a few months later (1960). It received an immediate response from Hazhar (1960) who noted, among other things, that (a) Sorani speakers did not intend to impose their dialect on the whole nation, (b) the officialization of Sorani was due to the more intensive nationalist struggle of Sorani speakers in Iraq and Iran and a result of relatively more advanced development of capitalist relations of production in these areas, and (c) numerical strength could not be a determining factor in the development of a language. Hazhar concluded that Sorani should not be imposed on Kurmanji speakers but, rather, the promotion of Kurmanji should be supported so that increased literary and cultural contact might facilitate the choice of one of the dialects (p. 27) after national independence (i.e., a unified Kurdistan) is achieved.

The autonomist war in Iraqi Kurdistan (1961-75) provided an opportunity to see how the Kurds themselves deal with the dialect question without

government interference. The most influential individual leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, a native speaker of Kurmanji, spoke in Sorani most of the time apparently because the Sorani element in the movement was more prominent. Kurmanji was, however, used in clandestine broadcasting and occasionally in the press alongside Sorani in the areas under Kurdish control. Correspondence and other written communication, training, and instruction in the schools were, however, all in Sorani. Kurmanji has continued to be used marginally in the opposition press of the parties involved in the autonomous war since 1976.

The bidialectal situation is, however, resented by many Sorani speakers who relate it to a divide-and-rule policy of the government. Two different views have been expressed on why Kurmanji was introduced into the mono-dialectal circumstances of Iraq in 1958. Mihamadi Mala Karim blamed it, later in 1973, on the Kurds themselves. He noted that some patriotic intellectuals who had a hand in running the Baghdad radio station had simply made an honest mistake for which, later, the Kurdish nation had to pay a high price (quoted in Nebez 1976:13).

A similar view is held by Rasul (1971:52-53) though he traces the "mistake" back to 1956 when a communist party clandestine newspaper, *Azadî Kurdistan* 'Freedom of Kurdistan' (cf. 7.3.3), began publishing articles in the two dialects "because the publishers and writers had not understood the truth of the problem" (p. 52). Rasul considered himself, "to some extent," and the poet Dilan, "to a larger extent," responsible. He emphasized that the leadership of the then clandestine Kurdish Democratic Party had, however, a "scientific view" of the dialect question and considered Sorani the basis of the literary language.

Nebez (1976:13) holds a different view on how broadcasting in Kurmanji began. He claims that it was "a special political plan which the clique of [Prime Minister] Qasim executed with the support of some opportunist Kurds..." According to Nebez (private correspondence, April 24, 1985), Kurmanji was being used in the Kurdish press before 1958 as a spontaneous rather than planned effort. Some Kurmanji speaking journalists wrote in their dialect while a Sorani speaker like Giw Mukriyani occasionally printed Kurmanji material because of his nationalist urge for the equal treatment of all Kurds. Many others believed, according to Nebez, that writing in all the dialects would spontaneously and gradually lead to the emergence of a unified language. The use of Kurmanji in *Azadî Kurdistan* was also, according to Nebez, part of this trend (*Ibid.*).

The question was even further politicized when political organizations were able to come into the open after the fall of the monarchy. According to Nebez (*Ibid.*), the Kurdish Democratic Party supported instruction in Sorani in all the Kurmanji speaking areas. Hamza Abdulla, Secretary General of the Party, and himself a Kurmanji speaker, believed that writing in Kurmanji would divide Kurdish into two languages. The Communist Party of Iraq opposed, according to Nebez, the introduction of Sorani in the Kurmanji areas because they believed the dialect differences were too many. The real aim of the Party was, according to Nebez, competing with the [nationalist] Kurdish Democratic Party. Hence, the

strengthening of the Kurdish nationalist movement was not in the interest of the Communist Party which had translated and distributed Vanley's writing in defence of Kurmanji (*Ibid.*). According to a third, non-influential group led by Nebez, Sorani need not be imposed on Kurmanji speakers though writing in all dialects would not lead to spontaneous unification. A prolonged scientific endeavour led by an academy enjoying popular support would be necessary for eventual unification (*Ibid.*).

According to Rasul (1971:52-53), the divide-and-rule policy was readily adopted by the Iranian government in the state-sponsored paper *Kurdistan* where "instead of two parts [dialects] they built several." This policy of "writing in five dialects" had already been renounced a decade earlier by the Kurdish Students Society in Europe (*Rojî Nö*, Vol. 2, No. 3, June 1961, pp. 29-34).

Since 1958, Kurmanji has been more widely used in the press, books and broadcasting. Thus, while only two books were published in the dialect before 1958, a total of 25 titles appeared between 1958 and 1977 (cf. 7.2.2.4.A). There has been at least one feature in Kurmanji in almost every journal published in Iraq since the 1970s. Sorani retains, however, its predominant position in all the functions of the Kurdish language (cf. chapter 7).

In summing up the factors in the selection process of Sorani over Kurmanji in Iraq, one could conclude that the British Occupation and Mandate administration's choice of Sorani was motivated by practical considerations (cf. 5.1.1. and 5.1.2.). The dialect was, within the frontiers of the newly created state of Iraq, the only variety of Kurdish that had a vocal intellectual, nationalist and urban social base. It was, moreover, the speech of the Kurdish government established by Shaikh Mahmud when the British occupied Iraq in 1917-18.

The evidence suggests, however, that Baghdad had used the dialect split, especially in 1930-32 period, as a pretext to evade legislation on the Kurdish language and, later, to avoid implementing the language law. Government intention aside, the Kurmanji speaking community had become increasingly detribalized by the 1960s and an intelligentsia had emerged who were eager to read and write in their native dialect (cf. 10.1.0 and 10.2.0). The available evidence from both contemporary Kurdish and official Mandate sources examined in this study (cf. chapter 5) does not support Vanley's claim, cited above, that the adoption of Sorani was a compromise between Turkey and Britain intended to protect the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds of Turkey from the repercussions of the linguistic freedom granted the Kurds of Iraq. The evidence suggests, in fact, that both Iran (cf. 5.2.0) and Turkey tried to prevent the Kurds of Iraq from gaining language rights in any dialect. Moreover, Britain (cf. 5.1.3 to 5.1.5) and France (cf. 5.4.0) both aimed at restricting the progress of the Kurdish language (especially native tongue education) as a means of containing Kurdish nationalism, which they regarded as a threat to the integrity of all the Kurdish-inhabited countries.

6.3.0 The Dialect Base in Iran, 1921-85

Sorani speakers form a sizable and influential part of the Kurdish population. The Kurmanji speaking area is a relatively long but narrow territory artificially cut from the northern part of greater Kurdistan by the Turkish-Iranian border. The social organization of the Kurds in this territory has been essentially tribal, and although they have all settled in recent decades, no urban center has emerged (cf. 10.1.0).

The earliest official use of the language dates back to a rebellion (1919-22, 1926) led by Ismail Agha Simko who was the head of a Kurmanji speaking tribe. He established his authority for a short period over the Kurmanji-speaking areas and parts of the Sorani territory of present-day Mahabad. In 1921, Simko published a journal, *Rojî Kurd* (cf. Figure 18), which was mostly in Sorani. It was edited by a learned man from the Mahabad area (cf. Figure 18). However, one surviving printed document (a Customs Office form reproduced in Tamaddun 1971:372) indicates that Kurmanji was also used. The use of Sorani was apparently because (a) the Sorani area of Mahabad was the most important intellectual and political center in Iranian Kurdistan, while the northern area was more tribal (cf. 10.1.0), and (b) similarly, the Kurds of Iraq, with whom Simko was in touch, had formed at this time an autonomous government in the Sorani speaking region of Sulaymaniya, the most important center of Kurdish nationalism.

The second time Kurdish had the chance to appear in print was during the period of the Kurdish Republic (1946) centered around the Sorani-speaking towns of Mahabad and Bokan. Sorani was the state's language in education, broadcasting, journalism and administration (cf. 7.6.0). The publications of the period bear the mark of the Sorani of Iraq especially in their modernized vocabulary and spelling. In fact, Kurdish textbooks from Iraq were used in the primary schools, which had suddenly shifted from Persian to Kurdish instruction. Also, a number of Iraqi Kurds staffed the schools and state publishing. Although a considerable number of Kurmanji speaking Barzani Kurds of Iraq were present as a major military force backing the republic, Kurmanji was not used in broadcasting or publishing.

In the 1960s, the limited number of books that Tehran allowed to be published were, except for one Hawrami title, in Sorani (cf. 7.2.3). Broadcasting was, however, conducted in all dialects, reflecting an official policy to prevent the unification of the language (cf. 7.4.3.1). Under the current Islamic government, private publishing is mostly in Sorani while state propaganda publications intended for all-Kurdistan readerships are in both dialects.

The primary school textbooks prepared by Kurdish political parties, which were in control of the rural areas from 1979 to the mid-1980s, use the standard Sorani dialect as developed in Iraq (cf. 8.2.2. and 7.5.6).

6.4.0 The Dialect Base in Syria

The entirely Kurmanji speaking population of Syrian Kurds was joined by thousands of refugees, among them the Badir Khan brothers (cf. 5.4.0), from Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s. Almost all the publishing and broadcasting conducted by Syrian Kurds was in their own dialect. In the earlier issues of *Hawar*, their main literary, linguistic and cultural organ, a number of articles written by Iraqi Kurds appeared in Sorani. Later issues were all in Kurmanji and in the Roman alphabet as were the books (cf. chapter 7).

6.5.0 The Dialect Base in the USSR

The question of dialect base was discussed in a congress held at Yerevan in 1934. According to a Soviet source (Vil'chevskiĭ 1936 quoted by Nikitine 1956:289-93), the congress successfully resolved the question by avoiding linguistically defined considerations such as the "purest," "best preserved" dialect as a base for the literary language. Rather the question was dealt with in a "realistic" spirit by posing it in the political context of creating a language accessible to the broad masses of Kurdish workers. To achieve this purpose, the congress decided to select the Kurmanji speech of the Kurds residing in the Armenian Socialist Republic as the dialect base.

Besides the political guideline–the dialect of the broadest masses–the congress underlined the following considerations in selecting the dialect: (1) the importance of the Kurmanji dialect as the language of the Kurdish proletariat born in Tiflis, Leninakan, and in the copper mines of Allahverdy, (2) the existence of a considerable group of Soviet Kurdish intellectuals involved in the creation and elaboration of the language, (3) the possibility of utilizing the best models of classical Kurdish literature, Ahmadi Khani and his school (cf. 4.3.0), due to their close affinity with the dialect of the Soviet Kurds, (4) the existence of a rich folklore among the Kurds of Armenia, and (5) the existence of a relatively significant literature, about a hundred books and a journal, in the dialect.

6.6.0 The Dialect Base in the Kurdish Diaspora

The language situation of the refugee population in Europe resembles that of the Kurdish language in the Ottoman empire in the first two decades of the century. Kurmanji speakers of Turkey invariably use their dialect and the Roman script, while Iraqi and Iranian Kurds are attached to their Sorani speech. The Kurdish Student Society in Europe, established in 1956, with an all-Kurdistan membership, has used both dialects in oral and written communication. The Kurmanji material is usually in the Roman script which suggests that it is addressed to the Kurds of Turkey. In Sweden, state-sponsored education for Kurdish refugees, training programs and government publications are in both dialects (cf. 7.5.7).

6.7.0 Unification of Dialects

The question of unification of dialects was raised first by the Kurdish press early in this century. A number of Kurdish journals, e.g., *Hawar* and *Gelawêj*, solicited the opinion of their readers, lay or expert, on the issue (cf. Rondot 1936, for a summary of *Hawar*'s opinion survey).

As in other bidialectal situations, basically two solutions have been suggested–either mixing the two dialects or choosing one of them. Two views have also developed on the methods of mixture (in Iraq). One envisions a spontaneous process through free use of the dialects; the other emphasizes the need for planned effort.

Both competing solutions, called by Haugen (cf. Byron 1976:60) the *compositional thesis* (a standard language is, or should be, based on a composite of dialects) and the *unitary thesis* (a standard language is, or should be, based on a single dialect), are obstructed by, first and foremost, the political division of the Kurdish speech community (Kurmanji is divided among five countries and Sorani between two countries). What has further aggravated this situation is the absence of freedom of linguistic and cultural contact: the linguicidal measures of Turkey and Syria and the political isolation of Soviet Kurds have obstructed unification of not only Kurmanji and Sorani but also that of the three Kurmanji norms of Turkey, Syria and the USSR. The most obvious manifestation of this division is the orthographic fragmentation of the written language among three alphabets which adds up to the insurmountable political restrictions on linguistic and cultural contact between the five countries (cf. 8.2.5).

Unification on the regional level of Iraq has not made much progress. The Kurdish Academy did not show much interest in the issue during its active years, 1973-78 (cf. 10.3.4. and 10.3.5). Individual attempts have been limited to compiling unified grammars of which two have appeared so far both by Iraqi Kurds abroad. Nebez (1976) has outlined the major morphological differences and has presented a brief specimen of mixed (standard) Kurdish which is recognizably Sorani in the Roman script. The other is a unified grammar closer to Kurmanji (Akrawy 1982). Another approach proposed to a meeting of the Iraqi Scientific Academy--Kurdish Corporation by al-Basir (1984) considers the compositional approach impractical and "mechanical." According to al-Basir, unification can be achieved by reviving a "common language" that existed in an unknown past (p. 32) before the Kurdish nation was divided into various tribes and regional settlements. The recovery of this hypothetical language is said to be possible by analyzing the extinct "original texts" in today's different dialects and their grammars, and by unifying them (*rêkxistinyan*) in the light of the fact that such a language did exist at one time (p. 76). Practically speaking, it is not clear how al-Basir's approach is different form the compositionalist method of mixing the dialects.

The expanding Kurdish diaspora (cf. 10.4.0) has provided the Kurds of various countries with the opportunity to associate freely in linguistic, cultural and

educational activities. The Kurds of Turkey are the main force in the propagation of Kurmanji. They draw on both the linguistic achievements of the Kurds of Syria in the 1930s-1946 period and the Kurds of the USSR. It is only here that prospects for the unification of the three written varieties of Kurmanji exist.

6.8.0 Conclusions

The selection of Sorani as the dialect base of Kurdish in Iraq (and Iran) was based on non-linguistic considerations. The speakers of Sorani in Iraq were politically, socially and numerically more influential than Kurmanji speakers. In the post-1958 period, however, other non-linguistic considerations allowed Kurmanji to be used in publishing and broadcasting. Still, Sorani continues to be the dominant medium of publishing, broadcasting and intellectual discourse in both Iraq and Iran.

By the late 1980s, developments on the all-Kurdistan level and in the regional and international arena contributed to the unfoldment of Kurmanji in the Kurdish diaspora, Turkey and the former USSR. Kurmanji is now undergoing increasing codification and elaboration of function.

Although many Sorani speakers consider their norm to be *the* standard language, the data presented in this study suggest that, like Armenian, Norwegian, Albanian and a number of other languages, *Kurdish must be considered a bi-standard language* (cf. chapter 9).

Chapter 6 Notes

1. This statement sharply contrasts with the opinion of C.J. Edmonds (1937:487), the British Mandate's expert on the Kurds, who believed that the dialects of "Soran, Baban, Ardelan and Mukriyan" which cover, in addition to those referred to by Humphrys, the dialects across the Iranian border, "form a single linguistic group."

CHAPTER 7

THE ELABORATION OF FUNCTION

Having examined political obstacles to the development of the Kurdish language (cf. chapter 5) and the selection of the dialect base of the standardizing norm (cf. chapter 6), this chapter provides a documentation of the language's acquisition of new functions such as use in print and broadcast media, administration, science, cinema, theater and expansion of its traditional use in literature and education during the post-1918 period. The material is organized in the following subchapters:

7.1 Printing
7.2 Book Publishing
7.3 Journalism
7.4 Broadcasting
7.5 Education
7.6 Administration
7.7 Science, Theater, Cinema, and Phonograph Records

Languages differ widely in terms of functions, domains or scope of use. At the one extreme, English–the world's most developed speech form–has surpassed behind even developed languages like French and German (Kloss 1978:41). At the other end stand numerous languages unable to find access to the media or the educational system.

Functional elaboration is not a property or quality inherent in the structure of any language. Rather, it is related to the social, economic, and technological development of a speech community. While it is quite easy to reduce any pre-literate language to writing, it is quite difficult to institutionalize the print media or to develop a flourishing print culture. Many languages (e.g., Kurdish which

has a century of journalistic history) lack a daily newspaper let alone specialized journals which publish abstracts of scientific research.

It is known, at least to most linguists, that no language is structurally handicapped; language planners, however, know from experience that egalitarianism gives way to inequality every time an English language college-level textbook is translated into a non-standard language. The linguist and the language planner are not, in fact, contradicting each other. There seems to be a dynamic or, rather, dialectical relationship between functional elaboration and codification. Thus, historically, terminologies were created and lexicalized (i.e., popularized) whenever a language was used in science, technology, arts, and professions; these functions required, in turn, specialized vocabularies. In other words, functional elaboration results in codification, and a codified norm allows increasing functional differentiation.

The following subchapters highlight various political, social and economic constraints on the development of new functions in the Kurdish language.

SUBCHAPTER 7.1

PRINTING: THE ERA OF MASS-MEDIATED LANGUAGE USE

The age of mass communication begins with the diffusion of printing in Modern Europe. Before the invention of writing some six thousand years ago, language communication depended on face-to-face interaction. For thousands of years, the spread of written communication was effectively restricted by social and economic obstacles such as highly polarized class structure, monopolies of literacy, knowledge and political power, inefficiency of handwritten duplication and other factors. The mass-mediated use of language was first made possible through the medium of printing.

Early printing in Europe "had a profound effect on national languages and literatures. It began at once to create, standardize, and preserve them" (Unwin and Unwin 1987:464; cf., also, Steinberg 1974:117-27; Febvre and Martin 1979:319-32). Some students of media history relate the rise of nations, nationalism and national languages to the technology of printing (Innis 1971:29; McLuhan 1969:142, 282). According to McLuhan (1964:155), "the printed word [is] architect of nationalism."

The claim that nations and nationalism are by-products of printing is not, however, supported by the history of this technology. Printing was invented at the end of the second century A.D. in feudal China. By eleventh century, movable type was developed. Typography appeared in neighbouring Korea by the first half of the thirteenth century. Both countries had already produced paper and ink. By contrast, typographic printing began in Western Europe much later in mid-fifteenth century (cf., among others, Lechène 1987:69-70). However, in contrast to Europe, printing in China and Korea was unable to transform Chinese and Korean into national languages, although both languages had a long history of literary development and had undergone extensive codification. Neither did Chinese and Korean societies emerge as nations and nation-states. It is, therefore, no accident of history that the widespread diffusion of printing occurred

not in its birthplace, feudal China, but rather on the ruins of feudal society in Modern Europe. The (almost) complete transition from scribal to print culture in Western Europe was, thus, a product of the "modernization" or the rise of capitalism.

The transformation of European vernaculars such as English and French into *national* standard languages undoubtedly depended on access to the technology of printing. However, the technology in itself and by itself does not transform a "vernacular" into a standard language. The proliferation of this technology requires a social and economic base. As a major cultural phenomenon, printing has been the arena of ideological, political and economic struggles even in Western Europe where a powerful social base, the middle class, was emerging with the advent of this technology. Compared with Europe, the impact of printing on the Kurdish language has been equally striking, although its full utilization has been handicapped by continuing political restrictions, and by the retarded social and economic development of Kurdistan. The focus of this chapter is the struggle of the Kurds for the use of printing in promoting their language and national cause.

7.1.1 Printing in the Ottoman Empire

Printing presses first appeared in the Kurdish towns of the Ottoman Empire in the late 1860s: Bitlis (1302=1865-6 or 1311=1893), Diyarbakir (1285=1868-9) and Van (1307=1889-90). They were all established, owned and operated by the government for printing in Turkish. A number of larger cities with small Kurdish populations on the outskirts of Kurdistan had an earlier start– Mosul began with a press established by Dominican missionaries in 1856, followed by a government press in 1881, while Erzurum had a government press as early as 1865-66 (information based on Ottoman Government 1901).

The age of printing in Kurdish did not, however, begin in Kurdistan. All Kurdish books and periodicals published in Kurdish during the Ottoman period were printed outside Kurdistan in Cairo, Istanbul and Baghdad. This was because (a) with the exception of the Dominican press in Mosul, all other presses were owned by a government not interested in Kurdish publishing, (b) publishing was begun by Kurdish nationalists who were mostly in exile in Istanbul and other larger cities, and (c) censorship was less effective in Cairo and Istanbul (cf. 7.3.1).

The earliest record of a printing press owned by Kurds is "Matba'a Kurdistan 'Ilmiya" (Scientific Kurdistan Press) established by Faraj-Allah Zaki al-Kurdi in Cairo, Egypt. The press printed a book in Arabic (*Lisān Abnā' al-Madāris wa al-Mujtama'āt*, by Kamal al-Ddin al-'Iraqi) in 1329 Hijri/1911, but there is no evidence of Kurdish language printing on this press.

7.1.2 Printing in Iraq

The material in this section is organized into two historically significant periods, pre- and post-Republican years (for more informantion on the two periods, cf. 5.1.0 to 5.1.9).

I. The 1920-58 Period

Giw Mukriyani, the nationalist language reformer, journalist and printer, has claimed in several of his works (e.g., 1972:13,15) that the first Kurdish press was founded in 1915, in Aleppo (now in Syria) by his brother Husen Huzni Mukriyani (1893-1947), who had printed several books and journals before moving the press to Rawandiz in 1925. This claim has been uncritically accepted by many Kurds (e.g., Jabari 1970:70 and Celil 1985:111-12).

There is strong evidence that this press did not exist. According to a notice in *Diyarî Kurdistan* (No. 5, May 12, 1925, p. 11), Huzni "was in the process of founding" a printing press in Aleppo in 1925, and was asking the Kurds, through this magazine, to pre-purchase a book on Kurdish history and society that he was going to publish. The book, *Xunçey Beharistan* (Blossom of Spring; cf. Fig. 6), was in fact printed on an Arabic press, al-'Asr al-Jadid, in Aleppo in 1925. It must also be noted that none of the bibliographies of Kurdish books (Edmonds 1937, 1945; Vil'chevsky 1945; Cumberland 1936; Nariman 1977) record anything printed in Aleppo before *Xunçey Beharistan*. It is moreover unlikely that any publishing, whether underground or otherwise, could have escaped the attention of the careful observer of Kurdish affairs, Pierre Rondot (1939), the French Mandate's specialist on Kurdish affairs. He does not mention any Kurdish printing effort in Syria.

A. The Government Press

The first press in Iraqi Kurdistan was set up in Sulaymaniya by the Mandate authorities in 1920. It was an old hand-operated letter-press called Chapkhanay or Matba'ay Hukumat (Government Press) which printed six books, 118 issues of the weekly *Peşkewtin*, 14 issues of *Bangî Kurdistan*, and 16 issues of *Rojî Kurdistan* between 1920 and 1923.

The press was, together with two schools, the most important intellectual possession of the autonomous government of Shaikh Mahmud, who often rebelled against Baghdad and declared himself King of Kurdistan. Like the new Kurdish state, the press had a turbulent life.

The leaders of the Kurdish government attached much importance to the printing press. *Bangî Kurdistan* (No. 3, August 21, 1922, pp. 3-4) wrote that "printing machinery" was "a very effective means of unification of a nation's thoughts and feelings" and also of protecting the science and literature of a

people. The journal then called for donations by concerned individuals for buying a new press.

Much interest in the purchase of the machinery was shown by the townspeople, who had not yet fully recovered from the economic devastation of the World War I period (cf. 3.1.7). An initial contribution of 1000 rupees was made by three members of the nobility. Later issues of the journal provide detailed lists of donations by government officials, merchants, shopkeepers, teachers and others in Sulaymaniya and elsewhere. Adding up all the contributions, they amounted to 7353 rupees given by 210 donors. *Rojî Kurdistan* (No. 8, January 10, 1923, p. 3) made it known that the weekly could be published three times a week if a new printing press were to be purchased.

Before further action could be taken, relations between the Kurdish government and Baghdad grew tense. When Shaikh Mahmud and his fighting men were forced to leave the city for the mountainous countryside, they moved the printing press to the caves of Jasna in the Sourdash area to the northwest of Sulaymaniya. Three issues of a new journal, *Bangî Heq*, were published there. However, the revolt was put down by the Iraqi army which moved the printing press back to Sulaymaniya (Edmonds 1925:89-90).

Shaikh Mahmud was able to come back to the city and reassert himself after the troops had left (July 1923). The press had been damaged during the transfer, but by mid-September repairs had been made "through the efforts of some masters." A new weekly *Umêdî Istiqlal* (Hope for Independence) appeared on September 20, 1923. Although the press failed several times, resulting in delays in publishing, readers were promised that printing would continue, motivated by "unity and national love" (No. 16, January 31, 1924, p. 4). Later on that year three stamps were issued from that press by "the Southern Kurdistan Government." However, Shaikh Mahmud's government fell again when troops attacked the city in July, 1924.

The press was operated by the Municipality after Baghdad's control was established over the area. It was renamed Matba'ay Baladiya or Chapkhanay Sharawani (1925) and printed a government sponsored weekly *Jiyanewe* and a number of books. The poet/journalist Piramerd rented the press in August, 1934, to publish *Jiyan*, a successor of *Jiyanewe*. The Municipality refused to renew the lease in August, 1937, and informed the Ministry of the Interior of their decision to keep the press and the journal under Municipal control (*Ziban*, No 1, September 11, 1937, p. 1). This journal, published by the Municipality, wrote that "nothing useable had remained from the printing press except its iron frame...a large amount of money was sent to Baghdad to purchase many new parts and the machine was put to work again."

B. Zari Kirmanji Press

Huzni Mukriyani bought an outdated printing press in Syria and carried it by mule to Rawandiz in 1926, naming his enterprise Matba'ay Zari Kirmanji

(Kurdish Tongue Press). Huzni and his brother Giw used the ancient instrument to print twenty three books (i.e., 24.2% of a total of 95 Kurdish books published in Iraq by 1938) and one magazine *Zarî Kirmanji* between 1926 and 1930. According to Edmonds (1945:185), "half of these were written, printed, illustrated with woodcuts..."

The materials printed were hardly legible, and new letters were acquired later through donations by those interested in the national cause (cf. 7.3.2). The new letters and some of the equipment were, however, looted and the building was expropriated for unspecified reasons (*Hetaw*, Vol. 3, No., 85, January 20, 1957, pp. 18-19). The press once more moved to Arbil, where it began publishing the weekly *Rûnakî* in October 1935. It was renamed Chapkhanay Kurdistan (Kurdistan Press) after Huzni's death in 1947, being owned and operated by Giw.

C. Zhiyan Press

Unable to use the Municipality Press; Piramerd purchased a larger, but used, hand-press with worn-out letter-types which began operating in September 1937, as Zhiyan Press, printing the weekly *Jîn*.

Thus, in 1937, there were three Kurdish presses, two in Sulaymaniya and one in Arbil, each publishing a weekly. Printing capacity was limited and quality left much to be desired. When the proprietor-editor of a newly licensed journal, *Zanistî* (Science), decided to print the first issue, he found out that the Municipality Press was unable to print, in one week, both the weekly *Ziman* (Language) and his biweekly magazine (*Zanistî*, No 1, February 25, 1938, p. 1). Moreover, small size letters were lacking and photographs could not be printed (*Ziban*, No. 28, April 3, 1938, p. 1).

Paper shortages caused by the outbreak of World War II left the Municipality and Zari Kirmanji presses idle. Zhiyan Press, later renamed Zhin Press, was the only one active during the War. The weekly *Jîn* continued to be published in reduced size and with fewer pages. Of the 27 books published between 1939 and 1945, thirteen were printed in Baghdad and the rest by Zhin in Sulaymaniya. By 1947, however, Zhin had incurred considerable financial losses. The owner was obliged to mortgage his residence in order to get the 60 Dinars needed to buy ink and new letter types in Baghdad (Sajjadi 1951:19). The Municipality Press published two books in 1946-47 and then stopped forever.

The more numerous and better equipped presses of Mosul and Kirkuk engaged in no significant publishing in Kurdish until the 1950s. Two titles had appeared in Mosul in 1934, and the first books from Kirkuk did not materialize until 1953.

The only Kurdish printing presses, Zhin and Kurdistan, were worn out and practically useless by the 1950s. Complaints from readers were numerous. Piramerd passed away in 1950, and was glorified as a prominent poet, journalist, educator and indefatigable printer. In his will be wrote: "Do not give away the

printing press..." Besides the press, the only possessions he left behind were his pen and ink-pot, house and a quarter of a dinar in cash. To ensure that the provisions of his will would be observed, a sum of over 100 Dinars (about $300) was donated by various individuals to be spent in Baghdad on the purchase, in instalments, of paper, type and printing equipment. The instalments were to be paid through the income brought in by the press (Sajjadi 1951:16, 19).

Five years later, a writer, printer and jack-of-all-trades at Zhin Press, Najmaddin Mala (1955:1), wrote about the desperate state of printing in Sulaymaniya and complained that the works of many Kurdish poets and scholars had been obliterated due to the lack of printing facilities. He further stated that a competent young lawyer was striving to obtain a printing press but was handicapped by lack of money. The writer then called on Kurdish personalities and wealthy men, saying, "Our motherland begs your help and donations to purchase a printing press..."

Lack of printing facilities had become a real impediment to the development of the Kurdish language by the end of the monarchical period. Writing on this "great obstacle" in 1957, Nebez (pp. 14-21) pointed out that many competent Kurdish scholars and literary figures had compiled highly valued works.

> However, since there is no publishing center in Kurdistan able to undertake the printing and distribution of these works, the writers are forced to print them at their own expense and also to endeavor to distribute them themselves. If the person is poor and impecunious, he cannot get his work printed. If it happens that he is somewhat well-to-do, but not a courageous and giving Kurd, he will have to forget about it because of the lack of printing presses in his country [Kurdistan]... (p. 15). It is really unfortunate that in the twentieth century there is not a single printing press in Iraqi Kurdistan capable of printing material in the Kurdish language. You see that in Sulaymaniya, which is considered the *qible* [direction to which Muslims turn in praying] of Kurdistan, there is only the Zhin Press, which cannot print anything other than the [weekly] newspaper...

After discussing the desperate situation in other towns, Arbil and Kirkuk, Nebez concludes:

> There is, thus, no opportunity for printing in Kurdistan. That is why a powerless Kurd who writes a book with a thousand sufferings, fear and wakefulness has no alternative but to go to Baghdad. He will have to get his work printed at the Ma'arif Press since, until quite recently, Kurdish type was available only there. Because of its heavy workload and the indifference of its

staff, the Ma'arif Press will either force the person to stay in Baghdad for several months or will have him commute to Baghdad so often that the printed version will cost him 10 to 15 times more [than is usual]. To make up his loss, therefore, the author will have to charge a higher price. As a result, the book will not sell and he will be in debt. In short, the writer will be in such trouble that he will not be able to have another page printed if he is not very courageous.

II. Republican Iraq, 1958-84

A. Printing in Kurdistan. The fall of the monarchy in 1958 led to enormous publishing activity although only one printing press was added to those already operating in Kurdistan. Kamaran Press, established in 1958 in Sulaymaniya, had been the most active and printed 161 books between 1958 and 1975 (Nariman 1977:267) as well as several periodicals and various types of commercial materials. The record is striking if one considers that the machinery was small and hand-operated. Writing about the problems of printing the monthly magazine *Rojî Nö*, one of the workers at the press noted that much time had to be spent on letter-setting--one day for eight pages of the magazine. Another obstacle was the lack of small size letters. The press was ill-equipped for color printing: for the application of each color, the paper had to be run once and then the ink changed for other colors. Folding, cutting and binding were all done by hand (*Rojî Nö*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1961, pp. 37-42).

Two privately owned printing presses were established in the 1960s--Salahaddin (1963) in Arbil and Raparin (Uprising) in Sulaymaniya (1967). The former did not print any Kurdish literature.

No breakthrough had been made in the arena of printing by the end of the 1960s. The Sulaymaniya-based weekly *Rizgarî* (50 pages) had to be printed in Baghdad. The editor wrote, "...none of the printing presses in Sulaymaniya or anywhere in Kurdistan are able to print the journal on a weekly basis in the form and format we desire" (No. 7, September 21, 1969, p. 2).

When agreement was reached between the government and Kurdish autonomists in March 1970, a Kurdish demand for state sponsored printing and publishing facilities raised in two teachers' congresses in 1959 and 1960 was considered. The ruling "Revolutionary Command Council...ordered arrangements to be made for founding a Kurdish publishing and printing house and a directorate general of Kurdish culture..." (Iraq Republic 1974: 12-13). This part of the agreement was implemented a decade later.

The 1970s began with a press in the Kurmanji speaking town of Dahok, which was moved to Baghdad in 1973 after printing three books. Kakay Falah functioned as the third printing press in Sulaymaniya for two years before moving to Baghdad in 1974, after printing nine books. Sulaymaniya University set up its

printing press in 1973, although no more than five books had been printed in the 1970s. Finally, the Municipality in Arbil set up its press in 1974.

Table 18. Kurdish Printing Presses in Iraq

Name	Ownership	Year	Place
In Kurdistan			
Government/Municipality	Govt.	1920-47	Sulaymaniya
Zhiyan/Zhin	Private	1937-71	Sulaymaniya
Zari Kirmanji	Private	1925-49	Rawandiz, Arbil
Kurdistan	Private	1950-	Arbil
Salahaddin	Private	1963	Arbil
Kakay Falah	Private	1972-74	Sulaymaniya
Dahok	Private	1970-73	Dahok
Zanko	Govt.	1973-78	Sulaymaniya
Municipality	Govt.	1974-	Arbil
Ministry of Education	Govt.		Arbil
Culture & Youth Press	Govt.	1984-	Arbil
Outside Kurdistan			
Mariwani Press	Private	1935-38	Baghdad
Kurdish Academy Press	Govt.	1972-78	Baghdad

Sources: Nariman (1977) and 7.1.2

The General Directorate of Culture and Youth founded a modern press in Arbil in January, 1984 for the purpose of "developing the diffusion of Kurdish culture." One million dinars (about $3 million) were spent on the project and its staff was trained in Baghdad (*Hawkarî*, No. 799, July 25, 1985). Another well-equipped press was established by the Ministry of Education in Arbil, which is used for printing textbooks and other educational material.

B. Kurdish Printing Outside Kurdistan. The meagre printing facilities in Kurdistan forced many writers, journalists and publishers to stay in Baghdad,

where 58.6% of all Kurdish books were printed between 1920 and 1957 (cf. Table 19). The only Kurdish press in Baghdad was set up in 1935 by two nationalists, Kurdi and Mariwani, who had been engaged in publishing classical Kurdish literature since the early 1930s. They printed six titles before the press stopped operating in 1938 for unknown reasons. The only other press capable of printing Kurdish was the Ma'arif Press (cf. above).

Printing in Baghdad suffered from many shortcomings. One serious problem was the unfamiliarity of the letter-setters with the Kurdish language. They did not distinguish word-spaces and, as a result, either joined two or three words or cut one word into pieces (cf., e.g., *Bangî Kurdistan*, No. 14-2, February 15, 1926; *Roşinbîrî Nö*, No. 106, 1985, p. 384; cf., also, 7.5.5). The Kurdish historian Rafiq Hilmi (1958:[3]), who had several of his works printed in Baghdad, complained that whenever the printers were busy they refused to print Kurdish books, preferring to accommodate their regular Baghdadi clients.

When the Kurdish Academy was established in 1972 (cf. 10.3.0), the Iraqi Academy provided it with a printing press that was small, old and with worn-out type (*GKZK.*, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1975, p. 560). Still, it was considered a blessing since the Academy had to use "outside printers" for most of its publishing, a situation which was considered an obstacle to the realization of its aims (*Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Part I, 1974, p. 841). Drawing on its budget, the Academy renovated the press by spending 40,551 dinars (i.e., 21% of its total budget of 196,340 dinars for the 1975-77 period). With the purchase of binding equipment, the organization could become self-sufficient (*Ibid.*, Vol. 5, 1977, p. 433). The printing press made a considerable contribution, by producing excellent and voluminous books hitherto unexperienced in the Kurdish book world, and by printing the works of individual authors at reduced prices. Nevertheless, after the incorporation of the Kurdish Academy into the Iraqi Academy, printing activity was reduced to a minimum (cf. 10.3.0).

According to the information available for the period 1920-77 (cf. Table 19), 47.2% of books were published outside Kurdistan, mainly in Baghdad (45.2%), which indicates the poor state of printing in the area. Comparing pre- and post-1958 periods, it is obvious, however, that more printing has been carried out in Kurdistan during the Republican period (56.3% compared with 41.3% for the pre-1958 years).

In Kurdistan, Sulaymaniya dominates printing with 35.9% of the activity– more than twice the total share of all other Kurdish towns. The preeminence of this city is, however, challenged by Arbil, where three state-owned presses have been in operation since the late 1970s (cf. 5.1.9 on government policy toward Arbil). Another important trend is the government attempt to dominate the print media all over Iraq (cf. 7.3.2.6).

Table 19. Place of Printing of Kurdish Books in Iraq, 1920-77

Place of Printing	1920-57		1958-77		1920-77	
	No.	%	No.	%	Total	%
Kurdistan	110	41.3	472	56.3	582	52.7
Sulaymaniya	50	18.7	346	41.3	396	35.9
Rawandiz	23	8.6			23	2.0
Arbil	9	3.3	76	9.0	85	7.7
Kirkuk	26	9.7	47	5.6	73	6.6
Mosul	2	0.7			2	0.1
Dahok			3	0.3	3	0.2
Outside Kurdistan	156	58.6	365	43.6	521	47.2
Baghdad	156	58.6	345	41.2	501	45.2
Najaf	20	2.3	20	1.8		
Total	**266**	**100**	**837**	**100**	**1103**	**100**
Unkown Location			19		19	
Grand Total	**266**	**100**	**856**	**100**	**1122**	**100**

Source: Data gathered from sources used in Table 20

III. Printing in the Autonomist Movement, 1961-75

The Kurdish autonomist movement relied on the printed word for organizing the armed resistance movement against Baghdad, especially before the introduction of radio in 1963. Newssheets, leaflets and circulars were mimeographed in the early stages of the war. By 1963, letter-set prints had appeared, and in 1975 "imposing-looking West German presses" had been set up high in the mountains at an altitude of 2000 meters. The "printing works had an ultra-modern electronic computer and linotype machine" (*The Daily Star*, Beirut, April 19, 1975). These facilities fell into the hands of the Iraqi Army in March-April 1975.

Although a great number of intellectuals, including writers, poets, journalists, teachers and others had joined the resistance movement soon after Baghdad's declaration of war in March 1974, the printing and other facilities were not effectively utilized, according to a Kurdish political party (cf. *Komeíe*, No. 4, Spring 1979, pp. 12-13), because of the tribal nature of the leadership of the movement. After the revival of the autonomist war in 1976, publishing continued through mimeographing.

7.1.3 Kurdish Printing in Iran

Though printing was brought to Iran in 1629 by Carmelite missionaries (Floor 1980:369), the industry did not develop until the early twentieth century. The first book with Kurdish language material is a Kurdish-Persian dictionary printed lithographically in Tehran in 1885 (cf. 8.4.4 and Figure 32).

The first city close to Kurdistan to acquire a press was Urmia, where the leaders of a Kurdish revolt seized a small private press to publish a journal and other material (cf. 6.3.0). Printing presses were carefully watched by the secret police during the entire period of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-79). Printing in the languages of Iran's nationalities, Turkish, Kurdish, Baluchi and Turkmeni was illegal. Even in the relatively relaxed conditions following the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941, the newly formed Kurdish political party Komeíey J.K. had to print its journal and a few books (cf. 3.2.1.II.B. and Fig. 1) clandestinely in Tabriz.

When Iranian Kurds revolted against the Shah in 1946 and established an autonomous republic, there were no printing presses in any Kurdish town within its territory. Two years earlier, the Iranian government had officially protested to the Soviet Union for providing the Kurds with "one printing press and lots of newssheet paper" (*Ettela'at*, No. 5922, December 1, 1945; cf., also, *Times*, November 28, 1945, p. 3). In fact, an old hand press was given as a gift to the Kurdish Republic in 1946 by the autonomous Azerbaijan Republic which had been established in December 1945 to the east of the Kurdish areas of northwest Iran. A second press, set up in Bokan [Bukan], printed the first book in February, 1946 (*Kurdistan*, No. 14, February 13, 1946, p. 3). The small presses were put to active use and printed five periodicals in less than a year (cf. Table 30, items 36-40). The workers at the press published their own journal (cf. Table 30, item 38). A number of Iraqi Kurds helped with the operation of the machinery. The presses were expropriated by the Iranian Army and removed from the region after the fall of the Republic in December, 1946.

Two small presses were set up in Sanandaj (one as early as 1922) and one in Mahabad in the mid-1950s, although neither was permitted to print in Kurdish except for a few religious works. The presses in Sanandaj published two weekly or monthly papers in Persian. Under the political circumstances of the early 1960s (cf. 7.4.3.1), a bookseller in Mahabad was permitted to publish non-political Kurdish works, but had to use printing facilities outside Kurdistan (cf. 7.2.3). To publish the government sponsored weekly *Kurdistan*, one printing

press in Tehran used Kurdish letter types in the early 1960s. Another press in Tabriz was also using special type to print the folklore material published by the Faculty of Letters of Tabriz University.

Printing was an indispensable weapon against the Pahlavi dynasty in the 1978-79 Revolution. In Kurdistan, students, teachers and government employees gained access to the well-guarded duplicating machines in government offices and schools and produced periodicals and leaflets. Soon after the fall of the monarchy in February 1979 considerable sums of money were donated by the people in Saqqez and Mahabad for the purchase of printing presses. In Saqqez, the machinery had just been acquired when the Government offensive against the Kurds began in 1979, and the Army expropriated the press.

In the rural areas which were mostly under Kurdish control during the period 1979 through 1985, publishing activity was going on through mimeographing. In the post-1979 period a number of printing presses possessed Kurdish type, although much of the publishing has been done by using the less costly method of offsetting typed or letter-set texts with manually added diacritics.

7.1.4 Printing in Turkey

Kurdish in Turkey is printed in a script based on the *Hawar* Roman alphabet (cf. 8.2.3), which is similar to the Turkish alphabet used in Turkey. A few Kurdish phonemes not represented in the Turkish alphabet–e.g., pharyngal fricatives /ħ/ ح and /ʿ/ ع , and the voiced velar fricative /ɤ/ غ –are generally ignored by the Kurds themselves (cf., for example, Ehmedê Xanî, *Mem û Zîn*, edited by M. Emin Bozarslan, Istanbul, Koral Yayinlari, 1975; cf., also, 8.2.3, Fig. 32). This is in part due to puristic tendencies (on phonological and orthographic purism in Sorani, cf. 8.1.2 and 8.2.1.3). Thus, existing printing facilities can be used effectively if political restrictions are removed. Moreover, the increasing use of adequate word-processing softwares has already allowed Kurdish printers in the diaspora more flexibility in choosing diacritical marks.

7.1.5 Modern Technology and Political Obstacles

Typewriters and mimeograph sets are considered dangerous weapons by the governments of Iraq and Iran, since they provide the opposition with considerable publishing power already difficult to detect. During the 1978-79 Iranian Revolution, a genre of literature (in Persian) had emerged which was called "xerox literature" (*adabiyāt-i zīrāks-ī*). Unable to use the carefully controlled printing presses, Iranian writers, poets, cartoonists and political activists used typewriters and photostat copiers found in government offices to produce their anti-government literature. This explains why both regimes carefully regulate the use of typewriters, photostat copiers and mimeograph sets. In Iran, the owners of copying businesses were warned in the summer of 1981 to avoid copying "harmful" literature. A visitor to Baghdad wrote in 1985,

"[T]here are no typewriters for sale in Thulatha Market. Special permission is required for an Iraqi to purchase one, for a typewriter might be used to produce revolutionary tracts" (*National Geographic*, January 1985, p. 103).

These restrictions make it almost impossible for the individual to make use of not only the enormous facilities of modern printing technology, but even a commonplace instrument such as a typewriter. Although Persian and even Arabic typewriters can be used for Kurdish typing (diacritics have to be added manually), typewriters suited to the needs of Kurdish were not available until the early 1980s in Iraq.

Modern word-processing facilities can solve many printing problems if political restrictions are removed. In Europe, where the market is too small for Kurdish printing presses, a number of journals (e.g., *Peyv* in London and *Berbang* in Stockholm) have experimented with the improved software which is capable of producing adequate texts in both the Roman script and Arabic-based scripts such as Kurdish and Persian. Since the import of all printing related equipment is administered by the central governments in Iraq and Iran, individuals in Kurdistan are not in a position to make use of modern technological improvements (cf. 7.2.7, on book publishing; 7.3.4, on emigré press, and 10.3.6, on the market regulation of Kurdish language and culture).

7.1.6 Organization of Printing

Until the late 1970s, the printing presses in Kurdistan were housed in small workshops and owned privately (except the two municipal presses of Sulaymaniya and Arbil) by individuals who operated the machinery alone or assisted by one to three workers called apprentices. Zari Kirmanji Press was operated for years by Huzni and/or his brother Giw. In Arbil, Giw himself worked 16 to 17 hours a day. He put a note in his journal *Hetaw* in 1956 (No 71) seeking to recruit "two apprentices with an education no less than the fifth grade of elementary school and residing in Arbil." The apprentices would learn typesetting, printing and photography, and receive pay, too.

The municipal press at Sulaymaniya was usually run by a manager (*mudîr*) and one or two workers paid by Shaikh Mahmud's government or, later, by the Municipality. Piramerd, owner of Zhin Press, was both printer and writer, though he had three apprentices in 1935.

None of the presses ever made any profit; the purchase of spare parts or the replacement of worn-out letters was usually done through donations. The building occupied by the Kurdistan Press in Arbil was also donated by a Kurdish nationalist. In 1946, the apprentices of Zari Kirmanji and Zhin presses volunteered to go to Iran to help their inexperienced brothers in the Kurdish Republic run their own Kurdistan Press. To give one example, the workers of the relatively well-equipped Kamaran Press spent their evenings and weekends, often without pay, working to print the monthly *Rojî Nö* on time. Nationalism was, in fact, the inspiration that kept the old machines running.

7.1.7 Printing and Standardization

Kurdish printing developed in Iraq at a time when the language was undergoing conscious and rapid codification and it could play, as such, a very significant role in the cultivation process. One aspect of codification that depended on printing was orthographic reform (cf. 8.2.0).

The successful reform of the alphabet required the casting of new letters and the use of diacritical signs. In Baghdad, where 58.6% of all Kurdish books were published before 1958, the letters پ , چ , ژ and گ representing the Kurdish phonemes */p, ç, j* and *g/* (which do not exist in Arabic) were not found in most presses. Many books printed in the 1920s and 1930s lack these letters which have been replaced partly or in whole by ب , ج , ز and ک which stand for */b, c, z, k/*. Thus letter types had to be cast abroad and printers were reluctant to invest in such an unprofitable venture.

In Kurdistan the owners of the press were financially unable to replace the worn-out letters, let alone cast new ones. Mukriyani (1972:15) recalls that in earlier decades, when the use of diacritics ^ and ˇ was becoming fashionable, he and his brother were unable to use them in printing for lack of letter types. They used, instead, the numbers ٧ '7' and ٨ '8', which made the text cumbersome, because they were full-size type faces and could be placed only beside the letter they were to modify rather than over it. Even then they did not have enough '7' and '8' types to set more than a few pages of a book (cf. Figures 3 and 33). Huzni was forced to make woodcuts which were difficult to use. Unable to add diacritics, printers and writers had to double letters, e.g., ﺭﺭ for */ř/* and ﻭﻭ for */û/*. Zhin Press put whatever was available, e.g., ∴ , ˇ and ^ on the same letter in the same journal text or book. Printing had become so cumbersome that the only affluent reformer, Tawfiq Wahby, ordered the casting of letters abroad at his own expense. Letter type problems were solved in the 1970s when typecasting became possible in Iraq and a number of presses in Baghdad and other towns were able to provide the letters at lower cost.

Even more difficult than reforming the Arabic orthography was the adaptation of the Roman alphabet for Kurdish. No printing press in Baghdad had, or was willing to acquire, Roman letters with diacritics in 1957, when Jemal Nebez published his booklet *Nûsînî Kurdî be Latînî* 'Writing Kurdish in Latin [letters]'. When the best-equipped printer in the capital, the Ma'arif Press, finally printed it, the writer had to manually add diacritical marks for seven letters (*ç, ẗ, ĺ, r, ş, ü* and *ẍ*) in all the printed copies, each of which required hundreds of additions.

In conclusion, Kurdish nationalists viewed printing technology as a major tool for nation building. As a result, access to printing became an arena of struggle between the Kurds and the central governments. Thus, a combination of factors, especially political and economic, have made it difficult for the Kurds to develop their print media by freely utilizing the revolutionized printing



« خوێندەواران و زمانە کەمان »

بۆ هەموو خوێندەوارە کانی کوردی وبۆ گشتوتەو براو خوشکانەی حەز بە پیشکەوتنی زمانە شیرینە کەمان دەکەن ئەم ووتارەم پیشکەش کرد بە تکاوە کە بایەخی هەبێ لەلایان و کە لکی پێوە بێ بۆ ئاقە کۆفارمان « هەتاو » وبۆ هەموو نووسراوێکی لەچاپ دراوی کوردی .

ا . شیرزاد

لەژمارە (٤٥) ی سالی دوەمی کۆڤاری «هەتاو» دا کەلە ٣٠ تشرینی یەکەمی ٩٥٥ دا دەرچووسەرەتایەک نووسراوە لەبارەی گلەیی کردن لە گۆڤاری ئاوێراوەوە لەلایەن یەکێک لەخوێندەوارانەوە وکاک گیو موکریانی خاوەندو هەڵسوورێنەری ئەم کۆڤارە بەراستی بۆ گلەییانە وەڵامێکی نووسیوە تەوە .

بەراستی من کە ئەو سەرەتایەم خوێندەوە زۆر خەمگین ودڵتەنگ بوم ئەم زمانە بێبەختەمان کەبیاو ترووسکەیەکی رووناکی ئایندە لەریگەی وێنایا وپیشکەوتنیا !

گەر بێتو سەرنجێک لەوگەل و تەرانەی تربدەین تێ ئەگەین کەهەریەکەیان هەرچەند بچوکیش بێت لەپیش هەموو شتێکا

حاکەکە گوڵی باسی ئەو بازرگانە چۆڵە بۆمانی بگێڕەوە .

هەز کابرەیان کەبیستە ایرە گوتی روەکەم ئەواشەو دەرەنگەبو دەبێن بنوون بەیەی شەو بۆمانی تەواو دەکەم .

(مارە)

هەرلای بیش خستنی زمانە کەیان ئەدەنەوە یا خود هیچ نەبی بۆ زیان وتەوانی ایش ئەکان وتی ئەکۆشن وخۆیانی پێوە هەلتەکێشن .

بۆگومان گلەیەکەو هەموو گلانە کەمتریە وئیشیانیان لەوانانی تر بێتەر ترنێ ، هەر وەها بیزوومان لەهی نەتوانی تر نزمتر نیە وەزانایانی پێشەزمار وجالاک وکاربێیانەکرو گلانی تر زۆرزۆر بوەوەیە نەبی بۆ چی زمانەمان هەمیشە هەر لەدوارە بێت ؟

پێویستە هەموو بزانین کەایرو زمانی ئەوەیەک یەکم نیشانەویەکم پێشانەدەری لەناو گەلانی تردا وزمانیش بێش ناکەوی ودەرناکەوی بەتوو-ین ویلاوکردنەوەی نەبی وەآیا چی نەبی بەپارێز گاروو بلاوکردنی زمان نووسینی نووسەران ودانەران نەبێ کۆڤار ، رۆژنامەو پەڕتووکنێ کاندا ؟

جا وایبو بۆچی ئاقە کۆڤاریکان کەهەیە لەعراقیدا بەیانین کەم و کوڕی هەبی ودەستی یارمەتی بۆدرێژ نەکەین وکاریکیوا نەکەین بێش بکەوێت وبەدڵی هەموو خوێندەوارانی بێت ؟

وبا هەموو بزانین کەئەو گلەییانەی لێی ئکرێت ئەمانەیە :

(١) خرابی چاپەکەی (٢) خرابی کاغەزەکەی (٣) کەمی لاپەرەکانی :

چاپخانەی کوردستان ٤١ ساڵ هەیە ایش ئەکات توخوا ایتر چۆن پێتەنانی باش چاپ ئەکات وناسوێت ؟ وەهەڵسوورێنەری ئەم کۆڤارە کەم چاپخانەیە دەرئەچی چۆن ئەتوانیت ئەوتیپانە بگۆڕێت یاهی تازە وەنو چاپخانەیە دەرئەچی چۆن ئەتوانیت ئەوتیپانە بگۆڕێت یاهی تازە وەنو چاپخانە ماندوو بەهێزو .وشتە بکاتەوە یانی یاریدەیەک لەلایان خوێندەوارانەوە بچۆبۆلاپەرە (١٥)

Fig. 3. Pages from *Hetaw* magazine; the printed text shows problems of printing diacritical marks on the letters of the Arabic-based Kurdish alphabet.

technology of the twentieth century. The next two subchapters depict the struggle over book publishing and journalism.

SUBCHAPTER 7.2
BOOK PUBLISHING

Since the seventeenth century, Kurdish nationalists have valued the book--its writing, reading and possessing--as the cultural hallmark of national existence. The book was the dividing line between languages and dialects, nations and tribes, and the civilized and the uncivilized. The first ideologist of Kurdish nationalism, Ahmadi Khani, decided to write *Mam and Zin* in order to reject the claim of the antagonists of the Kurdish people who charged that "all nations possess books, the Kurds alone are without them" (cf. 4.3.1.1). In spite of the spread of printing since the late 19th century (examined in the previous chapter), the production and possession of Kurdish-language books became the site of a fierce battle between Kurdish nationalism and the states ruling over Kurdistan. Kurdish books were censored, tried in the courts, burned and destroyed.

7.2.1 The Beginnings: The Ottoman Empire

The first printed Kurdish texts[1] are to be found in the *dîwan* (collected poems) of Mawlana Khalid (1777-1826), the leader of the Naqshbandi religious order. Printed in 1260 Hijri (1844) according to Nariman (1977:14), the book contains mostly Arabic and Persian poems with a few pieces in Hawrami dialect.

St. Matthew's gospel comes next in 1856, translated into Kurmanji and printed in Armenian script by the British and Foreign Bible Society in Constantinople (Istanbul). More translations appeared in 1857, 1872, 1891 and 1911, all in Armenian script and later in Arabic script in 1922 and 1923 (North 1938:200). A Kurdish-Arabic dictionary with a detailed introduction in Arabic appeared in 1892, in Istanbul (cf. 8.4.4). Native publishing begins in 1911 with a 32-page book, *Xulasey 'Eqayid* (Outline of Islamic Doctrine) written by Shaikh Abdullah Nahri (1820-1888) in Kurmanji and published by Ahmad Ramiz in Istanbul (MacKenzie 1962a:162). Ahmad was one of the co-founders of the first

technology of the twentieth century. The next two subchapters depict the struggle over book publishing and journalism.

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Kurdish political organization in 1908, one of the founders of the Kurdish school in Istanbul, and one of the publishers of *Kurdistan* in 1908-1909 (van Bruinessen 1978:368 and footnote #19).

World War I was not hospitable to publishing, especially among the Kurds. Soon after the War, however, the Kurdish nationalists who founded the "Kurdistan Tealî Cemiyeti" (Kurdistan Advancement Society), published the journal *Jîn* (1918) and formed a Society for the Propagation of Kurdish Learning and Publishing (Civata Te'mîma Me'arif û Neşriyatê Kurdan) in early 1919. One of the aims of the Society was to publish the literary heritage of the Kurds (Bozarslan 1985:10-11, 63-66). The journal announced the publication of two books *Muqeddimet ul-'Irfan* (on Kurdish grammar, language not specified) and *'Eqîda Kurdan* 'Kurdish Creed', apparently a religious work in verse (*Jîn*, No. 5, 1918).

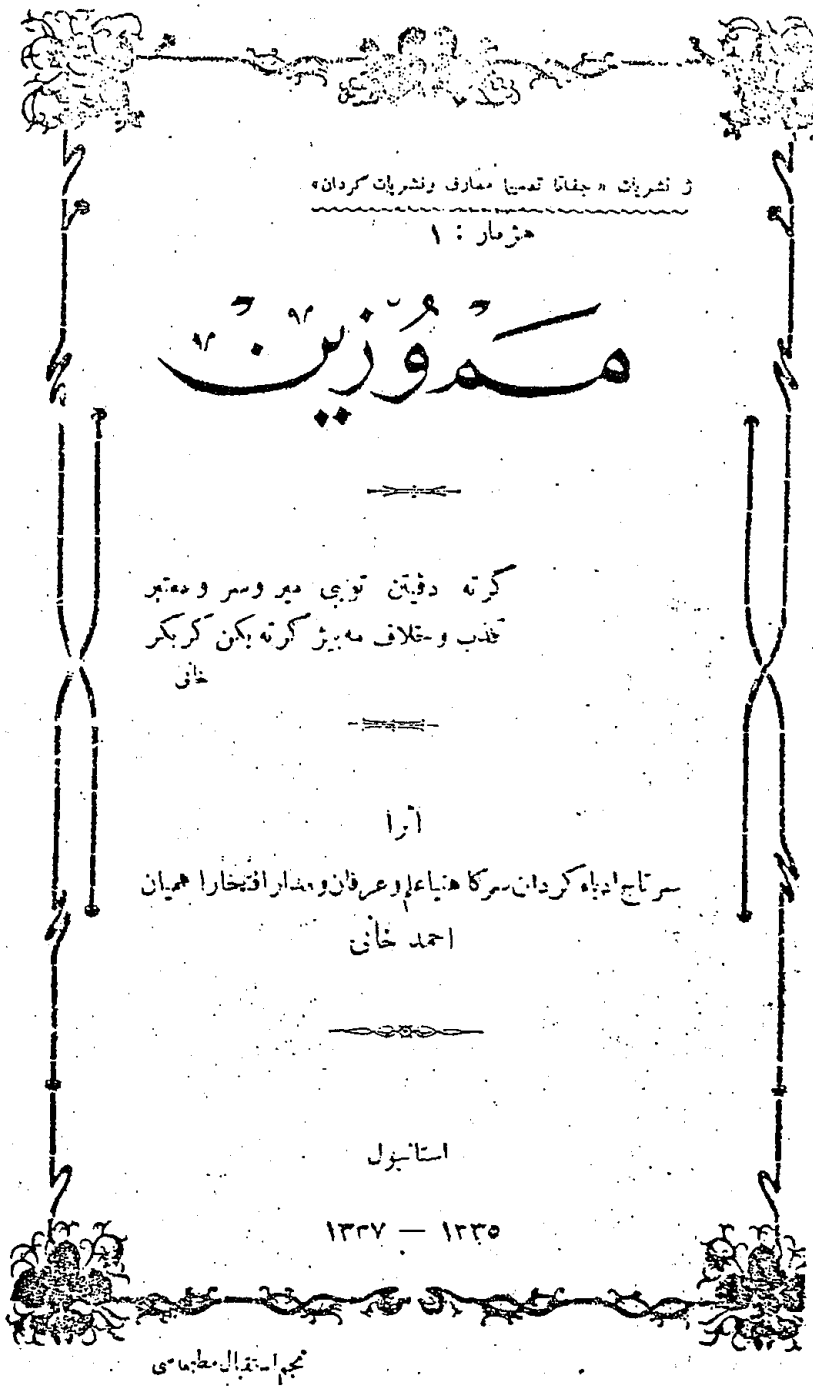
The most important achievement was the publishing of the national epic *Mem û Zîn*. When the manuscript went to the press, *Jîn* (No. 11, February 15, 1919, p. 17 quoted in Bozarslan 1984:68) gave the "good news (*mizgînî*) to all the Kurds." In spite of the cost involved in printing, "great sacrifices" had been made, according to the magazine, to get it printed in an excellent edition. The notice appeared in all the later issues until the release of the book in April. The book was, however, suppressed by the Ottoman authorities and few copies were distributed (Lescot 1943:4; cf. Figure 4).

Information on early stages of book production is scant. Vil'chevskii (1945:165-166) mentions the three volume book *Gaziya Welat* (1919-20), two books on religion, one on geography (1920), one textbook (1922), a Kurdish grammar (1923), and the *dîwan* of Malayê Jiziri (1924), all in Kurmanji. The only book in Sorani was a collection of poetry edited by Amin Fayzi in 1920. Rondot (1935:7) cites another book on the unification of the Kurdish language that has not appeared in any bibliography while Nariman (1977:17) provides references to two titles on the principles of Islam published in 1918. All the books were printed in Istanbul.

The total number of books published in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey between 1918 and 1924 is, thus, fourteen. Kurdish nationalist organizations and their publishing activity were soon suppressed under the Turkish Republic, established in 1923.

7.2.2 Book Publishing in Iraq

The cause of Kurdish book publishing in Iraq, as in other countries, has been shaped by both the political circumstances, i.e., the conflict between Kurdish nationalism and the central governments, and the social and economic conditions of Kurdistan. In spite of continued emphasis by Kurdish nationalists on the importance of books in national development, publishing has not met the expectations of the literati—a fact borne out by the data presented in this subchapter.


ژ نشریات « جفاتا تدمیا معارف ونشریات کردان »

هژمار : ۱

مەمۆزین

گرتە دفیتن توبجی میر وسەر و مەعتبر
قلب وخلاف مەبیژ گرتە بکن کربکر
خانی

آرا

سەرتاج ادباء کردان سەرکا هنیاءلم وعرفان ومدار افتخارا هەیان

احمد خانی

استانبول

۱۳۳۷ — ۱۳۳۵

مجمع استقبال مطبعەسی

Fig. 4. Title-page of the first edition of Khani's *Mem û Zîn* 'Mam and Zin' published in Istanbul in 1919.

7.2.2.1 Number of Titles

Publishing began with one title in 1920, and reached a peak of 153 titles in 1985. Although a trend of increasing production is evident, publishing has gone through considerable ups and downs, mainly due to changing political circumstances. Throughout the sixty-five years surveyed here, output was reduced to zero three times (1921, 1924, and 1945) and declined to a minimum of one title in 1926, 1944 and 1963. These trends are clearly reflected in Table 20; Table 21 depicts average annual production during politically significant periods. The sharpest rise in the average annual production in publishing came during periods of relative freedom of the press following the fall of the monarchy, and during four years of cease-fire between Kurdish autonomists and the government. The continued increase since 1974 can be attributed, in part, to an increase in state control of publishing and the desire of the government authorities to show that autonomy was working. Output was considerably reduced during World War II due to the paper shortage and during the years of the autonomist war (1961-69).

The number of titles per million Kurds offers some measure of comparison. Kurdistan was far behind the world total of 119 titles per million in 1960 and 127 in 1964 (UNESCO 1967:32). With a population of 1,042,774 Kurdish speakers in 1957 (the only official figure available, cf. 1.2.2), the number of titles per million in Iraqi Kurdistan was 31 in 1957 and 50 in 1960. The lowest figures belong to Africa with 19 titles in 1960 and 20 in 1964. Asia is next with 49 titles in 1960 and 48 in 1964 (UNESCO 1967:32). The Kurdish figure is thus better than Africa and consistent with Asia of which it is a part.

7.2.2.2 Number of Copies

Information on the number of copies of early books is not available. The earliest known figure is for a 50-page book, *Çîrok bo Mindalan* (Stories for Children) by Shukri Fatah (Baghdad, 1935), printed in 3,000 copies. The figure is not representative, however, since the book was subsidized by the Ministry of Education and addressed to a larger audience.

The average number of copies per title was 1,683 in 1970 (based on figures available for 39 titles), 1,628 copies in 1971 (based on 31 titles) and 1,850 copies in 1975 (based on 10 titles) making an average of 1,761 copies for these years. A few government-sponsored children's stories, usually 8 to 12 pages long ran editions of 5,000 to 10,000 in the late 1970s. The largest editions of literary works are *Dîwanî Bêkes* in 10,000 copies and *Dîwanî Qani'* in 15,000 copies (*Roşinbîrî Nö*, No. 80, May 1980, p. 89) while *Dîwanî Goran* (1980) set a record of 20,000 copies. Iraqi Kurdistan, thus, lagged behind the world average of 10,000 copies per title in 1952 and 13,000 in 1962. The average for Asia was between 4,200 and 4,400 in 1964 (UNESCO 1967:53).

Table 20. Printed Kurdish Books in Iraq, 1920-85

Year	# 0f Books	Dialect			Poetry	Prose	Trans.*	# of Pages
		S	K	H				
1920	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	30
1921	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1922	5	5	-	-	1	4	3	110[a]
1923	5	5	-	-	-	2	-	28
1924	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1925	6	6	-	-	2	4	2	195
1926	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	5
1927	6	6	-	-	3	3	1	228
1928	7	7	-	-	3	4	1	284
1929	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	78
1930	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	117
1931	7	7	-	-	2	5	-	783
1932	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	102
1933	9	8	-	1	2	7	3	807
1934	10	10	-	-	-	10	2	676
1935	14	14	-	-	7	7	2	958
1936	5	5	-	-	3	2	-	193
1937	5	5	-	-	1	4	-	581
1938	11	11	-	-	2	9	1	1159
1939	8	8	-	-	3	5	3	669
1940	7	7	-	-	1	6	-	513
1941	4	4	-	-	2	2	-	240
1942	5	5	-	-	-	5	2	182
1943	2	2	-	-	-	2	1	41
1944	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	100
1945	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1946	3	2	-	1	3	-	-	310
1947	10	10	-	-	-	10	4	423
1948	5	5	-	-	-	5	-	332
1949	2	2	-	-	-	2	2	178
1950	5	5	-	-	4	1	-	628

Table 20. Printed Kurdish Books in Iraq, 1920-85 (continued)

Year	# Of Books	Dialect			Poetry	Prose	Trans.*	# of Pages
		S	K	H				
1951	6	6	-	-	4	2	2	65
1952	4	4	-	-	2	2	-	706
1953	14	14	-	-	8	6	3	1157
1954	13	12	1	-	7	6	1	635
1955	20	20	-	-	14	6	6	1551
1956	29	29	-	-	12	17	8	2049
1957	33	33	-	-	17	16	5	2844
1958	56	56	-	-	24	32	12	3504
1959	48	48	-	-	19	29	8	3134
1960	53	53	-	-	13	40	10	4132
1961	31	29	1	1	7	24	6	3821
1962	14	12	2	-	4	10	1	1681
1963	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	140
1964	4	3	1	-	2	2	-	555
1965	9	9	-	-	5	4	1	988
1966	7	6	1	-	5	2	-	717
1967	30	30	-	-	13	17	3	2343
1968	54	51	2	1	22	32	7	4718
1969	62	60	2	-	26	35	5	6213[b]
1970	75	72	1	1	32	43	8	8242[c]
1971	73	68	4	1	28	44	4	8079[d]
1972	62	55	5	-	16	46	11	6955[e]
1973	70	70	-	-	23	47	11	7649
1974	42	41	1	-	9	33	9	4881
1975	46	43	2	1	15	31	10	5457
?	9	9	-	-	2	7	4	526[f]
1976	41	38	2	1	9	32	6	5653[g]
1977	69	68	1	-	24	45	12	7147
Total	**1122**	**1084**	**27**	**8**	**402**	**718**	**179**	

Table 20. Printed Kurdish Books in Iraq, 1920-85 (continued)

Year	# 0f Books	Dialect			Poetry	Prose	Trans.*	# of Pages
		S	K	H				
1978	127	-	-	-	-	-	-	13331
1979	118	-	-	-	-	-	-	13119
1980	101	-	-	-	-	-	-	13786
1981	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	8723
1982	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	9368
1983	101	-	-	-	-	-	-	13779
1984	137	-	-	-	-	-	-	18848
1985	196	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**918**							
G. T.	**2040****							

Notes: * The figure 2040 excludes textbooks which numbered 225 between 1920 and 1984 (cf. 7.5.4). Together, textbooks and other books, make a total of 2265 titles

Information lacking for the following:

[a] number of pages of two books
[b] poetry/prose and number of pages of one book
[c] dialect and number of pages of one book
[d] poetry/prose for one book
[e] dialect of one book
[f] publication dates which fall between 1920 and 1975
[g] number of pages of one book

Abbreviations: **H** Hawrami; **K** Kurmanji; **S** Sorani

Sources: Cf. Subchapter 7.2, Note 2

7.2.2.3 Number of Pages: Pamphlets and Books

A "book" is defined by UNESCO as a "non-periodical printed publication of at least 49 pages, exclusive of the cover pages, published and made available to the public." A "pamphlet" is distinguished from a "book" by the number of pages which must be "at least 5 but no more than 48 pages" (UNESCO 1967:52). In the following survey, the UNESCO distinction is not maintained.

Table 21. Number of Titles and Average Annual Output of Kurdish Books in Iraq, 1920-85

Period	# of Titles	# of Years	Average Annual Output
1920-32 Mandate	41	13	3.1
1935-57 Monarchy	325	25	9.0
Republican Period			
July 1958-61	188	3	62.6
Kurdish Revolt, 1961-69	181	8	22.6
Cease-fire, 1970-73	280	4	70.0
"Autonomy," 1974-85	1116	12	93.0
Undated	9	--	--
Total	2040	65	31.3*

* Average annual output, 1920-85

Source: Based on data from Table 20

According to the data in Table 22, 35.1% of the Kurdish books published in Iraq are pamphlets. The trend has, however, been towards more sizable books. Almost half of the publications (48.1%) during the Mandate and Monarchy periods were pamphlet size, while in the 1970s this was reduced to a little over a quarter (26.9%) of the total production. Similarly, the number of bulkier books has increased. There were only six books (2.2%) of over 300 pages before 1957, while 34 titles (7.1%) of that size appeared during 1970-77.

The progress towards more sizable books can partly be explained by the increased government spending on publishing. Six of the twelve books numbering over 600 pages were published by the Kurdish Academy from 1972 to 1977. Besides quantity, these works are unprecedented in terms of quality of printing, editing and research. The success of the Kurdish Academy in book publishing suggests that the economic factor of lack of capital has, like the political barriers, played a major part in the under-development of publishing.

7.2.2.4 Books and Language Standardization

Selected aspects of standardization--dialect selection, orthography, development of prose and functional differentiation of the langauge--will be examined in this section.

Table 22. Iraqi Kurdish Books According to Number of Pages, 1920-77

# of Pages	1920-57		1958-69		1970-77		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	No.	%
5-48	128	48.1	131	35.5	129	26.9	6	66.6	394	35.1
49-99	72	27.0	128	34.6	170	35.5	1	11.1	371	33.0
100-199	47	17.6	76	20.5	116	24.2	2	22.2	241	21.4
200-299	13	4.8	15	4.0	29	6.0	--	--	57	5.0
300-399	2	4.8	12	3.2	12	2.5	--	--	26	2.3
400-499	3	1.1	1	0.2	11	2.3	--	--	15	1.3
500-599	--	--	1	0.2	3	0.6	--	--	4	0.3
600+	1	0.3	1	0.2	6	1.2	--	--	8	0.7
Unknown	--	--	4	1.0	2	0.4	--	--	6	0.5
Total	266	100	369	100	478	100	9	100	1122	100

Source: cf. sources used in Table 20 (Subchapter 7.2, Note 2)

A. Dialects: Domination of Sorani

While the Ottoman period books were, with one exception, in Kurmanji (cf. 7.3.5.1, on journalism), in Iraq Sorani dominates the book market. The dialect accounts for 96.6% of the total output between 1920 and 1977. Most of the limited number (25 out of 27) of titles in Kurmanji belongs to the post-1958 period when a change of dialect policy was effected (cf. 4.7.10.2). Hawrami dialect claims eight titles only.

The predominance of Sorani is also seen in the so-called "translations" from other dialects; two Kurmanji works were turned into Sorani–the national epic *Mem û Zîn* and a Soviet Kurdish author's *Dimdim*. "Translations" from Hawrami are more numerous, making for a total of eight works of poetry between 1920 and 1975 (Nos. 133, 202, 331, 439, 660, 666 and 969 in Nariman's 1977 bibliography). There have been no translations from Sorani into other dialects.

B. Alphabet: Dominance of the Arabic Script

The first book published in Iraq, *Kitab i Awalamin i Qiraat i Kurdi* 'The First Kurdish Reader', prepared by the Department of Education in Baghdad, was intended to teach a Kurdish alphabet based on the Roman script. This plan for

changing the traditional Arabic-based script of Kurdish reflected the British Mandate's policy of encouraging Kurdish nationalism (cf. 5.1.2) and was later abandoned when the policy of integrating the Kurds into the newly created Arab state of Iraq was adopted (cf. 5.1.3).

Only two books in the Roman alphabet are reported in Nariman's (1977) bibliography (Nos. 748 and 781), although three guides to writing Kurdish in this alphabet were also published (Wahby 1933; Nebez 1957; Mukriyani 1972).

C. The Development of Prose

Compared with the scribal literature (cf. 4.2.5), the printed book shows a marked preference for prose from the very beginning. Prose accounts for about 64% of the 1122 titles published by 1977 (cf. 8.6.0, Table 59).

D. Subjects and Functional Differentiation

Compared with the scribal heritage, which was basically poetic in form and literary and religious in content (cf. 4.2.2), the printed book tends towards increasing diversification in both respects.

The transition is not revolutionary, however, since literature (36.7%) and religion (15.1%) were still dominant in the first three decades after 1918. This gradual shift can be partly explained by the role literature has played in the development of Kurdish nationalism. Priority had been given, especially in the early decades, to putting into print the literary heritage both to save it from annihilation and to prove that the Kurds were a distinct and cultivated nation. The two-volume history of Kurdish literature by Rafiq Hilmi published in 1941 and 1956 and Ala'udin Sajjadi's "History of Kurdish Literature" (1971) first published in 1952 had a profound impact on authenticating nationalist claims.

A considerable increase (14.4%) in literary production is seen in the post-monarchical period. This can be partly explained by the fact that after the beginning of the autonomist war, literary works had a better chance of getting published than political works under the stricter scrutiny of censorship authorities. Another reason is the increasing diversification of literature, which was broadened in scope by the cultivation of new literary forms–plays, novels, short stories, children's stories, new literary content (cf. 8.6.4) and increasing interest in folklore.

Religious works, especially poetry on the birth of the prophet Muhammad, have had a traditional audience in the mosque schools and homes. In the post-1958 period, the share of religious works was reduced from 15.15% to 8.97%, which may be considered an indication of increasing secularization of the literate section of the society.

The more important non-traditional subjects in the first three decades are politics, history and the Kurdish language. Most of the political works in the first period (24 out of 29) belong to the World War II period and subsequent years. Of the 66 titles published after the fall of the monarchy, 33 belong to the relatively liberal years of 1958-61. No political books appeared during the first

Table 23. Iraqi Kurdish Books According to Subject, 1920-77

Subject	1920-1957 Period			1958-1977 Period			% Change
	Rank	#	%	Rank	#	%	
Literature	1	97	36.7	1	435	51.1	
Religion	2	40	15.1	2	72	8.4	14.4
Politics	3	29	10.9	4	66	7.7	-6.6
History	4	26	9.8	5	44	5.1	-3.2
Language	5	19	7.1	3	69	8.1	-4.6
Ethics/Morals	6	11	4.1	12	5	0.5	0.9
Folklore	7	8	3.0	6	38	4.4	-3.5
							1.4
Education	8	6	2.2	10	9	1.0	
Music	8	6	2.2	8	17	2.0	-1.2
Biography	9	5	1.8	7	32	3.7	-0.2
Geography	10	4	1.1	10	9	1.0	1.8
Law	10	4	1.1	14	3	0.3	-0.1
Military	11	3	1.1				-0.8
Agriculture	11	3	1.1	11	6	0.7	
							0.4
Fine Arts	12	2	0.7	16	1	0.1	
Ideology	13	1	0.3	9	13	1.5	-0.6
Philosophy				10	9	1.0	1.1
Bibliography				13	4	0.4	
journalism				13	4	0.4	
Economics				15	2	0.2	
Health				15	2	0.2	
Total		**268**	**100**		**850**	**100**	
Unknown		**2**			**6**		

Source: Based on sources used in Table 20 (cf. subchapter 7.2, Note 2)

six years of the autonomist war. The remaining 43 books, published after the second Ba'th regime seized power, consist of a dozen translations by the Embassy of North Korea in Baghdad, speeches by the chief of the state, translations of Marxist-Leninist literature, etc.

The interest in history is clearly motivated by nationalism. Huzni Mukriyani wrote a dozen volumes on ancient and medieval Kurdish history, trying to prove that Kurds had enjoyed independent status as a nation since

ancient times. Amin Zaki's two-volume "Brief History of Kurds and Kurdistan" (1931, 1937), although less nationalistic in tone, carried the same message. The Iranian government reacted by commissioning a scholar of Kurdish origin, Rashid Yasemi, to write a treatise, in Persian, proving the "racial connection" of the Kurds to the Persians. The decline of -4.6 in history titles in the post-1958 period is probably due in part to censorship on the sensitive issue of Kurdish history, a life story which is permeated by revolts.

Books on the Kurdish language consist mostly of alphabet guides, dictionaries, grammars, etc. There was a slight increase in works in this area in the second period.

The five subjects of literature, religion, politics, history and language take up about 80% of the total output in the first period, and about 81% in the latter part, leaving little room for diversification. The few titles on law and military training were small pamphlets issued by the rebellious government of Shaikh Mahmud in the early 1920s. Music titles consist mostly of collected songs used in elementary schools, or those sung by various singers on the radio. The ethics/morals category includes titles on good conduct, behavior of females, social ills, etc. A marked feature of the first period is the absence of books on science and technology.

While ethics/morals and fine arts lost ground in the second period, several titles appeared in the new fields of science, economics, health, ideology, philosophy and journalism. Works on the ideas of Kurdish nationalism (*Kurdayetî*) and the philosophical doctrine of Marxism-Leninism have been classed under ideology. Related to this area are nine titles on philosophy, making for a total of 22 titles, or 2.58%. The ten titles on science are mostly popular works on topics such as relativity theory and the universe, the first man on the moon, the atom in history, atlas of human body, etc.

This brief survey indicates that entire areas of science, pure and applied, and the social sciences, have not entered the Kurdish book world. One obvious linguistic outcome is the continued lexical underdevelopment in these areas.

The general Kurdish readership continues to rely on the Arabic language. Works of reference such as handbooks and encyclopedias, whether general or specialized, are not available. The first bibliography of Kurdish books appeared in 1960, followed by a two more in 1977 and 1988 (cf. Note No. 2, below). College level textbooks in any subject area are not available.

7.2.2.5 Social and Economic Obstacles to Book Publishing in Kurdish

Long before printing reached Kurdistan, the apostle of Kurdish nationalism, Ahmadi Khani, told the Kurds that their position among the nations could be enhanced by seizing political (state) power and composing books in the Kurdish language. His successor, Haji Qadir (1817-1897), emphasized that books were the touchstone differentiating advanced nations from tribes or downtrodden peoples (cf. 4.5.0). Nationalists in the twentieth century have equally emphasized

the significance of books in national development. The Kurdish share in publishing has remained, however, far less than that of neighbouring peoples. The underdevelopment of this important linguistic and cultural product invites explanation.

A. Publishers

Individuals associated with the Kurdish political organizations that appeared during and after the "Young Turk Revolution" of 1908 were the first publishers. Familiar names were Abd al-Rahim Ruhmi, Ahmad Ramiz, Amin Fayzi and Hamza. Some of these nationalists formed the first Kurdish publishing society in 1919 (cf. 7.2.1). They did not have their own printing press, but apparently had access to Najm-i Istiqbal Press in Istanbul. The society's program included the preparation of a Kurdish dictionary, publication of textbooks and classical literature and a number of other activities such as the opening of primary and teachers schools (Bozarslan 1985:67). The society's major achievement was the publication of *Mem û Zîn* and magazine *Jîn* before its demise due to unfavourable political circumstances.

The second major publishing effort was undertaken by Shaikh Mahmud's autonomous Kurdish Government in the early 1920s. The small hand press printed a number of small pamphlet-size books on military training laws and regulations (cf. Figure 5).

A most unlikely place, Rawandiz, which was a large village of 1,200 people, turned into an active publishing center in the late 1920s and 1930s, when Huzni and Giw Mukriyani, transporting their hand press by mule, settled there. Huzni was at the same time a writer, historian, journalist, language reformer, printer, publisher, bookseller and distributer. Twenty-four books came off the press between 1925 and 1938. Huzni has been aptly called "the Kurdish Caxton" by Edmonds (1945:185). These books are characterized by extreme nationalism and unceasing attempts at purifying the language.

The fourth major effort began in the early 1930s, when two nationalists, Kurdi and Mariwani, began publishing the works of great poets and other types of literature. Settled at Baghdad, they asked their compatriots to provide them with *dîwans* or even individual pieces of poetry to be put in print. The first work was the *dîwan* of Nali printed in 1931. The publishers wrote in the introduction (p. 1):

> Since we do not expect any profit from the printing of these *dîwans* save the serving of our language and literature, we price them according to the costs of printing and distributing, low enough so that every Kurd can afford them.

The first six books were printed at different presses in Baghdad. More extensive publishing was promised when they acquired a small press in 1935. In the

له مطبعهٔ حکومت له سلیمانی طبع کرا .

۱۹۳۸

تعلیم طاقم

۱ — مقصد له تعلیم طاقم ئهمه یه که هر وقتی طاقم داخل بلوك بو چه بشو چه یه روز هر نوعه حرکات و تشکیلاتی چه موافق ام تعلیمنامه یه و چه موافق حال و وضعیت که له طرف قوماندانهوه امر بکری بتوانی بتواوی اجرای بکا .

۲ - قواعد عمومیه :

نظامهکان طاقم ئهمه یه

آ - نظام صف (وکو له تعلیم قطعهدا) .

ب - نظام هیواره و یا هیوه (وکو له تعلیم قطعهدا) .

ج - نظام صف دسته به هیواره یا به هیوه .

د - نظام قول دسته .

ه - نظام روبستن .

اگر طاقم بتنهایی یا له طاقمکان تره وه دوربی قوماندان طاقم و چاوش طاقم ابی له چیکایکی وها رابوستن که بتوانن حرکات طاقمکه به آسانی ببینن .

۳ - ریك هیوه :

له تعلیم طاقمدا قوماندهٔ ریك یون ئهمه یه :

بو راست - چپ - ریك - به -

بو سر دستهکان دهستهٔ خویان ریك اکهن بو تعلیم و چاودری امر ابن . تنها له احوال سایره دا عسکر له خویه وه ابی ریك بکوی (وکو له تعلیم قطعه دا بیان کرا) .

Figure. 5. *Te'lîmî Taqim* (Platoon Drill), one of the earliest Kurdish books published in Iraq.

introduction to the translation of Conan Doyle's *A Shot in the Dark* (1935), they expressed their hope to put out one story every month "besides large and good books." They emphasized the need for writing realistic stories on Kurdistan and asked their readers to write and send in such works for printing. A total of eleven titles were published between 1931 and 1938.

Another publisher was poet-journalist Piramerd who owned the Zhiyan/Zhin Press (established 1937), where he published his own works, sponsored a number of books and, whenever available, printed commercially.

Book publishing in the 1920s-1930s was, thus, mostly done by publisher-printers. By the end of the late 1930s, individual authors appeared as publishers of their own works. The proliferation of this type of publishing was, however, soon halted by the outbreak of World War II and the subsequent paper shortage. This vacuum was partly filled by the emergence of a new-type publisher, the British Embassy, that provided war propaganda material.

Recovery came quite late after the War--the pre-War peak of 13 titles was reached only in 1953 with 14 books. Individual publishers re-emerged and were joined by a new hybrid in the trade--booksellers as publishers. In Sulaymaniya, Galawezh Bookshop (Namakhanay Galawezh), established in 1950, sponsored the publication of 13 titles by 1958. The fall of the monarchy brought more booksellers/publishers onto the scene. Khabat bookstore put out 10 titles in 1958-61 (information on the back cover of *Sergul*, Sulaymaniya, 1961). Other bookshops such as Azadi, Slemani, Hawler, and Zanyari had up to five titles each.

The various unions that formed after 1958 showed interest in publishing. The Teachers Union sponsored 24 titles between 1959 and 1972, the Writers Union one title, and the Kurdish Cultural Society (Komeley Roşinbîrî Kurd) had one title (Nariman 1977:260).

B. State Publishing

Some government organs had subsidized a few books of educational value before 1958. The state assumed the role of publisher of non-textbook works after the Ba'th Party seized power in 1968. According to information provided by Nariman (1977:260), seven state organs published or subsidized 133 titles between 1960 and 1975, which makes for 21.01% of the total output (633) of these years.

The policy of the Ba'th regime has been one of increasing state control of all media. Although there is still much room for private book publishing, the trend has been towards more government spending in this area. Following the March 1970 agreement between the government and Kurdish autonomists, which made provisions for "founding a Kurdish publishing and printing house," a state-owned Kurdish Cultural House (Dezgay Roşinbîrî Kurdî) was established in September, 1970, which began publishing books and a Kurdish-Arabic monthly, *Roşinbîrî Nô*. Another publishing organ, Cooperation House (Dezgay Hawkarî)

Table 24. Iraqi Government's Kurdish Book Publishing, 1960-75

Governemnt Institution	Year	Number of Books
Ministry of Education	1960-67	5
Ministry of Information	1960-75	10
Baghdad University	1961-62	3
General Directorate of Kurdish Studies	1965-75	73
Kurdish Academy	1972-75	25
General Directorate of Kurdish Culture	1972-75	10
Coop. (Hawkari) House	1975	7
Total		**133**

Source: Based on Nariman (1977:260)

was set up in 1974, and published the weekly *Hawkarî* in Kurdish. The two houses were merged in 1976 to form Kurdish Cultural and Publishing House (Dezgay Roşinbîrî w Bilawkirdinewey Kurdî). The House has continued publishing *Hawkarî*, *Roşinbîrî Nö* and *Beyan*.

Another government publishing organ is the General Secretariat for Culture and Youth in the Autonomous Area (Emîndarêtî Gişti Roşinbîrî w Lawan). It began publishing in 1977. In 1985, this directorate published 18 books in Kurdish and five books in Arabic. It also assisted in the publication of 28 Kurdish and six Arabic books (Hariri 1986:108). The number of titles published between 1982 and 1986 was 205 (*Karwan*, No. 53, 1987, p. 114). The General Directorate of Kurdish Studies (Beřêweberêtî Gištî Xöndinî Kurdî) has a monopoly over publishing school textbooks but has also subsidized other books. The Kurdish Academy was a major publishing organ until 1978 when it was dissolved and subsequently merged into the Iraqi Academy (cf. 10.3.4).

Based on Nariman's information (1983:25-26), the government's share in publishing can be calculated at 294 titles, which is 40.66% of the titles for this decade (i.e., 723 books according to data from Table 20). According to information made available recently, government sponsored books including school textbooks numbered 1007 titles (53%) out of a total of 2,502 between 1787 and 1986 (cf. Note 2 below).

In 1984, Jamal Khaznadar, of the Iraqi Organization for Propaganda and Printing announced a "100 Kurdish Books Project," (Přojey 100 Kitêbî Kurdî) designed to promote and revive the national heritage by publishing original and new works of poetry, research, translation and types of cultural material. Writers were encouraged to submit their works so that the target of 100 titles could be

reached in the shortest possible time (in Khaznadar 1984, last two pages).

7.2.2.6 Writers

In spite of the high rate of illiteracy in Kurdish society, the available evidence does not point to a shortage of authors in the post-1918 period. Besides the traditional clerical and aristocratic lettered groups, a new, secular, intelligentsia had, in fact, emerged out of the military school at Sulaymaniya and out of other primary and secondary schools established in some Kurdish towns since the late 1890s.

Kurdish authorship is similar in many ways to that found in other traditional or "transitional" societies (cf., e.g., Passin 1968). Professionalization has hardly developed. The majority of authors have been, until recent times, their own publishers and booksellers collecting no royalties at all. Besides the unfavourable conditions of printing, a low per capita income and a small reading public, especially during the early decades, political restrictions have plagued authors of all types.

When the formation of professional and labor unions was permitted by the Republican government in the 1958-60 period, Kurdish writers demanded the creation of their own organization independent of the Union of Iraqi Writers which had established a "Kurdish Section." Unhappy with the marginal position of the Kurds in the Union, Jamil Bandi Rozhbayani argued that the creation of a "Union of Kurdish Writers and Men of Letters" was inevitable and "a thousand times more than a necessity" (*Rojî Nô*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1960).

Permission to form a writer's union was granted a decade later when the March 1970 agreement between the government and the Kurdish autonomists prescribed "measures to be taken to help Kurdish authors, poets and writers to form a federation of their own, get their works printed and afford them all opportunities and possibilities for developing their scientific and artistic talents" (Iraq Republic 1974:12).

The first congress of the "Union of Kurdish Writers" (Yekêtî Nûseranî Kurd) was held in June 1970 in Baghdad, with the participation of 79 members who elected a leadership group. A monthly journal, *Nûserî Kurd* (Kurdish Writer), was published, which is rich in news on literary developments, short stories, poetry and articles on Kurdish literature and language. Due to printing and financial problems, the journal came out once every 2½ months (No. 5, January 1972, p. 3). The Union had active branches in most Kurdish towns.

When armed conflict resumed in March, 1974, the majority of the Union members joined the armed resistance in the mountains. The last issue (No. 12, January 1975, pp. 86-87) of the journal printed in the "liberated areas" carries the Union's call on "the men of letters, writers and intellectuals of the world" to protest the Iraqi government's resumption of the war. The document is signed by 82 members, most of whom were forced into exile in Iran, and, later, in Western countries (cf. 10.3.6) after the Kurdish defeat of 1975. The Iraqi

government formed a Kurdish Writer's Union out of the few members who had not joined the resistance. The Union was suspended in 1980, when a new law to establish a General Union of Literary Men and Writers [of Iraq] was decreed by the Revolutionary Command Council. The "Autonomous Area Section" of this union was formed in October, 1984 (*Karwan*, No. 27, December 1984, pp. 116-26). This move was consistent with eliminating the "independent" status of state sanctioned Kurdish organizations and their incorporation into the Iraqi organizations (cf. 10.3.4).

The literary profession had become quite sizeable and diversified by the 1980s. A "Union of the Writers of Kurdistan" (Yekêtî Nûseranî Kurdistan) was formed in 1981 in the liberated areas, under the control of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Its literary organ *Pêřo*, later renamed *Nûserî Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Writer), appeared the same year (No. 1, August). The works of the members, together with one translation of the Iranian writer Samad Behrangi's works, were published separately in 1982. The Kurdish autonomists of Iran also started their literary journals in the liberated areas. *Nûserî Çiya* (Mountain Writer) came out in 1984. Komeĺe formed the Center of Workers Art and Literature of Kurdistan (Kanûnî Huner û Edebiyatî Krêkarî Kurdistan) and published the first issue of a literary journal, *Pêşeng* (Vanguard) in the Fall of 1985 (cf. 7.3.3).

7.2.2.7 Distribution

The distribution system of Kurdish books was the same as for periodicals (cf. 7.3.2.2). There were no bookstores in predominantly Kurdish towns in Iraq in the 1920s. In a brief advertisement in *Bangî Kurdistan* in 1922 (No. 7, September 22, p. 6), one *'ettar* (general store keeper) in Sulaymaniya Qeyserî (covered bazaar) announced: "I have brought from Baghdad some useful books. Those who are interested may call on [me] and they will be told of the kind of books and their prices and they can see them." The same person advertised in *Jiyanewe* (No. 3, September 2, p. 4) the selling of stamps, paper and the journal *Jiyanewe*.

It seems that by the mid-1930s no bookstores had emerged.[3] On the back cover of *Tûtnekeman* (Our Tobacco, 1935), Kurdi and Mariwani publishers announced the names of the persons from whom their publications might be purchased in Sulaymaniya, Kirkuk, Arbil, Khanaqin and Baghdad. There was no bookstore among them. The three printing presses of Zari Kirmanji/Kurdistan, the Government/Municipality and Zhiyan/Zhin stored and sold their own books. Bookstores flourished in the liberal atmosphere of the post-World War II years. Four bookstores established in Sulaymaniya were affiliated with political organizations, and were closed down by the government in 1949 (Qaradaghi 1986:237-38). Discussing the problems of printing (cf. 7.1.2.I.C), Nebez (1957:20-21) wrote:

> ...In fact, the problem of distributing the printed work in

> Kurdistan is not less easier than that of printing since there are no bookstores in certain localities. That is why books remain in the hands of the owner quite often. He will have to give his books at times to those who make off with the money. In the circumstances, if the author is not very committed and forgiving, he will be very disappointed and will repent a hundred times not to print any book as long as he lives.

Nebez mentioned, however, the names of two persons, one a bookseller in Khanaqin the other a non-bookseller in Sulaymaniya, who made strenuous efforts to distribute all Kurdish books without remuneration (p. 22).

The situation changed noticeably with the fall of the monarchy in 1958. Many bookstores emerged in most Kurdish towns:

> **Sulaymaniya**: Biri Nö, Azadi, Zewar, Galawezh (the last two before 1958), Khabat.
> **Arbil**: Shorish, Sarbasti
> **Shaqlawa**: Yaketi, Sarbasti
> **Koya**: Kuridstan, Haji Qadir Koyi, Khabat
> **Zakho**: Tahrir
> **Rawandiz**: Rawandiz, Kurdistan
> **Khanaqin**: Sirwan
> **Kirkuk**: Kurdistan, Khabat
> **Mosul**: Badinan
> Khabat bookstores in **Rayat**, **Balak**, **Darbandi Khan**, **Halabja**, **Penjwin**, **Qala Diza**, **Raniya**, **Sayid Sadiq**, and **Chwarta**
> (information based on the list of selling agents announced in *Rojî Nö* and *Hîwa*, 1958-60).

The new bookstores, especially the Khabat "chain," were operated by the nationalist activists related to the Kurdish Democratic Party who considered distribution of the printed material a patriotic duty. Naturally, most of them disappeared when the Iraqi Government began suppressing political parties in 1961, and especially following the armed conflict between the Kurds and the Iraqi army.

In 1976, according to a list compiled by Nariman (1977:265), there were 21 bookstores in Iraqi Kurdistan--nine in Sulaymaniya, five in Arbil, three in Qala Diza, and one in each of the towns of Dahok, Halabja, Penjwin and Darbandi Khan. Five of these were set up in the 1960s, and eleven belonged to the period 1970-1975. The government-operated National House (Dar al-Wataniya) opened bookstores in the center of each *Muhafaza* [governorate] in 1976.

According to Qaradaghi (1986), some 51 bookstores had been established in Sulaymaniya in the 1918-84 period. Of these, twenty-one were operating by

the year 1985.

The distribution system demonstrates several trends consistent with other developments in the sociolinguistic situation: problems of commercial viability in the early decades; nationalist motivation; state repression of bookselling activities; increasing commercialization in the past two decades, and increasing state involvement in distribution.

7.2.2.8 Financial Obstacles

Though data on production costs are lacking, the existing evidence suggests that lack of capital has been a serious obstacle to the flourishing of book production. The costs were usually kept to the barest minimum by, among other things, the authors' contribution of money and doing the proofreading themselves, by using the lowest grade of paper and by limiting binding to stapling.

Production costs of sizeable books, i.e., over 100 pages, were insurmountable especially in the early decades (cf. Table 21). To give a few known examples, Giw Mukriyani, owner of the Kurdistan Press, was not able to meet the costs of printing his largest dictionary, *Ferhengî Kurdistan*. He announced in 1957 (*Hetaw*, Vol. 3, No. 86, January 31, p. 3) that the manuscript would be put at the disposal of anyone who could afford to publish it. Four years later, he estimated production costs at no less than 2,000 dinars (approximately $6,000) and once more called on the well-to-do to take action (Mukriyani 1961:14). The monolingual dictionary had not been published by 1985.

Khal spent twenty-three years of his life on a monolingual dictionary which was ready to go to press in June 1959. He could not publish it without government assistance, which covered the cost of printing of three volumes over a period of sixteen years (Vol. 1, 1960, 380 pp.; Vol. 2, 1964, 388 pp.; Vol. 3, 1974, 511 pp.). Even with such assistance, printing and binding were far from satisfactory. The entries and meanings are printed with the same font sizes, the former separated only by a parenthesis (cf. Figure 33). The three volumes contain a total of 28 pages of corrigenda.

Another case is the printing of the contemporary poet Salam's *dîwan* by Galawezh Bookstore. When asked to submit his poetry for publishing, Salam told the owner, Fatah, that he would not be able to make a financial contribution towards the costs of printing, to go to Baghdad to supervise the printing, to make a new handwritten copy, or to handle government censorship. The publisher agreed to undertake all these responsibilities: a mutual friend in Baghdad would undertake supervision, his brother would copy the manuscript, he would self-censor the poems, and ask a friend to write an introduction. Printing was completed by the time the July 1958 coup overthrew the monarchy, but it was too late to incorporate the censored pieces. Salam (1958:203) wrote that the publisher was motivated by patriotism otherwise he would not have risked 300 dinars on the book. To give an idea of printing costs, the poet's income, as a government employee, was 18 dinars per month in 1953.

Another typical case was the publishing of the first secondary-school level textbook on science, "Introduction to Mechanics and the Properties of Matter." The compiler, Jemal Nebez, spent three years arranging for printing through the assistance of the famous Kurdish author, Ala'uddin Sajjadi, who had friendly relations with the Ma'arif Press in Baghdad. The printing took nine months during which Nebez had to commute from Sulaymaniya to Baghdad more than ten times for proofreading, usually waiting four to five days to get the "forms" (galleys) and sometimes leaving Baghdad without having accomplished anything. Total costs were around 500 dinars, and he found it impossible to print the remaining volumes (Nebez 1960: back cover).

Hence a great amount of writing remained unpublished due to the lack of capital and printing facilities. This is best evidenced by the great number of titles announced for future publication (on the back cover of the books) but which never appeared in print.

7.2.2.9 Political Obstacles

In Iraq, political restrictions on book publishing have been imposed primarily on content rather than the language used. Books advocating Kurdish nationalism or criticizing the ruling power have generally been suppressed. Consequently, censorship has negatively affected the volume of book production in the language.

An insight into the nature of censorship may be gained by citing some of the recorded cases. In the mid-1920s two books (one *dîwan* of poetry in Turkish expressing Kurdish national feeling) and one novel, *Rostem*, translated into Kurdish by Rafiq Hilmi, were expropriated at the press (Hilmi 1960:12,[64]). The Kurdish translation of a petition to the King and a letter to the High Commissioner criticizing the Local Languages Law was stopped at the press in 1935 (cf. 5.1.6). In March 1958, the authorities of Kirkuk arrested the compiler and seller of a calendar and expropriated all the copies, because they carried the dates of the execution of Shaikh Sa'id, leader of the 1925 Kurdish revolt in Turkey, and another political event (*Jîn*, Vol. 33, No. 1388, April 3, 1958, p. 1). A. Hamilton took note of a "Christian Kurd...under sentence of death in an Iraqi prison for issuing Kurdish publications" (*Asian Affairs*, Vol. 58, Part III, October 1971, p. 333).

The Kurdish students at Baghdad University wanted to publish a periodical in order to publicize their ideas and propagate the Kurdish cause in the early 1930s. One of them, Hamid Faraj, reflected in 1973 (*Roşinbîrî Nö*, No. 1, November 21, p. 8) that they failed because of the reluctance of the authorities to permit printing in Kurdish, the indifference of Kurdish officials, the absence of Kurdish printing and printers, financial problems, etc. They were able, however, to publish clandestinely two volumes containing essays, poetry, stories, etc. in 1933 and 1934.

Ibrahim Ahmad, contemporary prose writer and poet, wrote about the

circumstances of writing a novel, *Janî Gel* (Suffering of the People). He finished writing in April 1956, but to avoid censorship he had to resort to the "old solution" of changing time and space, names, race and nationality of the characters. Before it went to press, the Iraqi government unleashed a wave of repression after Shaikh Mahmud's funeral had turned into a mass political protest in Sulaymaniya and following the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt in 1956. Ibrahim was arrested and his family began hiding all his books and writings in different places, leaving them with friends and acquaintances. After repression was gradually relaxed, Ibrahim looked for his belongings, but most of them had been burned out of fear by those who were keeping them. He tried his best to rewrite it, but failed. About twenty years later, a friend unexpectedly returned a suitcase with the manuscript of the novel in it (Ahmad 1972:250-51).

Political restrictions on the written use of the language, including book publishing, in Turkey, Iran, and Syria (cf. chapter 5) have not only prevented the development of the language in each country, but have also affected the expansion of Iraq's Kurdish book market.

7.2.2.10 The Book Market, Smuggling, and Copying

Iranian Kurdistan is an important potential market for Kurdish books printed in Iraq in so far as the number of Sorani speakers is even larger than that of Iraq and the same alphabet is used. Similarly, the Kurds of Syria and the Kurmanji speakers of Iran are potential buyers of the Kurmanji books of Iraq.

Political restrictions on the import of books in Iran have resulted in smuggling and the proliferation of copying books by hand. Under Reza Shah's strict censorship, severe penalties prevented large-scale smuggling of printed matter and records. According to *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 8, February 20, 1927, p. 18), the Iranian officials at the border searched and tore apart any [Kurdish] Iraqi book or journal sent to Iran and gave much trouble to those who possessed them. Books did, however, reach the hands of a few who managed to maintain connections with acquaintances on the other side of the border (cf., e.g., Hemin 1972:7; cf., also, Kahn 1980:46, on the availability of smuggled books in the 1970s). Each book was then more widely diffused through borrowing and hand-copying. During the period 1941-53, some books and magazines reached Iran through the mail, even though censorship had not been lifted (cf. 7.3.2.2). The Kurdish Republic, established on the Iranian side of the border in 1946, imported (through unofficial connections) all its primary school textbooks from Iraq.

Except for the periods when the authority of the central government was weakened in Iran (e.g., 1941-46, late 1978 and 1979 to mid-1980s), large-scale smuggling could not be carried out. This was because smuggling printed matter was considered a political crime. Smugglers could usually get away with the offence of carrying other commodities, but books brought torture, prolonged jail sentences as well as the arrest of those who received them.

Copying books manually is still going on under conditions of political

restrictions on the use of mechanical (electronic) copying. The poetry of the great contemporary poet Abdulla Goran reached Iranian Kurds in the early 1960s largely through the hand-copying two of his collections *Beheşt û Yadgar* (Paradise and Reminiscence) and *Firmêsk û Huner* (Tears and Art). Similarly, several short stories written by the Iranian Kurdish writer Salahuddin Muhtadi in the mid-1960s circulated in hand-written form.

The fall of the Pahlavi dynasty and the absence of the Islamic regime's control on Kurdistan led to the smuggling of considerable quantities of Iraqi books into Kurdish towns. School textbooks were sold at 50 rials (about 25 cents) per volume (spring 1979, Sanandaj) and the first five volumes of the Journal of the Kurdish Academy were available at 5,000 rials (approximately $50.00) in Mahabad (July 1979).

7.2.2.11 Libraries

Public libraries are of recent origin in Iraqi Kurdistan (for information on libraries before 1918, cf. 4.2.4). The libraries of Sulaymaniya and Arbil were founded in 1943. The progress was slow and by 1957, only Khanaqin and Koy Sanjaq had small libraries of several thousand books each. Sulaymaniya had the largest Kurdish collection, with 173 or 65% of the total number of books (266) published in Iraq by the end of 1957. Kurdish books formed a small part of each library's holdings. Sulaymaniya (2.9%), Koy Sanjaq (8.9%), Arbil (1.5%), Khanaqin (1.2%), and Kirkuk (0.8%). This was primarily due to the small number of printed Kurdish books and, to a lesser extent, to acquisition problems.

The fall of the monarchy in 1958 led to a boom in both publishing and library use. In two years, Sulaymaniya's public library's holdings, for example, increased 62% (9477 books in 1960) and the number of readers increased 342% (18,000 readers according to *Rojî Nö*, Vol. 1, No. 11, February 1, 1961, p. 55). Libraries came under strict government control after 1961. The Kurds had to fight for the right to have Kurdish books in the public and school libraries. After several years of armed conflict between the Kurds and the government, the latter recognized this right in a Decree on Cultural Rights issued on March 9, 1969:

> The inclusion of all scientific, literary and political books which express progressive national and patriotic aspirations of the Kurdish people, in all public and school libraries (quoted in *Kurdistan*. Supplement No. one, September 1972, published by Kurdish Students Society in Europe).

However, in April 1972 the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq complained that the "inclusion of Kurdish books in public and school libraries has not been carried out on a wide scale" (*Ibid.*). For its part, the Iraqi government announced in October 1972 that one of the "commitments and duties pertaining to the [March 11, 1970] Manifesto," that of "providing public libraries and

Table 25. Iraqi Public Libraries with More than 10 Kurdish Books, 1957-58

Library	Number of Books							# of Readers
	Arabic	Kurdish	Turkish	Pers.	English	Etc.	Total	
Mosul	19969	43	1475	49	8441	1371	31348	215276
Kirkuk	6429	63	495	29	395	82	7493	3691
Arbil	3848	69	178	27	412	60	4594	8651
Koy	1463	166	6	12	202	--	1849	4238
Sulaimani	4377	173	259	169	778	82	5838	4070
Khanaqin	998	114	22	11	107	--	1152	3792
Baghdad	1509	115	872	166	11092	1495	28831	20918
Baghdad*	13134	25	1163	585	9277	6722	30906	6646

* Department of Archeology Library.
Source: Based on Iraq Republic (1959:28).

schools with Kurdish books," had been carried out (Ath-thawra publications 1974:18).

The information available for the libraries in the Autonomous Area in 1976-7 (Table 26) does not indicate a noticeable change in the state of Kurdish books in the libraries. The number of readers has, however, declined from 18,000 in 1961 to 10,000 in 1976-77 in Sulaymaniya. This is probably due to the repressive political atmosphere in the post-1974 period.

In Iran, the Pahlavi regime (1925-79) did not provide or promote public libraries, especially in Kurdistan. During the rule of the short-lived Kurdish Republic in 1946, two libraries were founded in Mahabad. In March, the official newspaper *Kurdistan* (No. 24, March 17, 1946, p. 3) announced plans for the formation of the "National Library of Kurdistan" (Kitêbxaney Millî Kurdistan). In July, Kitêbxaney Ferheng (Education Library) was opened with 600 books in Kurdish, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, French, English and Russian (*Kurdistan*, No. 70, July 23, 1946, p. 4). The central government dismantled the libraries after the overthrow of the autonomous regime by the Iranian army.

The public and college libraries in Turkey and Iran do not hold Kurdish books, because of legal and political restrictions on the written use of Kurdish. The national library at Ankara keeps a number of periodicals from the pre-Republican period. In the 1970s, they were available to researchers only. The library of the Faculty of Letters and the Humanities of Tehran University had a

Table 26. Public Libraries in the Autonomous Area, 1976-77

Library	Year Founded	Number of Books		# of Readers
		Kurdish	Total	
Sulaymaniya	1943	1,000	23,600	10,000
Arbil	1943	1,320	24,103	11,000
Koy	1957	1,065	7,920	5,000
Dahok	1962	150	3,000	?
Halabja	?	583	6,017	?
Qala Diza	?	150	5,030	?
Salahadin	1966	450	2826	?
Shaqlawa	1969	665	3,881	?
Rawandiz	1970	500	2,039	?
Aynkawa	1970	500	2,621	?
Makhmur	1971	400	2,160	?
Dibaga	1975	10	570	?

* In some libraries each copy of a book is counted as a separate title.
Source: Nariman (1977:264).

collection of some 200 books in the early 1970s. The books, donated by Iraqi Kurdish students studying in the University in the 1960s, had remained uncatalogued and were kept in the stacks, unavailable for circulation.

7.2.3 Kurdish Book Publishing in Iran

The first Kurdish book published in Iran was Abul-Hassan's *Kitābi Lughāti Kurdī*, a Kurdish-Persian glossary in 43 pages printed lithographically in Tehran in 1866 (1303 Hijri). The book is not, however, addressed to a Kurdish audience (cf. 8.4.4, Figure 32).

The Pahlavi Dynasty 1925-1979

No books could be owned let alone printed in this period. The only exception, a book in verse propagating Christianity and composed in Hawrami by Sa'id Khani Kurdistani (Tehran 1931), was permitted, probably due to the influence of the Christian mission which sponsored it and its endorsement by a Persian scholar interested in philology and dialectology.

Censorship was not removed after the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941. At least three titles were published clandestinely in 1943-45 by "Komeley J.K." Under the Kurdish Republic of 1946, which was more interested in journalism, a total of three books were printed in Mahabad, Tabriz, and Bukan.

To counteract Soviet broadcasting in Kurdish, the Shah's government assisted, as part of an overall propaganda program (cf. 7.4.3), a clergyman from Sanandaj in publishing two volumes of a Kurdish-Persian-Arabic dictionary, a history of Kurdistan (in Persian) and a number of religious works. The government also allowed the Faculty of Letters of Tabriz University to publish Kurdish folklore texts in its quarterly journal in 1956. As far as private publishing is concerned, Nariman's bibliography (1977) records four titles on religion in 1948-1957.

Due to political developments in Egypt and Iraq in 1958 affecting Iranian Kurds (cf. 7.4.3), the government sponsored the publication of one weekly paper and two books. Even more important was the permission granted in Mahabad to bookseller Sayidiyan to sell and publish non-political books on religion and poetry. Between 1962 (1341) and 1977 a total of 24 titles, all on religion, non-political poetry and vocabulary, were published, most of them reprints of works originally published in Iraq. Permission was also given for the sale of selected books published in Iraq.

The Asian Institute of the University of Shiraz began publishing folklore texts in the journal *Pazhouhesh Name* [the journal's own Romanization] in the 1970s. Tabriz University published six volumes of popular ballads with an introduction and translations in Persian. Besides these, Nariman's (1977) bibliography cites twelve titles published between 1960 and 1975. Thus, a total of 56 titles[4] were published under the Pahlavi monarchy excepting the last, revolutionary, year of 1357 (1978).

The Islamic Republic

Publishing enjoyed its greatest boom all over the country with the gradual weakening of the rule of SAVAK, the secret police, in 1978. Political organizations active in Kurdistan were involved more in journalism than book publishing. Maxim Gorky's *Mother* published in Iraq was reprinted and a short story, *Kê Riçey Şikand?* 'Who Opened the Way?' which had been circulating in handwriting since the mid-1960s, was published in the spring of 1979.

The general publishing policy of the Islamic Republic is similar to that of the Pahlavi dynasty. Printing presses, copying shops, the sale and purchase of printing and copying machinery are carefully monitored by the government and no books can be published without permission from the Ministry of Islamic Guidance (for a general overview cf. Mabon 1983). As far as Kurdish publishing is concerned, the policy has been more liberal. Books not challenging the ruling power or its ideology, and those not advocating the Kurdish autonomist movement and Marxism-Leninism have been published since the extension of Government control over Kurdish cities in 1980. Thus, titles that could not be printed under the monarchy were available in 1985, e.g., Amin Zaki's history of Kurdistan and a translation of William Eagleton's *The Kurdish Republic of 1946*.

Compared with the Pahlavi period, both private and state publishing have expanded considerably. Sayidiyan Bookstore and Publisher alone produced 71

titles between 1978 (1357) and 1985 on the diverse subjects of history, literature, politics, religion, language and folklore. The bookstore was, however, eventually closed down by government authorities. In Sanandaj and Tehran a considerable number of apparently government sponsored titles on Islam have come out. The total number of books, other than those published by Sayidiyan, has been approximately 57 titles[5] for the period between 1979 and 1985.

Besides this liberal policy, the government itself has embarked on publishing in Kurdish. By 1985, three state organs had put out no less than 19 titles. The most active has been the Radio and Television publishing agency, Sorush, whose "Kurdish Section" produced 13 titles, mostly translations of shorter works by Islamic ideologists. Another organ, Jihad-e Sazandegi (Construction Crusade) started a "Kurdish Language Section" and published two titles on religion. A third group was the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults, with four titles on children's stories. The Islamic Propaganda Organization (Sazman-e Tablighat-e Eslami) has also formed a "Kurdish Section" which published, by the end of 1985, ten titles on Islamic subjects in both Kurmanji and Sorani. These books and a bimonthly journal, *Amanc*, are addressed to the larger all-Kurdistan audience. A government-sponsored agency, Salahaddin Ayyubi Publications (Center for the Diffusion of Kurdish Culture and Literature) was founded in Urmia in 1984, and announced the early publication of four books, with more titles promised in the future.

The government's Kurdish publishing policy, although in line with the country's constitution (cf. 5.2.2), was apparently motivated by the need to extend state authority over the Kurdish areas which had remained under the control of opposition political organizations demanding autonomy after the fall of the monarchy. Another consideration is the export of the "Islamic revolution" to Kurdistan in Iraq, Turkey and Syria. To weaken the influence of secular nationalism on the Kurds, the religious ideology has no choice, in the intellectual sphere, but the use of the Kurdish language. This analysis is corroborated by the fact that the second largest nationality, the Azerbaijani Turks, have not received a similar treatment in either publishing or broadcasting, partly because they have been less vocal in demanding national rights during and after the fall of the monarchy. However, policy on Azeri Turkish changed dramatically in the late 1980s due to developments in the USSR.[6]

The total number of books published in Iran (excepting the 1886 book) can be estimated, by 1985, according to the inadequate sources available, at around 150.

7.2.4 Book Publishing in Turkey

Limited publishing in Turkey was possible during crisis (often called "liberalization") periods when the central government was not able to exercise strict political control, such as during the periods 1967-71 and 1975-80. A number of publishing groups interested in publishing books on Kurdish or in

Kurdish emerged. Gün Yayinlari in Istanbul published Khani's *Mem û Zîn* in 1968 (reprinted by Koral Yayinlari in 1975). The more active group was Komal Yayinlari, which published a number of titles, mostly in Turkish, on Kurdish history and politics. The publisher, Recep Maraşli, was arrested and detained for eight months in 1978, and again in 1982. He was convicted before a series of military courts in Istanbul and Diyarbakir on charges including "weakening national feelings," "insulting the memory of Ataturk" and "inciting separatism." His various prison sentences added up to 36 years (*Amnesty International Bulletin*, Canadian Section [English speaking], October 1987, Vol. XIV, No 7, p. 7).

No bibliographical source on Kurdish publishing in Turkey is available. Based on available sources (cf. 5.3.0), the total number of titles in Kurdish or Kurdish-Turkish may be estimated at no more than ten items.

7.2.5 Book Publishing in Syria

The first Kurdish book appeared in Syria in 1925 (cf. 7.1.2; Figure 6), followed by the more active and planned publishing of the Kurdish intellectual circle led by the Badir Khan brothers from the 1930s until the mid-1940s. The total number of titles published since 1925 is around 31, belonging, with one exception, to the pre-1959 years. In terms of dialects, 28 titles are in Kurmanji, two in Sorani and one in Dimili (spoken in Turkey). The Sorani books were composed by two Kurdish refugees from Iran. The majority of the books are in the Roman alphabet developed by Jaladat Badir Khan.

Most of the titles published by the Badir Khan circle are pamphlet size works, some of which are intended for use as primary textbooks on alphabet and grammar. In terms of subject matter, literature claims 12 titles and language 11, the rest being divided among religion (4), folklore (2) and history and politics (one each). Translations include only three titles. The place of publication is Damascus (23 titles) and Aleppo. Seventeen are in prose, two in poetry and two unknown.

7.2.6 Book Publishing in the USSR

The first book, a first reader compiled by an Armenian author and printed in Armenian script, appeared in 1921. Publishing began eight years later when the Roman alphabet was adopted.

Compared with the Iraqi Kurds, the small population of Soviet Kurds lacked an intelligentsia when Soviet rule was established over the Caucasian areas in 1921. They were reported in 1922 to be predominantly nomadic with a literacy ratio as low as one per thousand. By 1926, however, eleven elementary schools had been established. Two years later there were 27 schools (Alêk'sanyan 1962:9-10).

Book publishing developed in close connection with the social and economic

غنجهٔ بهارستان

جيي ليه دركوتني وژياني . وتواوى تمدني . كلاني كردان

تالیفی

السید حسین الحسینی الجزائری

مطبعة العصر الجديد ● حلب سنة ١٩٢٥

زمان وملیت

زور له قدیم دا زوبان کردی هبو وله کل فارسیدا هیچ فرق نه ده کرا وله پیش زبان فارسی دا بو چند هزار سال بو بنی اثبات کراوه اویش مشابه تواوی پهلوی ده کرد حروفاتیکی له کردید' تلفظی پیه به کریت زورن بعضی موریخان ده لین له پیش هجرتیان دا نوسینیان به زبان کردیان هبو وه او نوسینه له ابتدای امریاندا تا امر وسه دفعه تبدیلاتی به سر داهاتووه (اول جار) له زمان زردشت واله طرف بلخهوه کتبی زنده افیستای به ترکیبیاتکی زور بلیغی پیه نوسی له اولغتهیان نیونا (زندی) وله نیو علمای دینی دا به کار ده برا بو به زبانیکی دینی وکو زبان (نحوی عربی) (دوم) له عهدی ساسانیان دا هندیك له زبان وحروفات سریانی وهندیك له حروفات زندی وکردیان به کل کرد (دری) و(پهلوی)یان نیونا هر وکوله پیشدا بیژرا (سیم) له پاش قبول کردنی آینی اسلامی زور الفاظ وتعبیرات عربیان له کردی دا به تیکلی له نیو علمایان دا دستی به استعمال وترغیب وترویج درا هر چند مروری

Fig. 6. *Xunçey Beharistan* (1925), the first Kurdish book published in Syria.

transformation of the community, especially the extension of education to the illiterate population. Analyzing the information contained in Alêk'sanyan's bibliography covering the period 1921-60, it becomes evident that 17.1% (41 titles) of the total of 239 titles were textbooks in the fields of botany, physics, natural science and geography. Another 24.2% (58 titles) were Kurdish language textbooks. Books on teaching methods (2.9% or 7 titles) and education (0.8% or 2 titles) also belong to this category, making for a total of 108 (48.1%) titles for use in schools. It is important to note, however, that all the titles on mathematics, natural science, botany and geography appeared before 1938. It seems, therefore, that when publishing resumed after World War II these subjects were no longer taught in Kurdish.

Related to social and economic planning are titles on agricultural economics (8 titles), medicine (7) and veterinary science (1), all of which were published before 1937, making a total of 16 titles or 6.6% of the total.

The use of a language for ideological purposes (e.g., in religion and Marxism) is considered by Kloss (1978:33) as an indicator of language development. Applying this criterion to Kurdish books, we find that the language was used for ideological purposes in pre-World War II years only. There were 10 titles on ideology—four on Marxism-Leninism, five on the founders of Marxism-Leninism and one on atheism, all published before 1936. Still, the selected works of Marx-Engels, Lenin or Stalin were not translated. These facts lend support to the identification of two different Soviet policies (promotion and demotion) on the status of the Kurdish language (cf. 5.5.0). By contrast, ideological use (especially in Marxist-Leninist domains) seems to be more advanced in Iraq, and this is in spite of political restrictions on this type of literature (cf. 7.2.2.4.D).

The greatest upsurge in book production was in the 1930s, with the peak at 30 titles for two consecutive years. The sharp decline from 31 titles in 1937 to one title in 1938 can be readily explained in terms of the reversal of the promotion policy. Tens of thousands of Kurds were forcibly deported to Central Asian republics in 1937 (cf. 5.5.0). This coercive measure was accompanied by cultural repression in journalism (the only Kurdish newspaper, *R'ya T'eze* published since 1930, was banned between 1938 and 1954, cf. Subchapter 7.3, Note 2) and education (cf. 7.5.7). The data show no recovery to the pre-War level average of 18.2 titles per year (3.7 titles in 1946-60 and 6.9 titles in 1961-80). A decline in the number of copies is also notable. Most of the books were printed in editions of 1000 or more copies in the 1930s whereas the great majority of them were limited to 500 copies in the 1970s.

The continuing decline in the number of titles and number of copies in a population that is 99% literate points to the marginal role of the Kurdish language, if not to increasing assimilation (cf. 1.2.5 and 5.5.0). Since 1946, most of the titles have been in the field of literature, and it seems the language was no longer used for scientific, technical and ideological purposes in the 1960s and 1970s.

Table 27. Kurdish Books in the USSR, 1921-80: Number of Titles

1921-1961		1961-1980*	
Year	**# of Books**	**Year**	**# of Books**
1921	1	1961	9
1922-28	None	1962	7
1929	2	1963	10
1930	6	1964	8
1931	12	1965	8
1932	19	1966	10
1933	24	1967	8
1934	30	1968	3
1935	30	1969	5
1936	27	1970	11
1937	31	1971	7
1938	1	1972	7
1939-45	None	1973	3
1946	3	1974	8
1947	3	1975	6
1948	2	1976	4
1949	3	1977	8
1950	None	1978	8
1951	2	1979	4
1952	2	1980	4
1953	1		
1954	3	**Total**	**138**
1955	3	**G. Total**	**377**
1956	1		
1957	11		
1958	5		
1959	9		
1960	8		
Total	**239**		

Average Number of Titles per Year

1929-39	18.2	1940-45	0.0
1946-60	3.7	1961-80	6.9

*Figures for 1961-80 period includes books published in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia only; most Kurdish books are published in this republic.

Sources: 1921-60 figures are based on Alêk'sanyan (1962); 1961-80 figures are based on Dzhalil (1981); cf., also, subchapter 7.2, Note 7.

Table 28. Kurdish Books in the USSR, 1921-60: Number of Titles by Subject

Subject	Number of Books	%
Marxism-leninism	4	1.67
Founders of Marxism-Leninism	5	2.09
Natural Science	4	1.67
Physics	3	1.25
Mathematics	28	11.71
Botany	1	0.41
Geography	5	2.09
Agricultural Economics	8	3.34
Medicine (Public Health)	7	2.92
Veterinary Science	1	0.41
History of the Communist Party	6	2.51
History of the USSR	9	3.76
Economics	2	0.83
Law	5	2.09
Education	2	0.83
Linguistics		
Vocabulary	7	2.92
Grammar	9	3.76
Textbooks	58	24.26
Teaching Methods	7	2.92
Belles-letters		
General	53	22.17
Folklore	4	1.67
Collections	7	2.92
Plays	3	1.25
Atheism	1	0.41
Total	**239**	**100.00**

Source: cf., subchapter 7.2, Note 8.

7.2.7 Publishing in the Diaspora

The sharp increase in the number of Kurdish refugees in Western countries (cf. 10.3.6) has expanded the market for Kurdish publications. Before 1975, limited publishing was conducted sporadically by student organizations, individuals and supporters of Kurdish political parties: Weşanên Ronahî/Verlag Ronahî (Switzerland) issued some eight titles in Kurmanji (Roman script) and Rêkxirawî Rûnakbîranî Kurdî Êran (Organization of Kurdish Intellectuals of Iran) released a few titles in Sorani (Arabic script).

Several publishing groups have emerged since the mid-1970s. The following are among the most productive: Roja Nû (New Day) Publishers (Sweden, Kurmanji, Roman script), Binkey Çapemenî Azad (Sweden, Sorani), Jina Nû (Jina Nu Förlaget, Sweden, Kurmanji, Roman), Weşanxana Deng (Sweden, Kurmanji, Roman), Komkar Press, Verlag Dengê Komal (Germany, Kurmanji, Roman) and Weşanên Celadet Bedir-Xan (Sydney, Australia, Kurmanji, Roman).

Distribution is a major problem. Information on new publications is provided by the emigré press (cf. 7.3.4.), which suffers from financial and distribution problems. Thus, readership access to these books is rendered difficult due to the inability of small publishers to enter the book trade world. The Institut Kurde de Paris publishes a catalogue of books, magazines and audio and video tapes that they offer for sale. Sara Bokhandel (Stockholm, Sweden), the only Kurdish bookstore, has also published book and magazine lists. Still, mail-order to the publisher and private contacts remain an important means of access to Kurdish publications. Thus, the main obstacle to Kurdish publishing in the West is the exclusionist power of the market. The absence of political restrictions on the use of Kurdish, together with the convenience of new technologies such as personal computers, laser printers and appropriate software, have provided a real haven for Kurdish intellectuals (cf. 7.1.4, on political restrictions on printing in Kurdistan). The exercise of the right of printing and publishing is, however, restricted by the "invisible hand" of the market, which is not tolerant of a small reading public (on emigré press, cf. 7.3.4.; also, 10.3.6).

Almost all the publishing in Kurmanji belongs to the Kurds of Turkey, while Sorani titles are produced by the Kurds of Iran and Iraq. Due to political restrictions, these titles cannot be distributed in their home countries except on a limited individual basis. The impact of emigré publishing on Kurdistan depends, therefore, on the political situation in Kurdistan. Books and journals published in the diaspora will be readily reprinted in Kurdistan if political obstacles are removed.

7.2.8 A Comparative View of Kurdish Book Production

The fragmentary nature of the data does not lend itself to accurate comparative analysis. A fair picture of the situation may, however, be drawn by comparing the number of titles per thousand population. Since the only available

official census figures for the number of Kurdish speakers in Iran and Iraq belong to 1956 and 1957 respectively, Syrian and Soviet figures closest to these dates were used to get the number of titles per thousand speakers for the entire period of 1918-85.

Table 29. Number of Kurdish Books Per Thousand of Population, 1920-85

Country	Kurdish Population	# of Books	# of Books per 1000 Persons
Iraq	1,042,774 (1957)[a]	2,265[e]	2.17
Iran	1,060,000 (1956)[b]	150	0.14
Syria	320,000 (1967)[c]	31	0.09
USSR	58,799 (1959)[d]	377[f]	6.41
Total	**2,481,573**	**2,823**	**1.13**

[a] Cf. Table 5; [b] Cf. Table 7; [c] Cf. Table 1; [d] Cf. Table 8; [e] Cf. Table 20; [f] Covers the period from 1921 to 1980; textbooks excluded from 1961 to 1980: cf. Table 27.

While these figures demonstrate the underdeveloped nature of Kurdish publishing, they also provide insight into the differences between individual countries. Not surprisingly, the Soviet Union is ahead of Iraq in terms of per thousand production of books.

Subchapter 7.2 Notes

1. "Kurdish book" is defined here as one, regardless of number of pages, targeted at Kurdish readers and printed in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the USSR. This definition excludes "Kurdological" texts published for academic research purposes and primarily addressed to non-Kurdish reading publics.

2. Data for the period 1920-75 was culled from Nariman's (1977) bibliography of Kurdish books. Nariman's work is, however, plagued by numerous errors. To provide a more accurate picture, Nariman's errors were corrected to a large extent by using (a) other bibliographic sources (e.g., Edmonds 1937 and 1945; MacKenzie 1957; McCarus 1960-61), (b) Kurdish collections at University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies Library, Library of Congress, Harvard University Library, (c) my own and other privately held collections, and (d) private correspondence.

Data for 1976 and 1977 were gathered from: the *Depository Bulletin of Iraqi Publications* No. 12 and 13 (1976); *The National Bibliography of Iraq*, Nos. 14 (1976), 15-16 (1977); under the same English title but a different Arabic title (*al-Fihris al-Watanī lil-Matbū'āt al-'Irāqīyah*): Nos. 15-16, 17-18, 19 (1977), No. 20, 21, 22 (1978). The bibliography is published by the National Library which was affiliated with the Ministry of Information (issues 12-18) and later with the Ministry of Culture and Arts. This bibliography is also riddled with errors, inconsistencies and omissions. Not surprisingly, there is a discrepancy between the figures given in this Table (for 1976 and 1977) and those provided by Nariman (private correspondence, December 2, 1982) which lists 48 titles for 1976 and 86 titles for 1977; figures for 1978-79 are, also, provided by Nariman (*Ibid.*). Figures for 1980-85 are based on Talabani (1987:41).

Bibliographic research in Iraq generally (cf. Farhan 1980 for an historical and analytical survey) and on Kurdish publishing particularly is in a chaotic state. Data reported in Table 20 will likely be amended by future research. The latest calculations, by an Iraqi Kurdish source (Talabani 1987:41) which is apparently based on Nariman's works, provide the following figures for the number of Kurdish books published in Iraq:

1920-29	28 books
1930-39	151
1940-49	52
1950-59	286
1960-69	318
1970-79	762
1980-85	673
Total	**2270**

The 2270 total probably includes primary and secondary school textbooks.

Nariman's (1988) latest bibliography (not available to the author when this study was completed) lists 2,502 titles for Iraq during the period 1787-1986. This figure includes school textbooks. Government sponsored books, including school textbooks, totalled 1007 titles (53% of all published titles) by 1986.

3. According to Qaradaghi (1986), four bookstores had been set up in Sulaymaniya by the mid-1930s –in the 18th century, 1926 and the early 1930s. It seems the first one was a copyist/binder, and the second and third were book*seller*s rather than book*store*s.

4. These figures do not include off-prints of Kurdish folklore texts from the journals of Tabriz and Shiraz universities which were available in some bookstores.

5. This figure is based on information provided by publishers, individuals and bibliographic sources such as *Abstracta Iranica.*

6. The post-*perestroika* crisis in the USSR has changed Iranian policy on Azeri Turkish. Iran competes with Turkey for influencing, uniting with or even annexing the Azerbaijan Republic which belonged to Iran before Russia's takeover of the region in the 19th century. This explains why the Islamic regime has launched publishing in Azeri, extended broadcasting programs and decided to set up a chair of Azeri language and literature at Tabriz University (*Khabarnāmi-yi Pazhūhishī-yi Dānishgāhi San'atī-yi Sharīf*, Vol. 6, Nos. 61-62, January 20, 1991). Similar adjustments in Azeri language publishing and broadcasting have been made.

7. This figure includes almost all the books published for the Kurds of the USSR. Texts of classical literature in Arabic script (e.g., Khani's *Mem û Zîn*; cf. 5.5.0) published in Moscow and Leningrad are not included in this figure.

8. This table is based on the subject index (pp. 71-72) in Alêk'sanyan's (1962) bibliography of Soviet Kurdish books. There are 257 references in the index to the 238 numbered books described in the bibliography (the 1921 book in Armenian script has not been numbered). Fifteen books (Nos. 8, 36, 41, 45, 50, 51, 92, 100, 119, 120, 128, 135, 180, 184 and 225) have appeared twice and two books (Nos. 44 and 52) appear three times in the index under different subject headings. The second and third citations were omitted to make a total of 238 citations in the subject index. The 1921 book is added to those published between 1929 and 1960 to make a total of 239 titles.

SUBCHAPTER 7.3
JOURNALISM

7.3.1 The Press: Organ of Kurdish Nationalism

The first periodicals in Arabic (1828), Turkish (1832) and Persian (1848) were issued on the initiative of the Egyptian, Ottoman and Persian governments.[1] By contrast, Kurdish journalism finds its origins in the nationalist movement. In their efforts to set up an independent or autonomous Kurdish state, nationalists turned to journalism as an effective tool in nation-building. Before the first newspaper was published in 1898, the Kurdish society was mostly illiterate (cf. 10.2.0) and the Kurdish literary dialects were predominantly used in poetry (chapter 4). Addressing fellow Kurds during his stay in cosmopolitan Istanbul in the 1890s, the poet Haji Qadir Koyi–the second apostle of Kurdish nationalism (cf. 3.2.1.II.C and 4.5.0)–declared journalism as the harbinger of a new progressive age (Qadir Koyi 1986:88):

> A hundred epistles and odes are not worth a penny [any more],
> Newspapers and magazines have [now] become valuable and respected
>
> *Sed qa'ime w qesîde kes naykřê be pûlê*
> *Rozname wû cerîde kewtote qîmet û şan*

The first journal, *Kurdistan* (cf. Figure 7), was published in 1898 by the members of the uprooted princely family of Badir Khans (cf., e.g., Nikitine 1960:871), whose forefathers had time and again revolted against the Ottomans to protect their hereditary rule. The paper could not be published in Istanbul, the seat of the Sultan, and the editor/publisher Midhat Bag had to escape from his *residence forcée* in the capital to Cairo, where the central government's authority was less effective. Even there, pressure from Istanbul forced the paper to move

Nariman's (1988) latest bibliography (not available to the author when this study was completed) lists 2,502 titles for Iraq during the period 1787-1986. This figure includes school textbooks. Government sponsored books, including school textbooks, totalled 1007 titles (53% of all published titles) by 1986.

3. According to Qaradaghi (1986), four bookstores had been set up in Sulaymaniya by the mid-1930s –in the 18th century, 1926 and the early 1930s. It seems the first one was a copyist/binder, and the second and third were book*seller*s rather than book*store*s.

4. These figures do not include off-prints of Kurdish folklore texts from the journals of Tabriz and Shiraz universities which were available in some bookstores.

5. This figure is based on information provided by publishers, individuals and bibliographic sources such as *Abstracta Iranica*.

6. The post-*perestroika* crisis in the USSR has changed Iranian policy on Azeri Turkish. Iran competes with Turkey for influencing, uniting with or even annexing the Azerbaijan Republic which belonged to Iran before Russia's takeover of the region in the 19th century. This explains why the Islamic regime has launched publishing in Azeri, extended broadcasting programs and decided to set up a chair of Azeri language and literature at Tabriz University (*Khabarnāmi-yi Pazhūhishī-yi Dānishgāhi San'atī-yi Sharīf*, Vol. 6, Nos. 61-62, January 20, 1991). Similar adjustments in Azeri language publishing and broadcasting have been made.

7. This figure includes almost all the books published for the Kurds of the USSR. Texts of classical literature in Arabic script (e.g., Khani's *Mem û Zîn*; cf. 5.5.0) published in Moscow and Leningrad are not included in this figure.

8. This table is based on the subject index (pp. 71-72) in Alêk'sanyan's (1962) bibliography of Soviet Kurdish books. There are 257 references in the index to the 238 numbered books described in the bibliography (the 1921 book in Armenian script has not been numbered). Fifteen books (Nos. 8, 36, 41, 45, 50, 51, 92, 100, 119, 120, 128, 135, 180, 184 and 225) have appeared twice and two books (Nos. 44 and 52) appear three times in the index under different subject headings. The second and third citations were omitted to make a total of 238 citations in the subject index. The 1921 book is added to those published between 1929 and 1960 to make a total of 239 titles.

SUBCHAPTER 7.3
JOURNALISM

7.3.1 The Press: Organ of Kurdish Nationalism

The first periodicals in Arabic (1828), Turkish (1832) and Persian (1848) were issued on the initiative of the Egyptian, Ottoman and Persian governments.[1] By contrast, Kurdish journalism finds its origins in the nationalist movement. In their efforts to set up an independent or autonomous Kurdish state, nationalists turned to journalism as an effective tool in nation-building. Before the first newspaper was published in 1898, the Kurdish society was mostly illiterate (cf. 10.2.0) and the Kurdish literary dialects were predominantly used in poetry (chapter 4). Addressing fellow Kurds during his stay in cosmopolitan Istanbul in the 1890s, the poet Haji Qadir Koyi–the second apostle of Kurdish nationalism (cf. 3.2.1.II.C and 4.5.0)–declared journalism as the harbinger of a new progressive age (Qadir Koyi 1986:88):

> A hundred epistles and odes are not worth a penny [any more],
> Newspapers and magazines have [now] become valuable and respected
>
> *Sed qa'ime w qesîde kes naykřê be pûlê*
> *Roznаme wû cerîde kewtote qîmet û şan*

The first journal, *Kurdistan* (cf. Figure 7), was published in 1898 by the members of the uprooted princely family of Badir Khans (cf., e.g., Nikitine 1960:871), whose forefathers had time and again revolted against the Ottomans to protect their hereditary rule. The paper could not be published in Istanbul, the seat of the Sultan, and the editor/publisher Midhat Bag had to escape from his *residence forcée* in the capital to Cairo, where the central government's authority was less effective. Even there, pressure from Istanbul forced the paper to move

سالا عولي دوبر ۱

حچي في كاغذكي ريكه ژمارة دوفي سر كاغذى وها بنفيسه (بهمر نجل المرحوم بدرخان پاشا مقداد مدحت بك)

هر جار دوهزار جريده يا بي پره آزمي ريكم كردستانى ده بدين خلكي يازده روژا جاركي تيت تفيساندن

كردستان

۱۳۱۵

* يازده روژا جاركي تيت تفيساندن جريده يا كردي به *

كردلري تحصيل علوم وفنونه تشويق ايدر نصائح وادبيات كرديه يي حاوي

اون بش گونده بر نشر اولنور كردجه غزته در

غزتنك مسلكه موافق عربجه تركجه فارسيجه مكتوبلر كردجه يه بالترجمه نشر اولنور

عنوان
مصرده «كردستان» غزته سنه صاحب وتحريري بدرخان پاشا زاده
مقداد مدحت
مرخصنامه ... جه نشريات كردستان ولايت عثمانيه ارسال وروسيا طريله قزاقستانه نشر وتوسيع اولنمق جائزدر

كردستان خارجدنا هر بر اجون سنلك ابونه بدلي ۸۰ غروشدر
كردستان داخلنه خصوصي اشخاصلره مجانًا كوندريلور

* روژا پنجشمبه ده ۲۸ ذوالحجه سنه ۱۳۱۵ پنجشنبه في ۷ مايس سنه ۱۳۱۴ *

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

« كلكم راعٍ وكلكم مسئول عن رعيته »

گلي علماو پاشا ومير وآغايين كرمانجا اف حديثا شريفا جن ژور نقيسي امر پيغمبر عليه السلامه انكو ژخنكار بگرن حيا شفانين گوند حي سرهف ودو يا خدى تعالى مسئولن. انكو دفي بين مظن بين خوي قوت ودولند خنكار و پاشا ومير دفي فكرن بين لبن دستين خوده هكي فنكرين وان هكى بجي شغاين وان نديتن هكى آوندان خوندن هكي آو ژشرين دشمنا حفظ نكرن خدى تعالى وى وان مير وآغا وحيا مسئول يكه

من جريده يا برى فيده بحثا آندلسى كربي چه گو پادشاهك ژوان عبدالرحمن ثالث خوندابي حز علم ومعرفتا دكر زمان ژيده خلك حي حيا هن شفان ژي خوندابين حكما (الناس على سلوك ملوكهم) دركت نيفا حالى چه گو حي خوي علم ومعرفت بين زمان وى پادشاهيده دولتا مسلمانا ژدولتين فرنگا حيا زيده تر خوي شوكت وقوت بي . گلي وارثين انبيا علمايين كردا ريا خديده دستين خوه هلن دفين خوه فكن مير وآغايين كرمانجا ترغيب وتشويقا علم ومعرفتا بكن آنه ژحديثا شريفا (كلكم راعٍ وكلكم مسئول عن رعيته) آشكار ديه كو ازژى بامر پيغمبر عليه السلام مأمورم خدمتى قنجي ى ژكردارا بكم ريا قنج نشان وان بكم وان ژخرابي ى حفظ بكم چه كو دولت ناهيله كس ژمه پيچه كردستانى اوما از بني جريده يي يا ليسرمن دين از دكم حدى آرى كار با من ومسلمانا حيا بكه

« طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة » . آف حديثا پيغمبر عليه الصلوة والسلام انكو علماندنا على سر حمي ميز وژنين مسلمانا فرضه . گلي مير وآغايين كرمانجا چاره چه گو نيز فرضه اون دكن وكى علماندنا عليزي سروه فرضه . بي علم وخوندن نيز وروژى تمام نابن . مروف چه قاس حزوطن خوه بكه بي علم نكاره قنجيكه تمام ژ وطن خوه ره بكه . في زمانيده كتيبين وه قنج هاته تفيساندن بحثا خوبى كرنا دوار و پرژى ديكه بحثا چاندرنا گنم وجهي دكه بحثا حي تشنا دكه . مروفين

Fig. 7. Front-page of the first Kurdish journal, *Kurdistan*, published in 1898

ژمارە ۲۱ زارەکی مانجی سال چوارەم لاپەرە ۱

بۆ هۆشیاکردنەوەی نەتەکەی

خیوی و مدیری

سید حسین مکسریانی

عنوان بروانەز گەرەکیزار کرمانجی

—{•}—

زارکرمانجی

کرباری

سال ۱۲ روپیە

بۆ دەرەوە مزی پۆستەی دیتە سەر

مزی آبونە پێشین نەبی قبول نیە

بە نسخەیک آبونەی سالێ قیدەکری

—{•}—

کۆڤارەیکی اجتماعی تأریخی فنی ادەبی کوردیە مانگی جارێک دەرئەچی

تأریخی دامزراندنی ۱۲ ذیقعدە ۱۳٤٤ یك شەمە ۸ ذیتعیدە ۱۳٤۸ ٦ نیسان ۱۹۳۰

مکتبی کوردستان لە بری سەرکەوتن بەرآوژو دەچیت !

مکتبی کوردستانی لوای هەولیر کە من بە چاوی خۆم دیتمن زور جیگای أسفن .

لە صنفی یکەمەوە بۆ نۆخوێندنی کوردی وەخوێندنی . . . تشبثی هیندیك لە سباب کرانەوە زور بەنازی لە کاردایە !

مکتب بەناوی مستار · (ﻣﺪﺭﺳﻪ) لە هەولیر داریکی تورسی لە بن گرچوی مکتبی کوردان داوە روژ بەروژ شاگردەکانی مکتب بەترفیع کردن دەخلەتێن دەبەنە مکتبی جولەکان . جولەکە آگای لە هیچ نیە ناریکی بیژە نراوە رەنگیکی لیداوە .

ژمارەی شاگردی لە سەدو سی زیاترە بیست تفر جولەکە وە دەنفر عنکاوەیە وە سەد تفر مندالی کورد تیدایە ئەمە چیبە ؟ گەورەکانی کورد چۆن لەوە آگادار نابن وەچۆن بەزەیان بەلاوە زلادانی وەطنیکی ئەوانی بیکەیاندوە نایت !!! .

رئیسی عصبەی امم سالی ۱۹۲۸ لە جلەی تشریفی ثانی یا لەخامنآب مستر بۆردیلون وەکیلی مستعدی سانیان پرسی بو کەلە مدارسی کوردانی لوای هەولیر بەعربی تحصیل دەکری ؟ فخامنآ بیان بەمجورە جوابی دابۆوە . کە (هیچ نقصانیك وها روزی نەداوە) بلام لە پرسیاری یکەمیندا باس لەبەکار هینانی لغت عربی بەصفت لغت غیربون . وەلە هی دوەمدا باس لە غیربونی لغت عربی لە مدارسی کوردانداً لەوەورابو .

لێرەدا معلوم بیی هەرچیکرد لغتی عربی یە لە مدارسی کوردان هەولیردا جگە لەهیندیك چیتنی نالیدانەبی ماوەتی لە ئەرنابیت ئەو صنفە کانی دیکە هەموبە کوردیە .

Fig. 8. *Zarî Kirmancî*, magazine published in Rawandiz, Iraq in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

to Geneva, London, and to the most unlikely place, Folkstone in England.

The readership was even more persecuted than the publisher. According to a reader, "Government officials do not let it be read freely; they search to find it with a person and put him in jail and harass him; in spite of this, Kurds like the journal very much and do not want to miss it" (No. 13, p. 2). The editor printed a number of petitions he made to the Sultan asking for unrestricted distribution of the paper.

Political restrictions on the development of journalism increased in weight and scope with the establishment of more centralized and etatist regimes in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria after World War I. Even in Iraq, where the League of Nations was monitoring the progress in granting Kurdish rights under the British Mandate, the Kurdish press suffered from repression. The following contemporary account (early 1930s) of a major literary magazine (cf. Figure 8) is characteristic of most of the Kurdish press of Iraq in the early decades (Hamilton 1958:157):

> Sayed Heusni [Huzni Mukriyani] is not merely an historian, he is also the local journalist and newspaper proprietor. There is a brass notice on his door which reads, *Zari Kermanji* (The Cry of the Kurdish) which is the name of his paper. The editor writes his fiery leaders on the decline of the Kurdish people. His type is set by hand. From the oak of the mountain-side he cuts small blocks of wood. He planes them smooth and true and upon them he etches the illustrations for his paper. He inks his plates, turns the primitive printing press, then sets and binds his sheets together to form the monthly magazine. A copy goes to the High Commissioner and another to the League of Nations at Geneva. *The Cry of the Kurdish* is called a monthly magazine, but often enough the little paper is suppressed on account of its Kurdish sentiments which are not always approved of by the Government at Baghdad.

The "fiery leaders" were, in fact, cautious and often indirect criticisms of the government's disregard of assurances made to the League of Nations about Kurdish rights (cf. 7.5.1.1 for quotations from the magazine and Figure 8).

A century after the appearance of the first journal, the Kurdish press has continued to be an arena of conflict between Kurdish nationalism and the central governments. By 1985, private journalism had disappeared and eleven periodicals published in Iraq, Iran and the USSR were state sponsored.

7.3.2 Main Features of Kurdish Journalism

Among the Kurdish language mass media, journalism has received most research attention. This research has, however, been limited to the history of

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985

	Title	Dates	Place of Publication				Language(s)				
			Iraq	Iran	Turkey	Syria, USSR	Kurdish	Kurdish-Arabic	Kurdish-Persian	Kurdish-Turkish	Multilingual
1	*Kurdistan*	1898-02			+		+				
2	*Kürd Teavün...*	1908			+					+	
3	*Kurdistan*	1908-09			+					?	
4	*Rojî Kurd*	1913			+					+	
5	*Yekbûn*	1913			+					+	
6	*Kurdistan*	1914		+			+				
7	*Bangî Kurd*	1914			+					+	
8	*Kurdistan*	1917-18			+					+	
9	*Jîn*	1918-19			+					+	
10	*Têgeyîştinî Rastî*	1918-19	+				+				
11	*Kurdistan*	1919-20			+						+
12	*Pêşkewtin*	1920-22	K				+				
13	*(Rojî) Kurd*	1921		K			+				
14	*Rojî Kurdistan*	1922-23	K				+				
15	*Bangî Kurdistan*	1922-23	K								+
16	*Bangî Heq*	1923	K				+				
17	*Umêdî Istiqlal*	1923-24	K				+				
18	*Jiyanewe*	1924-26	K				+				
19	*Diyarî Kurdistan*	1925-26	+								+
20	*Jiyan*	1926-38	K				+				
21	*Zarî Kirmancî*	1926-30	K				+				
22	*Peyje*	1927	+				+				
23	*Kerkûk*	1930-31	K				+				
24	*R'ya T'eze*	1930-				U	+				
25	*Hawar*	1932-35				S	+				
26	*Rûnakî*	1935-36	K				+				
27	*Ziban*	1937-39	K				+				
28	*Zanistî*	1938	K				+				
29	*Jîn*	1939-63	K				+				
30	*Gelawêj*	1939-49	+				+				

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dialect			Frequency							Format	
		Sorani	Kurmanji	Sorani-Kurmanji	Daily	Twice weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Quarterly/Annual	Unkown	Independent	Supplement
1	*Kurdistan*		+					+				+	
2	*Kürd Teavün...*			+			+					+	
3	*Kurdistan*		+				+					+	
4	*Rojî Kurd*								+			+	
5	*Yekbûn*		+	+								+	
6	*Kurdistan*	+							+			+	
7	*Bangî Kurd*	+						+				+	
8	*Kurdistan*		+					+				+	
9	*Jîn*			+			?					+	
10	*Têgeyiştinî Rastî*	+					+					+	
11	*Kurdistan*		+					+				+	
12	*Pêşkewtin*	+					+					+	
13	*(Rojî) Kurd*	+					+					+	
14	*Rojî Kurdistan*	+					+					+	
15	*Bangî Kurdistan*	+					+					+	
16	*Bangî Heq*	+					+					+	
17	*Umêdî Istiqlal*	+					+					+	
18	*Jiyanewe*	+					+					+	
19	*Diyarî Kurdistan*	+					+					+	
20	*Jiyan*	+					+					+	
21	*Zarî Kirmancî*	+							+			+	
22	*Peyje*	+										+	
23	*Kerkûk*	?										+	+
24	*R'ya T'eze*		+			+						+	
25	*Hawar*		+						+			+	
26	*Rûnakî*	+					+					+	
27	*Ziban*	+					+					+	
28	*Zanistî*	+						+				+	
29	*Jîn*	+					+					+	
30	*Gelawêj*	+							+			+	

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Ownership				Legal Status		Cessation			Total Nos.	Pp
		Central Govt.	Kd. Pol. Party	Kd. Govt./Revolt	Individuals	Licensed	Non-licensed	Banned	Finances, etc.	Other/Unknown		
1	*Kurdistan*				+		+				31	31
2	*Kürd Teavün..*		+									10
3	*Kurdistan*				+							
4	*Rojî Kurd*		+					+			Few	
5	*Yekbûn*				+						Few	
6	*Kurdistan*											
7	*Bangî Kurd*				+						5	48
8	*Kurdistan*				+						11	4
9	*Jîn*		+			+					25	16
10	*Têgeyiştinî...*	+				+					67	+
11	*Kurdistan*				+			+			19	12
12	*Pêşkewtin*	+				+					144	4-6
13	*(Rojî) Kurd*			+				+			Few	
14	*Rojî Kurdistan*			+		+		+			16	4
15	*Bangî Kurdist.*	+				+					17	6
16	*Bangî Heq*			+				+			3	2-4
17	*Umêdî Istiqlal*	+									25	4
18	*Jiyanewe*	+				+					56	4
19	*Diyarî Kurdist*				+	+					16	24
20	*Jiyan*				+	+		+			553	4
21	*Zarî Kirmancî*				+	+					24	20
22	*Peyje*				+	+					1	44
23	*Kerkûk*	+				+					53	
24	*R'ya T'eze*	+				+					3089	4
25	*Hawar*				+	+					57	16
26	*Rûnakî*				+	+		+			11	16
27	*Ziban*	+				+					73	4-6
28	*Zanistî*				+	+			+		1	8
29	*Jîn*				+	+		+			1161	
30	*Gelawêj*				+	+		+			105	

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dates	Place of Publication				Language(s)				
			Iraq	Iran	Turkey	Syria, USSR	Kurdish	Kurdish-Arabic	Kurdish-Persian	Kurdish-Turkish	Multilingual
31	*Ronahî*	1942-45				S	+				
32	*Roja Nû*	1943-46				*	+				
33	*Stêr*	1943-45				S	+				
34	*Dengî Gêtî Taze*	1943-47	+				+				
35	*Hawar(-î Kurd)*	1945		K			+				
36	*Kurdistan*	1945-46		K			+				
37	*Kurdistan*	1946		K			+				
38	*Gîrûgalî Mindalanî..*	1946		K			+				
39	*Helale*	1946		K			+				
40	*Hawarî Nîştman*	1946		K			+				
41	*Nizar*	1948	+					+			
42	*Hetaw*	1948	K				+				
43	*Aga w Rûdawî....*	1949-53	+				+				
44	*Êre Bexdaye*	1950-58	+					+			
45	*Peyam*	1953-55	+				+				
46	*Hetaw*	1954-60	K				+				
47	*Hîwa*	1957-63	+				+				
48	*Pêşkewtin*	1958-63	+					+			
49	*Şefeq-Beyan*	1958-63	K					+			
50	*Huner*	1955	K				+				
51	*Nîştman*	1959	K					+			
52	*Newroz*	1959-60	K					+			
53	*Kurdistan*	1959-63		+			+				
54	*Azadî*	1959-60	+				+				
55	*Ray Gel*	1959-62	K				+				
56	*Rizgarî*	1959	+				+				
57	*Dengî Qutabiyan*	1959	+				+				
58	*Dengî Qutabiyan*	1959	K								
59	*Rastî*	1959	K					+			
60	*Xebat*	1959-61	+				+				

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dialect			Frequency							Format	
		Sorani	Kurmanji	Sorani-Kurmanji	Daily	Twice weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Quarterly/Annual	Unknown	Independent	Supplement
31	*Ronahî*		+				+					+	
32	*Roja Nû*		+				+					+	
33	*Stêr*		+				+					+	
34	*Dengî Gêtî Taze*	+					+					+	
35	*Hawar(-î Kurd)*	+							+			+	
36	*Kurdistan*	+						+				+	
37	*Kurdistan*	+				+						+	
38	*Girûgalî Mindalanî..*	+										+	
39	*Helale*	+										+	
40	*Hawarî Nîştman*	+							+				
41	*Nizar*	+						+				+	
42	*Hetaw*	+					+					+	
43	*Agaw Rûdawî....*	+					+					+	
44	*Êre Bexdaye*	+							+				
45	*Peyam*	+					+					+	
46	*Hetaw*	+					+					+	
47	*Hîwa*	+							+			+	
48	*Pêşkewtin*	+					+					+	
49	*Şefeq-Beyan*	+						+				+	
50	*Huner*	+										+	
51	*Nîştman*	+										+	
52	*Newroz*	+							+			+	
53	*Kurdistan*	+					+					+	
54	*Azadî*	+			+								
55	*Ray Gel*	+					+					+	
56	*Rizgarî*	+					+					+	
57	*Dengî Qutabiyan*	+										+	
58	*Dengî Qutabiyan*	+											
59	*Rastî*		+		+							+	
60	*Xebat*	+			+							+	

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Ownership				Legal Status		Cessation			Total Nos.	Pp
		Central Govt.	Kd. Pol. Party	Kd. Govt./Revolt	Individuals	Licensed	Non-licensed	Banned	Finances, etc.	Other/Unkown		
31	*Ronahî*				+	+					28	20
32	*Roja Nû*				+	+					73	
33	*Stêr*					+						
34	*Dengî Gêtî Taze*					+						
35	*Hawar(-î Kurd)*			+				+			1	
36	*Kurdistan*			+				+			16	
37	*Kurdistan*			+							113	
38	*Girûgalî Mindalanî..*			+							3	
39	*Helale*			+				+			3	
40	*Hawarî Nîştman*			+				+			1	40
41	*Nizar*				+	+					22	24
42	*Hetaw*				+	+				+	1	4
43	*Agaw Rûdawî....*				+	+					193	20
44	*Êre Bexdaye*	+				+						
45	*Peyam*					+					155	
46	*Hetaw*				+	+		+			188	20
47	*Hîwa*					+		+			36	80
48	*Pêşkewtin*				+						65	
49	*Şefeq-Beyan*				+	+		+				
50	*Huner*										1	
51	*Nîştman*										1	
52	*Newroz*				+						19	
53	*Kurdistan*	+						+			205	12
54	*Azadî*		+			+		+			156	
55	*Ray Gel*		+					+			71	
56	*Rizgarî*		+								2	
57	*Dengî Qutabiyan*									+	4	
58	*Dengî Qutabiyan*										3	
59	*Rastî*				+			+			23?	
60	*Xebat*		+			+					14	

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dates	Place of Publication				Language(s)				
			Iraq	Iran	Turkey	Syria, USSR	Kurdish	Kurdish-Arabic	Kurdish-Persian	Kurdish-Turkish	Multilingual
61	*Hîway Kurdistan*	1959-60	K				+				
62	*Bl̂ese*	1959	K				+				
63	*Afret*	1959-63	+					+			
64	*Biřwa*	1960-63	K				+				
65	*Çareser kirdinî...*	1960-62	+					+			
66	*'Êraqî Nö*	1960-62	+				+				
67	*Ronahî*	1960-62	+				+				
68	*Jiyan*	1960-61	K				+				
69	*Rojî Nö*	1960-61	K				+				
70	*Dengî Kurd*	1960-61	+					+			
71	*Kurdistan*	1961	+				+				
72	*Edîbî 'Êraqî*	1961	+				+				
73	*Hewlêr*	1962-64	K					+			
74	*Dicle-Firat*	1962-63			+					+	
75	*Deng*	1963			+					+	
76	*Raperîn*	1963-68	K					+			
77	*Tûtin*	1963-72	+								+
78	*Raber*	1963-68	K					+			
79	*Deng û Bas*	1966-67	+					+			
80	*Dengê Taze*	1966			+					+	
81	*Gizîng*	1967	K					+			
82	*Birayî*	1967-68	+					+			
83	*Slêmanî*	1968-69	K					+			
84	*Karî Millî*	1968-69	+					+			
85	*Rûnakî*	1969	K				+				
86	*Rizgarî*	1969-70	K				+				
87	*Tîşk*	1969-70	K				+				
88	*Beyan*	1969-	+				+				
89	*Birayetî*	1970-71	+				+				
90	*Çiya*	1970-71	K				+				

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dialect			Frequency							Format	
		Sorani	Kurmanji	Sorani-Kurmanji	Daily	Twice Weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Quarterly/Annual	Unknown	Independent	Supplement
61	*Hîway Kurdistan*	+						+				+	
62	*Bîêse*	+							+			+	
63	*Afret*	+							+			+	
64	*Bîřwa*	+					+					+	
65	*Çareser kirdinî...*	+							+				
66	*'Êraqî Nö*	+							+				
67	*Ronahî*			+					+			+	
68	*Jiyan*	+							+			+	
69	*Rojî Nö*	+							+			+	
70	*Dengî Kurd*	+			+								
71	*Kurdistan*	+			+								
72	*Edîbî 'Êraqî*	+											+
73	*Hewlêr*	+					+						
74	*Dicle-Firat*		+						+			+	
75	*Deng*		+									+	
76	*Raperîn*	+					+						
77	*Tûtin*	+								Q			
78	*Raber*	+								A		+	
79	*Deng û Bas*	+			+								+
80	*Dengê Taze*		+									+	
81	*Gizîng*	+								A		+	
82	*Birayî*	+					+						+
83	*Slêmanî*	+							+			+	
84	*Karî Millî*	+						+					+
85	*Rûnakî*	+			+								+
86	*Rizgarî*	+					+					+	
87	*Tîşk*	+								A		+	
88	*Beyan*	+										+	
89	*Birayetî*			+					+				
90	*Çiya*			+								+	

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Ownership				Legal Status		Cessation			Total Nos	Pp
		Central Govt.	Kd. Pol. Party	Kd.Govt./Revolt	Individuals	Licensed	Non-licensed	Banned	Finances, etc	Other/Unknown		
61	*Hîway...*									+	12	6
62	*Blêse*							+			10	
63	*Afret*										15	
64	*Biřwa*		+								95	
65	*Çareser...*	+									21	
66	*'Êraqî Nö*	+									24	
67	*Ronahî*				+	+						80
68	*Jiyan*										2	
69	*Rojî Nö*		+			+					18	112
70	*Dengî Kurd*				+	+		+			75	1
71	*Kurdistan*		+					+			6	
72	*Edîbî 'Êraqî*										1	
73	*Hewlêr*	+									76	
74	*Dicle-Firat*				+			+			8	
75	*Deng*					+		+				
76	*Rapeřîn*				+						207	
77	*Tûtin*	+									21	
78	*Raber*										3	
79	*Deng û Bas*				+							1
80	*Dengê Taze*							+			4	
81	*Gizîng*										1	48
82	*Birayî*		+								20	
83	*Slêmanî*	+									11	
84	*Karî Millî*	+									16	4
85	*Rûnakî*		+								2	
86	*Rizgarî*		+						&		15	
87	*Tîşk*										2	64
88	*Beyan*	+									109	
89	*Birayetî*		+								16	66
90	*Çiya*				+						2	78

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dates	Place of Publication				Language(s)				
			Iraq	Iran	Turkey	Syria, USSR	Kurdish	Kurdish-Arabic	Kurdish-Persian	Kurdish-Turkish	Multilingual
91	*Xebatî Qutabyan*	1970	+					+			
92	*Defterî Kurdewarî*	1970	+				+				
93	*Zanyarî*	1970	+				+				
94	*Şořişî Kiştûkaĺ*	1970	+					+			
95	*Gêtî Pûĺ*	1970	+					+			
96	*Hawkarî*	1970-	+				+				
97	*Hewlêr*	1970-72	K					+			
98	*Jîn*	1971-?	K				+				
99	*Rihêĺe*	1971	K				+				
100	*Nûserî Kurd*	1971-75	K				+				
101	*Hêvî*	1971	K				+				
102	*Rojî Kurdistan*	1971-	+					+			
103	*Rwange*	1971	+				+				
104	*Dengî Mamosta*	1971-73	K				+				
105	*Dengî Cûtyar*	1971-?	+					+			
106	*Perwerde w...*	1971-73	+					+			
107	*Çiya*	1971	K				+				
108	*Birayetî*	1971-72	K				+				
109	*Birayetî*	1972-73	+				+				
110	*Estêre*	1972	K				+				
111	*Bîrî Nö*	1972-?	+				+				
112	*Bîrî Nö*	1972	K				+				
113	*Bere w Rûnakî*	1972-73	K				+				
114	*Gizîng*	1972	K				+				
115	*Govarî Kolêcî...*	1972-?	+				+				
116	*Nûserî Nö*	1972-78	K				+				
117	*Huşyarî Krêkaran*	1972-?	+				+				
118	*Babe Guřguř*	1973	K				+				
119	*Bo Pêşewe*	1973	K				+				
120	*Roşinbîr*	1973	K					+			

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dialect			Frequency							Format	
		Sorani	Kurmanji	Sorani-Kurmanji	Daily	Twice weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Quarterly/Annual	Unknown	Independent	Supplement
91	*Xebatî Qutabyan*	+										+	
92	*Defterî Kurdewarî*	+										+	
93	*Zanyarî*	+							+				
94	*Şoŕişî Kiştûkaĺ*	+					+						
95	*Gêtî Pûĺ*	+							+				
96	*Hawkarî*	+					+						
97	*Hewlêr*	+							+			+	
98	*Jîn*	+					+					+	
99	*Rihêĺe*	+							+	A		+	
100	*Nûserî Kurd*	+										+	
101	*Hêvî*		+									+	
102	*Rojî Kurdistan*	+							+			+	
103	*Rwange*	+											
104	*Dengî Mamosta*	+											
105	*Dengî Cûtyar*	+					+						
106	*Perwerde w...*	+								Q			
107	*Çiya*	+											
108	*Birayetî*	+					+						+
109	*Birayetî*	+					+						
110	*Estêre*	+							+				+
111	*Bîrî Nö*	+					+						+
112	*Bîrî Nö*	+								A^+		+	
113	*Bere w Rûnakî*	+										+	
114	*Gizîng*	+											
115	*Govarî Kolêcî...*	+											+
116	*Nûserî Nö*	+										+	
117	*Huşyarî Krêkaran*	+					+						+
118	*Babe Guŕguŕ*	+										+	
119	*Bo Pêşewe*	+											
120	*Roşinbîr*	+											+

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Ownership				Legal Status		Cessation			Nos.	Pp
		Central Govt.	Kd. Pol. Party	Kd. Govt./Revolt	Individuals	Licensed	Non-licensed	Banned	Finances, etc.	Other/Unknown		
91	*Xebatî...*										8	
92	*Defterî...*				+						3	
93	*Zanyarî*				+						Few	140
94	*Şořişî...*	+									5	
95	*Gêtî Pûî*											
96	*Hawkarî*	+									800	12
97	*Hewlêr*	+										80+
98	*Jîn*				+							
99	*Rihêle*										1?	56
100	*Nûserî Kurd*							+			12	80
101	*Hêvî*										Few	
102	*Rojî...*	+										
103	*Rwange*				+						3	
104	*Dengî...*						+				10?	64
105	*Dengî Cûtyar*	+										
106	*Perwerde...*	+									16	
107	*Çiya*				+							48
108	*Birayetî*		+								17	
109	*Birayetî*		+					+			85	
110	*Estêre*	+									2	
111	*Bîrî Nö*		+									
112	*Bîrî Nö*											
113	*Bere w...*										1	44+
114	*Gizîng*										3	
115	*Govarî...*	+									1	
116	*Nûserî Nö*						+					80
117	*Huşyarî...*	+										
118	*Babe Guřguř*						+				1?	
119	*Bo Pêşewe*										1?	
120	*Roşinbîr*						+					72

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dates	Place of Publication				Language(s)				
			Iraq	Iran	Turkey	Syria, USSR	Kurdish	Kurdish-Arabic	Kurdish-Persian	Kurdish-Turkish	Multilingual
121	*Roşinbîrî Nö*	1973-	+					+			
122	*Govarî Korî...*	1973-	+					+			
123	*Amanc*	1974	+				+				
124	*Birayetî*	1974	+				+				
125	*Birayetî*	1975	+				+				
126	*Otonomî*	1975-	+					?			
127	*Rizgarî*	1976			+					+	
128	*Roja Welat*	1977			+					+	
129	*'Êraq*	1977	+				+				
130	*Şorişî Kiştûkaĺ*	1978	+				+				
131	*Birûske*	1979		+					+		
132	*Hiwa*	1979		+					+		
133	*Hêriş*	1979		K			+				
134	*Firmêskî...*	1979		K			+				
135	*Dengî Kurd*	1979		+					+		
136	*Gîřûgaĺ*	1979		K			+				
137	*Kirmaşan*	1979		K					+		
138	*Merdum*	1979-80		+							
139	*Nûserî Kurd*	1979-	+				+				
140	*Tîrêj*	1980			+					+	
141	*Gîřşey Kurdistan*	1981-82			+		+				
142	*Karwan*	1982-	+					+			
143	*Amanc*	1984-		+			+				
144	*Sirwe*	1985-		+			+				
145	*Karwanî Werziş*	1985-	K				+				

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Dialect			Frequency							Format	
		Sorani	Kurmanji	Sorani-Kurmanji	Daily	Twice weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Quarterly/Annual	Unknown	Independent	Supplement
121	*Roşinbîrî Nö*	+										+	
122	*Govarî Korî...*	+								A			
123	*Amanc*	+											
124	*Birayetî*	+			+								
125	*Birayetî*	+											
126	*Otonomî*	+									+	+	
127	*Rizgarî*		+						+				
128	*Roja Welat*		+					+				+	
129	*'Êraq*	+											+
130	*Şorişî Kiştûkaî*	+											+
131	*Birûske*	+										+	
132	*Hiwa*	+										+	
133	*Hêriş*	+					+				+		
134	*Firmêskî...*	+										+	
135	*Dengî Kurd*	+										+	
136	*Girûgaî*	+										+	
137	*Kirmaşan*	?										+	
138	*Merdum*	+					+						+
139	*Nûserî Kurd*	+										+	
140	*Tîrêj*		+									+	
141	*Girşey Kurdistan*	+							B			+	
142	*Karwan*	+							+			+	
143	*Amanc*			+					B			+	
144	*Sirwe*	+								Q		+	
145	*Karwanî Werziş*	+						+					+

Table 30. Selected Features of Kurdish Journalism, 1898-1985 (continued)

	Title	Ownership				Legal Status		Cessation			Nos.	Pp
		Central Govt.	Kd. Pol. Party	Kd. Govt./Revolt	Individuals	Licensed	Non-licensed	Banned	Finances, etc	Other/Unknown		
121	*Roşinbîrî Nö*	+									106	
122	*Govarî Kořî...*	+					+					
123	*Amanc*							+			Few	34
124	*Birayetî*		+								26	10
125	*Birayetî*	+									Few	8
126	*Otonomî*	+				+						
127	*Rizgarî*							+				112
128	*Roja Welat*							+			Few	16
129	*'Êraq*	+										
130	*Şořişî Kiştûkaĺ*	+										54
131	*Birûske*						+	+			1	8
132	*Hiwa*				+		+	+			6	4-6
133	*Hêriş*						+	+			21?	
134	*Firmêskî...*						+	+			1?	
135	*Dengî Kurd*						+	+			4?	
136	*Giřûgaĺ*						+	+			3	
137	*Kirmaşan*							+			1	
138	*Merdum*		+				+	+			20	4
139	*Nûserî Kurd*	+									7	191
140	*Tîrêj*						+	+			3	
141	*Giřşey...*				+	+				+	9	24
142	*Karwan*	+				+					33	160
143	*Amanc*	+				+					7	50
144	*Sirwe*				+	+					2	100
145	*Karwanî...*	+				+					11	4

Abbreviations and Symbols: A, Annual; B, Bimonthly; C, Cyrillic; K, Kurdistan; Pp., pages; Nos., total numbers published; Q, Quarterly; S, Syria; U, USSR; +, indicates presence of a feature; ?, unknown or uncertain;

Sources and Notes: *, periodical No. 32 was published in Beirut, Lebanon. For information on sources and the organization of the Table cf. Subchapter 7.3 Note Nos. 2 and 3.

individual journals. Adequate data on the journals are not yet available. Table 30 provides information that is relevant for the language related aspects of the press.

7.3.2.1 The Problem of Commercialization

A peculiar feature of periodical publishing, especially newspapers, is that its cost of production is almost invariably higher than its selling price. The gap is usually bridged by means other than selling–advertising, subsidies (by governments, organizations or individuals) or even unethical practices such as blackmail (Sommerlad 1966:72-3).

The Kurdish press has had to rely almost entirely on the least rewarding source, i.e., sales. The costs have been met usually by the dedication of the editors, publishers, writers, printers and distributors motivated to put out a publication by any means possible. No publisher of a Kurdish journal has ever envisaged the possibility of making profit.

Subscription as an Income Source. Dependence on subscription and sales is obvious from the pages of most periodicals which carry no or very few advertisements, and are full of reminders and warnings to subscribers to pay their fees. To cite but one example, *Gelawêj*, the most exalted magazine, had to announce the names of some of the subscribers who had not paid their fees for years. This was done after sending many reminders and final warnings in the journal.

Advertising. Commercial advertising is the product of a market economy based on industrial production. Underdeveloped subsistence economies do not require or afford advertising. The scarcity of commercial advertising is, however, partly compensated for by the state bureaucracy, which needs space in the national and local press. In many countries, government advertising is a decisive factor in keeping small papers in business (Sommerlad 1966:64,73,79-80).

Commercial advertising is very rare in the Kurdish press before 1958, and quite limited in later years. *Kurdistan*, the official organ of the Kurdish Republic (in Iran, 1946), established advertising rates, but no commercial interest could be generated in the largest urban center, the capital city of Mahabad, with a population of about 19,000. By the early 1960s, however, commercial pieces appeared in several magazines published in Sulaymaniya and Baghdad. The monthly *Rojî Nö* usually sold one to three pages of space to shopkeepers in the city. Most of the advertised items were not locally produced commodities, but rather world-marketed products such as RCA radios, Mitsubishi electric fans, and Jovial watches imported by sales agents in Baghdad and sold in Kurdistan through local shopkeepers.

A number of periodicals in Iraq have earned revenue from official advertising. *Hetaw* (1954-60) had the largest share, usually carrying 6 to 8 pages of local government announcements at the end of its twenty pages of articles,

poetry, etc. The magazine complained about discrimination when local offices sent their advertisements to the Arab Press of Baghdad and Mosul. The editor claimed that the Kurdish press had not received even one thousandth of the assistance extended by the Government to the Arab Press (No. 78, November 10, 1956). In spite of advertising income, *Hetaw* relied heavily on subscriptions which is indicated by the various complaints and warnings addressed to indebted subscribers (e.g., No. 95, April 30, 1975, p. 25).

Other Revenue Sources. Besides advertising, governments in developing countries can encourage (or discourage) provincial or small presses in a variety of ways. The principal method, however, is through subsidies of one kind or another. Three basic types of government aid are: those which may facilitate establishment, those which improve revenues, and those which reduce operating costs. More specifically, these include a large number of measures such as: relaxing import controls and duties affecting printing plants, including financial requirements for deposits, guarantees, and advance payments (e.g., abolishing or reducing duties on imported machinery, newsprint, ink, etc.); tax concessions; reduced postage rates; provision of transportation facilities (railway or air freights), and providing a capital sum for the purchase of a printing plant (Sommerlad 1966:78-83).

The Kurdish press of Iraq has rarely received such assistance. It has, instead, often been handicapped by numerous restrictions, especially in licensing. The editor of *Diyarî Kurdistan* (cf. Figure 9) wrote in the first issue (March 1925, p. 3) that he had planned to publish a political daily paper in Baghdad to function as the mouthpiece of the Kurdish people. He did not succeed because a cash deposit of 2,000 rupees was required for issuing the licence of a political daily. He offered real property instead but regulations did not allow it. The only recorded case of government assistance was the donation of 100 rupees to *Zarî Kirmancî* by the Prime Minister on his visit to Rawandiz in 1927 (No. 10, July 3, 1927, p. 23).

Private patronage of the press by individuals motivated by nationalism has been more effective than official support. *Zarî Kirmancî* was barely legible due to worn-out types used in the press. Funding for the purchase of type from Egypt was provided through donations ranging from one to 100 Rupees by 31 individuals whose names and the amount of contribution appeared in the magazine (No. 5, November 11, 1928, p. 23). They were government officials including teachers and officers, Deputies, merchants, one tailor, etc. Another example is assistance extended to the Kurdistan Press and its journal *Hetaw* by a well-to-do person who offered the free use of any of his buildings to house the printing press in Arbil. Many years ago when more space was needed, another person had offered a free location (*Hetaw*, No. 69, August 10, 1956, p. 17). Similarly, the first Kurdish paper, *Kurdistan*, which was sent to readers by mail was assisted by the readership. The editor acknowledged the receipt of donations from Diyarbakir, Sulaymaniya and Adana (No. 13, 1898, p. 4).

7.3.2.2 The Problem of Distribution

An inefficient distribution system based on private connections with individuals prevailed until the early 1970s. The publisher of a periodical would locate usually one "trustee" (*baweř pêkiraw*) in each town and announce the latter's name and address as distribution and subscription agent. The only delivery system on the national level was the state postal system which was also an organ of political control of the distribution of all printed matter.

The literary magazine *Gelawêj* usually announced the list of trustees on the back cover. Volume 5, No. 2 (1944), for example, had the names of nine individuals in eight towns of Iraq (Sulaymaniya, Kirkuk, Arbil, Khanaqin, Zakho, Amadiya, Rawandiz, and Koy Sanjaq) and four agents in four Iranian cities (Sanandaj, Kermanshah, Hamadan, Tehran). To get a copy of the magazine, non-subscribers had to find the trustees, eight of whom had no business address, although they could be contacted at their residences, which were easy to locate in small towns. The trustees who included a clergyman, a college student, a government employee, two bookstore keepers, etc., were unpaid. Distribution of Iraqi Kurdish journals in Iran was possible only during the World War II years when the central government was not in a position to exercise strict censorship.

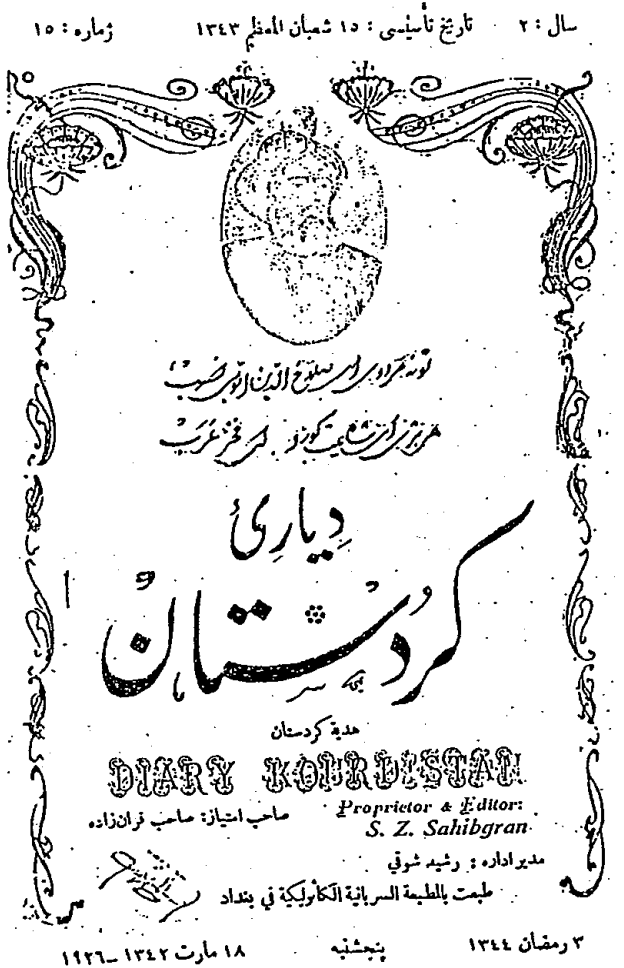
Other periodicals operated on a similar basis. *Hetaw* had seventeen trustees in fourteen cities and towns, only seven of whom had business addresses, including one mosque, one bookstore, and three shops (No. 20, November 20, 1955). Subscribers were requested to give their fees to the trustees and obtain a receipt (No. 99, June 10, 1957, p. 20).

This distribution system was in operation even after the fall of the monarchy, when a great upsurge in publishing took place. The only change in distribution was the addition of several bookstores to the list (cf. 7.2.2.7). The monthly *Hîwa* announced (Vol. 3, No.5, May 1960) seventeen trustees in thirteen cities and towns, ten of whom were owners of bookstores or could be contacted through their businesses. *Rojî Nö* (Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 113, 1961) had 23 "addresses and bookstores" in 22 locations.

7.3.2.3 Production Problems

The printed paper is the result of a manufacturing process which involves the use of newsprint, ink, type and printing machines. In developing countries, where industrialization has not made much progress, both plant and raw materials are scarce, and the printing of newspapers presents almost insurmountable difficulties (Sommerlad 1966:102).

The absence of viable Kurdish daily papers is no doubt partly related to production problems. Shortage of paper and its high price has always been a problem. *Zarî Kirmancî* had to stop publishing for three months before paper was sent from Baghdad to Kirkuk, from where "after great efforts" it was forwarded to Rawandiz with the help of acquaintances (No. 9, June 2, 1927, p.



سال : ٢ تاریخ تأسیسی : ١٥ شعبان المعظم ١٣٤٣ ژمارە : ١٥

نوسەر مراوی لە سطوح الذین الوبی ضرب
هر بزی لە شاعیب کوزو . لە فخر عرب

دیاری
کوردستان

هدیة کردستان

DIARY KOURDISTAN

Proprietor & Editor:
S. Z. Sahibgran

صاحب امتیاز: صاحب قزانزاده

مدیر اداره : رشید شوقی

طبعت بالمطبعة السریانیة الکاثولیکیة في بغداد

٣ رمضان ١٣٤٤ پنجشنبه ١٨ مارت ١٣٤٢ ـ ١٩٢٦

لە بەرەی نوسین تازە وکوردی پەڤی

لە نووسین وشیوە دا سە ربخویی

(ان الله یامر بالیسر ولا بالعسر) «الحدیث»

١

کورد وەکوو لەژین تاریخی و کومە لە یی دا لە هیچ میلەتیك ناکا ..
لە زبانوو شیوەداش لە کس ناکا . بە تبیعەت ، بناغەی خوندنوو نووسینیشی
جو وسەربخو اەبی .

کورد زبانی خوی بە قەت زبانی دینی گە وڕە وەوبارەك أزانی .
بناغەی میلەتیك بە زمان ، وروحی پەادەبیات اە پی وری ... بو هموو
نەوجوانیکی کورد لازمە : زمانی کوردی بە چکی کی شان وزەفەر بزانی .
زمانی کوردی هر چند زور کونە ، امونده تە روو تازە ، بە رزووڕە نگی ،
هتا ایم رو بەسایەی زمانمانەوە خومان وخوومان ناسی وآگاداری کردووە
لەبو اموە کە خومان گووم وڕیان لی تیك نە چی لازمە ، آگاداری ی
زمانە کە مان بکە ین . زمانمان لە گەل نووسینان رە وشوڤی کوردایەتی
بگڕی . وزمانوو نووسینمان وخومان لە گەل (زمانە) ڕیك بە خەین .
بە حسەبەی نووسینوو خوندنە کەمان ، توزیك پاسی عەرەب بکە ین .
وە کوو لە نووسینی پیشوومانەعرزی خوندەواران کردیوو عەرەبکان
لەبناغەی خوندنوو نووسین خو یان زور گاهیی اکەن . لیرە .. پاسی .

2). Another delay of several months occurred when new type was ordered from Egypt. Thus, because of production, financial and political obstacles (cf. 7.1.2.B), only 24 issues of the magazine came out from May, 1926 to July, 1932, instead of the 74 Projected issues.

7.3.2.4 Frequency: Absence of Daily Papers

A permanent feature of the Kurdish press is the late appearance of dailies and their ephemeral nature. The first daily, *Azadî*, began in 1959, i.e., sixty-one years after the appearance of the first journal. The obstacles have been primarily political, although technical and financial problems were present. The following dailies (complete list) all appeared after the fall of the monarchy in Iraq:

Name of Daily	Date of Publishing	No. of Issues
1. *Azadî*	1959-60	156
2. *Rastî*	1959	23?
3. *Xebat*	1959	14
4. *Dengî Kurd*	1960-61	75
5. *Kurdistan*	1961	6
6. *Deng û Bas*	1966-67	?
7. *Rûnakî*	1969	2
8. *Birayetî*	1974 (Jan.-Feb.)	26

Five of these dailies (Nos. 1-2, 4-5 and 8) were suppressed by the government. The last one, *Birayetî* 'Brotherhood', was widely distributed in Kurdistan and always sold out. The government closed the paper, published by the Kurdish Democratic Party, because it lacked a permit from the Ministry of Information. The Party did, however, hold a permit for publishing a daily whose title in Arabic, *al-Ta'akhî*, meant the same thing.

Frequency data available for 102 titles suggest that 41.1% of these periodicals have been weeklies, with monthlies coming next in frequency (cf. Table 31).

It must be emphasized, however, that most of the privately published journals did not appear with regularity. For example, *Hetaw* was subtitled as "a Kurdish literary weekly published presently every ten days" (No. 85, January 20, 1957) and "...published every fifteen days" (No. 185, September 15, 1960). Similarly, the information available on *Jîn* for the years 1937 to 1944 suggests that, except for 1942 (44 issues), the paper never managed to put out more than 39 issues per year (Edmonds 1945:188).

The absence of daily papers is one important indicator of an underdeveloped press. In terms of language use, it implies that the Kurdish reader has to rely on Arabic language print media for information and entertainment purposes.

Table 31. Frequency of Kurdish Journals

Frequency	# of Titles	%
Daily	8	7.8
Twice/Thrice weekly	2	1.9
Weekly	42	41.1
Biweekly	12	11.7
Monthly	27	26.4
Bimonthly	2	1.9
Quarterly	3	2.9
Annual	6	5.8
Total	**102**	**100.00**

Source: Data from Table 30.

7.3.2.5 Circulation

The following are the only data available on circulation:

Table 32. Circulation of Kurdish Press in Iraq

	Circulation	Estimated Target Population	# of copies per 100 Inhabitants
Kurdistan (1898)	2,000	1,500,000	0.13
Xebat (1960)	5,000	1,500,000	0.33
Tîşk (1969)	1,500	2,000,000	0.07
Hewlêr (1970)	1,000	2,000,000	0.05
Dengî Mamosta (1971-73)	1,500	2,000,000	0.10
Roşinbîr (1973)	2,000	2,000,000	0.46
Roşinbîrî Nö (1980)	1,400	3,000,000	0.46
Karwan (1982)	7,000	3,000,000	0.23

If we apply the UNESCO yardstick for press development (a minimum of ten copies of daily newspapers for every one hundred inhabitants), the most popular daily, *Xebat*, falls far below the majority of countries in press coverage. In Kurdistan, as in other developing societies, low circulation seems to be related to higher illiteracy rates and low per capita income. In fact, Sommerlad (1966:5) considers poverty a principal reason for low circulation of the press in Asia (cf., also, Passin 1972:113, 116).

7.3.2.6 Place of Publication

Most of the press (72.4%) has been published in Iraq. Iran's second position is due to the journalistic activity of the Kurdish Republic (1946) and the few months of freedom of the press following the 1978-79 Revolution.

Table 33. Number of Kurdish Journal Titles According to Country, 1898-1985

Country	# of Titles	%
Iraq	105	72.4
Iran	20	13.7
Turkey, Ottoman*	9	6.2
Turkey, Republican	6	4.1
Syria	3	2.0
USSR	1	0.6
Lebanon	1	1.3
Total	**145**	**100.00**

* Cf. Subchapter 7.3, Note 3

Source: Data from Table 30

Using a more accurate basis for comparison, e.g., number of journals per units of population, the USSR emerges as the most active country in Kurdish journalism (cf. Table 34; for comparative data on book publishing, cf. 7.2.7).[3]

Table 34. Number of Kurdish Journals per 100,000 Population, 1985

	No. of Journals	Kurdish Population	# of Journals per 100,000 Population
Iraq	8	3,105,000 (1980)[b]	0.25
Iran	2	3,500,000 (1980)[c]	0.05
USSR	1	115,858 (1979)[d]	0.86

Sources: [a] Cf. Table 30; [b] & [c] Cf. Table 1; [d] Official census figures, cf. Table 8.

The geographical distribution within Iraq shows a familiar pattern in which Baghdad accounts for half of all the titles and Sulaymaniya comes next as the dominant cultural and intellectual center of Kurdistan (cf. Table 19 on books). The position of Arbil is enhanced by the government's policy of demoting the status of Sulaymaniya by making Arbil the center of the Autonomous Region.

۱۱ ذی‌القعده ۱۳۲۶ — جمعه ایرتسی — ۲۲ تشرین ثانی ۱۳۲۴

جمعیت طرفدن منتخب
صاحب امتیاز ومدیر ومحرری
سلیمانبی توفیق

شرائط اشترا
طشره ایچون سنه‌لکی پوسته اجرتیله
برابر ۸۰ ، والی آیلغی ٤٥ غروشدر

نسخه‌سی بر غروشدر

کرد تعاون وترقی غزته‌سی

۱۳۲٤

جمعیتك واسطهٔ نشر افکاریدر

تاریخ تأسیسی ۱۳۲٦ — ۱۳۲٤

سر محرری دیاربکرلی احمد جمیل

کرد ارباب فکر وقلمنه دائما صحیفه‌لریمز آچیقدر

درج اولنیان اوراق وآثار اعاده اولنماز

اداره‌خانه‌سی وزنه‌جیلرده کرد تعاون وترقی مرکز عمومیسیدر

ایلك نسخه‌سی جمعیتمزك ارکانی ایچون بش غروشدر

نومرو ۱ — شمدیلك هفته‌ده بردفعه نشر اولنه‌جق دینی، علمی، سیاسی، ادبی، اجتماعی غزته‌در — جلد ۱

کرد قومی آرزوی وجدانیسیله عثمانلیلق نامه مبجلی طاشیدیغی زمان برهنکامهٔ استبلا ایدیکه ایچنده بولندیغمز محیط معارف، قلیه‌جلرك خطوط جوهریه‌سنده اوقونور، مباحث نفیه تراجمه‌لرك غائله‌سندن ازبرلنیردی هنوز شجاعتده، اشتهار سلابتده، افتخار صولده اراتیلیردی. اویله بر عثمانلی دورینك مشیهٔ کبرو دارندن طوغان کردلر بشون دورهٔ حیاتلرینی نه ایله برحیات امجده کچیرمشلر وبناءً علیه مبارزهٔ حیاتده صلابت دینیه، حماست قطریه‌دن بشقه برشی قزانه‌مامشلر: دورهٔ جدال یانیشدی فیض مدنیت کتاب حیاتك دیکر رنجیفهٔ دنکینی اوکزده، آجدی فقط طالعسزلك دیه‌جکز کردلرلده کوزلری، حق دیلری باغلی قالمشدی هجرا برلرده، خیمه‌لشین، بادیه نوردی بر حالده متفور مقهور برسفنده قیرلمده، صویولمه، محکوم ایدیلر بو کون عثمانلیغك دیدهٔ فتخارینی قاشدیرن رنکین برساحهٔ تعلیمه سرپشت برشهراه ترقیده بالجمله اقوامی ایلریده کوریبورز.

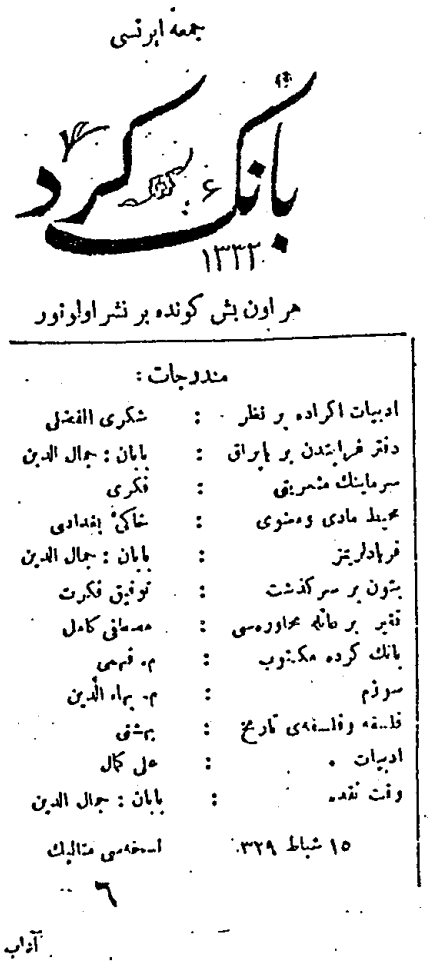
بز بونجه سنه کوز قپالیلغمك رمدلریله، آجیلریله بیهوده جریانه، جریانه بر طریق تولی بولهمیورز وفنیله علوم وفنون داهیلرینی بشدیرن کردستان بوکون هندستاندن کذرنه پیلدیکی برعنوم دینیه کتابی هردوسده اولان واحکام شریعته مستند بولنان قانون اساسینك محافظهٔ احکامیله اوسایه‌ده کردقوم نجیبنك احتیاجات عصریه‌جه وتخصیص معارفجه اسباب ترقی وسعادتمحالی استکمال ودیکر وعده‌لرله وسیا ارمنیلرله تزاید اشتلافات مدنیه وحسن معاشرت قومیه‌لرینی استحصال خصوصلرینه وقانون اساسینك مرکزه تعارق خللدن وقایه‌سی وغایت منکهٔ دولت عثمانیه‌نك محافظه‌سی اوغورنده ایثار قدمینهٔ حیاته اولان عزم وجزم ملی ودینینك برنقطهٔ ثابتهٔ اتحاددده تأیید تأییدی قضیه‌مهمه‌سنه معطوف اولدیغی کبی مجلس مبعوثانك کشادیله بوکی جمعیتلرك دوام موجودیتلری حائزه وباخود فرق سیاسیه‌یه انقلابنده تعقیب اولنه‌جق مسلك سیاسی دنی مقام جلیل خلافت اسلامیه وساحت معظمهٔ عثمانیه‌نك قانون مذکوره معین حقوق شرعیه‌سنه ایراث نقیصه ایتمیه‌جك ولاعلی التعین بر قومك دیکر برقومه اوزرینه برکونه امتیازی حائز اولمه‌مسی وولایتله توزیع مأذونیت اعضاسی قاعده‌لرینه مستنداً ملك دولتك احتیاجات مدنیه‌جه وها موافق اداره‌سنی تأمین ایلیه‌جك صورتده مجلس مبعوثانك قانون اساسیه‌جه لزوم کورمه‌جکی هرکونه تعدیلات وتکمیلاتی ودولت عثمانیه‌نك تمالی وشوکتنی مستلزم کافهٔ تصورات نوطکی برقاچ سطرینی استلماغ ایدرك اولادیته میراث برافیور بر چوق مهم ایشلر ایچون بربرینزله مخابره ایدرکن جیوقلریمزك دومان ویازفجریله مهرلریمزی بیاض بر کاغده باصه‌رق (ملفاتی بطن الحامل) قیدندن جاهل بر آدمله معلوب یره کوندیرر وتقصیلاتی او آدمك تقریرینه حواله ایدرز. ایشته منسوب اولدیغی قومی بومدهش فراکلغده، بو آچیقلی ایکمیتده کورن (کرد تعاون وترقی جمعیتی) بویله بر ماشه‌لر ایچون آغلایه اغلایه وفقط استقبالمز ایچون کوله کوله عثمانلیغك برعضو قیمتداری، عثمانلیسق شرفنك ایلك پیمانکاری اولان کرد قردشلرینك مرکونارقیسی، تمایلی معارفی، تجارتی، صناعی والحاصل عثمانلیلق نام بالندی نسبتده اکتساب سعادت ایچون بیوك برعزم ایله عهد ومیثاق آلتنه کیرمشدر. شوعزم وثیقه‌زك کردستانمزه صلای برزمزمه‌سی، قابالك موجی شوغزته‌مزدر. اللهدن توفیق — توفیق

جمعیتك بیانامه‌سی

«کرد تعاون وترقی» جمعیتك مقصد تشکیلی نظامنامهٔ داخلیسنده بیان وتصریح اولندیغی اوزره براتی سیلامت ملت وملك

تأسیسی ۱۳۲٦ — ۱۳۲٤

Fig. 10. *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, bilingual Kurdish-Turkish magazine published in Istanbul in 1908.



جمعهٔ ابرنسی

بانگ کرد

۱۳۳۲

هر اون پش کونده بر نشر اولونور

مندرجات :

ادبیات اکراده بر نظر	:	شکری الفضلی
دفتر فرایندن بر یاراق	:	بابان : جمال الدین
سرمایهٔ مشرقی	:	فکری
محیط مادی ومعنوی	:	خاکیٔ بغدادی
فرهادلریتز	:	بابان : جمال الدین
بشون بر سرگذشت	:	توفیق فکرت
تقریر بر عالهٔ محاورهسی	:	مصطفی کامل
بانك کرده مکتوب	:	م. فهمی
سوزلم	:	م. بهاء الدین
فلسفه وفلسفهٔ تاریخ	:	بیشکی
ادبیات .	:	عل کمال
وقت نقده	:	بابان : جمال الدین

۱۵ شباط ۳۲۹ ... اسخهسی متالیك

٦

آداب مطبعهسی

پاش ماوه

٢

مثلا اوحدودهدی . که کسانی جمیتك له معاملاتی خویاندا . بو یکتری محافظه دهکن بی هیزیته بر چاو ونیا بفکری امه بسر یکدوه قسم (حقوق) تشکیل دهکا یعنی محافظه کردنی او حدوده (حقوقه) له پاش آوهی کام مناسبانه وام حقوقه به صورت عرف وعادت دا اعترای اینه قاعدهیك وه کوردهی او عمل واجب دهبی کام قاعدهانش (قانون ملت) ناو دهبا . ومحافظهی حقوقیم قانونانه تأمین دهکری

تحقیق ماهیتی او وتوعانهی کهنتیجهی بجی نهبنانی ام قانونانه وحقوقهیه عائده به (حکمت حقوق) . تعین جزای انهش عائده به (حقوق جزا)

قسمی کی کوردهی مناسبات بشریهش (کوردهین محصول کوشش) اوانهیه که بو تأمین کردنی (حوائج ضروریه) چشت لازم) و [منافع مادیه ـ قازانج] به سبب [تعاون ـ یاری دان بو یکتری] اقسام دهکا . حاصل بونی ثروت وسامان پیش پیش بونی اوه مسئلهی مبادله و [تداول ـ دستاو دست رویشتن] امانه زمینی تدقیقات علم ثروته .

بغیر امهش کسان جمیتك که له نفع وضرر دا شریکن له کرجیانی تراعلانه یان دهبی . امهش داخل دائرهی [حقوق بین الدوله]

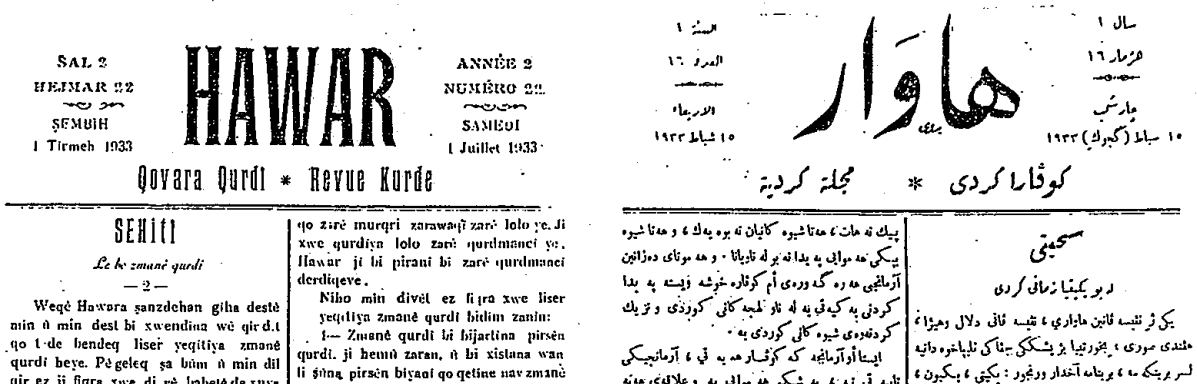
خلاصه امانهی که عرضم کرد پسپو پیشاندانی او وتوعات پشیره به که زور نیکلاوه و [غیر متجانس ـ له یکتری نه چون] .

مناسبانو روابطی علم تاریخ له کرام توعه وتوعانه له حقیقتدا لوقایع وحشته که له برو زوری ام مقالهیه عرض کرا . زیاتروقایعتر .

امامم وقایعه هیچ کامیان تا بینه موضوع بو تاریخ بوبه له تعریف مستغنی به

اینجا با بزانین (تاریخ چیه . ام عالمه مستقله چی موضوعیکی هیه بل موضوع ام

Fig. 11. *Bangî Kurd*, magazine published in Baghdad in 1914.



SAL 2
HEJMAR 22
ŞEMUH
1 Tîrmeh 1933

HAWAR

ANNÊE 2
NUMÊRO 22
SAMEDÎ
1 Juillet 1933

Qovara Qurdî * Revue Kurde

سال ۱
ژمارە ۱۶
چارشەم
۱۰ شباط (کجوك) ۱۹۳۳

السنة ۱
العدد ۱۶
الاربعاء
۱۰ شباط ۱۹۳۳

هاوار

کوڤارا کردی * مجلة كردية

SEHÎTÎ

Le ber zmanê qurdî

—2—

Weqê Hawara şanzdehan gîha destê min û min dest bi xwendina wê qird.t qo t-de bendeq liser yeqitîya zmanê qurdî beye. Pê geleq şa bûm û min dil qir ez jî fiqra xwe di vê babetê de xuya biqim. Ezê ji golina xwe bi çend pirsên biyanqî dest pê biqim.

« Major Soaneyeqî ingiliz qo di nav Qurdistan û Ecemistanê de geriyaye û hinî zmanê qurdî û farisî lûye liser Qerdistana jêrin qitêbeq nivisandiye. Major di qitêba xwe de bi zmanê qurdî û bi zarê muqrîjî mijûl dibe. Ev e golinên Major Soane.

«Yên qo zmanê qurdî rind dizanin qêm in. Ji lewra binêq debejîn qo ev zman ji zmanê di farisî û erebî hevdudanî ye, piraniya pirsên xwe ji wan girtine. Hineqên din dibêjin qo ev zman zareqî farisiya qevn e. û pês de ne çiye. No, her du golin jî ne rast in. Zmanê qurdî zmaneqî- qeleq qevn e, ewçend qo ji zmanê farisî û nuh jî qevntir e. Zmaneqî tenûz, bi zmanazineqe binizam. Ji bêla din zmanê qurdî ne qetîye bin hîmê zmanê erebî weqe farisî û pirsên arî.a xwerû winda ne qiriye. Lê farisî ev winda qirine û dewlemendîya xwe bi pirsên erebî aniye pê.

Di nav zarên di zmanê qurdî de z.rên paqtir û xweştir zarên muqrî û qurdmaci ne. Ev her du zar geleq nêziq zmanê zendî, zmanê Avêsta ne.»

Carqê hevaleqî min ji min re goti ku qo zarê muqrî zarawaqî zarê lolo ye. Ji xwe qurdiya lolo zarê qurdmanci ye. Hawar jî bi pirani bi zarê qurdmanci derdiqeve.

Niho min dîvêt ez ji we xwe liser yeqitîya zmanê qurdî bidim zanin:

1— Zmanê qurdî bi bijartina pirsên qurdî, ji hemû zaran, û bi xistana wan li şûna pirsên biyanî qo qetine nav zmanê me (tirqî û erebî).

2— Berî her tiştî dîvêt em zareqî ji bo xwendin û nivisandinê bibij·rin, piştre pirsên zarên din bêxin nav wî zarî

3— Zmanê qurdî bi awayê di jerin pês ve dicit û biser diqevit:

A: berhev.jirina şîir û pendê di bapir û qalan, da qo qanîyeqe edebî biqeve destê her nivîsêvanî.

B: danîna dibistanan di nav bajar, gund û eşîran de.

C: wergerandina qitêbên biyanîyan ên bêja li zarê xwe.

D: belav.qirina rojname û qovaran.

F: danîna du civatên cihê, zanistî û dinî. Ev her du civat bi hull·ajartina pirsên qevnar û bi peydaqirin û hevdudanina pirsên nuh dê mijûl bibin.

Cli Xeyalqê Çewrî

Sehîtî

—3—

Di hejmara hawarê a sanzdehan de liser sehîtiya zmên sê pirsiyar ji qurd·n xwenda qiri bûn. Bi van çend sozen j·r n golina xwe û bi geleq silavan ve pesîr· hingo dîjim.

1— Yeqitîya elfabeya qurdî.

2— Heqî xortên qurdan yên qo ji

سحیتی

د بو بکیتیا زمانی کردی

یک ژ نقیسه ڤانین ماباری ، نقیسه ڤانی دلال وهیڤا ، هندی سوری ، پخورتیا پژیشکی جنا کی نلیاخوه دانیه لسر پرسکه مه ، پرسیاره آخدار ورخیور : یکیتی ، یکبون ، یکتیا زمانی کردی ...

هندی سوری پرین شانی مه دیده و دخوازه ام ئلما ل درمانی بی بگرت . ام تو تشتی لسر گوتین سوری نانیژن . ژ بر کو هرچی دنیا یو نقیسه ڤانی پخوه گوتنه . ام تی نقیساوای ایبر دزاران ، بر زاری یا کرو نیخرو ، ژبرکه بلاف د کن و لی هیشیا جوابین خوه ندڤانین خوه دبنن .

« هاوار »

ای لاوانی کورد !

هه موتان ڤی گه پیشتوه سبی پر شو بلاوی مان و فه وتانان و گوم کردنی سر و به خوبی مان هه ر نه بوتی « به کیه نیه » له ناوماتا . ولهم عصره که همو قه دیمك چاوی کردوه ته وه و ووشیار بوه ته وه و پر به کیه ڤی خوی هه ول ده دات و شهرو روژ له پی ناوی به کیه ڤی خویا ده کوشیت و ده کوژریت ، ده بی ایوه ش مشوری خومان بخوین و بگه پنه فریای خومان . و پر به کیه ڤی خومان ڤبکوشین .

همه موتانه ده زانین پایه ی به که مین ، به شکو پایه ی هه ره که وره ی « به کیه ڤی » ، « به کیه ڤی زمانه » و به بی به کیه ڤی زمان و شیوه ، به کیه ڤی نه وی پیك نایت . و له المانیا و ایتالیا و حکومه تانی دیمکه به کیه ڤی پیك نه هات ، هه تا شیوه کانیان نه بوه به یه ك ، و هه تا شیوه یکی هه موانی به پدا نه بو له ناویانا . و هه موتای دوزانین آزمانیی هه ره گه وره ی أم کوڤاره خوشه ویسته به پدا کردنی به که ڤی یه له ناو لهجه کانی کوردی و نزیك کردنه وه ی شیوه کانی کوردی به .

ایسا أو آزمانیه که کڤشار هه یه ڤی ، آزمانیه کی تایبه ڤی نیه ، به شکو هه موانی به و علاقه ی هه یه له گهل هه مو کورديك و هه ر کورد پر ستیك .

له بهر أوه تکاده کهین له هه موتان ، له همو أو کیه سانه که دیل به ته وه که ی ده سوتیت و ده به ویت ناوی ئمو مه که ی به رژکات ، جه وابی أم سی پرسیاره ی خواره وه بدات :

(۱) چلون زمانی کوردی صاف و پاك ده کریت ؟

(۲) چلون شیوه و لهجه جیاجیا کانی کوردستان له یه ك نزیك ده کریت و ایشیکی وهاده کریت که همو کورده کان له لهجه ی یه کتری ڤیکگهن ؟

(۳) چلون زمانی کوردی پشده که ویت و به چی جور یك سهر ده که ویت ؟

پیش ره وی جه واب دانه وه :

۱ — ناڤی جه وابی هر سی پرسیاره که له لا پره ی یك زیاتر نیت له لا پره ی کانی (هاوار)

۲ — دیلی جه وابه کان به سر کیف خو سربست و راسته و خو بو خیوی (هاوار) بنیر .

۳ — ده بی هندا پاکی گلان ۱۰۰ جه وابی پرسیاره کان بنیریت و چی جه وابی ته یول نا کریت که له یه کی گلان ده نکتر به ایداره خانه ده گات .

Fig. 12. *Hawar*, Kurdish magazine published in Damascus, Syria, 1932-35 and 1941-43.



کوردستان

ارگانی حزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان

ژمارە ٦٩

سالی یەکەم

دانەی قرانێک

٣٠ پوشپەر ١٣٢٥

پیشەوای مەزنی کوردستان

کورد وکوردستانی بەدیداری مبارەکی شادکردوژیاندەوە

دومڵتی ازاوقارەمانی

کوردوآذربایجان

سیدمحمد حمیدی

سەرپوڵی دومحمدی

نانەوازادە شەیدی ڕێگای نیشتمان

مصاحبەی نوێنەری

ڕۆژنامەی ڕەهبەرلەگەڵ پیشەوای مەزنی کوردستان قازی

لەچاپ ودەستی دانی ووتاردا آزادین

لەندەنەوە بۆ ڕۆژنامەی (مردم)

Bese, bêfêydeye ev rev
Destê xwe bidin hev
Ronahî li pey tariye
Tim roj li pey şev
Em nayêne kuştin

rizgari

kovara rêzan û çanda mehî

aylık politîk ve kültûrel dergi

Onlar ki bin yıllardır
Başımızda belâ
Alnımızda küfür
ve kalın kelepçelerdir
Hünerli ellerimizde.

ŞOREŞA KURDISTANÊDA BIRÎNÊN TEZE

Ji bo pêşveçûna şoreşê, şertê pêşemîn rêzbuna dirûvên refane. Te[illegible]ye dost û dijmin kifş bibe û bê naskirin. [illegible]d tevayi û yen mîweqet dê bên naskirin.

Bi vê çarçoveyê rêzbuna t[illegible] bo ku tifaq bi dil û qe[illegible] bê her tişti daxwazên alîyan, hevpiş[illegible] û dijîtîya wan b[illegible] fehmkirin û girani li kijer aliye, ji bo kîjan ali[illegible] têkoşineki çawan bîrkirinê, gerek bi rast [illegible] çavkirin. Bi vî awayî tifaqa û buyerêda bihev[illegible] yan ji hemberê h[illegible] hişmendina (tesbit) pir [illegible]

Ku bihevrayîya yêkan peywistebe ji, nav rêça «têkoşina ideolojik û dostiya rêzanî» da têkoşin dom di[illegible] Eger evana bi tifaqek bawer nekin û finfonekan li hev bikin dê hemberê dijminê hevpişkda têkoşinê paşve bêxin. Büyerên wisa hêzên dostan dişkinin û yen dijminan xurt dikin, hêzên pişgirti li hev dixin. Daviyê ji Şores pêşda naçê û birînên kur digre.

Gehîneka netewayên kolonyalist da — ku şerê netewayi didin — tifaq pir tevlheve. Ji bo wi, tewgereki bihevrayi divê bê humatê. Ji bil xayînan, tifaqa tim netewa peywisteye. Di vê gehînekê da bareki pir giran li ser milên wan hêzane. Divê alîyên tifaqan mixrikên nav xwe, gerek bi rêça «têkoşina ideolojik û dostiya rêzanî» da bibin. Komelên ku van tevgeran di gehînekêda baş û rasti dajon, berçave ku şerên xweyê rizgariya netewayi heta sosyalizmê dibun,

An go li Kurdistana mêjokede (koloni) asûn çiye? Li Kurdistanê dost çawan tên berçavkirin? Bi kire tifaq çê dibe? Ev buyer çawan te humatê? Welatparêz çekên xwe ji hevra rast dikin, yan pişt didin hev û hemberê dijminda şer dikin? Teqandina çekan dostan xurt dike yan dijmina? Di kuştuna welatparêzan para kijan hêzê zêdeye?

Ji bo bersiva van pirsan, divê peşiyê komela «Qiyadeyê Mîweqet» û «Yekîtî Nîştumanî Kurdistan» bê mêzekirin. Ji bo xelasbûnê ev herdu komel te hişandin. Dibên yan ev, yan ji, ê din. Lê baş tê zanin ku sebebê birin û xopana şoreşa Kurdistanêde, bi milekêve ji xeletiya rêzana wan şin bûye.

Berî her tişti divê bê zanin ku ev herdu komel bi başîtî û xeletiyên xwe ve, hene û dijin. Gerek herdu komel bihevra li hemberê dijmin têkoşin bidin. Lewra herdu komel jî dibêjin «em ji bo xelasbûna Kurdistanê têkoşîn didin». Mirovên ku nava van komelandane; ew jî ji bo xelasbûna Kurdistanê hatine cem hev. Ji bo vê yekê mafê serokên herdu komelan li nine ku van pêşmergên tîninre hemberê hev. Binyata van buyeranda, rêxumanê komela birjuvazî (PDK) radizê. Şoreşa Kurdistanêda domeki dirêj vê komelê bi tenê şerê xwe têkoşin bir û daxwazêd netewayi dane pêş., sadzurnê xebata wê komelê daxwazên refên [illegible]nedida berçavkirin, vedişart û tenê daxwazên netewayi peyve derdixist. Li Kurdistanê ji ev sazbun [illegible] refên sosdest dihat. Lewra, rêzana birjuvaziyê din[illegible] (eyaşsel) wisane. Dumahîkê ew komel dive ku girt [illegible]mû perçûn Kurdistanê ji bi vî komelê hatin gerçan, û bê tewger man. Bi vî awayî komela birjuwazî birûbaweriyê xwe yê yek ali xistinav Kurdistanê. Ji bil xwe kes nasnekir û firset neda birûbawerîyên din. Yên ku bi navê sosyalizmê «xebat» dikirin, xeletiyên wan ji nexweşî û qirin xiste naw şoreşa Kurdistanê. Di domsk kurt de nexweşiyêd van xeletiyan der-

ketin meydanı. Komela birjuwazi li ser birûbaweriya xwe rêzana xwe da şuxwilandin. xwe nezikê emperyalist û mêjokeran kir. Binketina 1975'ê dawiya van tewleyan nîşan da

Piştî binketina 1975'ê, ewên bi navê sosyalizmê têkoşin didan komelên nû sazkirin. Tewgerên birjuwazi jî nesekini. Bi «rêçên ner bi «xwe[illegible]kirin»ê nû vê dest bi xebatê kir. Her [illegible] ji sosyalizmê behs dikin. Lê herdu jî, birû[illegible]na birjuvazî di navxeda dibe û tevgerên [illegible]awayiye Lewra dîtina wana ya komeli şor[illegible]n wana ya nav gel jî di binyatê da wek heve[illegible]nên wan vek heve, komelê xwe ji wek hev[illegible]danin. Li bo hedefek û tevgerêk meşiyan.

[illegible] ser rêzan û birû[illegible]eriya PDK [illegible] bi nawê [illegible] Evkelen [illegible] wan ji [illegible] tifaqê gê[illegible] hizan naxwaze û nahe[illegible] deyê Mîweqet» hêzên di[illegible] de hevsandineki xwing[illegible] ji tevgereki baş jî nîşan n[illegible]

«Qiyadeyê Mîwqet» hu[illegible] ji hebuna komelên din n[illegible] şêre, Daxwazên refên na[illegible] dike û ji bil xwe jî seroz[illegible]

Lê wek hemî derê[illegible] netewayi wextê xwe [illegible] wayida danina komele[illegible] distanê hebuna tewgera[illegible] gera şoreşgerên proleter[illegible] Kurdistanê ji eve.

Bi ser û kuştu[illegible] van nayên veşart[illegible] weqet» ji va[illegible] bibine û qebûl bike. tifaqen bi d[illegible]eh çavan bemu koloniyanda peywisteye, Li kur[illegible]nê de ji gerek visa bibe. Serketina şoreşa Kurdistanê danina tifaqên rasti û tîmî da radizê. Tim ref û tebeqe jî di nav vê tifaqêda ji bo daxwazên xwera têkoşinê dom dikin. Belê drûvê vê têkoşine gerek baş bê zanin. Dostiya rêzanî gerek neyê şkandin. Ku yê dibe sesebê van buyeran gerek bê mehkum kirin. Lewra, xebata ku aliyen tifaqan tine dîjê hev, ji bo [illegible] peryalist û kolonyalistanra kêr tê.

Ji bo vê yekê, him «Qiyadeyê Mîweqet», him jî «Yekîtî Nîştumanî Kurdistan» xeyal û krabiyên ku kirine vê bên pirsin. Gerek ewana bi [illegible] buyeran kêrêtên xwe zêde mekin. Çiqas xebatên xwe kêr bikin, ewqas ji bo van û [illegible]o gelê me çêtir [illegible]

Berê her tişti serokên «Qiyadeyê Mîweqet» ji, hinbunda xwnrê[illegible]ya welatparêzan divê dest berdin. Hemû welatparêz dizanin ku van buyeranda [illegible] «Qiyadeyê Mîweqet» pir zêdeye.

Şoreşa Kurdistanê edi [illegible]ukare [illegible]şmergê xwe bê sebeb windaka [illegible]xwazê[illegible]k gule [illegible]ala bi[illegible] Mirina her welatparêzekê, bi [illegible]ala çunk her gulekê kêrê hêzên emperyalist û kolonyalista tê. Gerek eva baş bête zanin.

Gelê Kurd[illegible]tu car mirovên ku welatparêzan li hev didu[illegible]ştin bir nake. Rojek wê bê, gelê Kurd dê van xwînrêjan biksîne ber pirsan.

Ji bo vê yekê, bûyera paşîndа (Büyera Şemdînê), «Qiyadeyê mîweqet» çiqas aligirên «Yekîtî Nîştumanî Kurdistan»ê gurtine, gerek dest nede wan û hemîyan elda berde.

Wezîfa proleterên şoreşger û hêzên wî yên pêşeng, ewe k[illegible]anduna refan—ê ku di nav [illegible] — bide ber çavan û bi [illegible] bisa, dan û sitandina refa[illegible]n di[illegible]rokê da tê, gerek baş b[illegible]in [illegible]kirin. Şoreşgerên proleter r[illegible], rezanî û civatî didin naskirin, dem[illegible]lêkerêda rêzbûnê refanê di[illegible]ra[illegible]una refan çavane, [illegible]wê çavd[illegible]i bici dikin. Şerî gerîne[illegible]atirê[illegible]dikun. Evya nadost [illegible]man dike. Di wê [illegible] wezîf[illegible]şoreşgerên proleter [illegible]r û [illegible]na xwe paşve ne [illegible]min kûn bikin û dostên xwe

(Gûrî, jimar 5, rp. 37)

BIJÎ TÊKOŞÎNA GELÊN BINDEST Û KARKERÊN DINÊ !

Lista Girtiyên Destê «QIYADEYÊ MIWEQET» da

[illegible]i Eskeri: Endam[illegible]e politburoya «YNK», sekreterê «Hereka Sosyalist ya Kurdistan»ê.

Dr. Xa[illegible]: [illegible]ndam[illegible]e komita navçeya «YNK», endamê politburoya «HSK»

Şêx Huseyin: Endamê komit[illegible] navçeya «YNK» û serok[illegible] Ezat[illegible]n [illegible]rol.

Tah[illegible]Elî Wafi beg: Endamê politburoya «YNK» [illegible]«HSK».

Şeyx[illegible] Kaşe: Endamê komita navçeya «YNK» û «HSK».

Şêx Elî: Endamê komita navçeya «YNK»

Adil: Endamê komita navçeya «YNK»

Mulazım Emer: Endamê Komita navçeya «YNK».

Mulazım Fuad Çelebi, Mulazım Kamil û Mulazım Cerend: endamê komita amadekirina Parti Demoqrati Kurdistan'ın

Ji bil vana 150 aligirê «YNK» ji destê «Qiyadeyê Mîweqet»da girtine.

QIYADEYÊ MIWEQET BERDIN BERDE!

Fig. 14. Front-page of *Rizgari*, one of the few Kurdish periodicals published in Republican Turkey.

Table 35. Place of Publication of Kurdish Journals in Iraq

	No. of Journals	% of Total
Baghdad	51	48.5
Sulaymaniya	26	24.7
Arbil	14	13.3
Kirkuk	7	6.6
Dahok	2	1.9
Other/Unknown	5	4.7
Total	**105**	**100.00**

Source: Data gathered from sources used in Table 30.

Kurmanji-speaking areas have only recently engaged in journalism. Dahok is the only Kurmanji town where two journals have been published.

7.3.2.7 Duration and Number of Issues

Transience is a feature of the Kurdish press. According to data from Table 30, 98 periodicals (67.5%) lasted for a year or less and 26 (17.9%) lasted

Table 36: Duration of Kurdish Periodicals, 1898-1985

No. of Years Published	Periodicals		Periodical # in Table 30
	#	%	
37-38	2*	1.3	20/29*, 24
12-18	5	3.4	88, 96, 102, 121-22
8-10	4	2.7	30, 44, 77, 126
5-6	10	6.8	21, 25, 43, 46-49, 100, 116, 139
2-4	26	17.9	12, 18, 27, 31-34, 45, 53, 55,63-67, 73, 76, 78, 97, 104, 106, 109, 138, 141-43
1 and less	98	67.5	The rest
Total	**145**	**100.00**	

* Journals Nos. 20 and 29 are considered to be the same

Source: Data from Table 30.

between two to four years. Only 21 periodicals (14.4%) lasted five years or longer, about half of which (Nos. 24, 44, 77, 88, 96, 102, 116, 121-22, 139) were government-owned. Of the remaining privately owned ones, five (Nos. 29, 30, 46-47, 49) ceased publication due to suppression. The most enduring periodical has been *R'ya T'eze* (No. 24), the Kurdish organ of the Communist Party of Armenia (cf. Figure 15). Next is *Jîn* (No. 29), a continuation of *Jiyan* (No. 20), which together lasted 37 years (cf. Figure 16).

The ephemeral nature of the press is also seen in the limited total output of issues. Of the total 127 periodicals for which data are available, 88 or 69.2% published between one to 25 issues (calculated on the basis of data in Table 37). The largest numbers belong to *R'ya T'eze* which reached 3,089 issues on October 7, 1985 and *Jiyan/Jîn* (553 + 1161 = 1714 issues).

Table 37. Number of Issues of Kurdish Periodicals

No. of Issues	No. of Periodicals	% of Total
1	16	12.5
2-5	31	24.4
6-10	9	7.0
11-25	32	25.1
26-50	5	3.9
51-100	11	8.6
101-150	5	3.9
151-250	6	4.7
251-1000	2	1.5
1000+	2	1.5
Few issues	8	6.2
Total	**127**	**100.00**

Source: Data from Table 30.

7.3.2.8 Professionalization and Specialization

Related to the non-commercialized nature of the Kurdish press is the limited degree of professionalization. Journalists have been many-faceted individuals, most of whom were political activists and leaders in the nationalist movement.

As is evident from data in Table 38, there is not a sharp differentiation between the journalist and literary worker. Five of the well-known journalists are famous writers, playwrights and poets (Nos. 3,4,7,9,10) and four are language reformers and lexicographers (2,3,6,8) who have made important contributions to lexicography, lexical innovation and alphabet reform.



Ә‘йда шә бьмбарәкбә, ьәвално!

Пролетаред ьәму wәлатә, йәкбьн!

Р‘йа Тәзә

Жь сала 1930-н нәшьр дьбә	ОРГАНА КОММӘРК‘ӘЗИЙА ПКӘ, СОВЕТА Г‘ӘWРӘБЛЬНД У СОВЕТА МИНИСТРЕД Р‘СС ӘРМӘНИСТАНЕ «ՈՐՅՆ ԲԱՁԱ» ՕՐԳԱՆ ՀԿԿ ԿԵՆՏԿՈՄԻ, ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՍՍՀ ԳԵՐԱԳՈՒՅՆ ՍՈՎԵՏԻ ԵՎ ՄԻՆԻՍՏՐՆԵՐԻ ՍՈՎԵՏԻ «РЙА ТАЗА,, ОРГАН ЦК КПА, ВВРХОВНОГО СОВЕТА И СОВЕТА МИНИСТРОВ АРМ. ССР	№ 89 (2870) ШӘМИ 6-е НОЙАБРЕ САЛА 1976-а Қимәт 2 капек Ь‘әвте дб шара дәрте

Ә‘йда мәйә мәзьн

7-е нойабре, сала 1917-а... Әw р‘ожа ә‘әтә нава г‘әрнда walate мә, нава т‘әрнда ь‘әмдьнйае тәwа р‘ожа алт‘ындрийа Р‘еволйусна Октйабрейа сосиалистнейа мәзьн. Т‘әрнда мәрьвайеда галәк р‘еволйусна буна, ле йа нәрә мәзьн Р‘еволйусна Октйабрн бу, к‘ижане лава т‘әрнда ь‘әмдьнйаеда дәwрана т‘әзә вәкр, дәwрана т‘әзәкрьна дьнйаейа р‘еволйускон, дәwрана жь капитализмә дәрбазн сосиализме бьн. Бь сайа алт‘ындрийа Октйабре, к‘ижане бь сәрокайийа партна болшевика, Ленине мәзьн ьатә инсәркрьне, днwан к‘әтә дәсте массед хәбатнн—п‘ала у гөндийа, эк‘сплуатасиякрьна черьв жь алие мерьвда, зерндьна сосиалне у ялэтне ь‘әта-ь‘әтайе ьатьна ььлдане, дәwлэта дьнйаейа сосиалистнейа пешьи ьатә сазкрьне.

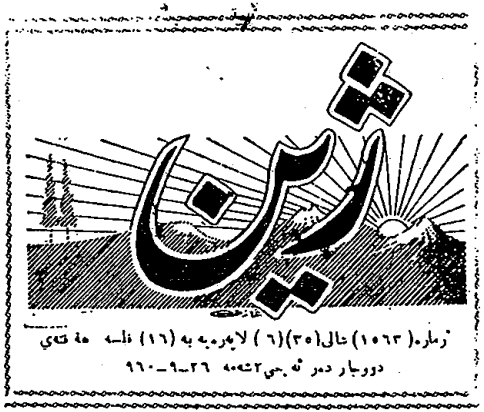
Пенщи нәй салед Р‘еволйусна Октйабре, дәwлэта сосиалистнейа йешьи т‘әнам бун. Шиаэ‘та советне бь алт‘ындрнед хwәва к‘ббар, бь перспективед пашwахтнейа дна ее хәбатнн. Ьар тьшт бона мерьв, бона хwәшбахтийа wн — әва м‘ра‘не партнейи сәрәка. У мәрьве советне, чаwа wәт‘әнь‘ьае алави у интернесионалисте qәwни, бь хәбата хwәйа дарбдарва шаба хемхбрийа партнае дьлэ.

Т‘әманийа wәт‘әне мейи п‘ьр‘ьмьлэтда лэщи сосиалистнейа ь‘әнщиаэ‘тне ьатийа фьрекрьне собе бь ачьхи инсәркрьна qраред qб‘ат‘а ПКТ‘С XXV т‘әрнди, бь сарфьнйавн qәдандьна плян у борндарнед сала 1976 а. Хәбатчнед wәлате мә qпред пленума КМ ПКТ‘С октйабре, к‘елна ьәвалб Л. И. Брежнсвә ль пленуме, qпар у законед жь алие сесна пешщ йа Совета Т‘Р‘СС г‘әwрәблндә гәзнкрьна нейади qбулкьри бь дьл бәгәм дьки. Әwана, кә бь т‘әнтмн сәйасәтийа ПКТ‘С ьбндр‘ у qар бәгәм дькн у хwәй дькн, пергнне у ь‘бкәмәте дьдьнә бawаркрьне, wаки әwе бь антузназмәка т‘әзва бькәбьтн бона бь ачьхи qәдандьна планед партнае, кә әw бь ьаqи ь‘әсаб дькн чаwа плавед хwә, бона бь сарфьнйавн qәдандьна алана пенщсалийа дәна, пенщсалийа к‘ьлэлне у башбуне. Хәбат-чнед йә сәрәкә, дирәка э‘длайе, демократнае у прогреса сосиалне.

Партна комунистне у дәwлэта советне сәйасәтийа ленинийә дәр дарбаз дькьи, сәйасәтийа э‘длайе у достийа цмаэ‘та, йәккьрьна ь‘әму qәwта, ед кә шәр‘к‘арне дькьи мqабьли империализме, р‘еакснае у шер‘. Сайасәтийа Т‘фqа Советнейа э‘длайи‘ьне, сәйасәтийа сьстькрьйа сәртайа орт‘әмлэтне, пешкәртьна шәр‘е т‘әлә жь алие т‘әмамнийа мәрьвайа дьйаейа прогресиедя те бәгәмкьрьне. Т‘фqа Советие бубә дирәка э‘длайа дьйае, Сиаэ‘та wе, ь‘бкдне wейи qанщ ль э‘рафе орт‘әмлэтне дна блькд у зедэ дьбә.

Буйа э‘дәт, wаки хәбатчнед wәлате мә ьәр сәрсалнка Р‘еволйусна Октйабре бь ачьхнед чекьрьна ко мунистнейа т‘әзәва дьдьнә к‘ьвше, у ве щаре жи хәбатчнед сәнайе малйәбуна гөндитне, ь‘әму ч‘ьлед малйәбуна цмаэ‘тне э‘йда хwәйи э‘зиэ— 59-салийа Октйабра мәзьн бь дастанпнед барбьч‘а‘ава дьдьнә к‘ьвше. Планед сала пенщсалнейа пешьи бь ачьхи тена qәдандьне. Нава wан ачьхийа у дәстапнвал

Fig. 15. *R'ya T'eze*, Kurdish-language organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia.



ژمارە (١٠٦٣) خالی (٣٥) (٦) لاپەرەیە بە (١٦) فلسە هەفتەی
دووجار دەر ئەچێ ٢ئەمە ٢٦-٩-٩٦٠

لەم هەفتەیەدا

لە کومەلی نەتـــەوە یـــەک گرتوەکاندا

لەم هەفتەیەدا کە واڕۆی هەمو جیهان چاوبان برڕیبوە کومەلی نەتەوە یەکگرتوە کان لەنیویورك کە دەورەی پانزەهەمینی گرت وەلەم دەورەیەدا زوربەی سەرۆکی حکومەتی وڵاتەکان تیا بەشداربوون وەکوسەرۆکی حکومەتی دەولەتە اشتراکیەکان کە خروشوف ئەڕێسانەوەیە وە نەهرۆ و نیتۆو فیدلکاسترۆ و جەمال عبدالناصرو ایزنهاوەر و ماکیلان وە گرنگترین باس کەئەکرێ لەم دەورەیەدا باسی کەم کردنەوەی هیزی سوپای چەکدار و بگەری. وەفیدل کاسترۆی سەرەك وەزیرانی کوبایان نەهیشت بچەویتەوە هەتا چوە ناو زنجیرەکانەوە کە بەگەرمی چوون بە پیریسەوە و میواندارییان کرد وە بەمە هەرلەم هەفتەیەدا ناوی ئەمەریکا بە خـــراپی ئەوەندەی تر هاتە خوارەوە و دەرکەوت کە ئەو ســـەر بەستیەی تیانیە وەکو خوی دەڵێ بولی ئەدات بەلکو هەر بۆئەوانیە کەخوی ئەیەوێ. وە هەروەها ئەمەریکا نەهیشت لومومبای سەرەك وەزیرانی کونغو بچیتە ناوئەمەریکا

متوسطەی کشتوکاڵ
لەسلیمانـــی
وزارتی زانیاری بریاری دا
کەمتوسطەی کشتوکالی بکرە
جۆرلەسلیمانی بکریت بەسانوی
کشتوکاڵ ولەگەڵ سلیمانیدا
متوسطەی کشتوکالی دیوانیە
و شطرەو رمادی بجرالکبیر
و عزیزیەو حویجەش کران
بە ســـانەوی

قوتابیان وە خـوێندنیـان

تابی بەرم بجورد پشرێتە پشت گوێ

گەلێ جار هەندێ هەواڵ بەبیستین یاچەند ڕو داوێك ڕوئەدات بەجۆرێك کەبروای ڕاستی لی ناکرێ چونکە ئەوەندە کاروگەرەو ناخۆشە تانەوێ بروای پی بکەیت. وەئیستا ئەیەوێ بەرامبەر بەو هەواڵروداوە خۆی بخەلەتێنی. لەسلیمانیدا قوتابخانەیەکی پیشەسازی کرا یەوە وردە وردە پولەکانی زوربو و قوتابیانی زمارەیان زیادی کرد هەتا بوبە متوسطەو سانەوی وە دڵخوشیەکی خستە ناو هەموڵایەکەوە کە قوتابخانەیەکی وا هەبیـــت لە شارەکەماندا و قوتابیانی تیا بخوێنیـــت وە لای دەرچی لەئەنجامدا ســـودەربگرن و وولاتیش قازانجیان لی بکات.

وەپاش ئەوەی کە قوتابخانەکە چەسپی وەدەستی کرد بەوەی کەبەرهەم بدات لەبر فەرمانێك دەرچـــو کەپولی چوار و پێنج نەهێلرێ وەهەر متوسطەکەی بهێلرێتەوە کە گرمانی تیانیە ئەمە سودێکی ئەوتوی تیانیە کە بیتەهۆی ئەوەی وای لی بکرێ بەپێچەوانـــەی ئەمەوە زیانێکی زۆر بەدات لە قوتابیان وە خوێندنیان وە پێشکەوتنی زانستی وزانیاری لەشارو وڵاتەکەماندا.

وە دیسانەوە بەردێکە ئەخرێتە ســـەر ڕێگای ئەو قوتابیانەی کەئەیانەوی بخوێنن لەکشارەکەدا و دەستیان

By the late 1970s, however, professional journalism had emerged. The official Union of Iraqi Journalists has an "Autonomous Area Branch" (*Karwan*, No. 21, June 1984, p. 141), while the revolutionary journalists established their Union of Journalists of Kurdistan (Yekêtîyî Rojnamenûsanî Kurdistan) on April 22, 1984 in liberated areas under Kurdish control (*Kurdayetî*, No. 3, June 1984, p. 8). April 22 is the date of the issuance of the first Kurdish journal in 1898 and is celebrated every year.

Table 38. Professions of Major Kurdish Journalists

Name of Journalist	Broadcaster	Govt. employee	Historian	Language reformer	Lexicographer	Literary critic	Playwright	Political activist	Poet	Printer	Publisher	Teacher	Writer	*Journals**
1.S.Badir Khan (1883-1938)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	1
2.J.Badir Khan (1897-1951)	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.	+	+	.	25,31
3.H.Mukriyani (1893-1947)	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	21,26,34
4.Piramerd (1867-1950)	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	+	+	20,29
5.Najmadin Mala (d. 1963)	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	29
6.Giw Mukriyani (d. 1972)	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	26,46
7.Rafiq Chalak (d. 1973)	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	−	.	.	.	.	.	82,89,109
8.Rahman Zabihi (d. 1985)	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	36-7,60,85,174
9.Ibrahim Ahmad (1914-)	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	30,60
10.A. Sajjadi (d. 1984)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	30,41
11.Sa'id Nakam (1917-)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	.	29,36-7,89
12.M. Mala Karim (1931-)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	54,77,149

* Numbers refer to journals listed in Table 30.

Specialization, which hardly existed in the early decades, has gradually appeared. By 1960, *Rojî Nö*, for example, had a "proprietor" and an "editorial board" consisting of an "editorial secretary" and four members (Vol. 1, No. 7), none of whom were printers, binders or distributors. *Bayan* [Beyan] in 1985 had an even more differentiated structure which included an editor-in-chief, one editorial board, an art director, and other staff members.

7.3.2.9 Censorship, Suppression and Freedom of the Press

In all five countries–Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the USSR–the press is

controlled by the government through various mechanisms, including legal processes such as licensing and censorship regulations. Since its formation as a state under the British Mandate, Iraq has used various press laws to check press freedom (al-Gailani 1971:24, 101-104, 314). According to Edmonds (1971:150), in Iraq "as a matter of policy no permit for a political Kurdish journal had ever been granted before 1958." The unprecedented democratic atmosphere after the 1958 coup was soon followed in the summer of 1960 by "the death of press freedom and the government's suppressive methods against the press" in summer 1960 (al-Gailani 1971:24). *Xebat*, *Dengî Kurd* and *Kurdistan* were suspended (*Ibid.*, p. 320), followed by *Azadî*, *Hetaw* and *Jîn*. One editor was arrested and some were sent into exile (Jawad 1981:72-3).

One of the important demands of the Kurdish autonomist war of 1961-75 was the freedom to publish Kurdish journals. In 1966, the government allowed the Kurdish leadership to publish an Arabic daily *al-Ta'akhî* (Brotherhood), with a Kurdish weekly supplement, in exchange for the suspension of broadcasting from the clandestine Kurdish station. In 1967, the Iraqi press was "nationalized," although *al-Ta'akhî* remained in Kurdish hands due to the threat of resuming broadcasts (*The Kurdish Journal*, Vol. V, No. 3, September 1968, p. 24). The four years of ceasefire between the government and the Kurds (1970-74) were the last period of open private journalism in Kurdish.

The Kurdish-Turkish journals that appeared during the "liberalization" periods in Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s were usually closed down after a few issues. In one case, the editors of a weekly (*Riya Rast* 'the Right Path' which was planned to appear in July 1963) were arrested after announcing the forthcoming publication in a leaflet (International Society Kurdistan 1968:164, item No. 02228).

The journals that appeared in Iran following the overthrow of the monarchy were suppressed as a result of the military offensive of the Islamic government against the autonomist movement (Table 30, Nos. 131-37). The government does, however, allow periodical publishing that is in line with the official political and ideological line.

According to the incomplete data provided in Table 30, the cessation of 42 (28.9%) journals was due to government intervention. While political restrictions have a destructive effect on journalism, the intermittent periods of freedom of the press have contributed to its flourishing. This is best confirmed for Iraq by the data from Table 30, which shows enormous journalistic activity during the years of relative freedom following the fall of the monarchy and the 1970 ceasefire (cf. Table 39).

A similar situation is seen in Iran where the political freedoms gained during the 1978-79 Revolution led to the appearance of no less than two dozen periodicals in spite of the absence of printing facilities (cf. 7.1.3; Figure 17). Journalism has especially flourished in the absence of central government authority when Kurdish political power has asserted itself. Thus, the first journal published by Iranian Kurds, (*Rojî*) *Kurd* in 1921, was the organ of a revolt

against the government (cf. Figure 18 and 6.3.0). To this category belong six journals published in the Kurdish Republic (cf. Table 30, Nos. 35-40 and Figure 20) and four titles published by Shaikh Mahmud's autonomous government (cf. Table 30, Nos. 14-17 and Figure 19).

Table 39. Number and Average of Journal Titles Appearing in Politically Significant Periods in Iraq

	# of Years	# of Titles	Average No. of Titles per Year
British Occupation & Mandate, 1918-32	14	12	0.8
Monarchy, 1932-58	26	13	0.5
Republican Period			
July 1958-61	4	24	6.0
Kurdish Revolt, 1961-69	8	13	1.6
Ceasefire, 1970-February 1974	4	36	9.0
"Autonomy," 1974-1985	11	9	0.8
Total	**67**	**107**	**1.5***

* Average number of titles between 1918 and 1985

Source: Data from Table 30.

7.3.2.10 Ownership

The close relationship between journalism and the nationalist movement is best seen in the considerable number of journals published by political and cultural organizations that have been able to operate when the central governments were not able to exercise effective authority. Thus, all the titles published in Ottoman Turkey belong to this group.

In Iraq, besides the journals mentioned above (Nos. 14-17), the Kurdish Democratic Party (before and after the 1964 split) put out numbers 56, 60, 69, 71, 82, 85-86, 89, 108-9, 111 and 124 (in Table 30). The Communist Party published 54 and 64. Organizations affiliated with political groups account for a large number of publications (government organizations excluded): various teachers' unions and their chapters (Nos. 43, 62, 101, 104, 119, 123), student unions and associations (Nos. 50-51, 57-58, 61, 68, 78, 81, 87, 91, 99, 112-13 and 118), writers' unions (72, 100, 114), and one women's union (63). After the 1978-79 Revolution in Iran, the Kurdish Democratic Party put out Nos. 130 and 134. Thus, political parties and their affiliates in Iran and Iraq put out 40 titles (i.e., 27.5% of the total 145) in the post-1958 period during years of open political activity.

Publications by embassies and missions are not numerous. The British embassy in Baghdad published a war time propaganda newssheet which turned

هیوا

ده‌نگی گه‌لی کورده

شماره ۲ ـ شه‌مه ۲۹ ئاردیبهشت ۱۳۵۸ ـ ۱۹ مه ۱۹۷۹
بها ۱۵ ریال

دعوت

از تمام حزب‌ها، جمعیت‌ها و گروههای سیاسی که در کردستان و برای کردستان فعالیت دارند دعوت میشود که نظرها و ایدئولوژی خود را برای درج در "هیوا" بفرستند. باشد که از این طریق ارتباط بیشتری صورت پذیرد که منجر به دریافت نقطه‌نظرهای مشترک شناسایی شود.

حرفی با دوستان

دوستگام «دوستی شماره» و " هیوا " ـ که اینک برای همه ما در سرتاسر کردستان، نام آشنایی است و بوی خوش این آشنایی از هر گوشه و کنار، از هر دشت و کوه می‌وزد. " هیوا، ده‌نگی گه‌لی کورده " و جز این نیست. شماره پیش برای ما تجربه بسیار آورد چرا که ما با پیشنهادات بسیار از طرف خوانندگان روبرو شدیم. به راستی ما با شماره پیش "هیوا" را با صمیمیت به جمع خود پذیرفتید.

یارمه‌تی‌یار دوستان، ئیمه‌ش ئه‌مجاره‌ ئیکه‌مین ژماره‌ی هه‌فته‌نامه‌ی سیاسی و گشتی "هیوا" ده‌رده‌که‌ین. ئه‌مه‌ش هه‌ر وه‌ک هه‌فته‌نامه‌یه‌کی سیاسی و گشتی ده‌بێ، ئه‌رکی سه‌رشانی هه‌موو ئه‌ندامانی ده‌سته‌ی نووسه‌رانی "هیوا" ئه‌وه‌یه که‌ ئه‌و ئه‌رکه‌ گرانه‌ به‌ باشترین شێوه‌ به‌جێ بگه‌یه‌نن. ئه‌مه‌ش ته‌نها له‌ ڕێگه‌ی هاوکاری و یارمه‌تی هه‌موو ئه‌و که‌سانه‌ی که‌ له‌ ده‌ره‌وه‌ی ده‌سته‌ی نووسه‌رانی "هیوا" ده‌ستیان له‌ کاری ڕۆژنامه‌نووسی دا هه‌یه‌ و ده‌توانن یارمه‌تیمان بده‌ن، ده‌بێته‌ هۆی ئه‌وه‌ی که‌ "هیوا" ببێته‌ ڕۆژنامه‌یه‌کی ڕاسته‌قینه‌ی خه‌ڵکی کورد و ده‌نگی ڕاسته‌قینه‌ی ئه‌و خه‌ڵکه‌ بێ. ئه‌مه‌ش ته‌نها له‌ ڕێگه‌ی هاوکاری و یارمه‌تی هه‌موو ئه‌و که‌سانه‌ی که‌ له‌ ده‌ره‌وه‌ی ده‌سته‌ی نووسه‌رانی "هیوا" ده‌ستیان له‌ کاری ڕۆژنامه‌نووسی دا هه‌یه‌ و ده‌توانن یارمه‌تیمان بده‌ن، ده‌بێته‌ هۆی ئه‌وه‌ی که‌ "هیوا" ببێته‌ ڕۆژنامه‌یه‌کی ڕاسته‌قینه‌ی خه‌ڵکی کورد و ده‌نگی ڕاسته‌قینه‌ی ئه‌و خه‌ڵکه‌ بێ.

ئیکه‌یس ار سالیا، نشره‌های حاص کردستان مسشر شده است، دوهفسی‌جامه این نکته اشاره کنیم که "هیوا" به هیچ حزب، جمعیت یا گروه سیاسی تعلق ندارد و در عین حال، از اخبار تمامی گروهها خواهد بود وسایل مزبوطه آنها را به نام خودشان منتکس

بقیه در صفحه ۲

دیداری با دکتر رحیم سیف قاضی

برای رهبری نیامده‌ام!

در صفحه ۲

پارتیزانهای کرد، یک ژنرال عراقی را کشتند

اختصاصی

۹ نفر دیگر از لیروهای دولتی عراق بدست پیشمرگان اتحادیه میهنی کردستان عراق کشته شدند

طارق عبدالله صالح ژنرال عراقی که بدست پیشمرگان کرد کشته شد.



در صفحه ۲

وتوێژه‌ له‌گه‌ڵ ئایه‌تو‌ڵڵا سه‌ید عیزه‌ دینی حوسینی

تێکوشانی په‌ره‌ دار وهه‌ مولایه‌نی بۆ لابردی ناکۆکی له‌ کوردستانا



ئایه‌تو‌ڵڵا سه‌ید عیزه‌ دینی حوسینی: ـ ئێمه‌ هه‌ر ڕوا ده‌س بۆ ناگرین...

به‌ ڕێز ئایه‌تو‌ڵڵا سه‌ید عیزه‌دینی حوسینی، له‌ تاو وێڕانکاریه‌کانی "هیوا"ـه‌وه‌ ئاماژه‌ی ئه‌وه‌ داوه: که‌ ئاگری بۆڵا بردنی نه‌وناکۆکییانه‌، که‌ له‌نا و چه‌ کدا له‌ کوردستانا دایه.

به‌ ڕێز ئایه‌تو‌ڵڵا حوسینی وتی: گۆته‌ به‌ ڕاست خۆی له‌ته‌ ماڵ داوه، که‌ به‌ڕه‌ بدا به‌ دو به‌ره‌ گی شیعه‌ و سوننی، یاخۆ دو به‌ره‌ گی کورد وتورک له‌ ناوچه‌ که‌دا، وه‌ به‌م چه‌شنه‌: "له‌ ئاوی لێڵ ماسی بگرێ".

ئه‌مه‌ش به‌ کیار لێی ئاشکرایه‌ که‌ ئاغه‌ی ئایه‌تو‌ڵڵا وێ کوردستان له‌ هێنی یا بێت، به‌ ڕای ئه‌ و ڕله‌ و بڕوایه‌ دان که‌ ئێمه‌ ده‌س ڕاگه‌گرین ئاوه‌ کوپه‌ ئاواتی خۆیان بگه‌ن، به‌ گیارچه‌ هه‌ ڵه‌ده‌ئه‌ چن.

کوردستان سه‌رده‌بڵێکه‌، که‌ حه‌ڵقه‌ که‌ی داخوار که‌ـ ـتێکیان هه‌ یه‌ و ئه‌م داخوازانه‌ ، به‌ هه‌ر قێمی و بێوانه‌ یه‌ک بگه‌یشرێ، داخواز که‌ ئێکی ره‌ سه‌ن و به‌ جێگه‌ و ڕێگه‌ن که‌ وابـــوو بۆ وه‌ ده‌س خستنیان گوناي ناکۆ‌ین له‌ هه‌ڵوه‌ڵدان و هه‌موچه‌شنه‌ ئێکو ئانێک.

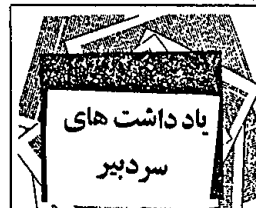
بقیه در صفحه ۲

شیعر یک له: هیمن

گولی هیوا

مبارزه فقط برای کردها

در صفحه ۲



یادداشت های سردبیر

فاجعه‌ی بعده ـ یا همه‌ی اتفاقی که متواسب پیدا کند ـ اگرچه ظاهرا" مرود که حامی تکرار بخود بیوند، اما در کنار وارگی و ویرانی و از دست دادن عزیزان، مسائلی را مشخص ساخت که شاید روشنگر آن، زمینه‌ای بدست دهد تا به ارزیابی افکار و اندیشه‌هایی که در پس وقوع این فاجعه پیچیده بود، بپردازیم.

فاجعه‌ی بعده، آنگونه که بارهای سنی گردیده وانمود کنند، حاصل تصادف نبود، بلکه در پی یک تصمیم عملی روی داد، گرچه سرآغازان بدرستی هدف خود را نمی‌شناختند.

متاسفند بردی به بیکار می‌رفت و همسه دست خالی باز می‌گشت و او این بار با آرزوی برای او برد سر و همسر مانی ساده بود، یک روز برای پاداشی خسیست برساند رفته، هرگز سی خورد و آبرا به حمل برد. برای آنکه وانمود کند که هرگز را بیکار کرده است، حیوان را با رستان، به ده‌حی بست و بسوی آن ملتک کرد تا با سان دادن جای

بقیه در صفحه ۲

هشدار به شورای شهر سنندج

کانون آزاد سلمان سندج به شورای شاره، شوری ایستن شهر هشدار داد که اگر اعضای شورا فط پرسنده‌های بسته به حل وفصل مسائل سرو دارند به تدریج بین آنان و مردم حدایی موجود خواهد آمد و نظام بروکراسی گذشته بار دیگر برقرار خواهد شد.

در سابقه شماره ۲ کانون آزاد سلمان سندج مطالبه حوالی پیرامون سه‌چاه‌ده‌ست. اصل مشی است که تلاش مشی و تداوم اعتلاء ایران در جهت حاکمیت مردم بر مردم خواهد بود و سکل

بقیه در صفحه ۲

Fig. 17. *Hîwa*, one of the numerous Kurdish periodicals published soon after the fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty in Iran in 1979.

سال اول

صفحه

(واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعاً ولا تفرقوا)

جیکی اداره ورمی چاپخانه غیرت

مدیر محمد ترجانی

مقالاتیك منفعت کردان

تیدایی ورد گیری

جاری له هرهفته‌دا یکیك چاپ دکری

۱۲ مانك شوال ۱۳۴۰

حق ووزنامه پیشکی ورد بگیری

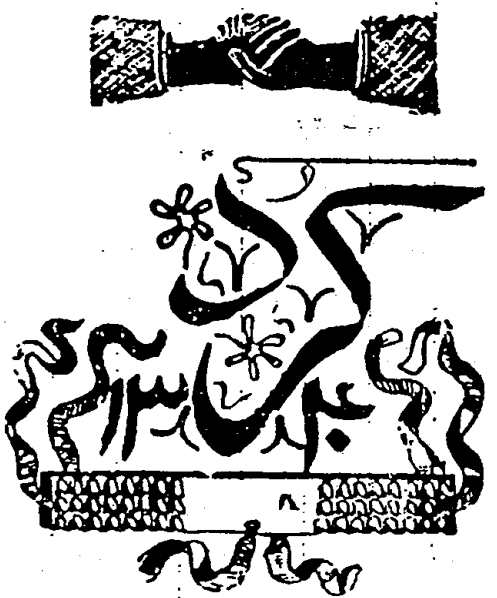
داخله خارجه

سالیك ۵۰ ۶۰ قران

شش مانك ۲۷ ۳۵

قیمت یك نسخه ده شاهی

قیمت اعلانان هر دیری‌دو قران



رزونامیکه سیاسی‌ادبی‌اخباری سرمقالی‌ترجمه‌دکری بفارسی دینوسی‌کردیك بوهیو کردان

Fig. 18. Masthead of (*Roji*) *Kurd*, organ of the rebellious administration of Smail Agha Simko in Iran.



بانگ حق

۲۸ مارت ۱۳۳۹

امید استقلال

Fig. 19. *Umêdî Istiqlal* (left) and *Bangî Heq*, periodicals published by Shaikh Mahmud's autonomous government in Iraq.

کوردستان

بلاو کەرەوەی بیری حزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان

✡ گووارێکی ئەدەبی ، کۆمەلایەتی ، سیاسیە ✡

هەرمانگی جارێك بلاو دە کرێتەوە

ژمارە ۴	سالی یەکەم مانگی	بانەمەر	مە ۱۹٤٦
۱- زانایانی کورد		سید محمدی حمیدی	
۲- بومیلتی ضعیف		مرحوم سیف القضات	
۳- سوسیالیستی		انوری دلسوز	
۴- کتیب		عزیز مولوی	
۵- منوئەو		دلشادی رسولی	
٦- لە ریگەی نان پیدا کردن		ووردی	
۷- تیشکی سەربەستی		گلولانی	
۸- دە کاپیروزی سەربستی		گلولانی	
۹- جوتیاری بەمشور		هەژار	
۱۰- جێژنی تشکیلی لشکری سور		هیمن	
۱۱- هەتاو		عزیز مولوی	
۱۲- قەی پیاوانی گەورە		عزیز مولوی	
۱۳- بەشی دینی		سید محمدی حمیدی	

وگەلیك باسی خوشتر بش دخوینی تەوە

مهاباد ـ چاپخانەی کوردستان

هاواری

نیشتمان

مدیری مسئول : ص . انجیری . آذر

بلاو کەرەوەی بیری یەکەتی جەوانانی دیموکرات

« گووارێکی : ئەدبی . سیاسی . کومەلایەتی »

سالی ۱ ژمارە ۱ — ۱ خاکەلیوەی ۱۳۲۵ — ۲۱ مارس ۱۹۴٦

سالی تازە

ع . عشقی

ژەنگی غەمان لەسە دڵان لاچو و گوردی هەژار لە ظلمی روتگر نەجاتی بوو. چەمەی بندەگی لە مڵ هاتە دەر و باغی سادەتی لسە زستاندا هاتە بەر . صفحاتی تاریخی چەرەشی تەواو بو ، تاریخی خرشی و سادەت هاتە گور و دونیامان پر کردلە نور. نالەی بی حقوقی و هەناسەی سارد ی و کسادی مە بەسەر بیشوایانی آزادی دونیا گەیشت توزی سەرکێزان لی تەکاندین. خەوی غفلتیان لی زەواندین. بە آزادی حقیقتیان گەیاندین .

ئەورو سەرتاسەری کوردستان ای عراق و ترکیە و ایران بە

into a major literary journal (as of No. 34). The U.S. Embassy put out a regularly published weekly under two titles (Nos. 42 and 45) which aimed at neutralizing Soviet broadcasting (cf. 7.4.3). The only journal by a missionary group, No. 6, is of doubtful origins.[4] In 1985, journalism was under state monopoly in Iran, Iraq and the USSR.

7.3.3. The Clandestine Press in Iraq and Iran

It is necessary to examine the impact of the clandestine press on language standardization because this type of journalism uses the native language as a means of political mobilization and organization and, as such, the choice of dialect base, orthography and vocabulary is particularly significant.

Sufficient data on this type of press are not available, and the list presented here must be considered incomplete (on the clandestine press of Turkey, cf. Note 3 below). One of the journals, *Nîştman* (1943-44, cf. Fig. 21), was an important literary and political publication distributed in Iran, Iraq and Syria. The periodicals published during the autonomist wars of Iraq (cf. Figures 22 and 23) and Iran were widely distributed in the areas under Kurdish control and were reproduced in Europe and occasionally in Lebanon. They also reached the towns on a more limited scale and in secret.

It is important to know that three literary journals (Nos. 166, 182, 183) have appeared on both sides of the Iran-Iraq border (cf. 7.2.2.6). This is a result of the massive participation of the intellectuals in the autonomist movement, which enabled them to conduct broadcasting and primary education in the liberated areas.

All the items reported here have used the Sorani dialect and the Arabic script. The first use of Kurmanji, along with Sorani, was in No. 146 (cf. 6.2.3). A recent journal, *Rizgarî* (No. 168) has a few pieces in Kurmanji. The dominant position of Sorani is obviously due to the prominent place of Sulaymaniya and Mukriyan in the nationalist movement.

Clandestine Press

Abbreviations:

IN	Iran
IQ	Iraq
K.D.P	Kurdish Democratic Party
K.M.L.K	Komeley Marksî-Lenînî Kurdistan (Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kurdistan), member of P.U.K.
K.R.K	Komeley Rencderanî Kurdistan (Organization of the Toilers of Kurdistan, Iraq; renamed K.M.L.K).
P.U.K	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.
Y.S.	Yeketî Şorisgêřanî Kurdistan (Union of the Revolutionaries of Kurdistan).



کل حزب بمالدیهم فرحون!

بژی کورد و کوردستانی گەورە!

لە رۆژی نووری جراکی «نیشتمان»ی خۆرهەڵات دێتەوە گەش دادێتەوە بۆ گەلی کەس نادێتەوە

نیشتمان

بڵاوکەرەوەی بیری کۆمەڵەی ژ.ک

گۆڤاریکی نەتەوەیی، خوێندەواری، کۆمەڵایەتی، سیاسی و ماتگی کوردیە

ژمارەی ۷، ۸ و ۹ ✡ ساڵی یەکەم ✡ بەهاری ۱۹۴۳

✡«(کوردستان قووت نادرێت)»✡

آ ؛ ل . ب - ع . یژەن - ۲

«...کوردن هیچ ئی ناگەن چەند پاوێکی زرینگ، هێندێك مال و دراو دەگەل چەند وەتەنێکی دروێ فریو دانی گەورەکانیان بەسەگەنجەکانیشن بەزوری ئەم گۆڤارانە دادەمرکێنن» ئەو رستەیە بیروخەیالی دەوڵەتانی تورکیا، ایران و عراقە کەچەندین ساڵە وەك زەروو بەکوردستانەوە نوساوون، خوێنی دەمژن و بیهێزی دەکەن، بەئی خوێنخوری پەردەیکی ئەستوور لەنیوان عەقڵو مێشکدا پەیدا دەکاودە یتە هوی ئی ئەگەمێشتنو نەفامین؛ جا پاوی نەفامیش آرەزووی سەیری دێتە مێشکیو وەکوو هێتلەر دەکەوێتەخوایای جیهانگیریو شاهەنشاهی - ایتر نازانی ئەم هەموو دونیایە ناخرێتە دەست یەکێکەوە ئاآغایێتی بەسەردا بکات

دەوڵەتانی تورکیا، ایران عراقیش پێتوبەرەکەتی کوردستان زۆرلەمێژە چاوی سووركردوونو خستوونیە خولیای قووت دانی ئەم وڵاتە گەورەیە کەنیزیکەی ۴۰۰۰۰۰ کیلومەترەی چوارگوش پانایونو (۹) ملیونی دانیشتوو هەیە بەڵام ووشیار بوونەوەی کوردقامچیکی زوور تووندبوو کەلەچەنگی رابوردوودا لەدەمێنەوە ئەستەماری یانەدراو حاڵی کردن: کورد هەتا هەتایە لە ژێر دەستی ئەوانداناميێنەوەو بێگومان حەقی خوێداوا دەکا، دەروەکو کردیشی بەڵام نصبة الامم «جامیعەی ملەل» یاوەکوبوێژێکی کوردیژوێتی: «کوتەکی دەستی مستەر هیندەرسون» چلون کە نەیتوانی بیتەهوی راودستانی آشتی لەنێتی داهێنەروەها حەقی ایمەو زو نە تاوەی ڕێووکی دێکەشی خستەگوری تەماتی خاوەنەکەی خوێەوە

دووروویی، تەزوێرو حەق کوژی لەو «کارخانەی فەساد»ە لەلایەکا حەقی ایمەلە معاهدە نامەی (سەور) دا تصدیق دەکاو لەلایەکیدێکەشەوە (پەیمانی لوزان) قیامی کمال پاشا بەرەسمی دەناسێو اجازەدەدا سەرلەنوێ کوردستان لەنیوان تورکیا، ایران، عراق و سووریادابەش بکرێت سەیری لەم راستی و حقیقتە! سەیری ئەو عذالتو دادپەروەریە!! سەیری لەم شەرەفو ویجدانە !!!

هەموو کەس دەیزانی کرداری عصبة الامیکی وەها

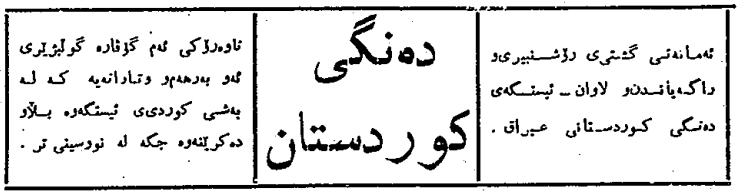
Fig. 21. *Nîştman*, important clandestine literary and political magazine of "Komeley J.K." published in Iran, 1943.



ژمارە – ٣٥ – سالی حەوتەم کانونی دووەمی / ١٩٧٥

لەم ژمارەیەدا

* بەرەو یەکێتی و هاوکاریەکی راستەقینەی هێزەکانی شۆڕش .
* هێندێ ژمارە لە بارەی زیانی شەڕی وێرانکاری و لە ناو بردنی خەلکی کوردستان .
* ڕێکخراوە کوردستانیەکان و ئەرکەکانی ئەم قۆناغە .
* دەربارەی هەندێ ڕێبازی تازە بۆ چارەسەرکردنی پەیوەندی بەرهەم هێنان لە لادێی ولاتە تازە پێگەیشتوەکاندا .
* لە بارەی مەسەلەی کورد لە نەتەوە یەکگرتوەکان .
* دەنگ و باس و چالاکی لقەکانی پارتیمان .



گۆڤارێکی سیاسی و ئەدەبی و کومەڵایەتییە ناو بە ناو دەردەچێ
ژمارە ـ ١ ـ ، کانونی دووەمی ١٩٧٥

پێرست

دارا تۆفیق ، ئیستگەی دەنگی کوردستان ١
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* لە لیکۆڵینەوە سیاسیکانی ئیستگە *

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Fig. 22. *Kadir* and *Dengî Kurdistan*, periodicals published by the leadership of the Kurdish autonomist movement of 1961-75 in Iraqi Kurdistan.

باسالی سی یەمی شورشە کەمان بکەینە سالی گورکردنی بەعسی فاشست

خەبات

ئورگانی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان

ژمارە ٤٧١ (ئەیلوولی ١٩٦٣) نرخی ١٠٠ فلسە

پیرۆزبایی مەکتەبی سیاسی ئەبەز بۆ هەموو کەرت و بنکەو ریکخراوەکانی پارتیمان

بۆ هەموو کەرتو بنکەکان و ریکخراوەکانی پارتیمان .

سلاویکی گەرمی شۆرشگیرانە ! بەو بۆنەیەوە کە شۆرشی گەلەکەمان پێ ئەنێتە سالی سی یەمینیەوە ، مەکتەبی سیاسی پیرۆزبایی گەرمو گوری خوێو کومیتەی ناوەندی پارتیمان پێشکەش ئەکات بە سەرکردەی گێتنی شۆرش رولەی خوشەویستی گەل مصطفی بارزانی ، وە بە هەموو رولە نەبەزەکانی لەشکری شۆرشگیری کوردستان و ئەندامانی پارتی پێشرەوەمان .

وە هیوامان زور بە هێزە کە لە سالی تازەدا هیرشی دڵیرانەی لەشکرە قارەمانەکەمان بە پشتیوانی گەلی کورد وە یارمەتی رولە دڵسوزەکانی گەلی عیراق داوو دەسگای پیسو خوێنباوی بەعسی بە فاشیستەکان سەرەو نگوم بکات هەر وەکو رژیمی دیکتاتوری درندانەی قاسم ئەمێش فری بداتە سەرە نوبلکی میژووەوە ، تاوەکو حکومەتێکی دیموکراتی راستەقینە دابمەزرێنری کە گەلی عیراق بەعەرەب و کوردو تورکمانەوە تیایا بە ئاواتەکانی خوی بگات وە کوردستانیش ئوتونومی خوی وەربگریت .

ئینر سەرکەوتن بۆ لەشکری شۆرشگیری کوردستان بە سەرکردەیی

(بۆ لاپەرە ٢)

بڕوسکەی (مەکتەبی سیاسی) پارتیمان بۆ هەموو کەرت و لق و پەڵو دەستەو پیشمەرگەکانی « ل.ش.ك. » بە بۆنەی تێپەڕ بوونی دوو سال بە سەر شۆرشە گەمانداً

پیشمەرگە نەبەزەکانی لەشکری شۆرشگیری کوردستان .. سەرکەرت و سەرلۆ و سەرپەڵ و سەر دەستە بەڕێزەکان .

زور بە شانازیەوە پیرۆزبایی گەرمو گوری گەلی کوردی نەبەز و پارتی پێشرەو و سەروك مستەفا بارزانی وە خومانتان پێڕائەگەیەنین ، بەبۆنەی دەست پێکردنی سالی سی یەمی شۆرشکەمانەوە . ئەو شۆرشەی کە بە پشتیوانی گەل و بە فیداکاری ئیمو رابەری دڵسوزانەی پارتی و سەرکردەیی قارەمانانەی سەروك بارزانی لە گەڕووی شکان و

(بۆ لاپەرە ٢)

حیزبی بەعسی فاشست دوژمنی هەرە گەورەی نەتەوەی کورد پیویستە لە ناو بردنی حوکمی بەعس ئامانجی یەکەمی سالی سی یەمی شۆرشە گەمان بێت

چاو پیاخشاندنێکی کردەوەو بیرو باوەری حیزبی بەعسی فاشست لە بەر تیشکی ئامانجە بنچینەییەکانی شۆرشە پیرۆزەکەمان زور بە ئاشکرا دەری ئەخات کە ئەم دەستە فاشستە خوێنخورە دوژمنی هەرە گەورەی گەل و نیشتمان و شۆرش و پارتی یەکەمانن جاری بەر لە هەموشتێك ئەوی سەرنج بداتە کردەوەو جانەوەرانەکانی ئەم دەستەیە لە کوردستاندا ، لە دەست پێکردنەوەی شەڕەوە هەتا ئێستا هیچ گومانێکی لە دڵدا نامێنێ کەوا ئەم جەنگە فاشستانە لە ڕیزی دڕندە ترینی ئەو دوژمنانەدا ئەژمێردرین کە نەتەوەکەمان بە درێژایی میژووی دوورو درێژیان بووە . گرنگترینی لەم ڕاستیەیە ئەوەیە کە دڕندەیی بەکەی ئەمان بەری بیرو باوەڕو نەڵەفەیەك و ئەنجامی دانانی پیلانو تەگبیرێکی وردی گوناهکارانەی پێیە بەرامبەر بە خاڵو گەلەکەمان . حیزبی بەعسی عەرەبی بە پێی بیرو باوەری تەسکی شوفینی داگیرکەرانە ، خوی بە میراتگری ئیمپراتوریەتێکی عەرەبی میژوویی دەها داڤەنی کە هیچ کاتێك لە میژوودا نەبووەو نەش بیستراوە بوبێ داگیرکردنەوەی ولاتانی ژێردەستی لەم ئیمپراتوریەتە خەیاڵیەیە و بە عەرەب کردنەوەی دانیشتوانی بە (پەیامی نەمر - رسالة خالدة) ی خوی داڤەنی ، وە بو بەدبەختی بە هەموو حسابی سنووری ئەم ئیمپراتوریەتە هەموو کوردستان ئەگرێتەوە جگە لە پەشیکی شاهەنشاهیتی ئیران و پارچەیەکی کەوەر لە تاسیای بچووك . ئەم باوەڕەی حیزبی بەعس لە ژمارە (٣)ی گوفاری (الاشتراکی) ئورگانی پارتی ناوبراوا لە مانگی ئەیلوولی ١٩٦٢ دا زور بە ئاشکرا دانی پیانراوە ، وە هەر بوونی ئەم جەنگە بیرو باوەڕەیە کە هەندی جار لە شیوەی « العراق جزء من الامة العربية - عیراق بەشێکە لە نەتەوەی عەرەبی » ی مادەی دووەمی دەستووری قاسم داو هەندی جاریش لە شیوەی (کورد عەرەبە)ی میژوو نووسی بی ناوو نیشان (عارف) دا خوی ئەنوێنی ، وە لە دەست پێکردنەوەی شەڕەوە لە شیوەی مال کاولکردن و خەلك دەربەدەرکردن و ژێرو منالاو پیری بێتاوانی کورد کوشتن و خیلاتی عەرەب لە شوێنی ئەوان نیشتەجێ کردنیدا خوی پیشان ئەدات .. خەیالی کورد عەرەبو لەبن بکرێنەوە بە عەرەبو کوردستان نیە بەشێکە لە خاکی عەرەب بە ئەندازەیەك لە میشکیاندا جێ گیر بووە هەمیشە خەریکی ئەوەن کە ناو بردنی کوردستان و داوا کردنی مافە نەتەوەییەکانی گەلەکەمان بە دروست کردنی (ئیسرائیلی دووەم) بدەنە قەڵەم .

جا بەم چەشنە دەر کەوی کە بەعسی ئامانجی دووایی نەهێشتنی گەلی کوردو لە ناو بردنی کوردستانی خوشەویستەو بو گەیشتن بەم نیازە پیسە گلاوەی لە هیچ کردەوەو کاریك کوتاکتەوە هەر چەندە دوور بیت لە ڕەشتو خوی پیاداندو جوامیرانە و هەر چەندە لە مەیدانی شەڕو ناموسا لە نزمترین نرخ و پلەدا بیت بی گومان کە

(بۆ لاپەرە ٢)

بانگێك لە (پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان)ەوە

بۆ :

- بکرتاریەتی کومەڵی نەتەوە یەکگرتووەکان .
- ئەنجومەنی ئاسایشی دەوڵەتان .
- سەرۆکی دەوڵەتەکان .
- کومەڵی خاچ (سەلیب)ی سووری دەوڵەتان .
- ریکخراو و نەقابەو کومەڵە جیهانیەکان و ئازانسەکانی جیهان .

ئەمە دوو ساڵە نەتەوەی کوردی ئاشتی پەروەر ، بە ئاقی تەنیا لە کوردستانی بە عیراقەوە بەسترابوا لە شەریکی سەختی خوێنبەردایە ، کە دوژمنی چەکدار بە باشترین و گرانترین چەکی کۆمەڕو وێرانکەرو لە ناوبەرەوە بەروکی گرتووەو لە سەری کردوتە مال .. ئەك لە بەر ئەوەی تاوانێکی کردبی بەڵکو لە بەر ئەوەی تەنیا داوای کەمترین مافی نەتەوایەتی ئەکا کە بەشیکە لە باوەری مافی میللەتان لە چارە نوسی خویدا بە دەستی خوی کە ئەویش حوکمی زاتی - یە لە چوارچیوەی کوماری عیراقدا ! .

(بۆ لاپەرە ٦)

ماموستا ئیبراهیم ئەحمەدی شۆرشگێڕ دەربارەی شۆرشی کوردستان ئەدوی

کە شۆرشەکەمان پێی نایە سالی سی یەمی بەوە نوێنەری ڕادیوی (دەنگی کوردستان)گفتوگویەکی لەگەڵ هەقال ئیبراهیم ئەحمەدی نەبەز دا تومار کرد ، لەو ڕوژەدا کە ڕادیوی دەنگی کوردستان پڕوگرامە کانی دەرخان کرد بوو بەو بۆنە پیرۆزەوە بڵاوی کرایەوە .

وە لەبەر گرنگی ئەو باسانەی ماموستا ئیبراهیم لە سەری دوا بوو دەربارەی ئامانجە بنەڕەتی یەکانی شۆرشەکەمان و لە قۆناخانەی بریوبەتی لە ڕووی سیاسی و عەسکەری یەوە لە ماوەی دوو سالی ڕابوردوودا . ئەبخەینە بەر چاوی خوێندەرانی بەڕێز ، بە تایبەتی ئەوانەی گوێبان لێ نە بووە لە ڕادیوی شۆرشەوە .

پ ١ - لە سەرەتاوە ئەم شۆرشەمان بوچی هەڵگیرساو ئامانجە بنەڕەتیەکانی چی بوو ؟!.

و :- بۆ زانینی هوی شۆرشەکەمان لام وایە پاشتر وایە کە بگەڕێینەوە بۆ (٣٠) یان (٤٠) سال لە مەوبەر ، بۆ ئەو دەورەی کەوا ئیستیمار بەئارەزوو وە بۆ دەستخستنی دەسکەوتی خوی کوردستانی خوارووی خستە مەر ئەو دەوڵەتەی بە ناوی عیراقەوە لە

(بۆ لاپەرە ٤)

Fig. 23. *Xebat*, the influential political organ of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq.

سەرکەوتووبێ شۆڕشە دیموکراتیی‌یە عیراقی‌یەکەمان

عیراقێکی دێموکرات و کوردستانێکی ئۆتۆنۆم

ڕێبازی نوێ

ئۆرگانی یەکێتی‌ی نیشتمانی‌ی کوردستان

ژمارە ــ ٢/نیسانی دووەم ١٩٧٦

لەم چەرخەدا کە شۆڕشی نیشتمانی‌یەکەمان شۆڕشێکی ڕزگاری خوازانە و دیموکراتیی نوێیە ، هەر پارتێکی، پێشڕەو شۆڕشگێڕ ئەرکی سەرەکی ئەوەیە کە بێگومان و بەبێ پشوودان خۆی بۆ ئەو ئەرکە ئامادە بکا و وەک پێشەنگێکی ئازا و جەنگاوەر بەرەو پێشی ببا ، ڕێبازی نوێ هەوڵ دەدا کە لەگەڵ هەڵگرتنی هەر ئەرکێکدا ، ڕۆڵی خۆی بە باشترین شێوە ببینێ و بەرپرسیارێتی خۆی بە تەواوی هەڵگرێ و بەرەو پێشی ببا .

خەباتی چەماوەری شۆڕشگێڕانەی پێکهێنەری دراو لەگەڵ هێزە پێشکەوتنخوازەکانی عیراقدا لە پەرەپێکی تێکۆشانی بەکگرتوودا ، ڕێگەی ئێمەیە بۆ پزگار کردنی عیراق لە دیکتاتۆریەت و هێنانە کایەی ڕێژیمێکی دیموکراتی ئینتیلافی .

زەرفی دەولی «خراپ و باش» وخەباتی گەلی کورد

لەیسمی زەرفی دەولی

کە ڕابەرایەتی خێڵەکی‌ی‌لە کوردستان ڕابکردو پەیوەوە لەودیو سنوور ، بە خەڵکەکەی ئەوت : بۆیە ڕاپەڕینەکات چونکە پیلانێکی دەولی‌گەورە لە کابەدایە . بەغداد و تاران و لەئەمرە ڕێک کەوتونەتەوە بۆ لەقرو تونا کردنی کورد ، لەگەڵ بەرگری بکەن ، لەبەر لەوەی ڕابەرایەتی خێڵەکی ئامادە نیە ئۆبالی لەناوبردنی میللەتی کورد بخاتە ئەستۆی خۆی لە کوردستان ڕاپەڕینەکات ، بۆ ئێران ، لەوێ جاوەڕوانی «زەرفێکی دەولی‌باش» ئەکا بۆ ئەوەی جارێکی تر ڕێ هەڵ بچنێتەوە !!

بەبت و بالۆرەی « زەرفی دەولی خراپ » کەشۆرشی کوردی ڕوخان و « زەرفی دەولی باش» کە شۆرشی کورد زیندوو ئەکاتەوە ، بالۆرەیەکە ئێستەش بە داخەوە هەندێ لەوانەی گیرەکیانە بە میراثە مالی و ئەتێبی و سیاسیە کەی‌ڕابەرایەتی‌خێڵەکی دابڕوخاو شاد بین هەر لێی ئەدەنەوە بۆ پاساودانی ڕاکردن و خۆ دزینەوەیان‌لە مەیدانی ڕاستەقینەی خەبات و بۆ سارد کردنەوەی کۆمەڵانی خەڵکی کوردستان لە لایەکی تریەوە بۆ ئەگەرە دان لە گەشە کردنی ی.ن.ك و بەرەسەندنەوەی خەباتی شۆرشگێڕانەی گەلی کوردستان لە سەر ڕێبازێکی نوێی گونجاو لەگەڵ سروشتی پێشکەوتووانەی کوردایەتی .

جا ئەم لەیسمەی ناوی « زەرفی دەولی‌خراپ » و شۆرشی کوردی ڕوخان ئێکدا ، وە لەو « زەرفە دەولیە باشە » ی بە قسەی ئەم لاقایانە کورد ئەیەوێ لەگەڵ لەزاندا چاوەڕوانی بکا ، بۆ لەوەی خەباتی لیا دەس پێ بکەنەوە ، چیە !

ناکۆکی‌لەسەرەکی

لە کوردستانی عیراقدا ، ناکۆکی‌لەسەرەکی‌لە نێوانی نێستای خەباتی گەلی کوردا ، ناکۆکیە لە بەینی ئەوەی کوردو ڕێژیمێکی فاشیستی‌ڕەگەزپەرستی خوێناویدا کە ئاپۆڕی و باڵۆڕی عیراقی بە کۆلۆنیالیزمی نوێوە گرێ داوە ، بۆیەناکۆکی‌لەسەرەکیمان لەگەڵ جمکانەی حوکمی فاشیستی وکۆلۆنیالزمی نوێ یە .

* کورد ، گەرەکیتی بارێکاری بۆنی ئەوەبێ خۆی و دوخساری میژوویی و ئەوەبێ نیشتمانەکەی بکات .

* ڕێژیمی فاشیستی ڕەگەز پەرستی بەغداش، لەبەولێت کورد لەلرو لونا بکات وبیکاتە عەرەب وە کوردستانیش بکاتە عەرەبستان ، وە سەروەتو سامانەکەی بۆ خۆی و کۆلۆنیالزمی نوێ بە تاڵان بەرێت .

ئەم هێرشەی ڕێژیمی خوێناوی عیراق لەوەندە فراوان و بەر بڵاوە ، لەوەندە سەخت و ڕەگەز پەرستانەیە ، بەرەی بەرگری کردنی لە کوردستاندا ئەوەندە گەورە کردوە کە جێگەی هەمو کوردێکی دڵسۆزی لیا بێتەوە ، بگرە جێگەی هەمو ئێکۆشەرێکی کوردستانی ، تورکومان و ئاسوریش .

لە بەرامبەر ئەخشەی ئەفرۆناکردنی کورد و بەعەرەب کردنی خاکی کوردستان ، لە بەرامبەر ئەو زوڵم وزۆرە بێ ئەندازەیەی ڕێژیمی خوێناوی عیراق لە خەڵکی‌ئەکات ، فرمانێکی نیشتمانی و ئەوەبێ و ئینسانی لە ئەستۆی هەمو ڕێکخراو و کۆمەڵ و ئاقم و کەسێکدایە بە شیوەی دیموکرات ، مارکسی ، شۆڕشگێڕ ، ئەوەبێ نیشتمانەپەروەرەوە کە ڕەو بە ڕوێی ئەم پلانە ئاوانکارانە ڕابوەستن و خەبات بکەن بۆ سەر ئەگرتن وێکخستنەوەی .

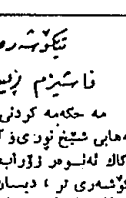
هەر لەو ڕوانگەیەوە بە ئەمرۆ لە کوردستانی

بروانە لاپەرە (٢)

تێکۆشەرە دلێرەکان

ئاشتبوونەوە لەگەڵیان

مە حکمەیە کردنی هەڵانی تێکۆشەر کاك شەهابی شێخ نوری‌و کاك جەمەعەری مام واحید و کاك ئەنوەر زۆرابە و پەکێك لە ڕۆشنبیرانی تێکۆشەری ئێر ، دیسان دەری خستەوە کە گیانی شۆرشگێڕی زاڵە بە سەر فاشیزمدا ، وە دڕندەیی فاشیستەکانی ئاکریش ناوانێ سەر بە ڕۆڵە تێکۆشەرەکانی گەلەکەمان دانەوێنێت .



تێکۆشەرە دلێرەکان بە خۆبوردن و خۆبەخت کردن لە پێناوی پەنجەمرانی کوردستان و هێرادا بە پەنگناری حوکمی خنکاندن و ڕبندان کردن بوون وە بە هاوڕای بڕی گورد و کوردستان و سەرکەوێ خەباتی شۆڕشگێڕانەی جەماوەر ، وەڕامیان دانەوە . حوکمی دانی هەڵانی دلێر و تێکۆشەر کاك شەهاب و کاك جەعفەر و هاوڕێکانیان جارێکی

بروانە لاپەرە ٨

وتەکی ژمارە

دەست پێ کردنەوەی خەباتی چەکدار بە شێوەی جەنگی پارتیزانی لە زۆر شوێنی کوردستاندا نیشانەیەکی تری ئەو ڕاستی یە میژوویینەیە کە پەکێتی‌ی نیشتمانی‌ی کوردستان لەبەومو بۆی دامەزرا ، ڕاستی‌ی بوونی بزووتنەوەی میژووکردی کوردایەتی کە ناوەرۆکەکەی خەباتی چینە وەنجدەر و نیشتمانپەروەرەکانی کوردستانە دژی ئیمپریالیزم و کۆلۆنیالیزمی نوێ و چینە مولکدار و و بۆرژوازی‌یە کومپرادۆر و بۆرژوازی‌یە سەر بە کارگێڕی گەلانی کاربەدەست و دەرەبەگایەتی و بورژوازی‌ی خۆفرۆشی خۆمالیش، لە پێناوی دەرپەڕاندنی ئیمپریالیزم و کۆلۆنیالیزمی نوێ و ڕووخاندنی حکومەتە کونەپەرست و فاشیستەکانی سوێندخۆر و دۆستیان و هێنانە سەرکاری حکومەتێکی دیموکراتی و پێشکەوتووی وا کە مافی دیموکراتی بەکانی گەلان بە مافی نۆتۆنۆمی کوردستانیشەوە دابین بکات .

کوردایەتی لە کوردستانی عیراقدا خەباتی چینە وەنجدەرو نیشتمانپەروەرەکانی گەلەکەمانە دژی کۆلۆنیالیزمی نوێ وحوکمی فاشیستی بەغداو دەرەبەگایەتی و سەرمایەداری نیشتمانفرۆشی کورد ، وانە خەباتێکی ڕزگاری نیشتمانی و دیموکراتی‌یە ، دیموکراتی‌یەکی‌نوێ .

لەم خەباتە میژووەکردە : خەباتی ئاوەڕۆك چینایەتی وشێوە نیشتمانی‌یە کە پێوەستی‌یەکانی پشکەوتن و گەشەکردنی کۆمەڵایەتی گەورەکیانە . بۆیەهیچ هێزی نی‌یە بتوانێ بیەلوێنێت . هەر بۆیەش نە ڕاکردنە پڕ شەرمەزاری‌یەکەی سەرکردایەتی خێڵەکی و ناشیەتاڵەکەی شۆڕش و پارتی دوایی پێ هێناو ، نە زەبرو زۆرو شەڕی لەناوبردنی حوکمی بەغداش بڕاندی‌یەوە .

کوردایەتی دەستچینی هیچ پارتی و دەستەردی هیچ سەرکردایەتی‌یەك نەبووە . بە پێچەوانەوە مسەرچاوەی هەموو پارتی‌یەکی نیشتمانپەروەرو پێکخراوێکی پێشکەوتوو بووە و درو ستەمی سەرکردایەتی جۆربەجۆر بووە لە میژوی خۆی دا . بۆیە بە ڕووخان و باڵۆڕبێ‌کردنی پارتی و دێکخراوە جیا جیاکان ، یان کۆتان و هەڵانی سەرکردە خێڵەکی و بۆرژوازی‌یە بزبوەکان نەبراوەتەوە ، بگرە هەڵساوەتەوە و بە شێوەیەکی پێشکەوتووتەتر . ڕووخانی (هیوا) لە کوردستانی عیراق پارتی بە دوادا هات کە هەنگاوێکی زۆر گەورە و پێشکەوتووانە بوو بۆ پێشەوە . ڕووخانی

بروانە لاپەرە (٢)

خەباتی چەماوەری شۆڕشگێڕانەی پێکهێنەری گرێ دراو لەگەڵ هێزە پێشکەوتنخوازەکانی عیراقدا لە پەرەپێکی تێکۆشانی بەکگرتوودا ، ڕێگەی ئێمەیە بۆ ڕزگار کردنی عیراق لە دیکتاتۆریەت و هێنانە کایەی ڕێژیمێکی دیموکراتی ئینتیلافی .

Fig. 24. *Rêbazî Nö*, organ of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Iraq.

Iraq

A. The Monarchy: 1932-58

146. *Azadî Kurdistan* [Freedom of Kurdistan]. Communist Party publication, 1956-57.
147. *Birûske* [Lightning]. 1930s, Sulaymaniya and Koya.
148. *Dengî Cûtyaran* [Peasants' Voice].
149. *Dengî Feqê* [Voice of the *feqê*s, 'mosque school students']. 1954, 5 issues; Sulaymaniya; editor, Mihamadi Mala Karim.
150. *Helmet* [Attack]. Student movement publication.
151. *Rizgarî* [Liberation]. 1945, publication of "Hizbî Rizgarî Kurd" (Kurdish Liberation Party).
152. *Şořiş* [Revolution]. Shorish Party publication.
153. *Yekêtî Têkoşîn* [Unity of Struggle]. 1944-45.

B. The Kurdish Autonomist Movement: I. September 1961-March 1970, March 1974-75: KDP-IQ

154. *Dengî Kurdistan* [Voice of Kurdistan]. "Radio Voice of Kurdistan]. Weekly publication (cf. 7.4.6). Vol. 1, No. 2, Oct. 9, 1963, 8 pages (cf. Fig. 22); last issue, No. 1, January 1975, 246 pages (cf. Fig. 26).
155. *Dengî Pêşmerge* [Voice of *Peshmargas*]. No. 23, September 1969.
156. *Dîsan Barzanî* [Barzani Again!]. 1961; 4-6 pages.
157. *Hewalî Kurdistan* [News of Kurdistan].
158. *Kadir* [Cadré]. "Theoretical Organ of K.D.P," 7th Year, No. 25, January 1975, 48 pages (cf. Fig. 22).
159. *Xebat* [Struggle]. The main political paper of K.D.P-IQ (cf. Fig. 23).

II. K.D.P-IQ, Left

160. *Rûnakî* [Light]. No. 1, mid-October 1966.
161. *Rizgarî* [Liberation]. Year 1, No. 2, November 1966.

III. 1975-85: Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

162. *Alay Şoriş* [Banner of Revolution]. K.M.L.K publication, No.1, September 1977.
163. *Bizûtnewe* [Movement]. Organ of Bizûtnewey Sosiyalîstî Kurdistan, "The Kurdistan Socialist Movement." First Series, 1979-81.
164. *Komele* [Organization, Society]. Central Organ of K.R.K, No. 1, autumn 1978.
165. *Kurdayetî* [The Kurdish National Movement]. Y.S.K magazine. Nos. 1-2, March 1983.

166. *Nûserî Kurdistan* [Kurdistan Writer]. Organ of the Union of the Writers of Kurdistan. First issue published under the title *Pêro*, March 1981.
167. *Rêbazî Nö* [New Line]. P.U.K organ. First Series (No. 1, January 1976), Third Series (Nos. 2-3, February-March 1982). (cf. Fig. 24).
168. *Rizgarî* [Liberation]. Y.S.K publication. No. 1, August 1985.
169. *Roşinbîrî* [Culture]. Y.S.K-Cultural Section, second Series, No.7, 1985.

C. Other

170. *Rêgay Kurdistan* [Road to Kurdistan]. Communist Party of Iraq. 1960s.
171. *Aĺay Yekgirtin* [Banner of Unity]. Communist Party of Iraq--Central Leadership, No.1, March 1976.

Iran

A. 1943-78

172. *Awat* [Yearning]. 1945, 3 issues.
173. *Kurdistan.* Continuation of periodical No. 37, Organ of K.D.P-IN, published outside Iran after the fall of the Kurdish Republic in December 1946, in Baku (USSR), 1947-62, in Europe and in an unknown place, 1971-78.
174. *Nîştman* [Homeland]. 1943-44, 9 issues. Organ of "Komeĺey J.K." (cf. Fig. 21).
175. *Rawêj* [Conjecture]. 1952.
176. *Rêga* [Road]. 1948, Organ of K.D.P-IN.
177. *Xornişîn* [West]. 1951-52, Mahabad, weekly Kurdish-Persian.
178. *Roj* [Day]. 1966, Organ of the "Revolutionary Committee of K.D.P-IN," 2 issues; Mahabad area; editor Sulayman Mo'ini.

B. The Autonomous Movement, 1979-85

179. *26* [Bîstûşeşî] *Sermawez* [December 17]. K.D.P-IN publication, No. 2, Cozerdan (May-June) 1984.
180. *Kurdistan.* Continuation of periodical number 170 (1971-78, published since fall 1979).
181. *Pêşrew* [Vanguard]. Publication of Komeĺe--Kurdistan Organization of the Communist Party of Iran, No. 1, October 22, 1983.
182. *Nûserî Çiya* [Mountain Writer]. No. 1, 1984.
183. *Pêşeng* [Vanguard]. Center of Workers' Art and Literature of Kurdistan, No. 1, fall 1985.

7.3.4 The Emigré Press

The emigré press includes journals that appear in any place outside the borders of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the USSR. Although this type of journalism began its life with the migration of the first Kurdish journal from Ottoman territory to Geneva in 1898, it spread across Europe especially in the 1970s (cf. 10.3.6).

The journals in this category are more diversified in every respect. Sorani and Arabic script were dominant earlier, though by the mid-1980s, Kurmanji and the Roman alphabet were equally well represented–a trend which is due to the migration of intellectuals following the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey. Language-related questions, especially dialects, orthography, and vocabulary are favourite subjects in most of the journals.

Specialized journals have also appeared, e.g., "General cultural" (Nos. 192, 196, 211), "Artistic, cultural and literary" (No. 204), "cultural and artistic" (No. 207), "children's" (No. 199) magazines. Though there are no political restrictions on publishing in Kurdish, production costs and distribution problems prevent a proliferation of journalism in the West. The more voluminous and better formatted journals are supported by public funds, e.g., Nos. 211 (France), 212 and 204 (Sweden).

The Emigré Press

Abbreviations:

Languages and Dialects:

A, Arabic; K, Kurdish; Kj, Kurmanji;
S, Sorani; T, Turkish

Alphabets:

Ar, Arabic; R, Roman

184. *Aĺa* [Banner]. S-A, Ar (No. 11, October 1983, 32 pp., U.S.)
185. *Armanc* [Aīm]. Kj-T, R (year 5, No 44, 1983, 24 pp, Stockholm).
186. *Aso* [Horizon]. Kj-S, R-Ar (No. 1, 1976, 62 pp., Europe.
187. *Azadî* [Freedom]. S, Ar (No. 2, March 2, 1979, 4 pp., Austria).
188. *Azadî, Kovara Marksîsta Kurdî* [Freedom, Kurdish Marxist Magazine]. Kj, R, (1978, 32 pp., Europe).
189. *Blêse* [Blaze]. S, Ar (No. 1, January 1978, 4 pp., Europe).
190. *Çiya* [Mountain]. Kj, R (1965-76, Europe).
191. *Çiray Kurdistan* [Light of Kurdistan]. S, Ar (No. 25, November 1965).
192. *Çrîkey Kurdistan* [Shriek of Kurdistan]. S, Ar (No. 4, December 1981, 112 pp., London).
193. *Dengî Gel* [People's Voice]. S-A, Ar (Year 1, No. 2, December 1982, 40 pp., North America).
194. *Dengê Kurdistan* [Voice of Kurdistan]. (No. 2, August 1949, Europe).

Cited in Jwaideh (1960: 765).
195. *Dengê KOMKAR* [Voice of KOMKAR]. Kj-T, R (Year 5, Nos. 60-61, 16 pp., W. Germany).
196. *Helwêst* [Point of View]. S, Ar (No. 4, 1985, 160 pp., London).
197. *Hengaw* [Step]. S, Ar (No. 9, February 1985, 8 pp., U.S.A.).
198. *Hêvîya Welêt* [Hope of Homeland]. Kj, R (Vol.1, No. 2, May 1964, 28 pp.).
199. *Kulîlk* [Blossom]. Kj, R (No. 1, Autumn 1980, No. 23, 1985, Sweden).
200. *Kurdistan*. Kj-S, R-Ar (No. 4, Gelawêj=July-August 1984, 52 pp., Berlin Germany).
201. *Nûçname Kurdistan a Îranê* [Newsletter of Iranian Kurdistan]. Kj, R (No. 7, April 5, 1985, 10 pp.).
202. *Pêşeng* [Vanguard]. Kj-S, R-Ar (No. 1, September 1982, 40 pp.).
203. *Pirşing* [Ray]. S, Ar (Year 1, June 1966, 24 pp., Europe).
204. *Roja Nû* [New Day]. Kj, R (Year 5, No. 1 (44), 1983, 36 pp., Stockholm.
205. *Ronahî* [Light]. Kj-T, R (1971-78, Europe).
206. *Ruwangey Azad* [Free Outlook]. S, Ar (No. 4, Cozerdan=May-June 1981, 30 pp., Europe).
207. *Tîrêj* [Sunlight]. Kj, R (this is periodical No. 138 which migrated to Sweden after the 1980 coup in Turkey; No. 4, December 1981).
208. *Xebatî Xöndkar* [Student Struggle]. S, Ar (1983, 35 pp., Italy).
209. *Xöndkarî Kurd* [The Kurdish Student]. S, Ar (No. 2, April 25, 1966, Europe).
210. *Zagros* [Zagros]. S-A, Ar (Year 2, No. 2, 56 pp., July 1979, U.S.A., cf. Fig. 25).

Other

211. *Hêvî/Hîwa* [Hope]. Kj-S-Dimili, R-Ar (No. 1, October 1983, 123+84 pp.; published by Institut Kurde de Paris).
212. *Mamostay Kurd* [The Kurdish Teacher]. Kj-S, R-Ar (No.1, May 1985, 58 pp.; published by Högskolan för Lärarutbildning i Stockholm, Stockholm, Sweden.

7.3.5 Journalism and the Standardization of Kurdish

This section deals with the role played by journalism in certain aspects of standardization. References are mostly to the openly published journals introduced in Table 30.

Promoting Kurdish language and literature has been one of the declared aims of most periodicals. Journalists have achieved this purpose by (a) putting in print the scribal literature, especially poetry, (b) advocating orthographic



Fig. 25. *Zagros*, Kurdish-Arabic magazine published in the United States.

reform and popularizing it, e.g., periodicals numbered 4, 9, 20-22, 25-27, 29-30, and 34, (c) publishing vocabulary lists and emphasizing lexical modernization, e.g., periodicals numbered 21, 25, 30, 34, 46, (d) popularizing "pure Kurdish" prose, e.g., periodicals numbered 19, 21, 26, 30, 69, and (e) advocating the unity of dialects, e.g., 9, 19, 21, 25, and 30. The data in Table 30 show a number of trends in the use of the language in the press which will be examined below.

7.3.5.1 Dialects: Dominance of Sorani

Journalism began when Kurdistan was divided between Ottoman Turkey and Persia. Nine titles appeared under Ottoman rule of which five were in Kurmanji, one in Sorani and three in both dialects. Kurmanji's dominant position here, as in book publishing (cf. 7.2.1), can be explained by the numerical strength of speakers and their more developed urbanisation and nationalism.

Table 40. The Use of Kurdish Dialects in Journalism, 1918-85

Dialect	Number of Periodical Titles	% of Total
Sorani	118	80.8
Kurmanji	18	12.3
Sorani/Kurmanji	7	4.7
Unknown	2	1.3
Total	**145**	**100.0**

Source: data from Table 30.

In Iraq, Sorani has been dominant; there were no journals in Kurmanji from 1918 until 1958, when the dialect was introduced in broadcasting (cf. 6.2.3, 7.3.3 and 7.4.2). In later years, it had a marginal role though at least one feature in this dialect appeared in many journals (those with separate Kurmanji and Sorani sections are marked Sorani/Kurmanji in Table 30). In Iran, too, Sorani had been the language of journalism until 1984, when Kurmanji was used in a magazine, *Amanc*, published by the Islamic Propagation Organization in Tehran and addressed to a larger Kurdish audience. Naturally, periodical publication in Syria, Turkey and the USSR has been in Kurmanji. Recently, the non-literary Dimili or Zaza dialect was used in Turkey (No. 140) and in one emigré journal (No. 211).

On the all-Kurdistan level, also, Sorani is dominant in journalism with 80.8% of all the journals published in this dialect.

7.3.5.2 Bilingual and Monolingual Journalism

Only 64% of periodicals are monolingual in Kurdish (cf. Table 41). Several factors contribute to the persistence of bilingual and multilingual journalism: first, as a minority in a subordinate position, Kurdish publishers have tried to communicate with the dominant nation and the central governments by writing in the official language. Thus, although the first journal was predominantly in Kurdish, it also published open letters and petitions written in Turkish and addressed to the Sultan. Other journals, e.g., No. 41, aimed specifically at bringing Kurdish demands before the Arab government of Iraq.

Table 41. Number of Languages Used in Kurdish Journalism

Language(s)	No. of Titles	% of Total
Kurdish	93	64.1
Kurdish-Arabic	29	20.0
Kurdish-Turkish	12	8.2
Kurdish-Persian	4	2.7
Multilingual	5	3.4
Unknown	2	1.3
Total	**145**	**100.00**

Source: data from Table 30.

A second reason is the overall policy of various Iraqi governments not to give the Kurds or their language an independent status. Thus, most of the state-sponsored periodicals (e.g., 43-44, 65, 73, 84, 94, 97, 102, 105-6, 120-22) are Kurdish-Arabic. This is in line with the policy of incorporating the Kurdish Academy into the Iraqi Academy (cf. 10.3.4) and the Kurdistan Writers Union into the Iraqi Writers Union (cf. 7.2.2.6).

A third factor, especially in the case of Turkey, is the continued suppression of the language–a situation which permits no literacy in Kurdish. The use of Turkish not only serves the purpose of communication with the Turkish people but also is useful for the Kurdish reader who is literate in the official language only. It may be claimed, therefore, that bilingual journalism reflects the subordinate position of the Kurdish language and its speakers and is likely to continue in the future.

7.3.5.3 Alphabet: Dominance of the Arabic Script

The Kurdish press in Iraq is all printed in the Arabic script, although a number of publications attempted to popularize the Roman alphabet by making it available and providing texts and lessons. In Iran, too, the Arabic alphabet has

always been used. A journal of Islamic propaganda published recently by the Iranian government (No. 143) carries certain texts in the Roman alphabet in Kurmanji, which are obviously addressed to the Kurds of Turkey.

Table 42. Number of Periodicals According to Alphabet and Country

Country	Arabic	Roman	Cyrillic
Turkey (Ottoman)	9*	--	--
Turkey (Republican)	--	6*	--
Iran	20	--	--
Iraq	105	--	--
Syria	--	3	--
USSR	--	--	1
Lebanon	--	1	--
Total	**134**	**10**	**1**

* Cf. Subchapter 7.3, Note 3.
Source: data from Table 30.

The four periodicals published in Syria (Nos. 25, 31, 33) and Lebanon (No. 32) by the Badir Khan brothers were all in the Roman script. The main organ, *Hawar*, has even given its name to the alphabet; it carried articles in the Arabic script in the earlier issues only. The Kurds of Turkey have, inevitably, used the Roman script, the only one they are familiar with and the only alphabet available in the printing presses. In the USSR, too, *R'ya T'eze* (No. 24; cf. Fig. 15) was first published in the Roman script and shifted to the Cyrillic later. Nevertheless, 92.4% (134 out 154) of the periodicals appeared in the Arabic-Kurdish script.

7.3.5.4 Contents: Specialization and Differentiation

Information on the contents of all Kurdish periodicals is not available. Six journals identify themselves as "literary" (Nos. 4, 11, 46, 72, 88, 100), while 27 are labelled as both "literary" and other (e.g., "social," "cultural," "scientific").

Since the 1960s considerable specialization i.e., "horizontal differentiation" (cf. 8.6.1) has occurred. Some of the specialized titles include philately (No. 95), children (38, 110), agriculture and land reform (all government-sponsored, 65, 77, 94, 105, 129), and education (81, 87, 99). Periodical No. 121 has recently developed into a "scientific journal" (cf. 7.6.1). Journals of an ideological nature have also made their appearance. They include two Marxist journals (No. 188 and the publication, by the Communist Party of Iraq, of the monthly *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in Kurdish (*Rêgay Aştî w*

Sosiyalîsm 'Road to Peace and Socialism', since 1986). "Vertical differentiation" (cf. 8.6.1) has, thus, already occurred, especially in the literary publications.

7.3.5.5 Journalism and Prose

Effective journalism is not possible without the vehicle of prose. While only 64% of books published in Iraq by 1977 were in prose (cf. 7.2.4.C), all the periodicals so far have used the prose medium, although poetry has always had a place in them (cf. 8.6.1 and 8.6.2, for more information on the development of prose).

7.3.5.6 Conclusions

The evidence presented above shows that the Sorani dialect has been the main vehicle of journalism in Iraq, Iran, and abroad. On the all-Kurdistan level, too, it has been the language of the majority of periodicals. This medium's most apparent contribution to standardization is the development of prose, the codification of orthography and modernization of vocabulary (cf., chapter 8).

As an off-spring of the modern phase of Kurdish nationalism, journalism appeared thirteen years before the first Kurdish book and it has continued to retain, as a tool of political struggle, its priority over the book. Like book publishing, it has been handicapped by both the social and economic under-development of the Kurdish society and political restrictions.

The Kurdish press is characterized by the absence of enduring dailies, low circulation, poor distribution facilities, dependence on subscription and single copy sales, lack of or insignificant advertising revenue, poor printing facilities, shortage of newsprint, and limited professionalization and specialization. These features are characteristic of the press in developing societies (Sommerlad 1966), although their persistence and hindering impact on the Kurdish press has been reinforced by the division of the Kurdish speech community and political restrictions on the use of language.

Subchapter 7.3 Notes

1. Although these journals were initiated by the government, journalism in Turkey, Iran and the Arab countries grew as a vehicle of the popular struggle for democracy and independence. Journalism also played a prominent role in the standardization of the Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages. For a brief survey of the press of various Islamic countries, cf. the article *Djarida*, written by a number of authors, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition), 1965, Vol. 2, pp. 464-479.

2. The data in Table 30 are based on numerous sources including: a) reference works, especially Jabari (1970), Mala Karim (1970), Sajjadi (1971:609-26) and Khaznadar (1973), b) histories of individual periodicals published in the Kurdish press, and c) my own research and collection of journals as well as periodicals available in the public libraries of England and the United States.

Since the 1970s, Kurdish researchers have shown increasing interest in the study of Kurdish journalism. No less than ten periodicals were reprinted in Iraq and Europe during the last two decades. Still, many journals are not available in either private or public collections.

The purpose of Table 30 is to provide language-related data only. The lacunae in this table reflect the present state of research on Kurdish journalism, which is in its incipient stages. In using the table, the following points may be useful: **Date of Publication**, when followed by a dash, the date indicates continuation of publishing in 1985-86; some of the periodicals reappeared after the dates indicated in the table; for example, No. 15 was published in 1926; No. 21 was last published in 1932; the most enduring publication, *R'ya T'eze* (No. 24), apparently ceased publication between 1938 and 1954 (cf. 5.5.0 for an explanation); No. 25 reappeared in 1941-43. **Frequency**, periodicals change their frequency regularly; it was not, however, possible to list more than one frequency feature--usually the latest or more lasting one. **Total Numbers Published**, for periodicals which were being published in 1985, information available in 1985 is provided. **Format**, some Kurdish journals were "Kurdish language supplements" to other, usually Arabic language, periodical publications; the purpose of this feature is to indicate the dependent or autonomous status of the press. **Legal Status**, the publication of journals and books requires permission issued by state authorities in the countries where the Kurds live (in Turkey, post-publication censorship is prevalent); many Kurdish journals were published without official licensing during periods of political crisis, when the central governments were not able to exercise effective control over the print media; some journals were published by ephemeral autonomous Kurdish governments. **Number of Pages**, this feature changes regularly; No. 9, for example, varied between 16 to 26 pages. The figures in this section indicate either averages or the number of pages of a single issue. **Titles**, full titles could not be provided in the table. The omitted information together with translation of the titles is given below (known

place-names such as Kurdistan are not translated; repeated titles are translated when they appear first in the table; numbers refer to the number of listed titles in Table 30):

> Periodical No. 2. *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (Kurdish Cooperation and Progress Magazine); 4. Kurdish Sun (Day); 5. Unity; 7. Call of the Kurds; 9. & 98. Life; 10. *Têgeyiştinî Rastî* (Understanding Truth); 12. and 48. Progress; 13. and 14 *Roj* (Day or Sun); 16. Call of Rightness (or Truth); 17. Hope of Independence; 18. Revival; 19. Gift of Kurdistan; 20. & 68. Life (or To Live); 21. Kurdish Cry (*Zar*; also means 'language; lamentation'); 22. Ladder; 23. Kirkuk; 24. New Road; 25. Call or Cry (for help); 26. Light; 27. Language; 28. & 93. Knowledge (or Science); 30. Sirius (star); 31. & 67. Light; 32. New Day; 33. Star; 34. Voice of the New World; 38. *Gîrûgalî Mindalanî Kurd* (Kurdish Children's Prattle); 39. tulip; 40. Call of the Homeland; 41. Shady Side of Mountain; 42. Sun; 43. *Aga w Rûdawî Hefteyî* (Weekly News); 44. This is Baghdad [Radio]; 45. Message; 47. Hope; 49. Twilight/Morning; 50. Art; 51. Homeland; 52. [Kurdish] New Year; 54. Freedom; 55. The Belief of the People; 56., 86., & 127. Liberation; 57. & 58. Voice of the Students; 59. Truth; 60. Struggle; 62. Blaze; 62. Woman; 64. Belief; 65. *Çareser kirdinî Kiştûkal* (Agrarian Reform); 66. New Iraq; 69. New Day; 70. Voice of the Kurds; 72. Iraqi Literary Person; 73. & 97. Arbil; 74. Tigris-Euphrates; 75. Voice; 76. Uprising; 77. Tobacco; 78. Leader; 79. News; 80. New Voice; 81. & 114. First Rays of Rising Sun; 82., 89., 108., 109., 124. & 125. Brotherhood; 84. Patriotic Undertaking; 85. Light; 87. Ray; 90. and 107. Mountain; 91. Students' Struggle; 92. Kurdish Notebooks; 94. & 130. Agrarian Revolution; 95. The World of Stamps; 96. Cooperation; 99. Shower; 100. & 139 Kurdish Writer; 101. Hope; 103. Perspective; 104. Voice of the Teacher; 105. Voice of the Peasant; 106. *Perwerde w Zanist* (Education and Science); 110. Star; 111 & 112. New Thinking; 113. Toward Light; 115. *Govarî Kolêcî Edebiyyat*; (Magazine of the College of Arts [Letters; University of Baghdad]); 116. New Writer; 117. Workers' Awareness; 119. Forward!; 121. New Culture; 122. *Govarî Korî Zaniyarî Kurd* (Journal of the Kurdish Scientific Academy; cf. 10.3.4 and Bibliography); 123. & 143. Aim; 126. Autonomy; 128. Sun of the Homeland; 129. Iraq; 131. Lightning; 133. Attack; 134. *Firmêskî Pêşmerge* (Tears of the [Kurdish] Freedom Fighters]); 137. Prattle; 138. Persian word *mardum* (People); 140. Sunlight; 141. Glitter of Kurdistan; 142. Caravan; 144. rustle; 145. Sports Caravan.

3. The figures for Turkey should be slightly revised in light of the new evidence provided by Malmîsanij and Lewendî (1989). In their study of Kurdish journalism in Turkey (published after the completion of this dissertation), the

authors provide brief account and documentation of 76 newspapers and magazines which appeared in the present territory of Turkey between 1908 and 1981. The publications were either bilingual, Turkish-Kurdish, or monolingual, Turkish.

According to this evidence, eleven newspapers and magazines were published between 1908 and 1919. Six of these publications appear in Table 30 above (Nos. 2 to 5, 9 and 11). The remaining five journals are: *Şerk ve Kürdistan* 'The East and Kurdistan' (1908, Istanbul), *Amid-i Sevda* 'Black Amida' (1909, in Turkish, Istanbul), *Peyman* 'Promise' (1909, Diyarbakir), *Hetawî Kurd* 'Kurdish Sun' (1913, Istanbul), and *Jîn* 'Life' (1919, newspaper, Istanbul).

The 65 journals published after 1923 were mostly clandestine or "illegal" publications. As such, they do not have much bearing on the data presented in Tables 33 and 34, and their analysis. The fact that so many journals were published under the repressive republican regime demonstrates the indispensability of journalism as a weapon of nation-building and nationalist struggle.

4. The journal *Kurdistan* (1914) was published by L.O. Fossum of the Lutheran Orient Mission Society (cf. the title page of Fossum 1919 and Minorsky 1927:1155). However, according to Mrs. Carlyle Holt, daughter of the late L.O. Fossum, the *Kurdistan* "paper was never published either in the Kurdish language or in Kurdistan" (private correspondence, October 8, 1985).

SUBCHAPTER 7.4
BROADCASTING

The "vernacular" languages of Western Europe were standardized long before the advent of the broadcast media. They should be considered, therefore, as products of the print media, especially journalism. The suggestion has been made, however, that in "...the age of *McLuhan*, the elaboration of a language and the unfoldment of its literature may bypass to a greater or lesser degree the printed and written word and instead find an outlet in the spoken media..." (Kloss 1978:19; cf., also, 2.1.3. A).

While it is obvious that, compared with the print media, broadcasting is better suited to the needs of oral languages (which constitute the majority of the world's languages), it is also true that access to the airwaves is not, for many languages, any less difficult than access to the print media (cf., for example, Howell 1986:220 on the situation in Africa). The broadcast media (radio and television) have emerged as political, economic and cultural institutions with strong monopolistic tendencies. Obstacles to access are primarily economic and political although other problems, e.g., the limited nature of radio spectrum, may be present.

This subchapter examines the genesis of the broadcasting function in Kurdish and the role broadcasting has played in the standardization process. Broadcasting is second only to the armed forces in maintaining the ruling political power in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Changes in the political regime, whether through coups d'état or revolutions, are validated only when the government-owned radio station falls into the hands of the new rulers. This explains why broadcasting stations are well guarded and usually the last to fall at times of political upheaval. Moreover, broadcasting is an important instrument of political integration and popularization of the official language among the ethnic peoples. Due to state monopoly, therefore, broadcasting is a direct guide to official policy on language use.

7.4.1 Broadcasting in Kurdish: Origins: World War II, 1939-45

> "I wonder whether, while you are on leave in England," he said, "you would look for a wireless for me? I am told there are now many broadcasts from Europe and from Turkey and Russia." (quoted in Hamilton 1958:197).

In response to Ismail Beg, former Kurdish Deputy of the Iraqi parliament, A.M. Hamilton (1958:197), engineer-in-charge of a road being built in Kurdistan, brought perhaps what was the first radio set to Iraqi Kurdistan in the early 1930s. "When the Kurds first heard of the mysterious box that brought noises from the air in unknown languages they came from near and far to see and hear for themselves" (p. 200). In 1932, the owner of a tea-house brought the first radio set to Sulaymaniya (Sajjadi 1972:76).

While radio sets had not reached the Kurdistan in Turkey, Iran and Iraq before the 1930s, the first radio broadcasts in the Kurdish language began in the autonomous Kurdish region established in the USSR between 1923 and 1929 (cf. Nadirov 1992:38, and chapter 5, Note 23). Detailed information on this early effort is not available.

World War II created favorable conditions for broadcasting in a number of African and Middle Eastern languages, including Kurdish. According to one source, the first radio station set up by the Iraqi government in 1936 began a daily 15-minute program in Kurdish in 1939 (Boyd 1982:107). By this time the Ministry of Education had distributed receivers to schools throughout Iraq. The five sets assigned to Sulaymaniya *liwa* were installed in December 1938, at Halabja, Qala Diza, Chwarta, Penjwin and Sourdash (*Ziban*, Vol. 2, December 31, 1938). During the War, British program advisers and technicians lengthened transmissions in both Arabic and Kurdish. By 1945, the Kurdish program was expanded to one hour, between 15:25 and 16:25 (Boyd 1982:107).

Another war-related station was Radio-Levant, operated by the French government in Beirut, which began Kurdish language transmissions on March 5, 1941 (according to *Les Échos de Syrie* of March 5, 1941, quoted in *Oriente Moderno*, Anno XXII, No. 5, Maggio 1942, p. 216). The program consisted of news (in Kurmanji) and music broadcast twice a week for half an hour from 17:00 to 17:30 on short wave 37, 35 and medium wave 293.50 (*Hawar*, Vol. 9, No. 27, April 15, 1941, p. 11). The Kurdish program ended on April 1, 1946, when the station was handed over to the Lebanese government (Rambout 1947:114).

According to Edmonds (1971:94), "broadcasting in Kurdish began at the British war-time station of al-Sharq al-Adna at Jaffa and was introduced at Baghdad soon after." The beginnings of Sharq al-Adna (The Near East Arab Broadcasting Station) are unknown, however. The program is not reported in

Hawar (1941-43), which monitored all broadcasting in Kurdish (cf., e.g., No. 27, April 15, 1941, p. 11; No. 34, October 15, 1941, p. 15). The first mention of the station in the Kurdish press is probably in 1943 (cf. below). The station apparently signed off by the end of the war.

7.4.2 Kurdish Broadcasting in Iraq, 1945-85

Radio Baghdad continued its Kurdish program after World War II, increasing broadcasting time to two hours and 45 minutes by 1949. In 1950, the station began issuing a monthly journal in Arabic and Kurdish, *Êre Beẍdaye* 'This is Baghdad [Radio]', which survived until July 14, 1958. As the most enduring Kurdish station, Radio Baghdad has increased broadcasting time from 15 minutes daily in 1939 to 16:25 hours in the early 1980s (cf. Table 43).

Table 43. Daily Broadcasting Hours on Radio Baghdad-Kurdish Section, 1945-84

Year	Total Daily Hours	Sources
1939	0:15	Boyd (1982:107)
1945	1:00	*Ibid.*
1949	2:45	UNESCO (1950:533)
1951	3:00	Longrigg (1953:389)
1957 (Nov.)	3:00	*WRH* (1958:174)
1960 (June)	4:00	*Jîn* (June 4, 1960)
1960 (Nov.)	6:00	*WRTH* (1961:122)
1974	8:55	*WRTH* (1974:151)
1975	16:05	*WRTH* (1975:164)
1976	16:27	*WRTH* (1976:175)
1977	15:25	*WRTH* (1977:165)
1978	19:30	*WRTH* (1978:185)
1979-84	16:25	*WRTH* (1979-84)
1984	17:25	*WRTH* (1985:180)

Early programs (1940s) included news, commentary and music. By the mid-1950s, increased broadcasting time allowed more diversification, including religious education and a listeners' section. All the programs were, however, strictly controlled by the government.

Radio Baghdad turned into a powerful instrument of politicization after the fall of the monarchy in 1958, affecting the Kurds in neighbouring countries (cf. 7.4.3). In broadcasting, too, Iraqi Kurds demanded equality with the Arabs. *Hetaw* (August 1958) wrote that the Kurds needed an independent radio station in order to express their aspirations and address their people in a language they liked to listen to (quoted in Nêrevan 1959:142).

By 1960, the new Republican regime's increasing infringements on political freedoms affected broadcasting, too. Sulaymaniya's newspaper *Jîn* (No. 1541, June 4, 1960, p. 1) complained that the station had stopped talking about the Kurds and that the programs, whether artistic, social, or news, were without any "taste" (*zewq*), as if the broadcasters wanted to while away the four hours and retire. The journal believed that "this neglect of the Kurdish station and its hindering" implied that the Kurdish people had been deprived of one of their rights and were entitled, therefore, to demand an overall improvement of the station. The most important political paper, *Xebat*, proposed a detailed plan to improve the quality of broadcasting. In an article entitled "Is it the Kurdish Section Station or the Song Station?," the nationalist paper *Jîn* (August 18, 1960) complained that no attention had been paid to suggestions made by *Xebat* or others. Major events in Kurdistan and on the national level were not covered, the time being wasted on airing "Lolo" and "Hatim Hatim" (names of songs). The paper called for mass action to make it known to the authorities that the Kurdish people needed a radio station covering important news, Kurdish literature, valuable talks, etc. (text reproduced in Abdulla and McCarus 1967:35-37).

The autonomist war of 1961-75 provided the Kurds with their own clandestine radio station (cf. 7.4.6). Radio Baghdad's policy was subject to changing political circumstances in Iraq, in Kurdistan and in the region. Broadcasting time doubled during the last year of the autonomist war. Since 1968, Ba'thization, i.e., the propagation of the ideology and political line of the ruling party has permeated all programming. However, new programs such as plays, stories, history, Kurdish grammar, special sections for children, farmers, women, etc. have been on the air at different times since the late 1960s. It may be noted that advertising has never been offered by any Kurdish station.

7.4.3 Kurdish Broadcasting in Iran

Iranians were permitted to own radio receivers in 1934 (Mesbahee 1973:15), and broadcasting began on April 24, 1940. The promotion of the official language, Persian, was one of the important goals of radio and television broadcasting under the Pahlavi monarchy (Kimiachi 1978:32). Broadcasting acted as "the most effective agency... for the promotion of culture and national unity" (p. 24).

How did broadcasting in Kurdish begin and expand in a country where the written use of the language was proscribed and its oral use in schools and government offices was not permitted? The first broadcasts were, in fact, not initiated by the central government, but rather by the Turks and Kurds of northwestern Iran who had revolted against Tehran and established their own autonomous republics in 1945-46. Kurdish went on the air first on Radio Tabriz in the Azerbaijan Autonomous Republic, followed soon after by the establishment of a radio station at Mahabad, capital of the Kurdish republic, on April 30, 1946. *Kurdistan* (No. 43, May 4, 1946, p. 1) reported, in an article entitled "Kurdistan

speaks," that the station was inaugurated in a special ceremony in the presence of top authorities and invited guests. Five loudspeakers were installed at different parts of the town for public use. The programs consisted of news, commentaries, music, speeches, and other features, some of which appeared in print in *Kurdistan*. All programs were in the Sorani dialect.

The fall of the republic in December 1946 ended this phase of Kurdish broadcasting in Iran (cf. 7.4.6). Soon, however, a one-hour speech on Baku Radio (in Soviet Azerbaijan Republic), given in 1949 by Mulla Mustafa Barzani, former leader of a Kurdish revolt in Iraq and a military commander in the Kurdish Republic, triggered the revival of Kurdish broadcasting, this time by the Iranian government. The speaker called for the unity of Kurdistan and the liberation of the Kurdish people in Iran, Turkey and Iraq (*The New Statesman and Nation*, April 22, 1950).

The event was interpreted in the West as a Soviet plot to use the Kurds for expansionist purposes.[2] Soon, the United States initiated an extensive propaganda program to counter Soviet broadcasting. According to a *New York Times* news report (Ross 1949:12), the Kurds had "been ignored in the information activities of the Western powers," while the USSR had "emphasized Kurdish nationalism and the Kurdish language." The report added, "measures now are being taken to prepare a program in Kurdish and to operate in Kurdish-speaking areas."

By January 1950 plans were discussed for Voice of America broadcasting in Kurdish to supplement the on-the-spot distribution of a weekly Kurdish news bulletin (cf. 7.3.2.10) to be published by the U.S. embassy in Baghdad (*New York Times*, January 7, 1950, p. 7). An agreement was later reached between the Voice of America and the Iranian government for conducting broadcasting locally (*The New Statesman and Nation*, April 22, 1950). Tehran also sponsored the publication of a few books on Kurdish language and history (cf. 7.2.3).

As part of the propaganda plan, the Iranian government installed a one kw transmitter in Sanandaj in 1951, for local broadcasts in Persian and Kurdish. The Iranian Army (Fifth Division) operated a similar transmitter in Mahabad from 1955 to 1966 (on 43.88 m = 6851 Kc/s 500 watts, listed in *Foreign Broadcasting Information Service*, 1955-66). Programs included news, locally produced music, poetry readings, political commentary, and entertainment features.

7.4.3.1 The Radio Wars of the 1950s

Political developments in the Middle East in 1956-57 resulted in a further expansion of Kurdish broadcasting in Iran. Egypt started a serious propaganda attack against Iraq on "Voice of the Arabs" in 1957 (Boyd 1982:107). Part of this campaign was a Kurdish program of 45 minutes on Radio Cairo (1645 hours Greenwich Mean Time on 11655 kilocycles) which attracted large audiences in Iraq and Iran. The program consisted of news exposing the Iraqi monarchy and the Baghdad Pact (cf. 3.2.1), together with nationalist Kurdish poetry and music, including the national anthem *Ey Reqîb* 'O, Enemy!' and *Ey Kurdîne* 'O, Kurds!'

These words and music had not been heard on the air since the fall of the Kurdish Republic in December, 1946. A blind poet from Mahabad has mentioned the profound impact of Radio Cairo's program on his feeling and thinking (Mala Ghafour 1984:13).

The Iranian government reacted fearfully. The semi-official daily *Ettela'at* considered the program a subversive measure against Iran and, citing the editorial of another Iranian paper, *Farman*, warned that the broadcasts were part of a plot drawn up by the United Arab Republic and the Soviet Union (*Ettela'at-e Hava'i*, June 25-July 7, 1958). According to press reports, Turkey, Iran and Iraq voiced their protest to Egypt and the USSR. On June 30, 1958, the newspaper warned that the propaganda might cause relations to deteriorate between the United Arab Republic and Iran. On July 2 it carried an official statement by the U.A.R. ambassador announcing that the program was exclusively musical and religious in nature intended for the Kurds of northern Syria (then within the U.A.R. borders), and that Cairo had no intention of meddling in the affairs of the Kurds residing in foreign countries whether in Iran or elsewhere.

To neutralize the impact of Radio Cairo's program on the Kurds, the Iranian Prime Minister and members of his cabinet paid a visit to Sanandaj, center of Kordestan province, in early July of that year and announced the allocation of 500 million rials (approximately $7 million) for the development of the area and the starting of Kurdish broadcasting on Radio Tehran. Moreover, according to one UPI news item (cited in *Nouvelle Revue de Lausanne*, July 11, 1958), Iran and Iraq took measures on July 11 to prevent what they considered an eventual Kurdish uprising prompted by Egyptian broadcasts, and probably related to foreign agents (information in the last two paragraphs is based on *L'Afrique et L'Asie*, Année 1958, No. 44, pp. 60-61 and *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. 38, No. 7, 1958, p. 627).

Soon, however, the monarchy in Iraq was overthrown (July 14, 1958), and Radio Baghdad's Kurdish section joined Radio Cairo in fanning the flames of Kurdish nationalism. The new regime left the Baghdad Pact without hesitation and the remaining members (Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and Britain) convened a conference in Ankara to discuss the consequences, including the Kurdish situation.

In addition to increasing militarization and security control in Kurdistan, Tehran initiated an extensive broadcasting program (cf. Table 44) together with the publication of a Kurdish weekly, *Kurdistan*.

As is indicated by the data in Table 44, besides the powerful Radio Tehran which targeted both the local and foreign Kurdish audiences, four local stations broadcast in local dialects; they were intended in part to turn away Iranian Kurds from foreign stations. It is interesting to note that even the Kurds of northern Khorasan (cf. 1.1.7 and Map 6), geographically and politically isolated from Kurdistan, were also covered by the local Radio Mashhad. By 1970, this station was on the air six nights a week from 20:00 to 20:30. A similar program was lacking for the Turkman population (Blum 1972:222) of the area whose kinsmen

across the border, in the USSR, had a "Socialist Republic" with broadcasting in their own language. This can be explained by the fact that Iranian Turkmans did not pose an immediate threat to the Iranian regime at that time.

Table 44. Kurdish Broadcasting in Iran, 1959

Station Name	Tehran Time	S.W.	Kw	M.W.	Kw	Program
R. Tehran	21:00-22:00	?	100	244	?	"K. Program"
R. Sanandaj	18:00-21:00	44.44	0.4	324	1	"K. Program"
	21:00-22:00	44.44	?	324	?	*
R. Kermanshah	19:00-19:30	?	?	275	1	**
	19:30-21:00	?	?	275	1	"K. Program"
	21:00-22:00	?	?	275	1	***
R. Reza'iyeh	18:00-19:00	37	0.5	300	1	****
R. Mashhad	17:30-18:00 (Sat/M/Wed)	?	?	272.2	1	"K. Program"

* "Relay of Radio Tehran" ** "Local Kirmanshahi Kurdish Program"
*** "Relay of Radio Tehran" **** "Program in the Kurdish Dialect"
Abbreviations: R, Radio; K, Kurdish
Sources: Rādyo Tehrān (No. 32, Farvardin 1338/March-April 1959); information on stations' power taken from *WRTH* (1961:122); tabular form provided.

The government's language policy was apparently based on a desire to divert the Iranian Kurds' attention from the foreign broadcasts and at the same time to conduct Iranian propaganda among the Kurds on both sides of the border. The first consideration required the use of the dialect of the broadcasting area of the local station while the latter aim could be most effectively achieved through the Sorani dialect.

By the early 1970s, new political factors had emerged. Radio Cairo's Kurdish program had signed off several years before although clandestine stations, one of which was operated by Kurdish autonomists in Iraq, went on the air every day. Equally significant were the hostile relations between Iran and Iraq, which led to Iranian support of the Kurdish autonomists in Iraq. Internally, the Shah's regime was pursuing an intense assimilation policy based on unprecedented militarization of the country.

The external political circumstances required more broadcasting in Sorani, a situation that would have further encouraged the unity of the Kurdish language and neutralized the Persianization efforts. The dilemma was apparently solved by emphasizing local dialect broadcasting for the Kurds of Iran and using Sorani and Kurmanji on the powerful stations beamed to Iraq and Turkey.

The policy, already discerned by many Kurds, had actually been dictated to the personnel of the Kurdish stations. One of them, Abdullah Mardukhi (who continued to work in the capacity of supervisor of Mahabad Radio and Television

in 1979-81) recalls that a top ideologist of the monarchy in the broadcasting system, Parviz Nikkhah, had briefed the Supervisors of Information and News on the official policy in the spring of 1974:

> The existence of various ethnic groups, Kurds, Armenians, Turks, Baluchis, etc. and their dialects has played into the hands of the enemies of Iran and they have created many problems for our country. Before they achieve their purposes, we must neutralize their plans...We do this by installing Kurdish transmitters and expanding them; programs will be prepared in Tehran to be translated by trained translators and performed [in the provinces]. Kurdish is nothing but a dialect of Persian; but the enemies of Iran are creating a nation and a language for the Kurds. This Kurdish has dialects which every Persian speaker easily understands. We have carried on broadcasts in all the Kurdish dialects so that everyone knows that Kurdish is but one of the dialects of the Persian language...Disunity among the dialects will eventually lead to the disappearance of the Kurdish dialect itself (A. Mardukhi, private correspondence, September 9, 1984).

The following stations were devoted to broadcasts for local audiences in the local dialects of Kurdish: Radio Sanandaj, R. Mahabad, R. Reza'iyeh (now Urmia), R. Kermanshah (now Bakhtaran), R. Marivan, R. Ilam, and R. Quchan; the two powerful stations of Qasr-e-Shirin (400+400 kw, located on the Iran-Iraq border) and Bonab beamed their broadcasts to the Kurds of Iraq, Syria and Turkey, but could not be [conveniently] received by Iranian Kurds (*Ibid.*)

The expansion of the Hawrami dialect (spoken by a small community) program and the appropriation of a station for this purpose happened after the authorities found out about the theory (cf. 1.3.7) that the Hawrami community, also called Goran, were not Kurds (*Ibid.*).

In another private meeting with the supervisors (*mudīrān*) in Tehran in 1974, Nikkhah instructed those from the Kurdish stations about their important role in carrying out a plan recently proposed to the government. According to the plan, the Kurds were to be transferred from Kurdistan to other parts of the country and replaced by other Iranians. The supervisors were told to prepare Kurdish opinion through special programming which must impart the idea that "there was no difference between Khorasan and Kurdistan [provinces] and between Semnan and Sanandaj [towns]." Soon, the program "The Vast Territory of Iran" (*Sarzamīn-i Pahnāvar-i Īrān*) went on the air (*Ibid.*).

Although Tehran's Kurdish program was transferred to Kermanshah when a 100 kW station was installed there, most of the programs continued to be produced in Tehran under careful scrutiny of the government. The Kurdish personnel were part of the "Dialects Section" (*Gurūh-i Lahji-hā*) in the Ministry of Information (later, National Iranian Radio and Television Organization), which

Table 45. The Use of Kurdish Dialects in Iranian Government Broadcasting

kHz	GMT	Hours per Day 1977-78	1979
Surani (Sorani)			
612	02:30-05:30	3.00	3.00
612	13:30-16:30	3.00	3.00
897	03:30-03:30	0.30	0.30
897	04:45-06:30	1.45	2.10
897	11:30-12:00	0.30	0.30
897	12:30-13:00	0.30	0.30
897	14:30-15:00	0.30	2.00
897	15:30-16:00	0.30	0.30
897	17:30-18:00	0.30	0.30
Total		**10.45**	**12.10**
Northern Dialect (Kurmanji)			
612	16:30-18:30	2.00	2.00
638	17:30-18:30	1.00	1.00
933	16:30-17:30	1.00	1.30
Total		**4.00**	**4.30**
Sanandaji (Subdialect of Sorani)			
1484	12:30-14:30	2.00	2.00
1484	18:30-19:30	1.00	1.00
Total		**3.00**	**3.00**
Urami (=Hawrami)			
645	14:30-16:30	2.00	2.00
Quchani (Kurmanji of Khorasan)			
738	15:45-16:30	0.45	0.45
Grand Total		**20.30**	**22.25**

Source: WRTH 1977 (p. 165), 1978 (p. 184) and 1979 (p. 190). Totals provided.

was responsible for broadcasting in the non-Persian languages of Iran.

One mechanism for reducing the linguistic impact of broadcasting was Persianization of the scripts. Local broadcasts were characterized by a heavy load of Persian borrowings which made it different from the speech of the intended audience. Many Iranian Kurds, in fact, believed that the mission of the radio stations was "to destroy" the Kurdish language. This was especially true in Radio Sanandaj where broadcasters were said to read a Persian text and change prepositions and conjunctions to make it Kurdish. According to Mardukh (private correspondence 1984), the station had no Kurdish translators. According to another observer, in Reza'iyeh "some people alleged that the non-standard languages [Azerbaijani Turkish, Kurdish and Assyrian] were deliberately 'Persianized' in the broadcasts" (Kahn 1980:44). According to a study of the phonetic and phonological differences between the language of broadcasting on Radio Reza'iyeh and that of the broadcast area, "the radio is fairly far in the forefront of the real and non-official Persianization of Kurdish that is inevitable in the present political situation" (Kahn 1975:5).

It was official policy not to apply to the Kurds concepts such as "language" and "nation"; sanctioned replacements were "Kurdish dialect" and "Kurds." Another group of words and phrases including the names of the Ministries, government offices and organizations and official titles had to remain in Persian since, the translators were told, "it was not possible to translate them into Kurdish" (Mardukh, private correspondence, 1984; cf. 5.4.9 on the Persianization plans of the government).

7.4.3.2 The Islamic Republic

The Islamic regime has continued the monarchy's policy of strict state control of the broadcast media for purposes of political integration, Persianization and propagating the official ideology and political line.

Local stations in Kurdistan were partly in Kurdish hands after the fall of the Shah, when the new regime was unable to extend its control over the area. After the final take-over of the towns by Tehran in the early fall of 1980, two Kurdish autonomist organizations fighting the Islamic regime started their clandestine broadcasting in the rural areas under their control.

Broadcasting was, under these conditions, the regime's indispensable instrument for extending its uninvited ideological and political rule in the inhospitable nationalist environment of Kurdistan. Besides the internal challenge, a radio war was going on between Tehran and Radio Baghdad.

Under the circumstances of ongoing war between the government and the Kurds, clandestine and foreign broadcasts attracted the largest audiences. The government has utilized the available networks fully and introduced gradual expansion of both regular broadcasting and the jamming of clandestine and other unwanted stations. Writing about the Radio and Television Unit of Mahabad, the weekly magazine of the Islamic Republic's broadcasting organization, *Surūsh*

(Vol. 5, No. 206, August 27, 1983, p. 53) wrote: "This unit devotes another part of its activities to the control of obtrusive political voices and reports the results to the responsible authorities so that, by doing this, necessary steps are taken towards neutralizing the poisonous propaganda of the foreigners and their stooges." According to *Kayhān-i Havā'ī* (October 16, 1985, p. 9), a new 20 kW transmitter was inaugurated on October 7, 1985, at Sanandaj. Reinforced by the old 10 kw transmitter, the station went on the air sixteen hours a day in Persian and in "the Kurdish dialects of Sanandaji Sorani and Avramanati [Hawrami]". While on the air, the new transmitter also "neutralizes the effectiveness of Radio Iraq's transmitter in the area."

Total broadcasting hours in Kurdish more than doubled in Iran between 1966 and 1983 (cf. Table 46).

Table 46. Daily Broadcast Hours in Kurdish in Iran, 1959-83

Year	Daily Hours	Source
1959	7:30	Table 44
1966	8:30	*Rādyo Īrān* (No. 114, May-June 1966)
1977-78	20:30	Table 45
1979	22:25	Table 45
1983	18:15	*Surūsh* (Vol. 5, No. 193, pp. 62-63)

No change has been effected in the dialect policy of the old regime (cf. Table 45). Music, considered "worse than opium" by Islamic leaders of Iran, has been reduced to authorized songs. Attempts to eliminate "non-Islamic" music began in 1979 when Taqi Farahi, Director General of radio and television organization, sent a circular to the stations in Kurdish areas instructing them to erase all music tapes and to send them to Tehran to be checked (Mardukh, private correspondence 1984). Another change is the frequent Islamic religious propaganda loaded with Arabic words which is likely to affect the vocabulary of Kurdish in the long run.

7.4.4 The Broadcast Policy of Turkey

Considering the strong assimilationist policy of Turkey, it is not difficult to understand why this country has not embarked on broadcasting in Kurdish. One may ask, however, why Turkey did not respond, in the same manner that Iran and Iraq did, to the much feared Soviet broadcasts by initiating her own Kurdish programs in the early 1950s (cf. 7.4.3.1).

An explanation offered by Morgan Philips Price, Member of Parliament in England and an observer of Middle Eastern Affairs, throws much light on the circumstances. Writing in the *Manchester Guardian* (September 1950) on what he considered a Soviet endeavor to stir up trouble among the Kurds. Price wrote:

> There is no doubt that the Turkish method of national assimilation coupled with political freedom is bringing results, but it is a drastic remedy that only a strong Government can attempt...I doubt now if the Russians will succeed in making any mischief among the "mountain Turks" (the Turkish name for their Kurds) of Anatolia. They may be more successful however, in Persia and Iraq (quoted in *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Kurdes*, No. 13, September 1950, p. 11).

The idea that Turkey was strong enough to withstand the Soviet threat may also explain why the Voice of America changed initial plans for broadcasting in Kurdish and agreed with Tehran on local stations operated by the Iranian government. It seems that Voice of America broadcasting would have reached the Kurds of Turkey and given recognition to a language that was forbidden in that country (cf. 5.3.0).

7.4.5 Kurdish Broadcasting in the USSR

According to Soviet Kurdish sources, broadcasting in Kurdish began in the Kurdish autonomous region of Transcaucasia, which existed between 1923 and 1929 (Nadirov 1992:38). In 1941, the Syrian Kurdish magazine *Hawar* (Vol. 9, No. 27, April 15, p. 11) reported that Kurdish songs were heard from an unidentified station, probably located in Yerevan. A well-informed source, Thomas Bois writing under the pseudonym L. Rambout (1947:111), wrote in 1946 that "Radio Erivan (Armenia) went on the air in 1946 at 11:45 for half an hour every day presenting information and music programs (44 m to 44.50 short wave). A similar program was offered by Radio Tiflis on long wave 1410 to 1415 m at 17:30."

According to one Soviet source, however, the first broadcast program in Kurmanji began in 1954, from Radio Yerevan of Soviet Armenia. Writing in 1978, on the occasion of "Radio Day," the supervisor of the Kurdish program, Khalil Muradov, wrote: "It is 24 years since our Republic's radio has conducted broadcasting in Kurdish. If in the first years, broadcasting in Kurdish lasted 10-15 minutes a day, it is today one hour and a half, twice a day on middle and short waves" (*R'ya T'eze*, No. 36 (3045), May 6, 1978, p. 4).

A 20-minute weekly news (*deng û be'sa*) program began on September 29, 1978 on Radio Gurjistan (Georgia) at 18:00(on ultra short wave 4,3 m and M.W. 288 m), according to a "Gurjinform" announcement in *R'ya T'eze* (No. 8 (3089)a, October 7, 1978, p. 4). The 1987 edition of *World Radio TV Handbook* (p. 144)

reports the following Radio Yerevan Kurdish programs under "external broadcasts from the Soviet Republics": 1400-1500 on 4990 kHz as well as 49 mb and 1730-1800 on 864/4990 kHz and 49 mb.

All programs on Radio Yerevan are in Kurmanji as developed in Soviet Armenia. Consistent with the policy in print media, broadcast programs, even folk music, exclude the Sorani dialect (cf. 5.5.0). The language is characterized by extensive borrowing from Russian and Armenian.

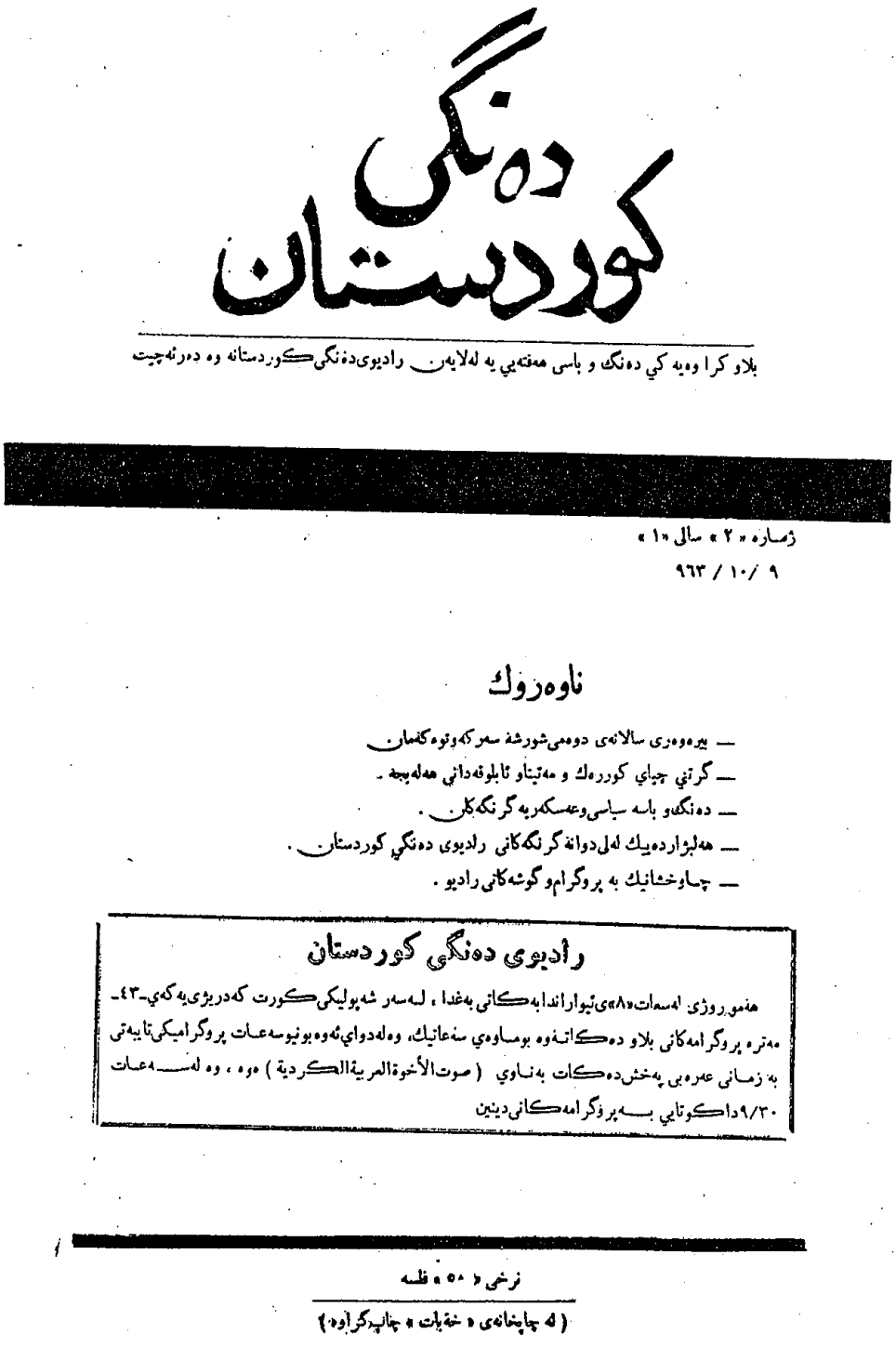
7.4.6 Clandestine Broadcasting

In terms of impact on language, clandestine broadcasting is especially important under conditions of government-imposed censorship on news-hungry Kurdistan. Without much risk of repression, listeners can often get their favourite news and revolutionary music from clandestine stations.

The first clandestine program was probably on a station operated by the Iranian Azerbaijan Democrat Party's leadership in exile in the USSR. The station operated from 1947 to August 3, 1953 with programs in Persian, Azerbaijani Turkish and Kurdish (Howell 1965:452-53). Next came "Sidā-yi Millī-yi Īrān" (National Voice of Iran) which went on the air in April, 1959 (*Ibid.*, p. 449, 455). Another station, "Rādyo Payk-i Īrān" was operated by the Iranian Tudeh Party in Eastern Europe. The station added Kurdish to its Persian and Azerbaijani Turkish programs on May 23, 1961 (*Ibid.*, p. 455) and remained on the air until 1976 or 1977. Both stations broadcast in Sorani Kurdish. The latter began with a 15-minute program in the early 1960s which was expanded to 30 minutes twice daily.

The autonomist movement of Iraqi Kurdistan (1961-75) was considerably empowered by operating a station, Radyoy Dengî Kurdistan (Radio Voice of Kurdistan) on August 20, 1963. The one-hour program consisted of news broadcasts in Sorani with occasional commentaries in Kurmanji (short wave 43 m; 20:00 Baghdad time). Iran and Iraq jammed the entire program although it was still heard in certain areas. A selection of news and commentary was published in a weekly entitled *Dengî Kurdistan* 'Voice of Kurdistan' (Vol. 1, No. 2, October 9, 1963; cf. Fig. 26).

The station continued broadcasting intermittently, closing during various peace negotiations with the government and reopening with the resumption of war. According to the *Kurdish Journal* (Vol. V, No. 3, 1968, p. 24), representing the views of the Kurdish leadership, the Iraqi government allowed the Kurds to publish the daily *al-Ta'akhi* (in Arabic) in Baghdad in exchange for closing the radio station. Point 11 of the March 1970 agreement between Baghdad and the Kurds required that "the broadcasting station and heavy arms shall be given back to the Government." When fighting resumed in March 1974 broadcasting began immediately (short wave 31, 41, 90 and M.W. 190, 200 and 202 m) in Kurdish, Arabic, English, Assyrian and Turkmeni (a selection of news, poetry, commentary and program notes were published in *Dengî Kurdistan* (No.



دەنگی کوردستان

بلاو کراوەیە کی دەنگ و باسی هەفتەیی یە لەلایەن رادیوی دەنگی کوردستانە وە دەرئەچێت

ژمارە « ٢ » سالی « ١ »
٩ / ١٠ / ٩٦٣

ناوەرۆك

— پیرەوەری سالانەی دوەمی شورشە سەرکەوتوە کەمان
— گرتنی چیای کوررەك و مەتینا و تابلوقەدانی هەلەبجە .
— دەنگ و باسە سیاسی وعەسکەریە کانی کۆنگەکان .
— هەلبژاردەیك لەل دوانە گرنگەکانی رادیوی دەنگی کوردستان .
— چاوخشانیك بە پروگرام و گوشەکانی رادیو .

رادیوی دەنگی کوردستان

هەموروژی لەسەعات «٨»ی ئیوارانداباەکانی بەغدا ، لەسەر شەپولیکی کورت کەدریژی یەکەی ٤٣ـ مەترە پروگرامەکانی بلاو دەکاتەوە بوماوەی سەعاتیك، وەلەدوای ئەوەیونیوسەعات پروگرامیکی تایبەتی بە زمانی عەرەبی پەخش دەکات بەناوی (صوت الأخوة العربیة الکردیة) ەوە ، وە لەسەعات ٩/٣٠ داکوتایی بەپروگرامەکانی دینین

نرخی « ٥٠ » فلسە
(لە چاپخانەی « خەبات » چاپکراوە)

Fig. 26. *Dengî Kurdistan*, publication of the Kurdish clandestine radio station in Iraqi Kurdistan, 1963.

1, January 1975, 246 pp.; cf. Fig. 26). The station signed off on March 17, 1975 after the defeat of the autonomists (cf. *The Daily Star* [Beirut], April 19, 1975).

While Iran was providing military aid to the Kurdish autonomists of Iraq, the Iraqi government inaugurated the "Voice of Iranian Kurdistan" operated from 1973 (BBC. *Summary of World Broadcasts, The Middle East.* July 17, 1973, p. B1) to 1975.

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the organization that resumed fighting after the defeat of 1975, began broadcasting in the liberated areas no later than March 1983. According to *al-Sharāra* (Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1985), the station went on the air in Arabic and Kurdish for one hour daily, with an additional hour on Fridays. The Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq, supported by the Islamic Republic of Iran, reported their broadcasting as two one-hour programs per day in 1984 (*Sadā Kurdistān* [Beirut], No. 8, April 1984). Although broadcast languages are not indicated they certainly include Kurdish.

Table 47. Kurdish Language Clandestine Broadcasting

Station Sponsor or Name	Location	Year	Dialect	Daily Hours
Azerbaijan Democratic Party	USSR	1947-53	Sorani	?
Sedā-yi Millī-ye Īrān	?	1959-?	Sorani	?
Rādyo Payk-i Īrān	East Europe	1961-76	Sorani	0.30
Dengî Kurdistan (KDP-Iraq)	Kurdistan	1963-75,1984-	Sor. & Kj.	?
Voice of Iranian Kurdistan	Baghdad	1973-75	Sorani	?
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan	Kurdistan	1983-now	Sor. & Kj.	1.00
Dengî Kurdistanî Iran	Kurdistan	1983-now	Sorani	1.15
Dengîşorisî Iran	Kurdistan	1984-now	Sorani	1.30

Abbreviations: Sor., Sorani; Kj., Kurmanji
Sources: Cf. sources cited under section 7.4.6 above.

The Kurdish autonomist movement of Iran has also made effective use of the radio since 1981. The Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran's "Voice of Iranian Kurdistan" (Dengî Kurdistanî Êran) was on the air twice a day (7:00 to 7:30 and 17:00 to 17:45 Tehran Time, short wave 41 m) in Sorani in 1983 (*Akhbar-i Kordistan...* No. 25, February 18, 1983, p. 1). The other major organization, Komeĺe or "The Kurdistan Organization of the Communist Party of Iran," operated the "Voice of Iranian Revolution" (Dengî Şoŕişî Êran) in Sorani (12:45 to 13:30 and 18:00 to 18:45 on short wave 49 and 65) in 1984 (*Kumunist*, Vol. 1, No. 10, July 1, 1984, p. 20). Sorani has been the dominant medium in clandestine broadcasting, as is indicated by the data in Table 47.

7.4.7 The Kurdish Diaspora

The first broadcasting program intended for the increasing number of Kurdish refugees around the world (cf. 10.4.0) was apparently in Australia. The weekly 10-minute program (19:50 to 20:00) in Kurdish and English included news, Kurdish history, language, culture and music (*Dengê KOMKAR*, Vol. 4, No. 43, July 12, 1982, p. 9). In 1985, Radio 2EA of Sydney, Australia, announced in a press release (reprinted in Institut Kurde de Paris, *Information and Liaison Bulletin*, No. 14, September 1985, p. 23) the introduction of a Kurdish program. In Sweden, the journal *Armanc* (Vol. 5, No. 44, 1983, back cover) reported the introduction of a Kurdish program, Radyoya Kurdi Dengê Armanc (Voice of Armanj Kurdish Radio, to begin in the New Year 1984 (in Kurmanji). The program was apparently discontinued later (Farhad Shakely, private correspondence, May 8, 1985).

7.4.8 Kurdish Radio Broadcasting in 1983

By the mid-1980s both broadcasting hours and the audience had substantially increased compared to the early 1960s. In 1983, there was a total of 36:10 hours of daily broadcasting from government operated stations of Iraq (16:25), Iran (18:15) and the USSR (1:30). To this must be added no less than four hours of clandestine broadcasting. The increase in audience size can be very roughly indicated by the number of receiver sets (Table 48):

Table 48. Number of Radio Receivers per 1000 Inhabitants, 1960-79

Year	Iran	Iraq	Turkey
1960	43.4	--	49.2
1965	67.6	99.4	78.4
1970	63.5	109.7	89.0
1975	62.3	113.1	104.2
1980	171.0	153.0	111.0
1982	179.0	179.0	119.0

Source: UNESCO (1978:44-45; 1986:460-61).

7.4.9 Television Broadcasting

Iraq. Iraq was the first Arab country to establish a government-operated television service in the Middle East in 1956 (Boyd 1982:111). The first television stations outside Baghdad were opened in Kirkuk in 1967, and in Mosul in 1968. All programs were in Arabic at this time.

A "Decree on the Cultural Rights" of the Kurds issued by the Iraqi

government on March 9, 1969 promised, among other things, to "increase Kurdish programs on Kirkuk television until a special Kurdish television station is established." However, a year after the March 1970 agreement between the government and the autonomists, the Union of Kurdish Teachers complained that the production of Kurdish programs was being regularly obstructed (*Dengî Mamosta*, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1971, p. 11).

The Kurdish autonomists complained in 1972 that the programs on Kirkuk Television were very few and that no steps had been taken to establish a Kurdish station in spite of expansion in the Iraqi television network (*Kurdistan.* Supplement. No.1. September 1972. Published by the Kurdish Students Society in Europe. 1972. Unpaginated). By 1980, however, Boyd (1982:112) reported the Kirkuk Station as one "programming mainly in Kurdish." *The Europa Year Book* of 1984 (Vol. II, p. 1753) cites a "Kurdish Television" operating six hours daily.

Iran. Television was first introduced into Iran in 1958 by a private corporation under government scrutiny in Tehran. The station was "nationalized" later, and the great expansion of TV networks in the 1970s was all carried out by the government. Television production and transmission centers and relay stations were established in many Kurdish towns , e.g., Sanandaj, Mahabad (1971), Qasr-e-Shirin (1973), Paveh, Oshnoviyeh (1973) and Saqqez (1974).

Both under the monarchy and the Islamic Republic, most of the programs have been produced in Tehran and in Persian. The stations in Kurdistan have functioned as relay centers with occasional local productions. According to *Surūsh* (Vol. 5, No. 206, August 27, 1983, p. 53), the "production unit" of Mahabad was unable to produce more than two programs a week "due to limited facilities and the lack of manpower."

7.4.10 Broadcasting and Standardization

The use of language in broadcasting, especially standardization issues, has not been adequately studied. One of the shortcomings is "the scarcity of appropriate international data on language and broadcasting" (Contretras *et al* 1976:24).

It is known that "languages used on the air gain credibility and legitimacy in the minds of audiences, especially children and minorities" (Howell 1986:197). Access to modern channels of public communication is especially important for the "stateless nations" of the world whose languages are threatened with extinction by the dominant culture of the majority population (*Ibid.*).

Today's languages have become critically dependent upon broadcasting for their continued vitality because radio and television are the most powerful conduits for transmitting national culture (*Ibid.*). In their study of broadcasting in the Third World, Katz and Wedell (1977:174) discovered that the "most important use of radio in the promotion of national integration is the encouragement of national language." The Kurdish case demonstrates that radio

is widely used for the propagation of the official national language and de-ethnicization in Turkey, Syria and Iran.

In the area of standardization, it is known that in many countries the language of broadcast media–especially broadcast news–is regarded as the standard speech. It is also obvious that there is a circular process in the ways that standardization and broadcasting interact. Broadcasting adopts the standard language because (a) it is the prestigious variety in the speech community, (b) it is used in other public and official domains, (c) it is supposed to be more widely understood, and so on. When the standard variety is adopted by broadcasting because of its social prestige, this prestige is still further enhanced by its use in broadcasting (Bell 1983:137-39). In the Kurdish case, the interrelationship between broadcasting and standardization is complicated by the political division of the speech community, bidialectalism, and the government's use of broadcasting for de-ethnicization and integration.

7.4.10.1 Maintenance and Prestige Functions

Broadcasting in Kurdish originated under the conditions of World War II, when both belligerent sides were engaging in powerful battles of words on the air. Referring to German propaganda and broadcasts, Winston Churchill told a radio audience as early as 1939: "If words could kill, we would be dead already" (quoted in Lindahl 1978:9).

As in World War I, the Kurds gained in political and strategic importance during these critical years. Kurdish nationalists enthusiastically welcomed Allied radio broadcasting in Kurdish not so much for the contents as for the "service" (*xizmet*) it rendered their language. This attitude is best seen in the responses of two important journals–*Gelawêj* and *Nîştman*–to the inauguration of a Kurdish program on the British war time station Sharq al-Adna (cf. 7.4.1). The former carried a full-page announcement (Vol. 4, No. 8, August 1943, p. 43):

> The Kurdish Wireless Station from the Near East
>
> Without soliciting, the Kurds fulfilled their wish of spreading the voice, the language and the name of the Kurds all the world over. Who made this [possible]? Obviously no one did, or will do, this for the Kurds except the great state of Britain who is looking after the Kurds due to kinship relations.[2] They set up for them [the Kurds] a world[wide] wireless station at Jaffa, and let them broadcast all kinds of news and all varieties of tunes and songs. In the name of all Kurds, *Gelawêj* thanks them for this concern and good role and wishes the permanence of this great state.
>
> The two young sons of Kurdistan, Goran and Rafiq Chalak, have

added much more to its splendor; truly, they render a good service to the Kurdish language. May God protect them and may they live longer.

Listen to the news at three times:
Mornings 10:30 to 11:00
Evenings 3:30 to 4:00
Listen to that of Beirut at six o'clock in the evening.

In a similar note of appreciation, the nationalist clandestine magazine *Nîştman* (Vol. 1, No. 3-4, October-November 1943, p. 27), which was printed in Iran, welcomed the publication of a Kurdish magazine by the British embassy in Baghdad, and wrote: "...we request the great British government that, as they have set up for us a radio station at Jaffa under the name Kurdistan, in the same way London Radio [BBC] devote one hour a day of its program for the sweet Kurdish language." The magazine had asked (No. 2, Xezelwer [Oct.-Nov.] 1943, p. 26] the administrators of the "Kurdistan Radio Station" to improve the quality of the program by (a) changing the 37½ meter frequency which was not clearly received [in Iranian Kurdistan], (b) changing broadcasting time to after sunset in Kurdistan since there was no "electricity in most cities of [Iranian] Kurdistan in daytime," (c) publishing a "Kurdistan Radio Station Journal" once a week describing weekly programming, (d) beginning the program with a "Kurdish march," and (e) providing more varied Kurdish music.

The significance attached to broadcasting was based on two considerations. One was the threat of the planned extinction of the Kurdish language in Iran and Turkey, where the use of the language had been confined to the privacy of the home (cf. 5.2.0 and 5.3.0). From the nationalist point of view, broadcasting would put the Kurds of the two countries in a better position to resist linguistic assimilation. The other consideration was prestige and legitimacy. Broadcasting on both the national and international level had been the privilege of the three state languages—Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The position of Kurdish among these languages would, thus, be enhanced through broadcasting on a powerful station by a world power. It meant, at least for the nationalists, recognition of the language, which had been denied in Iran and Turkey.

In a similar vein, the Kurdish Students Society in Europe thanked President Nasser of Egypt for the inauguration in 1958 of a broadcasting service in Kurdish from Radio Cairo (Jwaideh 1960:801; cf., also, 7.4.3.1). In a letter sent to Premier Khrushchev in 1958, the Society asked the Soviet government to initiate a Kurdish program on Radio Moscow (*Ibid.*).

7.4.10.2 The Use of Dialects in Broadcasting

The dominant dialect in early years of broadcasting (1939-46) was Sorani. The British station and Radio Baghdad apparently were interested in Iraqi and

Iranian Kurdish audiences while the French station, run by the Badir Khan brothers (cf. 7.2.5), was in Kurmanji and could reach the speakers of the dialect in Syria, Iraq, and Turkey. After the closing of this station, Radio Baghdad together with the local stations of Iran were all in Sorani and no Kurmanji broadcasts were heard anywhere until 1954, when Radio Yerevan started its daily 15-minute program.

Table 49. Early Broadcasting and Kurdish Dialects

Radio Station	Year	Hours per Week	Dialect
Baghdad	1939-44	1.45	Sorani
	1945-46	7.00	Sorani
Sharq al-'Adna	1943-45	7.00	Sorani
Radio-Levant	1941-46	1.00	Kurmanji

There is evidence that broadcasting in Sorani had enhanced the status of this dialect among Kurmanji speakers by the late 1950s, as is indicated by a rare study conducted in Turkey. Approximately 1500 questionnaires were collected from illiterate recruits in the Turkish Army who came from different parts of "Eastern Turkey," i.e., Kurdistan. One aim of the research was to "find the area chosen by most informants for 'best Kurdish' in order to determine the most suitable dialect for educational purposes. By far the most common response (approximately 60% of the total) referred to Sulaymaniya by name or to northern Iraq by area, although more than 75% of the respondents indicated the best Kurdish as being spoken in their home or vilayet...It is possible that the recognition of Sulaymaniya Kurdish as a cultural standard is due to its use as the Kurdish dialect on Radio Baghdad broadcasts to the area" (Bordie 1978:208). According to Bordie, this "recognition of Sulaymaniya as a cultural center extends almost to the Soviet border." Bordie infers, moreover, from dialect maps that "radio broadcasting plays a part in the recognition and/or use of features found in Sulaymaniya Kurdish" (p. 209).

Soon after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958, Radio Baghdad began broadcasting in Kurmanji. The aim was, according to an official source, to make broadcasting available to Kurmanji speakers who had been deprived of it under the old regime (cf. 6.2.3). Initially, broadcasting time was equally divided between the two dialects, although in later years Sorani maintained its dominant position.

After the defeat of the autonomist movement in 1975, Radio Baghdad initiated a program in the Hawrami dialect, which is spoken by a very small percentage of the population. According to the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

which resumed the autonomist struggle in 1976, the government aimed at "deepening the differences between separate dialects of Kurdistan and weakening the nationalist feeling of the Kurdish people" (*Hewaĺnamey Şoriş*, No. 3, September 1978, p. 14; cf., also, 7.2.2.4.A). There is evidence that Iran, too, followed a similar aim in Hawrami broadcasting (cf. 7.4.3.1).

7.4.10.3 Lexical Enrichment

Before broadcasting brought the Kurds within the orbit of world events during World War II, journalism had partly played that role since 1898. Both media have made enormous demands on the lexical resources of Kurdish. Broadcasting requires the use of a large number of new concepts in different fields of political, economic, military, administrative and scientific life.

International and national news, the main source of lexical expansion, has always occupied a prominent place in Kurdish broadcasts. The War-time stations were mostly interested in news and propaganda. By 1977, Radio Baghdad was offering news on an hourly basis ten times a day (*WRTH* 1977:165). This coverage was, from the start, more comprehensive, more frequent and more regular than that of any Kurdish periodicals (cf. 7.3.2.4, on the frequency of periodicals). Beyond this quantitative difference in news coverage, it is not possible to assess which of the two media has made a larger contribution to lexical development. It is important to note, however, that broadcasters, language reformers, journalists and writers were not sharply differentiated professionally, politically (cf. 7.3.2.8) or ideologically; they all shared a "linguistic nationalism" that aimed at promoting the language.

While it is difficult to isolate the impact of broadcast Kurdish, the literature provides information on a case where broadcasting was the only source of lexical modernization. In contrast to Kurdish, the Somali language was characterized as recently as 1971, by "the total lack of daily press or of school books." If the difficulty of choosing an orthography could be overcome, it would have been "possible to start printing intelligently written newspapers within weeks, since the necessary modern terminology would be known to the reader through the influence of broadcasting" (Andrzejewski 1971:272-73).

7.4.10.4 Purification

When broadcasting began in 1939, purification of the language was already in full swing in the print media. The two brief quotations on Sharq al-Adna Station mentioned above (cf. 7.4.10.1) have used mostly new coinages for radio related terms:

Gelawêj	
'station'	*îstge* (from Persian *īstgāh*)
'to broadcast'	*bĺaw kirdnewe* ('to distribute, to spread')

'wireless'	*bêtel* ('without' + 'wire')
'news'	*deng û bas* ('voice and mention','news')

Nîştman

'wave'	*şepol* ('wave' in water)
'electricity'	*birûske* ('lightning')
'program'	*bername* (from Persian *barnāmi*)
'listener'	*gögir* (from *gögirtin* 'to listen')

In a similar manner, Radio-Levant used all the neologisms introduced by *Hawar* magazine. Many of these coinages such as *nûçe* 'news', *nêrevan* 'observer', *weşînek* 'broadcasting', *şandiyar* 'speaker' (*Hawar*, No. 27, April 15, 1941, p. 12) are now used by Kurmanji writers from Turkey.

Radio Baghdad had a very active purist tendency. In fact, by the 1950s the station carried purism to extremes and was regularly criticized for inflicting enormous damage on the language by introducing "inappropriate," "ugly," or "incorrect" coinages (Hazhar 1974:284; Hemin 1983:44).

7.4.10.5 Popularization and Unification

The print media's role in popularizing the emerging Sorani was regularly undermined by political (censorship, import restrictions, etc.), social (high illiteracy rate), and economic (low-income readership) obstacles. Radio usually evaded the most important handicaps--political restrictions and illiteracy. Thus, a Kurd from Iran or Turkey could listen to Radio Baghdad but would be unable to receive a Kurdish language magazine from Iraq. Before the age of transistors in the 1960s, radio was available to lower income listeners primarily in the tea-houses and schools (cf. 7.4.1). Even before the advent of transistors, we have already seen its significant impact on the illiterate audiences of Kurdistan in Turkey (cf. 4.7.10.2).

Table 50. Distribution of Radio Sets per 1000 Inhabitants, 1938-60

Country	1938[a]	1950[b]	1959[c] or 1960
Iraq	2.24	6	21
Iran	0.08	11	45
Turkey	1.35	17	48
Syria	3.35*	15	57

* Figure is for "Syria-Levant"

Sources: [a] Grandin (1939:97-8) [b] & [c] UNESCO (1963:52-3)

The figures in Table 50 showing the distribution of radio sets must be reduced by 20% at least in order to obtain a more realistic picture of the less affluent Kurdish areas.

Subchapter 7.4 Notes

1. The writer apparently refers to a common "Indo-European" origin of Kurdish/Kurds and British/English.

2. Iran was in a state of political and economic crisis during the 1941-53 period. Opposition to the monarchy was growing throughout the country. The Western media explained the nation-wide movement in terms of Soviet agitation. In September 1950, the Iranian army, apparently assisted by Iraq, suppressed what *The New York Times* (September 6, 1950, p. 18) called a "small tribal revolt in Kurdistan that could herald a full-scale Communist-led uprising." According to this newspaper, the Iranian "army's effort to disarm Kurd tribe stems from fear of Korea-type aggression." In 1952-53, peasant revolts spread all over Kurdistan (cf. Mokhammedov 1953).

SUBCHAPTER 7.5
EDUCATION

Modern formal schooling, which is usually structured in the form of primary, secondary and higher education, relies on the extensive use of written and oral language. To achieve any degree of success, the teaching/learning process must be carried out through a standard medium of instruction. In fact, school functions, and is generally accepted, as the most visible authority on the accepted "norm" of the language. The idea of "correctness" in writing and speech is associated with the teacher and the textbook. Many hours throughout a student's school life are devoted to learning grammar, spelling, composition and other language skills. This language training is more intensive in the lower school levels, although it extends, quite often, into higher educational institutions.

Besides this unifying/normalizing function, the educational system is a powerful source of functional and stylistic differentiation of the standard language. This is especially true at the higher level, where advanced knowledge is taught and developed. College-level textbooks and academic research journals demand a refined prose, advanced specialized vocabulary and special styles of writing.

The linguistic and intellectual homogenizing function of formal education makes it an ideal tool for political integration generally and assimilation of ethnic minorities particularly. Modern education, especially in the developing countries, has turned into a colossal social institution that is usually not responsive to minority demands for native-tongue instruction.

The purpose of this subchapter is to document and analyze the development of native tongue education and its role in standardizing the Kurdish language, especially in Iraq. As will be seen, both the central governments and the Kurds were aware of the linguistic and broader political implications of native tongue education, which has become and continues to be a major conflict between the two sides.

7.5.1 Kurdish Language Education in Iraq

Modern education in Iraq, as in other countries examined in this study, is the prerogative of the state. Individuals or minority groups are not allowed to establish schools or any type of educational institution without government permission, which is usually not granted.

7.5.1.0 The Mandate Period, 1920-32

After the occupation of Baghdad in 1917, the British authorities began to reorganize the educational system that the Ottoman Turks had established on the basis of European, chiefly French, models. One change was in the medium of instruction, which had formerly been in Turkish. According to an official report, "Arabic, or the local vernacular in places where Kurdish, Turkish, Persian or Syriac [Assyrian] was spoken, was adopted as the medium of instruction" (G.B. 1923-4:201).

7.5.1.1 Kurdish as Vernacular

From the very start, the British authorities assigned non-Arabic languages spoken in Iraq an inferior status. The official reports invariably refer to Kurdish, Turkish, Armenian, Assyrian and Hebrew as "vernaculars" (e.g., *Ibid.*; G.B. 1920-31:230). Elsewhere, it is stated that the government "committed itself to the principle of vernacular teaching in Kurdistan" (G.B. 1925:139).

According to this principle of "teaching in the vernacular," Kurdish was used as a medium of instruction only at the primary school level, while students were also taught the Arabic language so that they might continue their education in this language. In spite of continued protest by the Kurds, who demanded the use of Kurdish on all educational levels, various Iraqi regimes refused to allow secondary education in the language until the 1970s.

The League of Nations awarded the disputed province of Mosul to Iraq in 1925 on the condition that, among other things, Kurdish became "the official language" of "teaching in the schools" (cf. 5.1.2). Henceforth, demands for unrestricted use of the language in education grew stronger. However, both the Mandate authorities and the Arab government they had set up in Baghdad insisted on the vernacular policy:

> ...within the last month those Kurds who would have been content with primary education in Kurdish, are now pressing for Kurdish Secondary Schools and a Kurdish Training College. This will mean the duplication of instructions already existing in Baghdad, and therefore will involve heavy expenditure. Besides the economic difficulty there is also a serious mechanical difficulty. Kurdish has hitherto been a spoken rather than a

> written language, and there are practically no Kurdish books. In the early stages of primary education this is not such a serious defect, but something must be done to meet it in the case of secondary schools. And it is not simply the question of translation that is involved. There is before that the question of transliteration which presents serious difficulties.
>
> Possibly the solution of the problem is to be found in the provision of primary education in Kurdish, at the same time making the study of Arabic as a second language obligatory, and increasing it progressively in the higher primary classes, so that a boy who passes out of a Kurdish primary school would be equipped for an Arabic secondary school. (G.B. 1925:139)

The arguments–i.e., the unsuitability of Kurdish for post-primary school education and the government's financial difficulties–were rejected by the Kurds (cf. below), who continued to press for equality between Arabic and Kurdish in education. The Mandatory power, for its part, continued to justify the policy in the *Annual Report* to the League of Nations:

G.B. (1926:129):

> The principle has not been abandoned that Arabic should be studied as a second language up to a high standard of proficiency.

G.B. (1927:157):

> The Iraq Government quite rightly insists on the maintenance of Arabic as a second language in the Kurdish schools. This is in the interests of the Kurds themselves. If the Kurds would accept this condition with a good grace and concentrate on the standardization of the Kurdish language and the creation of Kurdish school books, their cause would prosper better than it does. As it is, their parochialism has sometimes given openings to their opponents, and embarrassments to their friends.

G.B. (1928:132).

> It is...a matter for regret that the standard of Arabic in Kurdish schools is not so high as it should be. Neither legislation nor pledges can save the Kurds from the disadvantages bound to result from ignorance of the official language of the Central Government.

The conflict attracted the attention of the Permanent Mandates Commission in Geneva during the examination of the 1928 annual report. Referring to the

annual report's statement, which claimed that the government did not afford separate colleges and schools for the Kurds (cf. quotation below, under **B**), a commission member proposed a system of bilingual education to meet Kurdish demands:

> Mlle. Dannevig [Member of PMC] pointed out that the Kurds and Assyrians had complained that there were few educational facilities for them (see page 132 of report). Could facilities be given to the Kurds in the higher Arab schools by instituting bilingual teaching in them?
>
> Mr. Bourdillon [Representative of the British Mandate] replied that it was generally agreed that Kurdish higher education ought to be in Arabic because the language was useful to the Kurds and all the textbooks were in Arabic. (L.N., PMC 1929:45)

The Kurdish magazine *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 23, June 4, 1930, p. 1) quoted the above conversation and questioned the usefulness of the Arabic language to the Kurds. The magazine article claimed that the Kurdish *'ulema* (clergy) were more proficient in Arabic than those of Arabia and had compiled more books in the traditional sciences while the Kurdish student in modern schools and in studying modern sciences had never made any use of Arabic. The journal concluded that it was more useful for the Kurdish children to learn European languages while studying in Kurdish.

7.5.1.2 Nationalism and Education in the Mother Tongue

The available evidence suggests that Kurdish political and intellectual leaders regarded full native tongue education as an indispensable tool of national consolidation and a sure way to resist the assimilation efforts of the central government. For their part, the central government considered education in Arabic a necessary means of integrating the independence-seeking Kurds. "Kurdish education" thus turned into a battlefield throughout the Mandate period (cf. Sluglett 1976:182-95, 199-206, 211-16), and has continued to be a major demand of the Kurdish nationalist movement. An examination of the positions and actions of both sides throws some light on the way non-linguistic obstacles affect the standardization process.

A. Education and Language Development

Representing the Kurdish opinion of the time, Kurdish historian Zaki (1935:59), then Deputy in the Chamber, complained to the Higher Commissioner that "limiting the teaching of Kurdish to elementary and primary school level will hinder the progress and development of the Kurdish language" (cf. 5.1.6 on other language related issues raised by Zaki). He further rejected the argument that

Kurdish was unsuitable for teaching and writing and noted that the holders of this view were uninformed about several centuries of historical, linguistic, literary and religious writing. Zaki claimed that Kurdish was even richer than Persian and, as such, the defect ascribed to Kurdish was not to be found in the language but rather in the conditions that had not given it "...a chance to be used and to gradually get reformed and developed" (pp. 59-60).

To develop both the language and education in it, seven Kurdish members of the Chamber of Deputies submitted a petition to the Minister of Education on June 1, 1928 in which they outlined seven "most important causes of the retrogression of education" in Kurdistan and sought to remove them by: 1) establishing a "Translation and Compilation Committee" for preparing school textbooks; 2) devoting enough funds for hiring competent and readily available teachers for secondary schools and a Teacher Training College; 3) forming a single Kurdish education office and inspectorate in charge of all Kurdish areas; 4) the completion of incomplete secondary schools and the opening of new ones, all using Kurdish as the medium of instruction, but teaching Arabic as a second language; 5) establishing a Teacher Training College in Kurdistan; and 6) opening schools for females (text of petition in *Zarî Kirmancî*, No. 5, November 11, 1928, pp. 4-7).

Addressing these and similar demands, the Mandate's 1929 annual report to the League of Nations reiterated government policy (G.B. 1929:139-40):

> The opening of three new Kurdish elementary schools has not appeased the discontent of the Kurds with the general educational policy of the Government. This discontent takes the form of complaining :-
>
> (a) that there are not enough Kurdish elementary schools,
> (b) that there is no Kurdish training college,
> (c) that there are not enough school books in Kurdish,
> (d) that the Kurdish schools are handicapped by not being under a separate Kurdish education area.
>
> A fair answer to these complaints is that (a), if true of Kurdistan, is equally true of the Arab speaking areas; (b) that a separate training college is neither practicable nor in the interests of the Kurds themselves; that (c) is true, but is becoming less true every year; that (d) is a reasonable complaint which certainly should be redressed. If it were redressed probably all the other grievances would disappear.

Administrative reorganization of education was not, however, the central issue so far as the Kurdish sources indicate. The main question was teaching in the native tongue. The nationalist figure, Huzni Mukriyani, suggested in his magazine *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 2, 1926, p. 18) that remaining uneducated was

better than receiving education in a foreign tongue!

Between Son and Father

Son: Father, why do you write in your mother tongue?
Father: Son, it is binding on us to write and read in our language.
Son: Then, why they do not teach us in the language?
Father: It should not be [like that]; I send you to school to be taught in your own language.
Son: I like it but my teacher teaches me in another language which I don't understand and find very difficult.
Father: If this is the case, I won't let you go to school.
Son: No, I'll go and study; it is better than ignorance.
Father: You had better become a shepherd, [or] do ploughing for me. These are better than taking lessons and not understanding them.
Son: You are in enmity with education and knowledge; you do not appreciate progress, that is why you prevent me from going to school.
Father: My dear son, I like education and I am not an enemy of knowledge and enlightenment, but it is better for you to remain ignorant than to be unaware of your identity, not to study in your language and to serve the strangers...

B. The Demand for Schools.

Next to full native tongue education were demands for extending education to all Kurdish areas and for the provision of schools, teachers, budget and facilities on the basis of proportionality, i.e., a share of 17%, according to the official estimate of the percentage of the Kurdish population of Iraq. Here, too, complaints were always made that Kurds did not receive their just share. A representative official response was the following (G.B. 1928:132):

> The opening of 5 new primary or elementary schools in the course of the year in Kurdish areas has satisfied everyone except the Kurds themselves. It is not easy to hold a just balance between the claims of Kurdish and Arab areas for new schools, or to persuade the responsible authorities that the number of pupils is not the only justification for the opening of a new school. If it were so, the Arab areas would get a larger share of new schools than they actually do get. Another difficulty is that whereas the Government holds that the present 30 Kurdish primary and secondary schools represents the maximum to which the Kurds are entitled, most Kurds regard, or profess to regard, this as a minimum. Yet apart from questions of right or wrong, it is clear that the country cannot at present afford a separate training college

and separate higher schools for Kurdistan, even if such were proved to be in the interests of the Kurds themselves.

According to the data taken from the Annual Reports, however, the Kurdish share of primary/elementary schools was not larger than 11.43% (cf. Table 51).

Table 51. Number and Proportion of Kurdish Schools in Iraq, 1923-30

			Source
Total # of Schools in Iraq	**Kurdish Schools**	**% of Total**	***Annual Report**** **(Pages)**
205	6	2.92	1923-24 (217, 218)
228	15	6.57	1925 (135, 139)
247	19[a]	7.69	1926 (124, 128)
249	24[b]	9.63	1927 (153, 157)
264	28[c]	10.44	1928 (128, 132)
271	31[d]	11.43	1929 (136, 139)
291	28[e]	9.62	1930 (122, 125)

[a] Figure obtained by adding 4 new schools to the 15 of the previous year.
[b] Figure obtained by adding 5 new schools to the 19 of the previous year.
[c] Figure given in the Report is 30 which includes two intermediate schools with instruction in Arabic.
[d] Figure obtained by adding 3 new schools to the 28 of the previous year.
[e] The decline is apparently due to the Arabization of the Kurdish schools of Mosul liwa.
* *Annual Reports* are cited under G.B. in the Bibliography.

Least convincing to the Kurds was the government's financial arguments against the provision of more schools. Quoting the latest statistics available, Zaki (1935:62) told the Chamber of Deputies in August 1928 that of the total amount of rupees spent on schools, 4.4% were devoted to Kurdistan where the population was 17%, while the Turkmen share was 3%, although their population was 8% and Arabs and others got 92.6% with a population of 81%. In the same year (1927), the government had spent only 1% of the revenues from Sulaymaniya and 2.50% of those from Arbil on education in these *liwa*s, whereas the allocation for Arab *liwa*s was 38% (Baghdad), 18% (Karbala) and 21% for Basra.

Another limitation on Kurdish education was the government's reluctance to introduce Kurdish into the old or newly-established schools of some Kurdish

areas. Zaki (1935) showed that only three out of 20 schools (15%) were Kurdish in Kirkuk *liwa*, whereas 51% of the population were Kurds. The remaining schools, "except one or two" (i.e., 75% to 80%), taught in Turkish, which was the language of no more than 21½ %. There were no Kurdish schools in Kirkuk city. According to Zaki, the situation "pushes the Kurdish inhabitants either to refuse to send their children to school since they do not want to accept Turkish, or to do so unwillingly... That the government lets this strange situation prevail cannot be interpreted except by the government's wish to encourage their [the Turk's] language and its spread in order to harm the Kurds..." (pp. 18-19).

7.5.1.3 Arabization of Kurdish Education

The connection between Kurdish nationalism and the demand for mother tongue education was well known to both the Arab government and the British Mandate authorities who, as an overall policy of curbing this nationalism, tried to restrict instruction in the language.

In his statement to the sixteenth meeting of the League of Nation's Permanent Mandates Commission (June 18, 1931), Sir Francis Humphrys, High Commissioner for Iraq, said:

> I found that there was a unanimous desire among all responsible Kurds for improved educational facilities. They are clearly awakening to the fact that the Arabs are moving far ahead of them in education and learning and they fear that, unless they can speed up their own educational developments, they will in a few years, in spite of any statutory safeguards which may be devised for them, drop into the position of a backward and ignorant minority. (LN., PMC. 1931a:120)

Instead of "statutory safeguards," Kurdish sources of the period report the increasing Arabization of the primary schools, especially in the Mosul, Kirkuk and Arbil *liwa*s. Arabization was carried out through various channels, e.g., changing textbooks, appointing non-Kurdish teachers, alluring students to shift to Arabic, and direct Arabization of the schools. The policy of appointing non-Kurdish teachers was denounced by the Kurds as early as 1926. *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 1, May 24, 1926, p. 16) indirectly criticized the government in a dialogue in which the teacher talks in a mixed Turkish/Kurdish language and the student complains that he does not understand him:

> *Student*: By God, you don't know any Kurdish because you are not a Kurd.
> *Teacher*: You are right, it is about a year since I have become a Kurd to make a living.
> *Student*: What can a Kurdish child learn from you who are

> disguised as a Kurd, when no one even knows where you are from?

The same magazine reported Arabization of schools in Arbil: "Certain measures have been taken in order not to teach in Kurdish but to teach in... [Arabic] from the very first year–these are being done very delicately... The students are deceived by [promises of] promotion and are regularly sent to the Jewish schools. The Jews are not aware of it..." (*Zarî Kirmancî*, No. 21, April 6, 1930, p. 1). It was also noted that a Kurdish school in Kirkuk had been closed down and was not reopened "in spite of all efforts made." Kurdish students had to learn Turkish for four years and then switch to Arabic. This had resulted in the students' failure to enter the post-secondary schools of Baghdad in the past two years (No. 19, May 26, 1929, p. 10).

Similarly, Zaki (1935:20) complained to King Faisal in December 1930 about "the complete removal of the Kurdish langauge from all the five *qadhas* [of Mosul] by the Ministry of Education." Zaki, then a member of the Chamber of Deputies, said that he did not know whether the measure was taken by the Minister of Education himself or by the order of the government. We know now, through the confidential correspondence of the time, that Arabization was a policy pursued by both the Arab government and the Mandate authorities. The Arabization of schools in Mosul *liwa* was decided by the Minister of Interior, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Qasab, as early as 1926, with the knowledge and consent of the Mandate authorities. Sir Henry Dobbs, High Commissioner, wrote to Cornwallis on June 25, 1926 that the Minister

> suggested that an order should quietly issue with regard to the Mosul Liwa schools that Arabic textbooks should be used, as being better drawn up and more suitable for the purposes of instruction, and that wherever the pupils do not understand Arabic the teacher should explain and translate to them in the Kurdish language. *He thinks there would be no clamour over this. New schools in the Mosul Liwa should have instruction in the Arabic tongue.* (quoted in Sluglett 1976:184; emphasis added)

The mandate authorities justified this policy in language acceptable to the League of Nations:

> It has been felt that the Kurdish language alone provides too narrow a basis for secondary and higher education. The government has therefore always insisted that Arabic shall be studied in Kurdish primary schools, and in the intermediate schools of Arbil and Sulaymaniya a gradual change over is made from Kurdish to Arabic as the medium of instruction. This example has even been followed by some Kurdish elementary and primary

> schools *in the Mosul Liwa where Kurdish nationalism is less active.* In these, Arabic text books are used from the beginning, though Kurdish is the language of instruction and explanation. (G.B. 1920-31:230; emphasis added)

While a few Mandate officials privately showed concern about promises made to the Kurds, the general policy was to disguise and/or justify Arabization at the League of Nations. Thus, when asked "whether the secondary school at Sulaymaniya was Kurdish," the British representative at the Permanent Mandates Commission answered that "the school at Sulaymaniya came under the provision of the new Language Law, but the education there had always been given in Kurdish, the language of the majority of the pupils" (November 11, 1930; LN., PMC. 1930:105). It must be noted, however, that at this time the Language Law had not passed through the Parliament, while both its draft and final version limited Kurdish language instruction to the primary school level (cf. 5.1.4).

In a secret note on "The Kurdish Question" submitted to the High Commissioner on May 12, 1929, C.J. Edmonds pointed out that promises made to the Kurds had been ignored by "various authorities, both British and Iraqi." Typical cases of "short-sighted activity" of the Ministry of Education were cited:

> (a) the attempt to persuade the people of Sulaimani to accept the use of Arabic instead of Kurdish as the medium of instruction in the secondary schools, (b) the refusal to give Arbil a secondary school unless the people agreed to Arabic as the medium of instruction, (c) the subsequent attempt to change the language of instruction in the 5th and 6th primary classes at Arbil from Kurdish to Arabic, (d) exclusion of Kurdish from the Girl's school at Arbil, (e) the inordinate delay in approving Kurdish school books submitted to the Ministry and the failure to appoint whole time men to translate existing books, and so on. ("The Kurdish Question," No. S.A. 321 of May 12, 1929, Delhi, BHCF. Events in Kurdistan, Kurdish Policy, File No. 13/14, Vol. VI, Secret)

7.5.1.4 The Scope of Instruction in Kurdish

According to the syllabus of the primary course of study of 1928, which was in use at least until 1942, twelve "subjects" were taught in the six grades of Arabic language primary schools: Religion (20 "lessons," i.e., hours per week), Arabic (49), Arithmetic and Geometry (34), Geography and History (18), Objects Lesson [natural science] and Health (12), Civic and Moral Information (12), English (18), Arabic Penmanship (9), Drawing and Manual Training (13), Physical Education (11) and Singing (5) making a total of 192 hours.

According to Akrawi (1942:181, 197), this regular course of study was modified for Kurdish and Turkish schools–Mathematics, Geography, Objects

Lessons, and Civics and Morals were to be taught in Kurdish. Singing classes were both in Arabic and Kurdish; also, the periods given to Arabic language (49) and Arabic Penmanship (9) were divided between Kurdish and Arabic (cf. Table 52).

The share in the total 49 hours of language instruction was 26.5%. It seems, therefore, that the syllabus aimed at providing enough time to teach Arabic to Kurdish students at the expense of proficiency in Kurdish. Penmanship classes did not present any problem since the two scripts are, except for Kurdish diacritics, the same (two out of three penmanship periods in each of the second, third and fourth grades were devoted to Kurdish).

Table 52. Teaching Arabic and Kurdish in Primary Schools of Kurdistan, Iraq, 1928

	Hours per Week	
Grade	**Arabic**	**Kurdish**
1	7	5
2	8	2
3	6	2
4	6	2
5	5	1
6	5	1
Total	**36**	**13**

Source: Based on Akrawi (1942:181, 197)

7.5.2 Kurdish Education in the Monarchical Period, 1932-58

The number of schools which used Kurdish as the medium of instruction is not indicated in the annual educational statistics or in the annual statistical abstracts. According to Kurdish sources, Arabization continued throughout the period. To cite a few examples, Arbil's *Rûnakî* (No. 3, November 29, 1935, p. 8) wrote on the change of textbooks into Arabic, calling it "Chaldean" apparently to avoid censorship:

Father and Son

Son: I have to get a book.
Father: I got you one yesterday.
Son: Not a Kurdish book! One in Chaldean.

Father: What is that?
Son: This has become the new curriculum in school.

By 1957, all girls' schools in Sulaymaniya were taught in Arabic (*Jîn*, September 12, 1957). There was only one Kurdish school in Arbil and one in Kirkuk *liwa* (Nebez 1957:41-42). In the few remaining schools, instruction was increasingly conducted in Arabic. At one time, even singing was done in Arabic in Sulaymaniya schools (*Ibid.*, p. 42) and some teachers taught other subjects during hours assigned for Kurdish language study (*Jîn*, February 18, 1954). A secondary school teacher, Jemal Nebez, was told by Kirkuk education authorities not to use Kurdish in his teaching since it was not "an official language." He continued explaining the science courses in Kurdish, however, and was finally removed from Kirkuk and reappointed to the Arab port of Basra in October 1957 (Nebez 1976:16).

By the 1950s it had become apparent that the Arabic-oriented curriculum had put Kurdish in an disadvantaged position. Students were more proficient in Arabic than in Kurdish. At Sulaymaniya, one substitute teacher found that sixth graders failed to answer when asked how Kurdish and Arabic writing differed or which Kurdish letters did not have Arabic counterparts. When asked to name some Kurdish poets, most of them mentioned the names of singers on the radio. This was, according to *Jîn* (February 18, 1954), due to the fact that Kurdish composition, literature and history were not part of the curriculum.

Another problem was the inability of some, among them Kurdish, teachers to teach in Kurdish, apparently because they had themselves received education in Arabic and found it difficult to make the transition. Thus, in spite of the protest of students in the girls' schools of Sulaymaniya, teachers continued to teach in Arabic (*Jîn*, September 12, 1957). It was the government, however, that was blamed the most for ignoring the Local Languages Law and encouraging teachers to neglect mother tongue instruction (*Jîn*, February 18, 1954).

7.5.3 Kurdish Education in Republican Iraq

7.5.3.1 The 1958-61 Period

Education expanded rapidly under the new republican regime. By the academic year 1961-62, the number of primary schools in Iraq had increased by 94.5% (3,963 schools) over 1957-8. Similarly, schools in Sulaymaniya recorded an increase of 84.4% (232 schools), Arbil 130.7% (240 schools), Kirkuk 173.6% (342 schools) and Mosul 84.7% (449 schools). The language of instruction is not indicated in the statistical sources (figures based on Iraq Republic 1959:17 and 1961-62:14).

Kurdish demands for mother tongue education were formulated in great detail and presented to the authorities on several occasions. Leaving aside the details, these demands were essentially the same as those which had been voiced

under the Mandate and monarchy–i.e., the use of Kurdish as the medium of instruction at all levels of education and in all parts of Kurdistan.

Kurdish educational demands were raised by the press, the Kurdish Democratic Party, the newly-formed student and teachers unions, other unions, and individuals. In the first week following the overthrow of the monarchy, seven Kurdish teachers submitted a memorandum to the authorities demanding the introduction of Kurdish at all schools, the formation of a directorate general of Kurdish education, and the teaching of Kurdish language and literature in all schools and in the university (Nariman 1983:23). The government reacted by closing down the Arabic language paper *al-Bilad* which had published the memo on July 26, 1958. Two days later, the Kurdish delegation sent to Baghdad to congratulate the Prime Minister on the victory of the "Revolution" repeated the demands, which had gained enormous popular support (*Ibid*; Nebez 1976:16-7).

In May 1959, a Directorate General of Kurdish Studies was established as part of the Ministry of Education. In September, the first Congress of Kurdish Teachers submitted a number of recommendations to the government, among which were teaching in Kurdish in all parts of Kurdistan and in secondary schools, and the establishment of a teacher training college in which Kurdish would be the medium of instruction (Abdulla 1980:158).

These recommendations were largely ignored. Indicative of negative official attitudes was the government's authorization of the convening of the teachers' congress on condition that it be called a "local" rather than "Kurdish" congress (Vanly 1970:348 note 4). A few months later, the government emphasized the importance of the Arabic language by requiring students in Kurdish primary schools to obtain a passing grade of 50 instead of 40.

The Second Congress of Kurdish Teachers (1960) had become the mouthpiece of Kurdish cultural demands. Delegations from all Kurdish towns, prominent literary figures and political groups participated in the event. Indicative of its significance was the attendance of the Minister of Education who received several memoranda from various delegates. Various committees on education, language and literature, history, translation, publishing and compiling, and literacy drew up recommendations which were unanimously approved by the congress. Resolutions on the use of Kurdish in education included the following (synopsis):

> * Native tongue education in kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and in all Kurdish areas including the *qadhas* of Aqra, Shaikhan, Dahok, Zakho, Amadiya, Tel Afar and Sinjar [all in Mosul *liwa*] and for the Kurds of Diyala, Kut, Baghdad, 'Amarah and Khanaqin.
>
> * The establishment of a college of education in a region of Kurdistan and its development into a Kurdistan University.
>
> * The formation of a chair of Kurdish language and literature at

Baghdad University.

* The use of Kurdish in the existing teacher training schools and the establishment of another school in a Kurdish region with Kurdish as a medium of instruction.

* The formation of a committee of experts on language in order to compile a dictionary for use in school.

* The teaching of a few Kurdish language courses in Arab secondary and higher schools to strengthen Arab-Kurdish unity (*Hetaw*, No. 185, September 18, 1960, pp. 1, 21-42).

The Congress recommended a step by step plan for de-Arabization of schools in Kurdish areas, for the gradual introduction of native tongue education into secondary schools and for the eradication of illiteracy. Teachers unions and student unions in all Kurdish towns presented separate memoranda in which similar demands, together with regional demands, were raised.

Although the Iraqi officials gave an indication that they would adopt Kurdish on the secondary school level, they did not act accordingly. A Bachelor's program in Kurdish language was, however, instituted at Baghdad University. Innumerable petitions were despatched to Baghdad asking for the implementation of the resolutions of the Congress. *Xebat* (January 24, 1961, p. 2, 4), organ of the Kurdish Democratic Party, wrote: "...facts indicate that the decisions of the two congresses of Kurdish teachers, which represent the main cultural demands of the Kurdish people, are buried in the Directorate [General of Kurdish Studies] files."

By the summer of 1961, relations between the Kurds and the government had grown tense and the Kurdish Democratic Party complained to the Prime Minister about, among other things, deprivation of secondary school students' constitutionally recognized right to mother tongue education (Vanly 1970:96). The outbreak of war in Kurdistan in September put an end to all these expectations.

7.5.3.2 The 1961-74 Period

The question of native tongue education, as a major demand of Kurdish nationalism, had been tied to the autonomist war since its outbreak in 1961. During the early stages of the conflict, the Ministry of Education added two Kurdish lessons to the primary school curriculum and made Kurdish a compulsory subject of study at teachers colleges (*al-Bilād*, October 31, and *al-Akhbār*, October 31, 1961).

The first Ba'th government, which ruled the country after the fall of Qasim, promised, during negotiations with Kurdish leaders, to make Kurdish the medium of instruction in primary and intermediate stages, with Arabic taught as

a second language. It was emphasized that the language of the secondary schools would continue to be Arabic (text of Iraqi Government's proposals in Adamson 1964:208-11).

Under Abd al-Salam Arif's rule, Kurdish negotiators despatched to Baghdad were informed of the government's views, one of which was: "The language of instruction in districts with Kurdish majorities is to be local until the intermediate level or as desired" (*al-Jumhūrīyya*, March 22, 1965; text translated in Khalid and Ibish 1965:33).

No progress had been made by July 1968 when a coup d'état put the second Ba'th government in power. The new regime promised to respect the June 1966 accord, and on August 4 a decree was promulgated to put some of its articles into practice. Among these were the founding of a Kurdish Scientific Academy in Baghdad and a university in Sulaymaniya. The latter, consisting of three colleges (Engineering, Sciences and Agriculture), was opened during the academic year of 1968-69.

A breakthrough was the March 11, 1970 agreement which prescribed "that the Kurdish language be taught in all schools, institutions and universities, teachers training institutes, the Military College and the Police College" (Iraq Republic 1974:12). It was also decreed that the

> Kurdish language shall be the language of institutions in these areas [populated by a majority of the Kurds]. The Arabic language shall be taught in all schools where teaching is conducted in Kurdish. The Kurdish language shall be taught elsewhere in Iraq as [a] second language within the limits prescribed by the law (*Ibid.*, p. 15).

It was agreed that these and other stipulations of the agreement would be implemented within a period of no more than four years, i.e., by March 11, 1974. In a paper dated April 14, 1972 the Kurdish Democratic Party explained in detail "what has and has not been implemented in the historic 11 March agreement" (K.D.P 1972). The Party considered most of the stipulations in the field of education to have been implemented:

> *The Primary Stage*
>
> Prior to the 11 March Agreement Kurdish was the language of education in the governorates of Sulaymaniya and Arbil, which was later extended to Dahok without much difficulty.
>
> In only 202 schools out of 476 in Kirkuk is the teaching in Kurdish, and another 100 schools could be opened as there are adequate staff and facilities.
>
> In Nineveh (Mosul) Governorate there are, so far, 93 schools

teaching in Kurdish and there has been no difficulty in this respect at Akra, Shaikhan. But problems have centered in Sinjar and the Zimar Nahiya because of the political circumstances. As to Diyala, 60% of the schools in Khanaqin and those of the Qoratu and Miran Nahiyas are taught in Kurdish. A few schools have been opened in Jalawla and Sa'adiya, and one school in Mandali. Kurdish teaching in these areas, however, is subject to continuous pressure.

The Secondary Stage

Teaching in Kurdish for the secondary stage has been initiated since 1970-71, in Sulaimani and Arbil Governorates; at 18 intermediate and secondary schools in Kirkuk; and at 5 schools in Khanaqin. Kurdish language and literature are taught in secondary schools in the areas designated for Kurdish teaching. Also a simplified form of the Kurdish language is taught in certain secondary schools throughout Iraq.

The University Stage

There are two university departments for Kurdish language: the first in Baghdad University and the second, which was opened this year, in the Sluaymaniya University, whose latest charter allows the teaching in Kurdish. We have been informed that the University has decided to allocate two subjects–Kurdish language and literature–for all the Kurdish students at the University. Kurdish language is taught to non-Kurdish students in a simplified form.

On the whole the principle of implementing Kurdish studies can be considered to be relatively successful; although it is still facing many problems, such as the problem of dialects, neglect, organizational problems related to the system of Kurdish studies which we shall discuss later, and finally the political problems of several areas (text in English, slight changes introduced).[1]

Thus, demands for mother tongue education on all educational levels and in all parts of Kurdistan were realized for the first time in Iraq's history. Relations between the government and the Kurds were deteriorating, however, and Arabization had begun even before the resumption of war in March 1974.

7.5.3.3 Arabization of the Educational System, 1972-85

Arabization on the primary and secondary school levels was carried out in certain areas as early as 1972. The Minister of Northern Affairs, a member of the Kurdish Democratic Party's politburo at the time, complained on October

24, 1972 that government authorities in Khanaqin had used intimidation "to force Kurds residing in that province to transfer their children from Kurdish language schools to Arab ones." This accusation led to a bitter controversy between the two sides. In the provinces of Dahok and Nineveh, 110 schools were closed down. The ruling Revolutionary Command Council decreed, at the beginning of May 1973, that teaching in Kurdish should be cancelled at the schools of Ainkawa. Some 904 inhabitants of the town appealed to the ruling Revolutionary Command Council to revoke the decision (K.D.P 1974:19).

The Iraqi government declared and unilaterally implemented an autonomy law in March 1974 while conducting "a final war" against the autonomists. According to Article Two of the Law (*Baghdad Observer*, March 12, 1974):

> B. The Kurdish language shall be the language of education for Kurds in the area, and the teaching of Arabic shall be compulsory in all stages and institutions of education.
>
> C. Educational institutions shall be established in the area for members of the Arab nationality, wherein education shall be in Arabic and the Kurdish language shall be taught in a compulsory manner.
>
> D. All citizens in the area shall enjoy the option to join the schools for their education, regardless of their mother tongue.
>
> E. Education shall be subject, in all stages in the area, to the general educational policy of the state.

From the Kurds' point of view, this law legalized Arabization in at least three ways. First, the "Autonomous Area" does not include all the Kurdish regions (cf. 5.1.9); thus, in the Kurdish areas not covered by the autonomy law, schools were automatically subject to Arabization. Second, under paragraph D, students were forced into signing petitions for switching to Arabic. Finally, paragraph D explicitly denies the state-controlled "Autonomous Area" any autonomy in educational policy.

After the surrender of the Kurdish leadership in March 1975, which led to government control of all Kurdish areas, a delegation from Europe was invited by the Iraqi government to visit the Autonomous Area. The delegation head confirmed that the government was conducting a policy of Arabization in the schools. In Khanaqin (a Kurdish town outside the Autonomous Area) several 13 and 14 year-old students were asked by a delegation member if they were being taught in Kurdish. They replied, "instruction was in the Kurdish language until recently when it was changed to Arabic; the Kurdish names of schools were also changed into Arabic names" (Vanly 1975:6). An Arab school teacher explained that "Barzani's treacherous clique had imposed Kurdish as the language of instruction in this town. When the clique collapsed, justice was re-established

and education in Arabic was restored." The shopkeepers and passers-by confirmed, however, that they wanted education in Kurdish. The teacher, however, insisted that parents had sent petitions calling for a return to Arabic language schooling (Vanly 1980:195).

In Kirkuk, the following information on the medium of instruction was provided by the Teachers Union:

Table 53. Medium of Instruction in Kirkuk (al-Ta'mim) Schools, 1975

School	Arabic	Kurdish	Turkish	Assyrian
Kirkuk City				
Primary	74	73	32	1
Intermediate	17	4	--	--
Preparatory	5	2	--	--
Secondary	10	5	--	1
Total	**106**	**84**	**32**	**2**
Kirkuk Muhafaza (Governorate)				
Primary	243	77	20	--
Intermediate	24	8	--	--
Secondary	10	--	--	--
Total	**277**	**85**	**20**	**--**

Source: Vanly (1975)

The president of the Teacher's Union was asked why, given that most of the province's inhabitants were Kurds, with Turkmens as the next largest group, most schools were still teaching in Arabic, and why there were no secondary schools instructing in Kurdish outside Kirkuk city. The answer was that teaching in Kurdish had begun in 1971 and that students who had been taught in Arabic before that date would now continue their studies in Arabic in order to avoid the difficulties of changing the medium of instruction (Vanly 1975:5-6; 1980:196).

Within the Autonomous Area, students and/or their parents were forced into signing petitions in favor of Arabic language teaching (cf., e.g., P.U.K 1977:Annex Two). A single petition would suffice to Arabize a school, on the basis of paragraphs D and E of the Law (cf. above), through the distributing of Arabic language textbooks and the requirement that teachers teach in Arabic.

This led to student protests, especially in Sulaymaniya, where on October 18, 1977 they marched on both the Education Office and the Governor's office and informed the authorities that they would not accept Arabization, at the same time tearing up their Arabic textbooks. In many schools Arabic textbooks were set on fire by protesting students.

Partial Arabization has occurred in schools which continue to teach in Kurdish. In 1977-78, the Ministry of Education decreed that the social and religious studies courses in all schools must be taught in Arabic and that the Arabic reader textbooks must be taught in the first and second grades. The Ministry argued that the language of instruction on the college level was Arabic, and Kurdish students would experience difficulty if they were not well-versed in the language (*Hewalnamey Şoriş*, No. 3, September 1978, p. 15).

7.5.3.4 Education in Areas Under Kurdish Control

During the early years of the Autonomist War (1962-64), the "liberated areas" were divided into two zones--the southern parts being administered by the radical leaders in the political bureau of the Kurdish Democratic Party while the more remote northern territories came under the influence of Mulla Mustafa Barzani's tribally-oriented leadership (cf., e.g., Jawad 1981:82).

As part of a program to organize the nationalist movement along non-tribal lines, the K.D.P initiated the formation of peasants' committees and introduced political and educational programs in the southern region (*Ibid.*, p. 84). These activities, together with other political differences, led to a breach between the two contending leaderships which resulted in the 1964 ouster of the political bureau and its replacement by a conservative group. Educational programs for the rural masses were then discontinued under the new leadership (cf., e.g., the section on "revolutionary organs and services" in Vanly 1970:238-55, which does not mention educational activism).

As the autonomist war continued, however, more intellectuals, especially students and teachers from the towns under government control, joined the movement, and a number of schools instructing in Kurdish were opened in the late 1960s. According to *Kurdish Affairs Bulletin* (No. 7, undated, probably early 1970), teacher training courses were initiated and two groups graduated from this program in August and October 1969.

In March 1974, when the government launched its fifth offensive, a large exodus of students and teachers began–over 1,000 students from Sulaymaniya University, over 100 from art schools, about 20,000 secondary school and some 60,000 primary school students left (*Dengî Kurdistan*, No. 7, 1975, p. 212). In spite of the intense war, 153 primary schools were operating throughout the area extending from Zakho to Khanaqin. All courses at these schools were taught in Sorani Kurdish by "teachers of revolution" (*mamostay şoriş*) composed of former secondary school students and teachers, many of whom had joined the movement in March 1974 (Talib Barzanji, private correspondence, June 8, 1978). Classes

at Sulaymaniya University were resumed in the small town of Qala Diza. The relocated university, together with a primary school, was bombed by the Iraqi Air Force, killing many students, teachers and faculty members (*Ibid.*; cf., also, *Guardian* [London], May 7, 1974).

7.5.4 The Question of Textbooks

Textbooks are important linguistic, ideological, political and cultural creations. Moreover, they functioned as essential tools in the Iraqi educational system, which was based on memorization. Schools had been without Kurdish textbooks until 1927 when the first text, translated from Arabic, was printed. Arabic books had been in use and Kurdish had been used only as a medium for explaining the text.

The absence of textbooks had always been used as an argument by the government against the introduction of native tongue education in Kurdistan. In response to the recommendations of the League of Nations, the Iraqi government promised, in early 1926, to set up a Translation Bureau which was to translate laws and prepare school textbooks. According to the confidential official correspondence of the time, this and other pledges had not been honored by 1929 (Sluglett 1976:185, 187).

The government had left the preparation of textbooks to the initiative of the individuals, who were expected to present their translations or compilations to the Ministry of Education for authorization. The lack of adequate printing facilities, together with the financial risks inherent in personal undertakings, made the problem almost impossible to solve.

The Ministry of Education used "authorization" as a means of obstructing native tongue education. *Zarî Kirmancî* reported a number of compilations awaiting authorization. The manuscript of an arithmetic textbook was sent to the editor of the magazine to be published (No. 12, September 14, 1927, p. 20), while another book, Objects Lesson (*Durûsî Eşya*), i.e., natural science, had been translated by a teacher. The magazine asked the Ministry to encourage other intellectuals to compose books, and to diffuse education by authorizing the textbooks (No. 12, January 25, 1928, p. 15). When the authorities refused to authorize T. Wahby's grammar in 1929 (cf. 8.2.1), *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 19, May 26, 1929, p. 1) hinted that the book's rejection showed that Kurds did not have a say in administering their own education.

The government's refusal to solve the textbook problem led to complaints in the Chamber of Deputies. Seven Kurdish Deputies petitioned the Minister of Education (cf. 7.5.1.2), arguing that the formation of a Translation and Compilation Committee could achieve a great deal in a short period of time. They also asked for the offer of financial rewards to translators and compilers of Kurdish textbooks. When a Kurdish Deputy complained (June 1929) about the state of education in Kurdistan, the Prime Minister answered that a committee had been set up to translate textbooks. *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 20, August 7, 1927, pp.

درسي اشيا

و

سەرەتای طبیعیات

بو صنفی شەشەمي ابتدائي

مؤلف: سالم بك

مترجم: ع : و : توری

وزارتي معارف قراری داوه ام کتیبه له صنفي شەشەم دبخوینری

حزمي — ۱

چاپخانه ی نجاح — بغداد

۱۹۲۹

خویندنەوەی کوردی

بو

پولی سەیەم

خویندنی ئەم کتیبه لەپولی سەیەمی ابتدائیدا له لایەن وزارەتی معارفەوه پەسەند کراوه

کردەوەی

محمد بهجت الأثری عبدالحمید کاظم رشید السلیم

عبر الخالق قطب

کردووبه به کوردی

چاپی سەیەم

هەر نسخه یەك موری وزارەتی معارفی پیوه نەبی به ساخته ئەژمیری

چاپخانه‌ی نجاح ـ بەغدا

۱۹۵٤ — ۱۳۷۳

Fig. 27. Primary Kurdish textbooks, *Objects Lesson* (1927) and *Kurdish Reader* (1954), published in Iraq

17-18) asked, "where are the products of this committee...?"

According to confidential correspondence from 1930 (Sluglett 1976:189, 224 Note 35), by August the Translation Bureau had not been instituted. The official reports to the League of Nations, however, continued to declare more progress in the provision of textbooks (G.B. 1926:129; 1927:157; 1928:132).

According to the only bibliographic sources on Kurdish textbooks (Cumberland 1936: Minorsky 1930-31), fourteen volumes had been prepared by individual translators and authors by December 1930:

1927 [*Kurdish*] *Reader*, Vol. 1 (59 pp.), Vol. 2 (90 pp.)
1928 [*Kurdish*] *Reader*, Vol. 3 (76 pp.)
Objects Lesson, Vol. 1 (104 pp.), Vol. 2 (240 pp.)
General History (240 pp.)
Arithmetics (187 pp.)
Religious Knowledge (175 pp.)
Brief Grammar of Kurdish (76 pp.)
Lessons in History (113 pp.)
1929 *First Geography Book* (143 pp.)
Objects Lesson (111 pp., cf. Fig. 27)
Lessons in Geometry (122 pp.)
1930 *Lessons in History* (88 pp.)

According to the yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1928-29 (quoted by Abdulla 1980:112-13), seventeen books had been prepared by this time. Except for the grammar book, all the volumes were translations from Arabic.

Textbooks must, however, be distributed and used in the schools. The government was in a position, as printer and distributor, to obstruct teaching in Kurdish by refusing to distribute the books. *Zarî Kirmancî* reported that textbooks sent to Arbil *liwa* had not been distributed. Neither did the editor himself find any at Shaqlawa. In Rawandiz, all the song books in Kurdish had been taken away from the students and torn to pieces after the visit of an inspector from Mosul (No. 22, April 30, 1930, p. 4). The holding up of books is also confirmed in confidential official correspondence; Edmonds wrote,

> we are told that there are no books but not only is no serious effort made to produce them but the books which are submitted are held up...My strong feelings on this question are not prompted only by an old fashioned feeling that promises are to be kept. *Iraq seems to be making of Southern Kurdistan not a Scotland or Wales but an Ireland.* (Edmonds to Holt, D.O.S.A. 232, 9 May 1928. Delhi, BHCF, Events in Kurdistan, File 13/14, Vol. V.; emphasis added)

Little progress was achieved during the Monarchical period. A reader of

Rûnakî (No. 5, January 16, 1936, pp. 7-8) noted that the government had financed the preparation of all Arabic textbooks through the Ministry of Education's "Committee for Compilation and Translation and Publishing" whereas similar assistance had not been extended to the Kurds. Moreover, Kurdish authors had been regularly discouraged by the Ministry's refusal to authorize their books (e,g., one grammar and two arithmetic books) or by delaying authorization--e.g., Sa'id Fahim's *Elifba* (Alphabet) had been waiting for three years, Hamid Faraj's *Elifba* for three months and Shakir Fatah's *Xöndinewe* had also been awaiting distribution.

During the last year of the monarchy (1957-July 1958), 28 primary school textbooks were in use (Iraq Republic 1959:204):

Subject Area of Texts	*Grades*
Kurdish Alphabet	1
Kurdish Reader	2 to 4
Mathematics	2 to 6
Religious	4 to 6
Geography	4 to 6
Objects Lesson	4 to 6
Health	4 to 6

Except for the first grade alphabet book, all the texts including "Kurdish" Readers were translations of Arabic textbooks. One of the two authors of the second grade reader, Matta Akrawi, had recommended in his Ph.D. dissertation (Akrawi 1942) that the curriculum in Kurdish schools needed to be adapted to local conditions. The government's policy was, however, to carefully avoid giving the Kurdish language any distinct status in the textbooks. According to a study on nationalism and education in Iraq, the curriculum "revealed a clear absence and a lack of appreciation of the history and culture of minority groups comprising the Iraqi society" (al-Rubaiy 1972:182). It must be noted also that Kurdish grammar had been omitted from the curriculum in the 1950s.

The fall of the monarchy made it possible to introduce slight changes in the textbooks and in the curriculum. Although readers continued to be translated from Arabic, considerable original writing and poetry were incorporated in them. The sixth grade reader (second printing, 1962), for example, was prepared by a group of four one of whom was the poet Goran. It included essays, which touched upon Kurdish nationalist feeling, for example: "Love your own language!," "Arbil" (adapted from the magazine *Hîwa*), "The Battle of Dimdim Fortress," and several poems including "Kurdistan" written by Goran and "Newroz" (New Year) by Piramerd. The essay about the Kurdish language encourages the students to contribute to the progress of the language by becoming literate enough to either write and compose in Kurdish or read and thereby promote Kurdish writing.

The main change in the curriculum was the re-introduction of grammar and a reading course to each of the last two grades of primary school. The Directorate General of Kurdish Studies appointed a committee to compile and translate textbooks on grammar, reading, geography and sciences for the first two years of secondary school (*al-Bayan*, April 29, 1960 quoted in *Oriente Moderno*, 1960, p. 339). This program apparently came to an end after the worsening of relations between the government and the Kurds.

The 28 primary school textbooks continued to be reprinted throughout the 1960s. In 1969-70, the number of printed copies reached 245,000. The General Directorate of Kurdish Studies has been charged, since the early 1970s, with the sole responsibility for translating and compiling textbooks. Its Director, Ihsan Fuad, said in 1983 that the primary textbooks were all translated from Arabic except for the first grade reader and fifth and sixth grade grammars (Fuad 1983:30). Thus, there has been no change in the curriculum policy since the early 1960s.

Intermediate and secondary school textbooks were gradually translated in the 1970s and, by 1983, a total of 86 titles (primary and secondary) had been prepared. The books and other publications of the Directorate are all printed in the office's press at Arbil. The authorities have admitted, however, that the copies of their journal *Perwerde w Zanist* and children's books have been stockpiled and were neither distributed among teachers and students nor made available to bookstores (*Ibid.*). By 1985, textbooks on all subjects from the first grade of primary school to the last year of secondary school, were available in Kurdish except for the subjects of English, Arabic and religion (Bimar 1986:287). The total number of textbooks reached, according to Nariman 1986:95), 225 titles by 1984. Of these, 15 were published in the 1920s, 14 between 1930 and 1950, 23 in the 1950s and 20 in the 1960s, making for a total of 72 titles. The remaining 153 titles were published after 1970 (*Ibid.*).

7.5.5 Textbooks and Codification

Textbooks, especially at the primary and secondary school level, are designed to incorporate the norm of the standard language in all its manifestations–phonology, orthography, vocabulary, grammar, and style. They provide the basis for teaching the skill of literacy to a large portion of the population. Textbooks can, therefore, contribute to rapid codification, especially in centralized educational systems like that of Iraq. This is especially true in a case like Kurdish, which was in the initial stages of standardization when formal education began in the 1920s.

7.5.5.1 Orthography

The potential of these textbooks to aid in the codifying of Kurdish was not realized, however, due to the government's policy of restricting native tongue

education in Kurdistan. Thus, as a result of official opposition to the reform of the Arabic-based script, codification of orthography was largely carried out by non-educational print media (cf. 8.2.0). Only after the reformed orthography had become widely accepted and used by the early 1950s did the Ministry of Education sanction, in 1951, an alphabet book which incorporated the reforms. However, other primary textbooks did not adopt the new alphabet until after the fall of the monarchy. By 1985, when all the primary and secondary school books had been published, they lacked uniform spelling. Numerous printing errors were also found in the textbooks (Baldar 1986:235, 244).

7.5.5.2 Vocabulary

The Iraqi government has not as a rule opposed lexical modernization (cf., however, 8.4.2.2 on a recent official policy regarding purism), though lack of planning a unified vocabulary was a direct outcome of the policy of preparing textbooks. In the absence of a committee supervising translation and compilations and interested in standardizing the language, individuals were guided by their own tastes in every respect except orthography which they were not allowed to reform. Thus, the twenty-seven books used in grades 2 to 6 in academic year 1957-58 (cf. 7.5.4) were translated by 17 individuals: 13 translated one book each, three translated two and one translated eight books. Of the four arithmetic books two (grades 3 and 6) had each a different translator. Each of the three religious studies books were also translated by different individuals.

Although not involved in a planned collective undertaking, the translators were part of an intellectual milieu interested in modernizing the language along puristic lines. For example, a comparison of two textbooks (Objects Lesson) one translated in 1929 by Nuri and the other in the mid-1950s by Najib, shows that both translators were interested in creating Kurdish terminologies and tried to avoided borrowing whenever possible:

Term	**Nuri, 1929**	**Najib, 1950s**
solid	*req*	*pitew*
liquid	*şil*	*şile*
magnetic	[Arabic loan]	*asinfiřên*
filing (iron)	*wirde asin*	*břadey asin*
thermometer	*germapêwer*	*germapêw*
transparent	[Arabic loan]	*rûn*
half transparent	*nîm şefaf* [K.-A.]	*nîweřûn*
distillation	[Arabic loan]	*dilopandin*
light	[Arabic loan]	*rûnakî*
expansion	[Arabic loan]	*drêjbûnewe*
evaporation	[Arabic loan]	*bûnbehelm*
filtration	?	*palawtin*

condensation	?	*xestbûnewe*

Before there was any chance for secondary school instruction in Kurdish, Jemal Nebez, a teacher in Kirkuk, compiled a series of science textbooks in 1956-57 (cf. 7.2.2.8) in order to show that it was possible to transmit and teach science in Kurdish. When the preparation of secondary school textbooks finally began in the late 1970s, some progress had already been made in terminological creation. To prepare the books, however, translators and compilers had to coin over one thousand terms. The Director General of Kurdish Studies, in charge of the work, said that no claim was made as to the authenticity (*rast û durustî*) of the neologisms though "all the hidden abilities of the [Kurdish] language had been touched." To popularize the coinages and invite comment, the educational authorities published some 4,200 terms in a special issue of *Perwerde w Zanist* (Fuad 1983:31, 32).

The Ministry of Education has, in fact, been criticized for the disregard of standardization in textbooks. Nakam (1971:4-9), for instance, criticized the policy of translation which, he argued, did not allow the compilation of original works in Kurdish and by Kurdish authors. Also criticized was the content of the textbooks, which did not cover Kurdish history, geography and culture. Nakam complained that in some cases, one book had been divided into three parts, assigned to three translators, and published without editing. Fuad, director of the Kurdish studies program at Sulaymaniya University in the early 1970s, informed the educational authorities of the inadequacy of the textbooks and offered guidelines and assistance in preparing them with a view to standardization and unification of terminology. According to Fuad (1973:6), this could be achieved only through the work of qualified committees.

Although textbook translation was better organized in the late 1970s and 1980s, terminological unification was not achieved. Bimar (1986:287) noted that different coinages for one concept were used not only in different textbooks but even within the same text. For example, *hêlî yeksanî*, *hêlî kemerey zemîn* and *xettî îstîwa* were all used for 'equator' in a single geography book. According to Baldar (1986:235-37), terminological unification remains an urgent and very important task which requires careful planning. Lack of school dictionaries (Kurdish-Kurdish, Arabic-Kurdish and English-Kurdish) has further aggravated the problem (*Ibid.*, p. 234). Terminological creation and unification have also suffered from a lack of cooperation between the Ministry of Education and the Kurdish Academy (cf. 10.3.5).

7.5.5.3 The Development of Prose

The textbooks have provided abundant prose (mostly non-literary) on diverse subjects. This is no doubt a contribution to the codification of Kurdish,

which lacked a rich prose literature. Secondary school level prose is considered to be a second important stage in the development of prose (cf. 8.6.1). Translation (e.g., of Bible) has indeed played a role in the genesis of prose in many Western and non-Western languages. In Iraq, extremist centralization policies in education did not allow the compilation of prose works written originally in Kurdish.

The publication of secondary school textbooks is certainly an achievement. In spite of Arabization, secondary education in Kurdish has now become a reality. The shortcomings referred to earlier can be ascribed primarily to political obstacles. The contribution of the textbooks to standardization could be enhanced if the overall educational policy of the government were not based on restricting Kurdish language and nationalism.

7.5.6 Education in Iran

Mother tongue education has been one of the persistent demands of Iranian Kurds. This demand materialized only when the authority of the Pahlavi dynasty was overthrown in the northern parts of Kurdistan and replaced in 1946 by an autonomous Kurdish republic. Republican authorities acquired textbooks from Iraq informally through the cooperation of Iraqi Kurds, some of whom volunteered to teach in the schools. All instruction was in the Sorani dialect. Modern education was extended to the villages for the first time under the auspices of the Republic. Schools were established in larger villages such as Paswe and Kalba Raza Khan. They were, however, closed down by the Iranian government after the overthrow of the republic.

While primary and secondary school instruction in Kurdish was not possible under the Shah's regime, Tehran University's Department of Linguistics and Ancient Languages offered two courses on Kurdish language in the early 1970s. This was obviously a political decision by the government, and the Linguistics Department was not involved. The purpose of the two courses, "Introductory Kurdish Language" and "Advanced Kurdish Language" was, according to the Tehran University bulletin (*Rāhnamāy-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, Academic Year 1353-54/1974-75, Tehran University Publication, n.d., pp. 151-52), "to protect the Kurdish language from oblivion, since the Kurdish language is one of the genuine (*asīl*) Iranian languages, and to draw the attention of the Kurds abroad to the land of their ancestors, Iran." This statement was in line with official propaganda which considered as "Aryan" and Iranian all Kurds living outside Iranian borders. The course offerings can be explained by the political context of confrontations between Iran and Iraq in the 1970-75 period. By offering financial and military support, Iran was encouraging the Kurdish leadership of Iraqi Kurdistan to reject the autonomy plan proposed by Baghdad. It seems that the Iranian regime needed to back up its anti-Iraqi propaganda by pretending to be mindful of Kurdish rights.

Discouraged by the Islamic regime's vague promises of granting national

rights to the ethnic peoples, the Kurds themselves took a number of measures in the field of education in the spring of 1979, when Tehran's authority had not yet been extended to Kurdistan. A committee for the preparation of primary school textbooks was formed in April 1979 in Mahabad. In the same month, a project for establishing a university was initiated. Called "Kurdistan University," the institution planned to use Kurdish as the medium of instruction and one of its four sections, Kurdish Language and Culture, aimed at, among other things, the "enhancement of the standardization process" of the language (for a detailed account of the project cf. *Āyandigān*, No. 3374, June 13, 1979). In Kurdistan, enough land, buildings, funds and other types of material support came forth in support of the project, while in Tehran and elsewhere, the National Organization of Academics of Iran, a non-government group, offered full support, with many faculty members volunteering to teach. The university was about to announce admissions for the 1979-80 academic year, when the government's military offensive against the autonomist movement put an end to the institution.

In centralist states, such as Iran and Iraq, the question of language of instruction often becomes a constitutional issue. The constitution of the Islamic Republic, for example, deprived Kurds and other nationalities of the right to native tongue education. The constitutional document emphasized that Persian was the language of textbooks, although it states that "the teaching of ethnic literature in the schools..." is permitted (cf. 5.2.2). By 1985, however, the ethnic literature of the Turks, Kurds, Baluches, Turkmens and Assyrians had not been taught in any school in Iran (for information on the change of policy toward Azeri Turkish, cf. subchapter 7.2, Note 6).

In the areas that remained under Kurdish control after the government's second offensive in May 1980, the two largest political organizations, Komeĺe and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, introduced instruction in Kurdish in the primary schools of the rural areas. According to the K.D.P, some eight thousand students in 210 schools received instruction in the academic year 1982-83. The main obstacle to teaching in Kurdish was the provision of textbooks. The first grade reader (cf. 8.2.2) was distributed in 1982. First grade mathematic and science and a second grade reader as well as science and mathematic textbooks were ready to go to press by this time, although financial problems and the absence of printing presses in the liberated areas were serious obstacles. The Party appealed to UNESCO for help, but none had been offered by the summer of 1983. The Party's program was to teach in Kurdish only in the first four grades, introducing Persian, alongside Kurdish in the fifth grade (*Payām-i Āzādī*, No. 20, Tir/April-June 1983, p. 5).

The other Kurdish political organization, Komeĺe, published a first grade *Elfûbê* (Alphabet) in 1983. According to the introduction of the book, Kurdish was the language of instruction in the schools administered by this organization, and Persian was introduced in the fourth grade. The adult literacy courses were, however, taught in Persian since "in the present conditions, education in the Persian language can better answer the needs of their social life." By 1986,

however, the government had extended its control to much of the countryside, and native tongue education was terminated once again.

7.5.7 Syria, the USSR and the Diaspora

Mother tongue education has never authorized by any Syrian government in spite of the efforts made by the Kurds (cf. 5.4.0). In the USSR, Kurmanji was used as a teaching language only prior to World War II. Later, Kurmanji language and literature were taught as one subject in the otherwise Armenian and Russian curriculum (cf. 5.5.0; 7.2.6).

Mother tongue education was provided in the 1980s for the children of the growing number of political refugees in the Scandinavian countries, Germany and France. A teacher training course was sponsored by the Nordic Cultural Foundation in Denmark in 1980 (cf. 5.3.0.B). In 1984, the Swedish government initiated a training program in both Kurmanji and Sorani in the teachers school of Stockholm (Högskolan för Lärarutbildning i Stockholm) which also publishes a journal in Kurdish, *Mamostayê Kurd* (Kurdish Teacher). According to Izol (1985), there were 99 students (82 Kurmanji speaking and 17 Sorani), eight teachers and 200 hours of teaching (171 in Kurmanji and 29 in Sorani) during 1984-85.

Consistent with the general pattern of minority language education in the West, Kurdish children reject their native tongue soon after they resettle in the new country (for information on first generation Kurdish children in Sweden, cf. Shakali 1989, and a brief book review by A. Hassanpour in *Abstracta Iranica*, No. 14, forthcoming). Language loss will certainly occur in the second generation (cf. 10.3.6).

7.5.8 Conclusions

Since the 17th century when a nationalist poet, Ahmadi Khani, and a grammarian, Ali Taramakhi, introduced Kurdish, on a limited scale, as the medium of instruction into the Arabic dominated religious curriculum of the mosque schools (cf. 4.3.2.2), Kurds have waged an unceasing struggle to win the right of mother tongue education.

Kurdish nationalists consider native tongue education to be the indispensable means by which to protect their ethnic identity from planned assimilation efforts by the central governments. Language, as the most important element of Kurdish ethnicity, would be preserved and cultivated by its use in all levels of schooling; the teaching function requires textbooks, teaching aids (dictionaries, grammars, reference books), teacher training, etc. Education contributes, moreover, to the development of printing and publishing and the maintenance of a group of translators and compilers of textbooks.

Anxious to contain Kurdish nationalism and integrate the Kurds, the

central governments have either made native tongue education illegal (Turkey, Syria, Iran) or, in the case of Iraq, have used every means to limit it. Iraq's policy has been to restrict Kurdish education to the primary school level, and to only half of the entire Kurdish territory. Within permitted limits, too, various mechanisms have been used (e.g., reducing hours of teaching in Kurdish, limiting the subjects taught in Kurdish and withdrawing Kurdish textbooks) to undermine the political and linguistic impact of native tongue education.

Even the rudimentary Kurdish language schooling provided in Iraq since the 1920s has contributed to the standardization of the Sorani dialect by enhancing its prestige, elaborating the vocabulary, and furnishing a considerable quantity of non-literary prose. A major achievement of the Kurdish language was the provision of secondary education from the late 1970s. If secondary education continues to be conducted in Kurdish in Iraq, even within the restricted confines of the "Autonomous Area," it will further enhance the position of the Sorani dialect, especially in the sphere of introductory sciences and the Humanities.

Subchapter 7.5 Notes

1. The Kurdish Democratic Party paper noted with satisfaction that a "wide range expansion" had been effected in the provision of new schools, teachers and school buildings and recommended: "It is essential to continue this trend in order to catch up with the Arab nation in Iraq; or at least prevent the gap between the two nations, in this respect, from widening." The paper complained, however, that Kurdish students had not been accepted on a "just proportional basis" in the institutions of higher education.

SUBCHAPTER 7.6
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTION

I. Iraq

The use of Kurdish for administrative purposes–i.e., in governmental services and for official correspondence–first came into practice during the autonomous government of Shaikh Mahmud in Sulaymaniya in 1918. The administrative system which had originally been set up by the Ottoman regime in the late 19th century continued to operate after the end of Ottoman rule and the coming to power of Shaikh Mahmud under British suzerainty in 1918. Kurdish, thus, replaced the former official language, Turkish, as a direct result of the change in the political power structure.

A. The 1918-1932 Period

Examples of the administrative language are found in the official journals–*Rojî Kurdistan*, *Bangî Kurdistan*, *Umêdî Istiqlal*, and *Bangî Heq*–and the few military and legal pamphlets published in Sulaymaniya at the time. The various offices, especially the Tapo (real estate registration), Municipality, Justice and Finance offices, often issued announcements and notices in Kurdish. Furthermore, Shaikh Mahmud, the Governor and later King of Kurdistan, issued all of his decrees (*irade*) in Kurdish. The army, staffed by Kurdish officers, many of whom had received their training in the Ottoman military school of Sulaymaniya, was especially concerned with Kurdicizing its regulations and field training. This was largely due to the efforts of Tawfiq Wahby, who played a prominent role in the standardization of the language. Wahby translated into Kurdish a number of pamphlets on military organization, using Kurdish equivalents for military terms whenever possible (Wahby 1973:9-10). A number of laws and regulations also appeared in Kurdish[1] at this time.

Early specimens of administrative language were marked by the frequent

occurrence of Arabic, Persian and Turkish loanwords carried over from the former official language, Turkish. A trend of language purification was, however, discernible as early as 1922. Thus, a glance at the announcements issued by the office of real estate (published in the 16 issues of *Rojî Kurdistan*, 1922-23) reveals the gradual replacement of Arabic *mahalla* 'quarter (of city)' by Kurdish *geřek* (No. 13, p. 4) and the replacement of loanwords for 'north', 'east', 'west' and 'south' by Kurdish words (No. 9, p. 4).

The fall of Shaikh Mahmud's government was accompanied by a marked decline in the administrative use of the language. Kurdish was not used in the military field until 1961, when the autonomist armed struggle developed basic terms, especially on the organizational level.

In 1925, the British Mandate authorities promised the League of Nations that it would implement its recommendations for the use of Kurdish in local offices and the administration of justice in Kurdish areas (cf. 5.1.2). Little progress had, however, been made by 1930, when the Kurdish Deputy Zaki (1935:22-23) complained to the Iraqi King that Kurdish was being used only in the courts of Sulaymaniya *liwa* and Koy Sanjaq *qadha*, while in Kirkuk *liwa* Turkish and in the *liwa*s of Arbil and Mosul and *qadha*s of Khanaqin Arabic remained in use. The same held true with regard to official correspondence. The confidential documents from the Mandate period confirm the validity of these complaints. A British Advisor to the Ministry of Interior wrote: "Basic laws such as the Baghdad Penal Code still remain untranslated and in Arbil, for instance, not only is the language of the Courts Arabic, but proceedings and judgements are also recorded in Arabic" (Cornwallis to the Secretary to the High Commissioner containing paper for Minister of Interior, No. C/1188/27/3 of 3 April 1930).

When legislation on the status of Kurdish came in 1931, late in the Mandate period, the Local Languages Law put a number of restrictions on the administrative use of the language (cf. 5.1.4 to 5.1.6). Article 3 of the Law stipulated that "the language of the Courts shall be Kurdish" in 13 *qadha*s of the four northern *liwa*s. Article 5 gave Kurdish the status of "official language" in 15 *qadha*s, with the following exceptions in the scope of use: (a) "technical departments" and (b) "correspondence between *liwa* Headquarters and Ministries and between Mosul liwa headquarters and the qadhas attached to it" (cf. 5.1.5).

The two exceptions thus required that a number of Arab officials be retained or employed in Kurdish areas. This would then serve, according to Kurdish critics, as a convenient legal outlet by which to avoid the implementation of another recommendation of the League of Nations that officials appointed in Kurdistan be of Kurdish origin. In fact, the government decided that, after the implementation of the Local Languages Law, knowledge of Kurdish would replace race as the criterion for employment in Kurdistan. This would allow, according to the Kurds, unlimited Arabization of the administrative system.

Zaki (1935:58), one of the few Kurds who was consulted before the approval of the draft Languge Law, complained that the exclusion of "technical

services" would impede the development of the Kurdish language, and asked for its omission (cf. 5.1.6). We now know from the archival records of the period used by Sluglett (1976:203), that Premier Nuri Sa'id had argued that government employees in the technical services need not know Kurdish. According to one Mandate official, this would mean that "any Kurds wishing to use the public services in the Kurdish areas, e.g., to buy stamps or to be treated at the hospitals, would have to use Arabic, and Kurdish would cease to be the official language" (Minutes by Holt, 2 June 1931 on Prime Minister's letter to High Commissioner No. 2251 dated 30 May 1931. Delhi, BHCF, Events in Kurdistan, File 13/14, Vol. IX). After a prolonged correspondence between the Mandate authorities and the Iraqi government, Nuri admitted that "technical services" referred to actual technical personnel (doctors, engineers, electricians, etc.) and that administrative staff would be recruited locally (Sluglett 1976:204).

In order to further restrict the use of Kurdish, Premier Nuri appealed to religious sentiment as well. He argued that there were "religious considerations compelling the use of Arabic in [the] Auqaf [Awqāf] Department" [this department deals with endowments, usually real estate, used for the upkeep of mosques and other religious institutions]. A Mandate official pointed out, however, that since the Turks had used Turkish in Awqaf, there was no reason why correspondence should not be carried on in Kurdish (Minutes by Holt..., cited above).

B. The Monarchy, 1932-58

The Local Languages Law was never applied in the offices of the Kurdish *qadhas* of Kirkuk and Mosul *liwas*. In Arbil, the use of Kurdish was gradually eliminated from government offices. To give an indication of this trend toward Arabization, one may note that of the 15 official notices (*i'lān*) published in Arbil's Kurdish magazine, *Rûnakî* (11 issues, 1935-36), eight were in Arabic, six in Turkish and one in Kurdish. Similarly, most of the official administrative notices in *Hetaw* (1956-57) were in Arabic.

In Sulaymaniya, correspondence in Kurdish on the local level was retained in some offices, although it was abandoned even by the municipality in 1957. In an editorial on the state of Kurdish language in the schools, *Jîn* (September 12, 1975) wrote that the municipality chief had "taken a very glorious step which deserved both praise and thanks." He directed his office to conduct all official correspondence in Kurdish. The editorial expressed wishes that others in responsible positions would follow suit and take steps beneficial to the Kurdish language, literature and people.

C. Republican Iraq, 1958-85

After the fall of the Monarchy, the government offices in Sulaymaniya and Arbil began to conduct more of their local affairs in Kurdish. Most of the announcements of the Governor of Sulaymaniya published in *Rojî Nö* (1960-61), for example, were in Kurdish. The situation was not, however, markedly

different from the previous period, since the *liwa*s of Kirkuk and Mosul were still administered in Arabic.

A note addressed to Premier Qasim by the Kurdish Democratic Party (July 30, 1961) complained that, among other things, the government had failed to make Kurdish the official language of the state in the Kurdish provinces, whereas even the old regime had not completely deprived the Kurds of this right (quoted in Vanly 1970:96). Arabization of the administration continued after the commencement of the autonomist war in September 1961. It is noteworthy that in 1969 all the official announcements of Sulaymaniya *liwa* that appeared in *Rizgarî* (Nos. 1-7) continued to be written in Arabic (cf. 5.1.0 on negotiations between the government and the autonomists).

The March 1970 agreement between the Kurds and Baghdad specified that: "The Kurdish language shall, side by side with the Arabic language, be an official language in the areas populated by a majority of the Kurds" (cf. 5.1.9). Two years later, the Kurdish side, commenting on the implementation of the agreement, wrote (*Kurdistan*. Supplement No. 1, September 1972, Kurdish Students Society in Europe publication; text in English, slight changes introduced):

> The Government has not yet recognized Kurdish as an official language in Kurdistan. In spite of this, the Governor of Sulaymaniya has made Kurdish the official language in his province, basing his action on the Local Languages Act and the March Agreement.
>
> There are different interpretations to the term "...alongside Arabic..." where certain officials believe that this means that all correspondence should be written in both Arabic and Kurdish and on the same page; whereas our view, as practiced in Sulaymaniya, is summarized as follows:
>
> (1) Communications between the 'qadhas' and 'nahiyas' within the governorate shall be in Kurdish.
> (2) Communications between the 'qadhas' and the governorate shall be in Kurdish.
> (3) Communications between the governorate and the northern governorates shall be in Kurdish, except when a copy is sent to the ministries and departments and establishments in the capital.
> (4) Communications between the governorates and the 'qadhas', where a copy is forwarded to the ministries and departments in the capital, shall be in Arabic.
> (5) Communications between the governorates and the ministries and the departments in the capital shall be in Arabic.
> (6) Communications between the military units and the

government departments in the governorates shall be in Arabic.

(7) Complicated and unfamiliar phrases should be avoided at this stage, and clear expressions should be used in order to conduct general business satisfactorily.

After the defeat of the autonomists in 1975, Kurdish was made the official language of the Autonomous Area, which includes only half of the Kurdish regions in Iraq (cf. 5.1.9). Information on the extent of use of the language in administration is not available.

II. Iran

In Iran, Kurdish (both Sorani and Kurmanji) was used as the official language of the 1919-22 rebellious administration of Smail Agha Simko (cf. 6.3.0). Sorani was the official language of the short-lived 1946 Kurdish Republic (cf. 6.3.0). The Republic did not radically change the administrative structure that had been built up by the Pahlavi regime since the 1920s. The transition from Persian to Kurdish was facilitated by Kurdish political activists and intellectuals from Iraq who had volunteered to help the nationalist cause.

Kurdish terms popularized in Iraq were adopted, while a considerable number of Persian administrative terms were purified. Military terms received special consideration. The widely used term *pêşmerge* (*pêş* 'front'+ *merg* 'death'+ suffix *-e* used in compound nouns) traditionally used in the sense of "a devoted person willing to sacrifice his/her life for a noble cause" replaced the Persian word *sarbāz* 'soldier' (*Kurdistan*, No. 1, January 1971, p. 4). The Central Command of the Republic published a list of military terms in *Kurdistan* (No. 23, March 6, 1946, p. 4) and asked its readers to provide the national army with more terms. The list included, for example, *şalaw* (for Persian *hujūm* 'attack'), *dagîr kirdin* (P. *ishghāl* 'occupation'), *parastin* (P. *hifz* 'protection'), *prîgandinewe* [*prîngandinewe*] (P. *defā'* 'defence'), *paşekişe* (P. *'qabnishīnī* 'retreat'), and *şardinewe* (P. *istitār* 'camouflage'). All the Persian words except *-nishīnī* are borrowed from Arabic.

Subchapter 7.6 Notes

1. Some of the publications of Shaikh Mahmud's autonomous government are:

1922 *Te'lîmî Taqim* (Platoon Drill)
Sulaymaniya: Government Press. 9 pp. (cf. Fig. 5)

Te'lîmî Qet'e (Squad Drill)
Sulaymaniya: Government Press.

1923 *Qanûnî Wezayifî Meclisî Naḧiye* (Law for the Duties of Rural District Councils)
Sulaymaniya: Government Press. 14 pp.

Destûrî Mûçexorî (Law on Wage-Earning)
Sulaymaniya: Government press. 14 pp.

SUBCHAPTER 7.7
SCIENCE, CINEMA, THEATER AND PHONOGRAPH RECORDS

Rather than being a product of scientific and technological development of Kurdish society, the use of the language in the exact sciences and mathematics originated in, and is still largely limited to, school textbooks. Secondary school texts were translated in the late 1970s, while college-level books have not as yet been forthcoming.

Outside the educational system, only 10 titles in popular science appeared between 1958 and 1977 in Iraq. As far as journalism is concerned, articles on scientific and technological progress and medicine have appeared in the press since the 1940s. The monthly journal *Karwan* has devoted two sections--"Science" and "Health"--to articles on scientific subjects. Some of the topics covered in the 1984-85 issues include "Saturn," "Planetary Geology," "Headache," "Psychokinesis," "Thunderstorms," "Prostaglandins," and "Rheumatic fever." Many of these articles were translations from English and Arabic, but others were originally written in Kurdish, although they rely only on sources published in other languages. To enhance the comprehension of new coinages, Arabic and/or English terms are usually provided.

The journal *Roşinbîrî Nö* has developed since 1984 into a quarterly "periodical magazine for scientific research" (No. 106, 1985). Each issue contains about 300 pages and covers subjects in the exact and social sciences as well as the humanities. The journal reported that a scientific committee at Basra University had recognized it as a "scientific journal" (No. 106). Moreover, the Kurdish House for Culture and Publishing in Baghdad initiated the publication of a "Scientific Series" in 1980. One title, *Teknîkar*, is a 379-page compilation on electronics and is based on Arabic and English sources and accompanied by a glossary of English-Kurdish terms (*Abstracta Iranica*, No. 7, 1984, p. 117).

The Creation of Scientific Terminologies

The translators of primary school books coined a considerable number of terms in the 1930s-1950s (cf. 7.5.5.2). To demonstrate that Kurdish was capable of being used for scientific purposes, Jemal Nebez, a secondary school teacher, compiled several textbooks on physics and mathematics in the mid-1950s (cf. 7.5.5.2 and 7.2.2.8).

During the period 1958-61, when Kurdish demands for the enhancement of the language brought much pressure on the Republican government, the newly established Directorate General of Kurdish Studies appointed five committees (May 1960) to coin scientific terms. The results of their work (terms related to science, grammar and literature, national education, mathematics, administration and politics) were first published in *Rojî Nö* and, later, in pamphlet form by Neqabey Mamostayan (1960). Jemal Nebez and Ghafur Rashid wrote several critical reviews of the terms in *Rojî Nö*. This journal considered the lack of scientific terminology "the greatest obstacle to the development of the Kurdish language" (Vol. 1, No. 5, August 1960, p. 98).

The intermittent wars of 1961-69 delayed progress in this area of language development. The Kurdish Academy, formed after the 1970 ceasefire, formed a committee to develop terminologies in the areas of administration, linguistics, philosophy, logic, psychology, medicine and anatomy (cf. 8.4.0 and 10.3.4). The General Directorate of Kurdish Studies devoted two issues of its journal, *Perwerde w Zanist* (1972, No. 4; 1974, Nos. 7-8) to the compilation of scientific terms used in school textbooks. The translation of secondary school textbooks in the late 1970s was a boost to terminological creation (cf. 7.5.5.2).

Limitations on the Scientific Function

The development of scientific language is restricted by the non-industrialized nature of Iraqi society generally and Kurdistan particularly. Another problem is the subordinate position of Kurdish. Modern industrial plants and instruments imported from industrial countries bring with them either foreign language or Arabic terminology. Kurdish and other outlying areas receive a very insignificant share of this technology. Under the circumstances, then, the only outlets for the development of scientific Kurdish registers are the print media and the educational system, which are themselves limited in many ways (for more information on terminological creation cf. 7.5.5.2; problems of lexicalization are discussed in 8.4.1).

7.7.1 Cinema

Kurdish language motion pictures have not as yet been produced. The obstacles to the use of language in this popular medium are both political and economic.

Regarding the political aspect, all films, whether imported or locally produced, have to be authorized by the censorship committees of the government in all countries in which the Kurds reside. An interviewer asked the Kurdish director Yilmaz Güney (born in Turkey), "Why haven't you produced films in the Kurdish language?" The answer was: "Very simple, because the Kurdish language is legally proscribed in Turkey. At present, the main obstacle in exile, is the lack of competent staff" (*Studia Kurdica*, No. 1, January 1984, p. 97).

The Soviet Union and Iraq are the only countries where political barriers were less prohibitive. In the 1920s and 1930s, three feature films on the Kurds were produced in the USSR, although none were in Kurdish. Since then only a few documentaries (1959, 1979 and 1982) have appeared (Shawali 1985:4).

Film production in Iraq is of recent origin. By 1950, only two films had been produced, both under foreign direction. Capital and trained manpower were lacking even in Baghdad, let alone provincial areas such as Kurdistan. The number of foreign films distributed annually during that time was estimated at 400, of which 30% were filmed in Egypt and were in Arabic; almost all non-Arabic films were subtitled in Arabic (UNESCO 1950:358). The first time a movie was shown in a Kurdish town in Iraq was in July 1925 in Sulaymaniya (*Jiyanewe*, Vol. 1, No. 31, July 16, 1926, pp. 2-3). A number of films, including a few imported Persian-language ones, were shown with Kurdish subtitles in Sulaymaniya in the 1970s.

This situation has changed drastically in the last two decades. Since the 1970s, trained staff and capital have been readily available. In recent years, some Kurdish students have studied and received advanced training in cinematography, although, under present political circumstances, they are still unable to produce films in Kurdish (Shawali 1985:9).

Before the 1960s, subtitling in Persian was popular in Iran, but was later replaced by dubbing all foreign films. Although government broadcasting in Kurdish dates back to the 1950s, dubbing has not been allowed until quite recently. This can be explained by the fact that the government engaged in Kurdish language broadcasting because it had no control over undesired foreign radio programs, whereas film imports were effectively controlled. In 1985, the Islamic regime was, however, involved in dubbing films into Kurdish. Answering a reader's question, the Iranian government's Islamic Propagation Organization journal stated that "some films have been translated into the Kurdish language" and that in due course they will be shown in the theaters (*Amanc*, No. 6, Gelawêj/Rezber [August/September] 1985, p. 32). This is apparently part of a broad propaganda campaign to export the "Islamic Revolution" to nationalist Kurdistan.

The use of a language in cinema, as in radio and television, confers prestige on disadvantaged languages (cf. 7.4.10 on broadcasting) and reduces minority language speakers' dependence on the dominant official language. This means that assimilationist states would discourage minority language use in theatrical film. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first Kurdish dubbed films,

as in the case with broadcasting, find their origins in political imperatives, rather than in government support of a minority language or culture.

7.7.2 Theater

Kurdish-language theater has thus far developed to the greatest extent in Iraq and the USSR. The earliest theatrical performances were presented in the 1920s, mostly in Sulaymaniya. These plays were written or translated by teachers and other intellectuals, and performed by students in school buildings or other available facilities. The nationalist poet and religious leader Malay Gawra in the late 1920s was among the first to encourage the production of plays by the youth of Arbil. In Sulaymaniya, meanwhile, Piramerd sponsored several plays performed by students in his private school on different occasions, especially at New Year (*Newroz*) celebrations (Ghafur 1971:26). In a very short period of time, theater had become so popular that the student actors travelled to other towns to present their performances (Yahya 1984:71).

Like other intellectual activities, theater became a weapon of Kurdish nationalism and, as a result, suffered from strict censorship. To cite one example, the play *Têkoşînî Rencderan* (The Efforts of the Toilers) was banned after one week's run because of its pro-Kurdish sentiments; to avoid reprisals the performers went into hiding (*Ibid.*, p. 71). Other plays, those without direct political messages were, however, well tolerated, e.g., *The Life of Saladin* (Arbil, 1941) and Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (Sulaymaniya, 1941).

Theater continued to develop after World War II, especially during the 1950s. In 1957, as a result of the presentation of the national epic *Mem û Zîn*, several members of the production team gained widespread recognition and fame as directors and performers (e.g., Rafiq Chalak and Ra'uf Yahya) and playwrights (e.g., Khalid Diler, Ahmad Ghafur and Amini Mirza Karim). In 1956, a number of these artists jointly applied to the government authorities for permission to form a Fine Arts Society (Komeley Hunere Cuwanekan). Authorization came the following year, and the group made a valuable contribution to theater by staging a number of artistic works. The plays found their way onto the Kurdish section of Radio Baghdad, where Rafiq Chalak, one of the earliest Kurdish broadcasters, became a popular actor (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

The fall of the monarchy in 1958 temporarily removed many of the political obstacles to the development of the theater. The Kurdish Democratic Party, licensed for the first time in 1958, used theater to further the cause of Kurdish nationalism. The Party formed Khabat (Struggle) Performance Groups in every district. A very famous play of the time was Khalid Diler's *Four Martyrs*, which depicted the life of four Kurdish nationalists in jail before their execution by the Iraqi government in 1947 (Kardo 1965:14-15).

These efforts, however, were brought to an abrupt end when both the theatrical groups and the Kurdish Democratic Party were banned in early 1961. During the autonomist war no performances were permitted in Kurdish towns.

Kurdish actors, graduates of the Fine Arts Institute of Baghdad, were appointed as village teachers and could not perform on the radio or TV networks. An artist's group formed by Kurdish and Armenian amateurs in Kirkuk was ordered disbanded (*Ibid.*, p.15). Thus, political obstacles often impeded the professionalization process. However, a group of artists was permitted to establish a Kurdish Art and Literature Society (Komelî Huner û Wêjey Kurdî) in the more favorable environment of the ceasefire years (1970-74). The Society, banned in the early 1980s, presented many theatrical performances on the stage and on TV (Yahya 1984:74-73).

Kurdish theater has expanded rapidly in the 1980s. A trend of increasing professionalization is discernible (Baran 1985:27). Reports of numerous performances in almost every town appear regularly in *Karwan* and *Hawkarî*. Plays are authorized after review and scrutiny by government authorities. Plays can be performed on stage, or broadcast on TV and radio. In Sulaymaniya, a School of Fine Arts has been established by the Government. Following two years of general studies, students are eligible to begin a three-year course in theater (*Hawkarî*, July 25, 1985, p. 3).

As a new literary genre, plays have become an important part of modern Kurdish literature. According to one calculation (Nariman 1983:27), plays (*şanogerî*) formed only 2% of the total number of books published before 1970; in the 1970s, this percentage had risen to 2.5%. In addition, a great number of shorter plays have been published in monthly journals.

In Iran, theater in the Kurdish language has been associated with the exercise of political power by the Kurds. Thus, in 1945 a group of students and younger members of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran formed a Kurdistan Theatrical Group (Tîpî Nimayişî Kurdistan) and performed *Daykî Nîştman* (Motherland) on stage in Mahabad and other towns. The play has been considered as a major step towards the formation of the Kurdish Republic in 1946. It was "unprecedented in form and influence [and] ...caused a profound impression among Kurds who for the first time witnessed their anguish in dramatic form" (Eagleton 1963:40). The next time performances were held in Iran was soon after the fall of the Shah and just before the Islamic regime took control of Kurdish towns. In Sanandaj, a theatrical group was formed in the spring of 1979 and staged the play *Kabokê*. A second play, *Mem û Zîn*, was in the preparation stage when the government's first military offensive against the autonomist movement began in August 1979 and put an end to "non-Islamic" cultural activity.

During the few years of "political tolerance" in Turkey (from the mid-1970s to the martial law of 1979), nationalist and leftist political organizations brought Kurdish language theater to the villages for the first time (van Bruinessen 1984:12). This, however, was considered to be illegal activity and was soon repressed.

In summing up the past history and current situation of Kurdish language theater, the Kurdish playwright Ahmad Ghafur (1971) related the art of theater

to the progress of civilization, and considered its under-development among the Kurds as an indication of the delayed nation-building process. The relative progress of theater in Iraq can be in part attributed to its financial and technical feasibility compared with cinema. Moreover, compared with the "mass" medium of film, the political impact of theater seems to be more localized and as such more easily tolerated by the government.

7.7.3 Phonograph Records and VCRs

Like the printed word, recorded music and entertainment programs contribute to the formation of a mass-mediated culture and mass-mediated use of language. It seems that, like other media, they have the potential to enhance the status of minority languages and cultures.

Two merchants of Sulaymaniya were the first in 1908 to acquire gramophones and a collection of phonograph records from Moscow. Aside from the village landlords (*axawet*) who had their own singers and troubadours, the only ones able to afford the new instrument were the top local officials.

By the mid-1920s, His Master's Voice was producing records of Arabic and Turkish music in Baghdad. A shopkeeper who was selling records in Sulaymaniya approached the company (1926-27) and inquired why there were no Kurdish records. He found out that it was because of the unavailability of singers and the uncertainty of sales. The shopkeeper provided singers and promised a large receptive audience. Thus, the well-known singer Hamdi Afandi was dispatched to Baghdad and the first record was made. It proved to be a success.

The market for recorded music greatly expanded when the tea-houses began to replace, to some extent, their own singers and storytellers with the more convenient gramophone and radio. Kurdish singers from Iran, Turkey and Syria went to Baghdad to record their songs for a very nominal fee (two dinars for each record, according to singer Ali Mardan; each dinar equalled one British pound). Besides His Master's Voice, several recording companies, including Baidaphon, HomoKord and Polyphon, produced dozens of records in the 1920s and 1930s. Records remained popular even after the introduction of Kurdish language broadcasting in 1939 (cf. 7.4.1). Iraqi companies, especially Chaqmaqchi, circulated a large number of records in the 1950s (Ra'uf Mihamad 1984).

Kurdish music could not be played in public during the rule of Reza Shah, especially in the 1930s and until 1941 when, after the abdication of the Shah, Iranian Kurdistan provided a considerable market for Iraqi records which were smuggled in and sold to tea-houses and other individuals. In the mid-1960s, several old Iraqi records were reproduced by recording companies in Tehran. Cassette tapes have, however, almost entirely replaced records since the 1970s.

Many Kurdish records have been produced in the USSR. Due to political restrictions, however, they have not been distributed on a commercial level in Kurdistan. In Turkey, the possession of Kurdish records, like printed matter, has always been considered a crime against the state (Cousins 1973:93). In 1967, the

Turkish government forbade the distribution of any Kurdish records or tapes from abroad (*T.C. Resmî Gazete* [The Official Gazette of the R(epublic) of T(urkey)], February 14, 1967).

Video cassette recorders are quite popular in Middle Eastern countries, although their distribution in Kurdish-inhabited states is limited to the more affluent groups. A more important restriction is, however, of a political nature. The absence of Kurdish entertainment and artistic productions makes the VCR an agent of cultural assimilation rather than survival.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the emergence of three new domains of use of the Kurdish language—mass media, administration and education. This trend of functional elaboration was part of the process of social, economic, political and cultural change that occurred in Kurdistan in the post-World War I period. The functional differentiation of Kurdish was the product of two conflicting trends--the struggle of the Kurdish nationalists to maintain and consolidate Kurdish ethnic identity, and the planned efforts of the central governments to eliminate this nationalism. Kurdish nationalists conducted a protracted struggle ranging from parliamentary action to armed resistance. Likewise, the central governments used every measure, coercive as well as peaceful, to prevent or restrict Kurdish access to the airwaves, print media and formal education.

In 1985, Kurdish was used in primary and secondary education (Iraq), broadcast and print media (Iraq, Iran, the USSR), phonograph records (Iraq, the USSR), and administration (Iraq). By 1992, although Kurdish remained proscribed in Turkey, it was used extensively and illegally in publishing, music, and video and audio recording (cf. chapter 5, Note 17).

The significance of mass communication and education in standardization must be emphasized. Mechanisms for standardization and homogenization are inherent in both formal education and mass communication. Language is the primary symbolic code used in both systems.

Both formal education and mass media create audiences who provide the *social base* for language standardization. In both cases a large public is exposed to much the same content in *the same language*, without significant temporal or spatial constraints. Education combines interpersonal, face-to-face, oral communication (e.g., in-class teaching and discussion) with mediated written communication (i.e., in textbooks and journals). The school usually functions as the custodian of the standard language, especially its formal variety. The media also depend upon the standard language in both formal (e.g., news) and informal (e.g., entertainment) contexts.

The role of the media as a powerful homogenizing and integrating factor has been a favorite subject for academic debate (McQuail 1988:81-106). It is known that the media audience is different from the pre-media audience (*Ibid.*, pp. 216-17). As far as language use is concerned, it is significant that mass-

mediated communication is largely a one-way process in which a large audience is exposed to a single source--the same speaker(s) in broadcast media and the same writer(s) in print media. While it is quite difficult to assess the impact of this uni-directional communication process upon the culture, linguistic homogenization seems to be much easier to detect. Still, the linguistic component of mass-mediated communication has received scant research attention.

CHAPTER 8

THE CODIFICATION OF FORM: THE STRUGGLE FOR CORPUS PLANNING

The evolution of new domains of language use was examined in the previous chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to study changes introduced into the structure of Kurdish as a result of, and concomitant with, the functional elaboration of the language. When a language is used in a new function or domain the most visible structural change appears in vocabulary. However, increasing diversification of language use may lead to changes at all levels of language structure. The codification of the corpus of a language is usually a conscious or planned activity. Planners or language reformers include institutions (e.g., language academies, government agencies, the educational system, the media, publishers), reference books (e.g., grammars, dictionaries, style manuals, important literary works) and individuals. In the Kurdish case, planning the corpus of the language has been primarily the accomplishment of individuals (cf. 10.3.0) such as poets, journalists, writers, broadcasters, textbook writers, publishers, printers, translators and lexicographers. Having been subject to the linguicidal policy of the central governments in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran, language planners in Kurdistan have often been punished for their linguistic activism.

Standardization studies usually focus upon the codification of the alphabet and lexical structure of the language. In the Kurdish case, the entire corpus of the language--phonology, orthography, vocabulary, morphological and semantic systems--as well as literary uses of the language have been reformed. Thus, this study deals with changes in both the structure of the language and its codification in literary forms.

The material in this chapter is organized into the following subchapters:

8.1 Phonology
8.2 Orthography
8.3 Morphology
8.4 Vocabulary
8.4 Codification of Grammar
8.5 Literary forms: Prose, Poetry and Genres

SUBCHAPTER 8.1
PHONOLOGY

Most investigations on language standardization have a tendency to slight phonological standardization. Moreover, phonological codification is often considered to be a by-product of standardization at other levels (morphological, syntactic) although at least one case study (for Albanian) shows that other levels may be affected, in part, as a result of phonological standardization (Byron 1976:105-106, 138). Like Albanian, the Kurdish case demonstrates active codification on the phonological level.

The Phonological System of the Sulemani Subdialect. Phonemic differences among the subdialects of Sorani are minimal (cf. 1.3.3 on dialect names used in this study; cf. MacKenzie 1961 for a comparative study). Still, the phonemic system of standard Kurdish is distinctly recognizable as that of the city of Sulaymaniya (McCarus 1958:12-44; MacKenzie 1961:1-19). The latter source gives the following phonemic chart of twenty-nine consonants (including two semi-vowels, and one important additional allophone [ə]) and nine vowels. MacKenzie does not consider the glottal stop (') a phoneme (p. 7), while [ə] is interpreted as an allophone of /t/ and /d/ (p. 8; cf. Table 54).

The phonological system of Sulemani has undergone a number of changes as a result of standardization in the post-1918 period. The most visible changes are examined here as two trends of "Mukriyanization" and "purification."

8.1.1 Mukriyanization of Sulemani Phonology

The main differences between Sulemani/Sinayi subdialects (i.e., "SULEMANI" subgroup of Sorani dialect group; cf.1.3.3) and Mukri/Soran subdialects (i.e., "MUKRIYANI" subgroup of Sorani dialect group) are: (a) the absence of /ŋ/ and [ə] in the subdialects of the "MUKRIYANI" subgroup spoken to the north of Sulaymaniya, and (b) the absence of velar /Ĺ/ and /ö/ in Arbil and

Table 54. The Phonemic System of Spoken Sulemani Subdialect

A. Consonants

	Labial	Dental, Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		k g	q		ʾ
Affricates			ç c				
Fricatives	f v	s z	ş j	x ẍ		ḥ̈ ʿ	h
Nasals	m	n		ŋ			
Laterals		l ĺ					
Vibrants		r ř					
Semi-vowels	w	[ə]	y				

B. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ī	i	u û
Mid	ê	ō e	o
Open			a

Source: MacKenzie (1961:1)[1]

Koy Sanjaq (cf. Map 14 for location of dialects).

These differences cause no intelligibility problems between the subdialects, although they provide the basis for two strong codification tendencies. The first is the replacement of Sulemani /ŋ/ by MUKRIYANI /n/ or /nd/ depending on the context (e.g., *maŋû* → *manû* or *mandû* 'tired', and *çeŋ* → *çend* 'a few'). Before standardization had gained momentum, writers of Sulemani origin used to represent the velar nasal /ŋ/ in writing by the digraph نگ *'ng'* partly for lack of an appropriate single letter:

1931 زینگو */zîngû* 'alive' for زیندو */zîndû* (*Dîwanî Kurdî*, Introduction, p. 'd').

1935 هەنگی */hengê* 'some' for هەندێ */hendê*; چەنگ/*çeng* 'a few' for چەند *çend* (Zaki 1935:3,61).

1940 تونگ */tung* 'quick' for توند/*tund* (*Gelawêj*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January, p. 34).

1960 سەنگەلی/*sengelî* 'chair' for سەندەلی/*sendelî* (*Rêzmanî Kurdî* [Kurdish Grammar], Grade 5]

The first monolingual Kurdish dictionary, Khal (1960-76), records most of the Sulemani forms (e.g., تونگ */tung*) as variants of the principal entry, توند */tund*. The principle has now been widely accepted by Sulemani writers.

The second important Mukriyanization trend is centered on the widely distributed [ə] which is described by MacKenzie (1961:8) as "a half-close, central continuant, accompanied by a raising of the tip of the tongue towards the position of realization of a dental stop," an allophone of /d/ and /t/. McCarus (1964:306) describes it as "a high central vowel" which alternates, as a phoneme, with /t, d/ under certain conditions (cf., also, McCarus 1958:43-44). Different phonetic explanations aside, native speakers of Sulemani alternate [ə] with /t, d/ only in "informal conversational style," as McCarus had observed in the field in 1951.[2] Thus, in "formal" or "deliberate" style a native speaker consciously uses /d/ and /t/. Kurdish students of the language who are not familiar with modern phonetics also consider [ə] a variant of /t/ and /d/ and refer to it by different names, e.g., *dalî kilor* 'hollow *d*' (Wahbi 1973:31), and *dalî sûk* 'light *d*' (Khal 1960:27), etc. The allophone does not appear in the "MUKRIYANI" subgroup.

In writing, the dental stops are represented by ت */t* and د */d*, although there is no graphic representation for [ə] in the Arabic script. Thus, early Sulemani writers omitted the allophone, e.g., سوین */sön* 'oath' for سوێند */sönd* (*Qanûnî Wezayifî Meclisî Nahiye*, Sulaymaniya, 1923, p. 6) and پەنیك */penêk* 'a trick' for پەندێك *pendêk* (*Rêzmanî Kurdî*, Fifth Grade, Baghdad, 1960, p. 15).[3]

There has been a conscious effort on the part of Sulemani writers to represent the widely distributed allophone [ə] as ت */t* and د */d*. Thus, while language reformer Wahby represented [ə] by placing a dot under the letters ت and د in his 1929 grammar, he wrote some forty years later that the "hollow *d*"

should be permanently dropped from the literary language" (1973:31). Similarly, in his dictionary, Khal (1960:28) refused to mark the "light *d*" because it was a Sulemani regionalism.

The normalization of [ə] has, however, proved to be more difficult compared with /ŋ/. The rule has been more widely applied in open ended vocabulary items,[4] but not in the closed list of compound prepositions such as *pêda* 'across, through' and *têda* 'on, upon, in', where */d/* is usually dropped to produce *pêya* and *têya* (independent preposition $\{ {}^{p\hat{e}}_{t\hat{e}} \}$ + postposition *-da*) and in the discontinuous preposition *le...da* 'in, at (time and place)', e.g., *le behar da* 'in spring' or *le şar da* 'in town', which are spoken and written *le behara* and *le şara*. In the Kurdish literature on the subject, there is continued emphasis on the need to represent /t, d/ phonemes in all contexts (cf., e.g., Mihamad 1977:295; Nebez 1976:88 justifies it on the grounds that Kurmanji lacks [ə] altogether).

The normalization of the two features, [ə] and /ŋ/, has received full sanction in recent studies of the phonemic structure of the literary language. Thus, Marif (1976:40) and the Kurdish Language Committee (1983:279) of the Iraqi Academy–Kurdish Corporation omit both [ə] and /ŋ/ from the phonemic repertoire of Sorani.

The codification of the phonemic system on the basis of the "MUKRIYANI" subgroup can be partly explained by (a) the authority of the early poets, Nali, Salim and Kurdi, whose poetry was close to the "MUKRIYANI" subgroup, although some of them were speakers of Sulemani or an even more southerly variety; the influential poet Haji Qadir Koyi (cf. 4.5.0) was a native speaker of Koy Sanjaq while Adab and Wafayi (cf. Table 12) were from the Mukri area, and (b) the contribution of the speakers of "MUKRIYANI" subdialects to the standardization process, e.g., the Mukriyani brothers (Giw and Huzni) who were publishers, writers, lexicographers, journalists and language reformers.

8.1.2 Purification of Sulemani Phonology

Another important trend in codification is the inclination of nationalist reformers and writers to discard certain phonemes considered to be borrowed from Arabic or Turkish (cf. 8.2.1.2, on alphabet purism).[5] The borrowed elements are, according to various purist sources (e.g., Mukriyani 1961:748; Sadiq 1971;36-38): /q/ ق , /ḥ/ ح , /ʿ/ ع , /ẍ/ غ and [ṣ] ص .[6] The purists regularly replace /ḥ/ ح by /h/ ه , /ʿ/ ع by /'/ ء and [ṣ] ص by /s/ س (cf., e.g., *Rûnahî*, Vol. 2, No. 1, November 1961, pp. 56-57), and /ẍ/ غ by /x/ خ . Although a very powerful and persistent tendency, this type of phonological purism has not been universally accepted except in the case of */ḥ/*, */ʿ/* and [ṣ]. Phonological purism has, moreover, been regularly criticized (e.g., Zabihi 1977:59-61; Salih Sa'id 1971:65-66).

The extensive lexical borrowings of the earlier decades introduced into the written language several phonological features, usually in unassimilated

loanwords, such as the introduction of the glottal stop in word medial and final positions and a considerable number of geminate clusters, e.g., *tt*, *bb*, *dd*, *ss*, *ww*, and *kk*. As a result of lexical purification, all the borrowed geminates and the glottal stop in word-final position have disappeared (examples are provided in Abdulla 1980:88-89, 139-40, 187-88).

Other Codification Tendencies. Another change in Sulemani phonology is the increasing activism of /*v*/ (an "extremely rare" phoneme, according to MacKenzie 1961:2) due to borrowings from Kurmanji, e.g. *peyv* 'word', also title of a recent Sorani journal, *govar* 'magazine', a popular coinage, and *hevaĺ* 'comrade' (in Sorani political discourse, the Sorani variant *awaĺ* is used in the traditional sense of 'friend').

The two major normalization tendencies, Mukriyanization and purism (except that of glottal stop and geminate clusters), are conscious efforts at normalization of the phonological system rather than a by-product of codification at other levels of the language. However, both trends are present in other domains; the former is especially prominent in morphology, while the latter is active in orthography, morphology, vocabulary and literary forms.

Subchapter 8.1 Notes

1. MacKenzie's phonetic symbols have been replaced by Kurdish Roman characters used in this study (cf. Table 11). Another change is the position of the glottal stop, which appears in MacKenzie's chart as a fricative.

2. The only grammatical description of Sorani that accounts for style is McCarus (1958), which examines the speech of "a male speaker using a normally informal colloquial style" (p. 10). The divergence between the literary and non-literary varieties has received only casual attention (e.g., Mihamad 1976:241-49; 1977:274-300).

3. The cluster */nd/*, in final and word-medial position, alternates with /ŋ/ (McCarus 1958:43). The quoted examples from the written language are limited to this cluster since in other contexts, orthographic distinctions between Sul. /ŋ/ and its "MUKRIYANI" /ng/ (e.g., *heŋaw* and *hengaw* 'step, pace, stride') cannot be made for want of a separate letter representing /ŋ/.

4. Even here a lexical item such as *didan* 'tooth' is invariably pronounced and spelled in its Sulemani form *dan* (except by non-Sulemani speakers/writers such as Giw Mukriyani, who records all such items in his dictionary in their Mukri form).

5. The nationalists have not conducted any concrete research on the origin of these borrowings. The source language of some of the loans may well be Aramaic or Armenian. The negative attitude toward the borrowings is, in fact, based on a firm belief that they belong to the language of the oppressors.

6. [ṣ], an "emphatic" alveolar fricative, is a phonetic variant of /s/, a voiceless alveolar fricative. It appears in non-Arabic words *ṣed* 'hundred', *ṣeṣt* 'sixty', and *ṣeg* 'dog' (MacKenzie 1961:4). [ṣ] is similar to the Arabic phoneme represented by the Arabic letter ص ; the letter, also used in Arabic loans, has been subject to orthographic purification (cf. 8.2.1.2).

SUBCHAPTER 8.2
ORTHOGRAPHY

Like other non-Arabic speaking peoples who adopted the Arabic alphabet after the Islamic conquest of the seventeenth century, Kurds have modified the Arabic script to suit the phonemic system of their language. The changes introduced before the present century were modest compared to the extensive reform carried out especially since the 1920s. The alphabet is now to a great extent standardized, although spelling remains a serious problem.

8.2.1 The Alphabet

Codification of the writing system has proceeded along two lines: (a) the phonemization of the alphabet by adding diacritical marks to the letters of the Arabic alphabet, and (b) the purification or Kurdification of the alphabet by omitting letters that do not represent any phonemes of the Kurdish language. The latter trend partially overlaps with the former.

8.2.1.1 Phonemization of the Alphabet

The principle *one letter for each sound*, called phonemization here, lies at the heart of all codification efforts in orthography. Its validity has not been questioned by any Kurdish source in recent times, even though it has at times been carried to the extreme of attempting to represent some of the allophones (phonetization; cf. below for examples).

Phonemization of a more limited scope has been undertaken by other languages using the Arabic script. The Persians were probably among the first to use diacritical marks to represent consonant phonemes /p/, /ç/, /ž/ (Romanized as *zh* in this study), and /g/ by پ , چ , ژ and گ , which do not exist in Arabic.

The Arabic Alphabet. The Arabic alphabet currently used for writing standard Arabic consists of 28 letters (29 if *hamza* representing a glottal stop, written as ء, and Romanized as ') is counted as a separate letter. There is a one-to-one correspondence between the consonant phonemes (numbering 28) and the consonant letters, three of which (ا, ى and و) are also used to represent three "long" vowels */ā, ī* and */ū/* and, in digraph form, two diphthongs. Three "short" vowels are not represented in the alphabet, although they can be represented in special texts such as Koran, dictionaries, and primary textbooks by vowel signs or diacritical marks, namely:

ـَ *fat-ḥa*, a small diagonal mark above the consonant, e.g., بَ */ba*

ـِ *kasra*, a similar stroke under the letter, e.g., بِ */bi*

ـُ *damma*, a miniature و above the letter, e.g., بُ */bu*

A small circle or semi-circle, *sukūn*, indicates the absence of a vowel. The insufficient representation of the vowels, together with other problems related to the shape of the letters (e.g., their cursive nature, a great number of letter-variants and numerous dots), have led many Arab reformers since the mid-19th century to either improve the existing system or to replace it by the Roman script (Chejne 1969:157-61).

The problems with this alphabet increase when it is used to represent the phonemic repertoire of the Kurdish language–29 consonants and 9 vowels (cf. Table 54). Eight of the consonants /p, v, Í, ř, ç, j, g/ do not exist in Arabic and, as a result, do not appear in the alphabet. Of the nine vowels only three /a, î, û/ (similar to Arabic long vowels) have been traditionally represented by ا, ى and و, as is the case with Arabic. The complication was, however, more serious in Kurdish since one letter, ى , was to represent four front vowels /î, ê, i, ö/ while و was used for three back vowels /u, û/ and /o/.

A. The Consonant Letters

Earlier Kurdish texts have adopted the four Persian letters پ , چ , ژ and گ representing /p, ç, j, g/. These letters were formed by adding diacritics to those letters of the Arabic language (ب *b*, ج *c*, ز *z*, ك *k*) that represented the closest equivalents for the Persian phonemes. The diacritics including subscript and superscript dots and a diagonal bar already existed in the Arabic alphabet. The earliest records of the addition of dots to Kurdish ف */f* to represent */v/* ڤ is found in Khalidi's dictionary (1892) and the periodical *Kurdistan* (1898-1902). The availability of letter-types in the printing presses of the Ottoman empire indicates that this letter was borrowed by the Kurds.

Distinctions in writing between palatal /l/ and velar /Í/ or flap /r/ and trill /ř/ have not been found in the scribal literature. The Arabic letters ل */l* and ر */r* have been used for the two pairs. The earliest marking of /Í/, in print, is probably to be found in *Incîlî Merqus*, *Markus-Evangelium* (in Mukri Kurdish)

Table 55. The Arabic Alphabet

	Separate	Final	Medial	Initial	Roman
1	ء				'
2	ا	ا			a
3	ب	ب	بـ	بـ	b
4	ت	ت	تـ	تـ	t
5	ث	ث	ثـ	ثـ	th
6	ج	ج	جـ	جـ	j
7	ح	ح	حـ	حـ	ḥ
8	خ	خ	خـ	خـ	kh
9	د	د			d
10	ذ	ذ			dh
11	ر	ر			r
12	ز	ز			z
13	س	س	سـ	سـ	s
14	ش	ش	شـ	شـ	sh
15	ص	ص	صـ	صـ	ṣ
16	ض	ض	ضـ	ضـ	ḍ
17	ط	ط	طـ	طـ	ṭ
18	ظ	ظ	ظـ	ظـ	ẓ
19	ع	ع	عـ	عـ	ʻ
20	غ	غ	غـ	غـ	gh
21	ف	ف	فـ	فـ	f
22	ق	ق	قـ	قـ	q
23	ك	ك	كـ	كـ	k
24	ل	ل	لـ	لـ	l
25	م	م	مـ	مـ	m
26	ن	ن	نـ	نـ	n
27	ه	ه	هـ	هـ	h
28	و	و		و	w
29	ى	ى	ـى	ى	y

published in 1909 by Druckerei Awetaranian in Philippopel (Bulgaria) in which the phoneme is written by adding the diacritic mark ˇ above ل. The same was used in the translations of the four gospels published by the American Bible Society in New York in 1919.

In 1923, the Iraqi Ministry of Education commissioned Lieutenant-colonel Tawfiq Wahby, a native of Sulaymaniya, to compile a Kurdish grammar to be used in primary schools. Wahby found it necessary, for the purpose of teaching, to reform the Arabic alphabet by adding diacritical signs. However, the Ministry rejected any meddling with the alphabet. Other attempts at reform by the compilers of primary textbooks were also rejected (cf. 8.2.6). In non-official publications, however, various individuals proceeded with the reform. In 1929, Wahby published his *Destûrî Zimanî Kurdî* (Grammar of the Kurdish Language), where he added dots to the existing letters to represent /Ĺ/, /ř/ and Sulemani [o] (cf. 8.1.1). During the same year, *Zarî Kirmancî* began writing /Ĺ/ with three dots over ل (No. 16, January 7, 1929, p. 11). This effort was, however, impeded by the unavailability of appropriate foundry type in the printing presses (cf. 7.1.7).

Due to the absence of appropriate letters, Kurdish authors had to use doubling of ل and ر to represent /Ĺ/ and /ř/. As more type became available, the use of ˇ over ڵ and ڕ soon replaced that of doubling and dots. Kurdish printers could not afford the casting of new letters. In fact, as recently as 1955, Giw Mukriyani was still using the numeral ٧ / *7* instead of diacritics (cf. 7.1.7 and Figure 3). By the late 1950s, however, new letters were cast and the Ministry of Education finally sanctioned the innovation which had become widely accepted (cf. 7.5.4).

Another popularized innovation is the systematic use of *hamza* ء to represent the glottal stop which regularly occurs in initial position before vowels, medially in certain contexts and, in at least one case, in final position (*ne'* 'no'). Following the Arabic and Persian tradition, old Kurdish texts represented the initial glottal stop by ا (*alif*) which, in its ideal Arabic form in Arabic, received the combined cumbersome sub- and superscripts إٓ, أٓ and إ (in simplified form آ, أ and إ). These initial *hamza*s have been phonemized in Kurdish as ئا /*a* ئه/*e*, ئو/*u*, ئێ/*ê*, ئی /*î* or *i*, etc. The following examples show the old and new system:

ئاسن / آسن	*asin* 'iron'
ئەردەلان / اردلان	*Erdelan* 'name of principality, family, etc.'
ئومێد / امید	*umêd* 'hope'
ئێرە / ایره	*êre* 'here'
ئیسلام / اسلام	*Îslam* 'Islam'

The earliest use of *hamza* in print is probably in *Rojî Kurd* (No. 1, June 6, 1913, e.g., p. 40). It was inconsistently applied in the 1920s in private

publications. Its increasing use is recorded in the periodicals, e.g., *Rûnakî* (1935), *Gelawêj* (1939-49) and *Dengî Gêtî Taze* (1943-47). By the 1950s, the innovation was universally applied. Another change introduced into the Arabic alphabet was the representation by letters of a diacritical mark called *shadda* and written as ّ. In the Arabic alphabet, *shadda* is put over a consonant to indicate gemination. The diacritical mark is replaced in Kurdish by doubling the letter. Thus, the Arabic word مقدّس */muqaddas* 'hallowed, sanctified, etc.' is written in Kurdish as موقەددەس/*muqeddes*/.

B. The Vowel Letters

As was indicated above, the Arabic alphabet does not have enough letters to represent even the six vowels of the Arabic language. Thus, three "short" vowels /a, ı, ü/ are represented by diacritical marks while three long vowels /ā, ī, ū/ are graphemized by letters that also represent consonants. This shortage of special letters to represent the more numerous vowels of Kurdish poses a serious problem for phonemization.

A tendency to represent vowels by replacing Arabic vowel signs (*i'rāb*) with letters (*nûsînî i'rab be herif* 'writing the diacritics in letters') is found in earlier texts where ى , و and ه are used instead of the three vowel signs ـَ, ـُ and ـِ :

ئینجا / إنجا *inca* 'then, in that case'
کورد / كُرد *Kurd* 'Kurd'
سەر / سَر *ser* 'head'

This principle was applied more consistently in the periodicals (e.g., *Diyarî Kurdistan* 1925-26), and some even proclaimed it an orthographic policy, e.g., *Têgeyiştinî Rastî* (No. 63, January 13, 1919, quoted in Ahmad 1978:151) and *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 7, January 1927, p. 28). A publisher, Mariwani, stated in his first book, *Xurşîdî Xawer* (Baghdad, 1933, p. [2]) that he, "like other people," would follow the rule.

The replacement of the three vowel signs could not, however, finalize the phonemization process, since و alone had to represent, not only the consonant /w/, but also the four vowels /o, ö, u, û/ while ى was being used for /y/ and three front vowels /ê, i, î/. In 1913, the magazine *Rojî Kurd* had proposed eight letters, some of them new, to represent the vowels (No. 2, July 6, 1913, pp. 12-13). The letters were borrowed from a Turkish alphabet reform society which had proposed a revised version of the Arabic-based Turkish alphabet. This sweeping reform did not leave its mark on the Kurdish writing system because of the suppression of the Kurdish language and the adoption of the Roman script in Turkey (cf. 5.3.0).

Graphemization of the vowel system was, however, making progress in Iraq. The situation in the early 1920s was as follows:

Phonemes of Sulemani (cf. Table 54)	Letters used in the 1920s
/a/	ا or آ (initial position)
/e/	ە / ە accepted but not consistently used
/ê/	ێ occasionally used
/i/	not represented
/î/	ی
/ö/	و or وی
/o/	و or no letter
/u/	و or no letter
/û/	و

By the mid-1920s, it was obvious that ە was being accepted for /e/. Together with ا for /a/, this made for the first two stabilized vowel letters. The more problematic و , representing four phonemes, was receiving considerable attention by this time. Shaways proposed the doubling of و for writing /û/ (*Diyarî Kurdistan*, No. 6, 1925, p. 8). Sidqi (1928:3-4) put ˇ over و and ى to represent /o/ and /ê/, although he could not use the sign throughout the text for lack of type. Wahby (1929) was the first to make distinctions between all the vowels through doubling, digraphing and adding diacritics (letters quoted in McCarus 1958:7, 14):

/e/ ە, /ê/ێ , /i/ ي as in *pird* 'bridge', /î/ یی, /ö/ وي , /a/ ا , /u/ و , /û/ وو and /o/ ۆ .

By the early 1950s, a more or less fixed system was established and put to use even in the ABC book of the first grade (cf. Figures 28 and 29):

/a/ ا ، ئا	/i/	/u/ و
/e/ ە	/î/ ي or یی	/û/ وو
/ê/ ێ	/ö/ وێ	/o/ ۆ

Doubling has been considered the main inconvenience of this system. To solve this problem, the weekly *Kurdistan* (Tehran, 1959-63) and the Kurdish Academy of Iraq (*KZK*, 1973:366-67) put a small horizontal bar over ێ and ۆ instead of doubling. Although the bar was used in all the publications of the Academy, it was not universally accepted by government supported publications. In the latest orthographic rules proposed by the Academy (KZ'Ê-DK 1987:8), the bar has been removed and doubling has, thus, been reinstated.

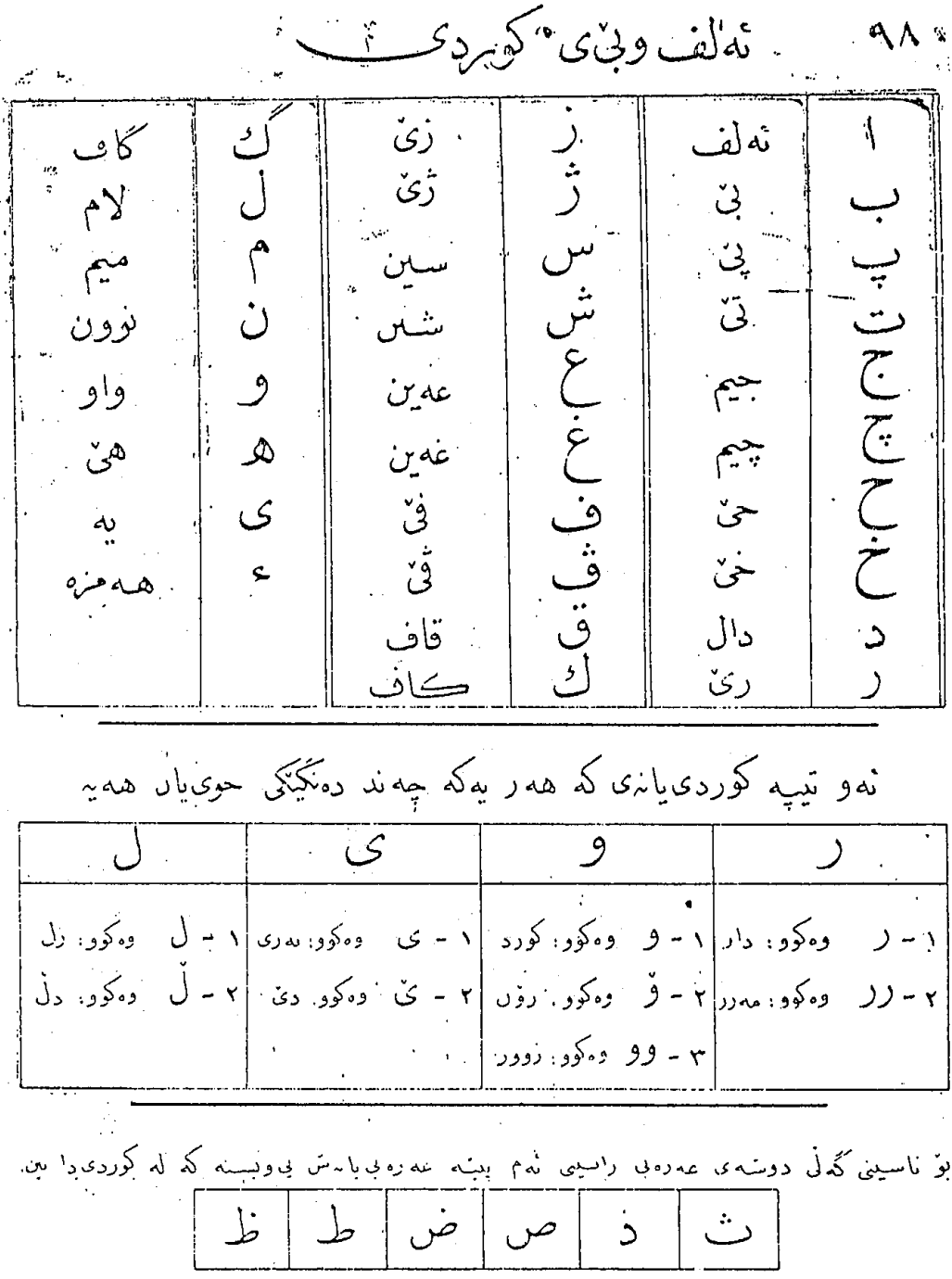


Fig. 28. The reformed Arabic alphabet in Baldar's ABC book of 1951, Iraq.

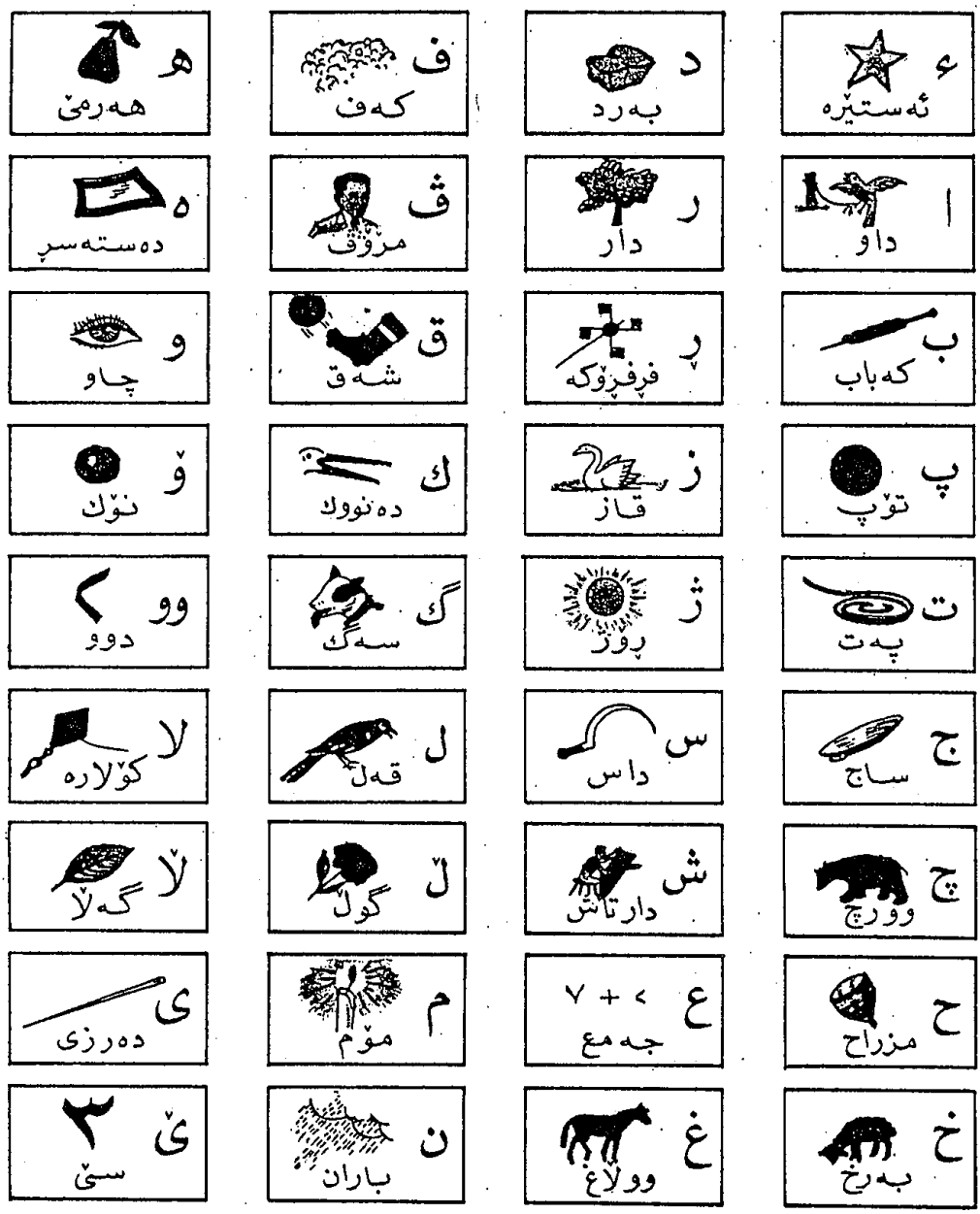


Fig. 29. The reformed Arabic alphabet in the 1960 edition of Baldar's ABC book.

Another unresolved problem is the position of /i/, whose status as an independent phoneme is controversial. The vowel is described as "half-close front-centred" by MacKenzie (1961:9; cf. 8.1.0, Table 54), and as a "high central unrounded short vowel" by McCarus (1958:16). Examples are *pişt* 'back', *jin* 'woman', *pird* 'bridge' and *tirs* 'fear'. There is no letter in the Arabic-based alphabet to represent this phoneme and, except for Wahby (1929, cf. above), alphabet reformers do not see a need for its graphemization (cf., e.g., KZ'Ê-DK 1987:8-7).

A vowel described as "high open front unrounded short vowel /i/ by McCarus (1958:15), and apparently considered by MacKenzie (cf. his example *israhat* 'rest' in 1961:16) to be the same as /î/, is usually found in loanwords of Arabic origin, e.g., *îmtîĥan* 'examination', *mumkîn* 'possible', *însan* 'human being', etc. Although this vowel is clearly different from /î/ as in *pîr* 'old', it does not pose an orthographic problem and is represented by ی . The Mukri (cf. Eiiubi and Smirnova 1968:13) and Sulemani (IUsupova 1985:27) subdialects have a very rare phoneme, a long high close front rounded vowel /ü/, which is considered a diphthong by native speakers. This phoneme or one similar to it is of high incidence in Kurmanji and is written in digraph form وی .

8.2.1.2 The Scope of Phonemization

The reformed Kurdish alphabet of today can be considered basically phonemic; there is one-to-one correspondence between the phonemes and the letters except in the following cases: (1) the letter ی stands for the consonant /y/ and, separately or in double form, for the vowel /î/; it also appears in two digraph forms (cf. below), (2) the letter و represents both the consonant /w/ and the vowel /u/, and also appears in two digraphs, (3) the phoneme /ö/ together with a very infrequent phoneme /ü/ are written in digraph form وێ and وی , (4) the letter ھ and its variants ھ, ھ and ھ represent both /h/ and /e/ though there is a tendency to make a distinction by regularly using ھ for /h/ and using separate and joined-final forms (ھ and ھ) for /e/, and (5) there is no separate letter for /i/.

Phonemization has at times been carried to extremes. A number of Kurdish reformers have tried to represent the allophones by using diacritical marks. Mukriyani (1972), for example, put a small stroke under گ /g and ك /k to distinguish the palatalized variants of /g/ and /k/ phonemes, which get strongly palatalized when followed by front vowels or /y/. Sadiq (1971:38) is another advocate of this distinction. This type of phonetization has not, however, received popular support.

Discussions of orthographic problems have become more sophisticated since the 1970s, when a number of Kurdish intellectuals trained in modern linguistics joined the reform movement. The Kurdish Academy devoted its annual journal of 1982 to a survey of orthographic problems. One trend of recent research has been to survey aspects of the history of orthographic reform; Rasul

(1971a) conducted a study of the orthography of Khani's *Mem û Zîn*; Mala Karim (1973) examined Mala Rashid Bagi Baban's attempt to reform the alphabet in the 1940s; Marif (1983) is a study of the orthography of the newspaper *Têgeyiştinî Rastî* (1918-19), and Ja'far (1985) deals with the orthographic innovations of the magazine *Rojî Kurd* (1913).

All of these studies are based on an unquestioned notion of the efficiency of phonemization. It seems that no Kurdish source has questioned this principle on the basis of recent controversies which reject the efficiency of phonemic alphabets. According to Décsy (1983:98), for example, the principle "every phoneme should have one single letter (one phoneme: one letter) is obsolete. The Chinese and English scripts (both function excellently) proved that a historically developed aphonetic script can usually be superior. The main task of the script is to maintain or establish associative connections between concept and sign; in this procedure the sound sequence is a possible intermediator but not the target." This view of the function of spelling is supported by the fact that even in phonemic alphabets, readers do not analyze a written word into its constituent letters in order to read it. Thus, once the mastery of the alphabet and the spelling system has been achieved (which may take years in non-phonemic alphabets), phonemization is of little relevance. According to this view, Arabic and Persian alphabets are very efficient.

8.2.1.3 Purification of the Alphabet

Purification of the alphabet has more recent origins and has been carried out on two levels (cf. 8.1.2 on phonological purification). First, in the mid-1920s, Wahby (1925) and Shaways (1925:9) pointed out that some of the letters of the Arabic alphabet represented "sounds" that had no counterparts in Kurdish. They called for the omission of these letters and their replacement, in loanwords, by their closest Kurdish equivalents:

Arabic Letter	Kurdish Counterparts
ط /ṭ	ت /t
ث /th	س /s
ص /ṣ	س /s
ذ /dh	ز /z
ض /ḍ	ز /z
ظ /ẓ	ز /z

In his 1929 grammar, Wahby discarded all these Arabic letters. For the Kurdish literati of the time who were used to the Arabic style of writing in Persian, Turkish and Arabic, this reform amounted to a radical departure from tradition. Thus, the conservatives opposed the innovation. Sidqi's (1928:3-4) grammar, for example, approved as a textbook for the fourth and fifth grades,

stated that any word containing one of the above mentioned letters could not be considered "pure Kurdish" (*Kurdî petî*). He stated that "these types of words should either be permanently discarded, something which was not possible, or be written in their original form and style while pronounced in Kurdish when read."

By the early 1950s, the modernist trend was on the winning side. The monthly literary magazine *Gelawêj* (1939-49) played a decisive role in popularizing the innovation (Rasul 1971a:11). By 1951, the most conservative source, the Ministry of Education, authorized an alphabet book in which all Arabic loans and proper names were recorded in the purified alphabet.

A second purist trend is related to the assimilated borrowings on the phonological level (cf. 8.1.2). The nationalist extremists have tried to purge ع, ح, ق and غ which represent phonemes borrowed from Arabic (cf. subchapter 8.1, Note 5). This attempt has not succeeded except, to some extent, in replacing ع with ئ (e.g., عەشق *'eşiq/* ئەشق *eşiq* 'love') and ح with ھ (e.g., حەموو *ḧemû/* ھەموو *hemû* 'all'). In fact, a counter effort is observed in the Kurdish Academy's proposed reforms where ص, replaced by س, has been reinstated because, it was argued, it occurred in a few native Kurdish words, e.g., *ṣeg* 'dog' and *ṣed* 'hundred' (cf. 8.1.2, Note 5). The reinstatement of ص has not been accepted, however.

8.2.2. The Codification of Spelling

Alphabet and spelling are different, albeit directly related, problems in the reformed system. The problem of alphabet is considered to be almost resolved by some reformers, e.g., Faraj (1976:39). Spelling, however, has posed formidable problems that have only recently received serious attention.

The spelling problem is partly rooted in the cursive nature of the Arabic alphabet in both printing and handwriting. Written from right to left, most of the letters are connected to preceding and following letters in the same word (cf. Table 55 above). However, eight letters ا, د, ر, ز, ژ, و, ۆ and ە, together with the latter's joined-final form ه (used in Kurdish in order to distinguish */e/* from */h/*, ه and ھ) are half-connectors, i.e., they do not form a cursive linking to a following letter, although they do connect to a preceding letter. The general rule in Arabic spelling is to connect, within a single word, all the letters except when half-connectors do not permit. This rule cannot, however, be uniformly applied in Kurdish because the morphological structure of the language, rich in affixes, preverbs and prepositions (simple and compound), and having an active compounding mechanism in word-formation, allows for separation of the various morphemes of a word.

In his dictionary, Khal (1960:29-31) noted that two views existed on the issue of orthography. One proposed the separate writing of each morpheme, while the other view advocated their cursive writing as much as possible, e.g.:

بانگردێن *bangirdên* 'roof-roller'	بان‌گردێن *ban girdên*
بنباخەڵ *binbaxeĺ* 'arm-pit'	بن‌باخەڵ *bin baxeĺ*
بەجێهێشتن *becêhêştin* 'leave behind'	بە جێ هێشتن *be cê hêştin*
پێلێ هەڵبڕڕین *pêlêheĺbiřîn* 'shake off, get rid or free of'	پێ لێ هەڵ بڕڕین *pê lê heĺ biřîn*

One may note that the last example (*pê* 'to' + *lê* 'from' + *heĺ* 'up' + *biřîn* 'to cut', which means 'to shake off, get rid of') can be written in at least six different ways (Amin 1982:360):

پێ لێ هەڵ بڕین	*pê lê heĺ biřîn*
پێلێ هەڵ بڕین	*pêlê heĺ biřîn*
پێلێ هەڵبڕین	*pêlê heĺbiřîn*
پێلێهەڵ بڕین	*pêlêheĺ biřîn*
پێ لێهەڵ بڕین	*pê lêheĺ biřîn*
پێلێهەڵبڕین	*pêlêheĺbiřîn*

Khal himself adopted the second approach of joining the morphemes, since he believed that (a) it was more economical in terms of writing time and space, (b) Persian, "a brother language," used the same system, (c) the "compound infinitives" (the four examples above), carried one single meaning although they looked like several words in form, (d) Khalidi's dictionary used this system and, finally, (f) these compound words were written in connected form in the Roman Kurdish alphabet so it would be better to write them in that way until the day came when all Kurdish was written in the Roman script (Khal 1960:30-31).

The proponents of the first view argue that the system of spelling morphemes separately has the advantage of reflecting the morphological structure of the language (e.g., Amin 1966:49-50). However, as Marif (1982:69) has argued, it is not the function of a general spelling system to portray the word-formational mechanism of a language.

The application of morphological and semantic criteria in the regulation of spelling began in the 1960s. The Kurdish Academy made a number of propositions along this line. For example, it was suggested (*KZK* 1973:376-78) that the adjective تر *tir* 'other' which follows the noun it qualifies, should not be connected to the noun, whereas the morpheme تر *tir*, added to the simple adjective to form the comparative degree,should be connected to the preceding adjective "since the meaning of 'comparison' becomes an integral part of the total meaning of the word," e.g.:

پیاوی تر /*piyawî tir* rather than پیاویتر /*piyawîtir* 'other man'
but کۆنتر /*kontir* rather than کۆن تر /*kon tir* 'older'

Recent studies have, however, revealed more intricacies in formulating spelling rules on the basis of morphological or syntactic considerations. Marif (1982:69-70), for instance, has cited *gö lê girtin* 'to heed, to obey' (*gö* 'ear' + *lê* 'from' + *girtin* 'to take, hold, seize, etc.') as a compound verb which can be spelled in four different forms:

گوێ لێگرتن /*gö lêgirtin* گوێ لێ گرتن /*gö lê girtin*
گوێلێگرتن /*gölêgirtin* گوێلی گرتن /*gölê girtin*

He prefers the last, cursive spelling, but proposes a non-connected spelling in conjugated sentence forms such as

گومم لێت گرت *gömt lêt girt* (*m* 'I'; *t* 'you') 'I obeyed you'

where words are spelled separately, allowing the addition of pronominal forms to numerous bound and free morphemes forming a compound verb.

It is already possible to discern that the morphologically-based spelling rules will be too numerous and very complicated. To avoid a spelling error, a writer must have considerable knowledge of grammar and apply morphological, semantic and syntactic analysis to numerous structures.

Kurdish Orthography in Iran. The reforms introduced by Iraqi Kurds since 1918 have been accepted by Iranian Kurds. This is best vindicated in the two ABC books prepared by Kurdish political organizations, Komeíe and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, in the early 1980s (cf. 7.5.6 and Figures 30 and 31).

8.2.3 Romanization of the Kurdish Alphabet

Another alternative to an inefficient Arabic-based Kurdish alphabet has been the adoption of the Roman script.[1] The use of Latin letters for writing Kurdish dates back to the eighteenth century, when Europeans began to study the language and publish literary and folkloric texts. Most of the alphabets were, however, adapted for transcription, rather than for normal writing purposes. This is true even in the case of the "standard alphabet" for Kurdish proposed by Lepsius (1863:136-37). The popularization of these alphabets in Kurdistan was almost impossible, since most of them did not become known to even the native intellectuals.

Interest in Romanization had, since the late 19th century, become apparent among a number of nations which used the Arabic script. Soon after World War I, a number of Kurdish intellectuals raised the question of changing the alphabet (Rondot 1935:6-7). In Iraq, the Department of Education, under the authority of

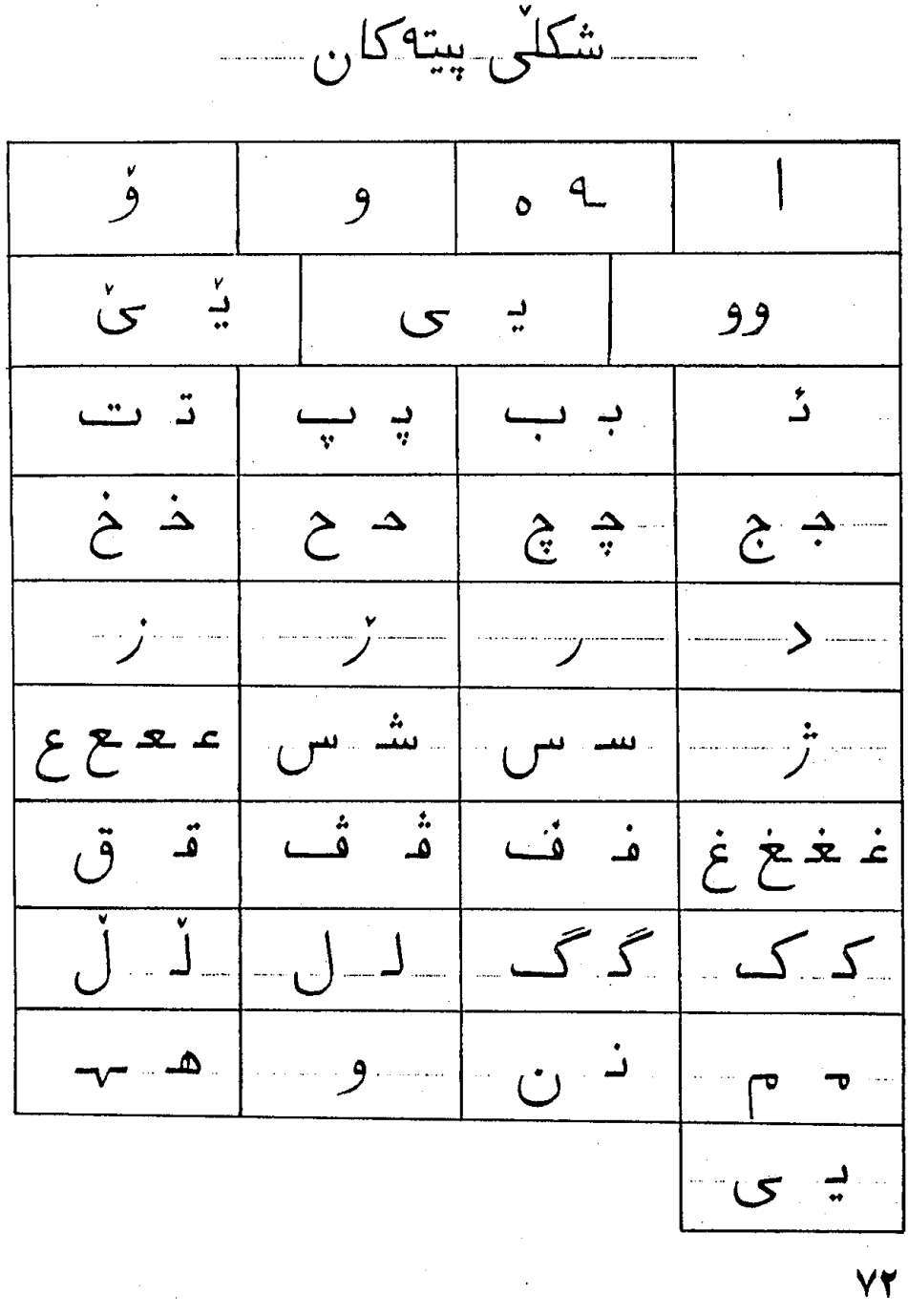


Fig. 30. The Kurdish alphabet in the ABC textbook published by Komeĺe, Iran.

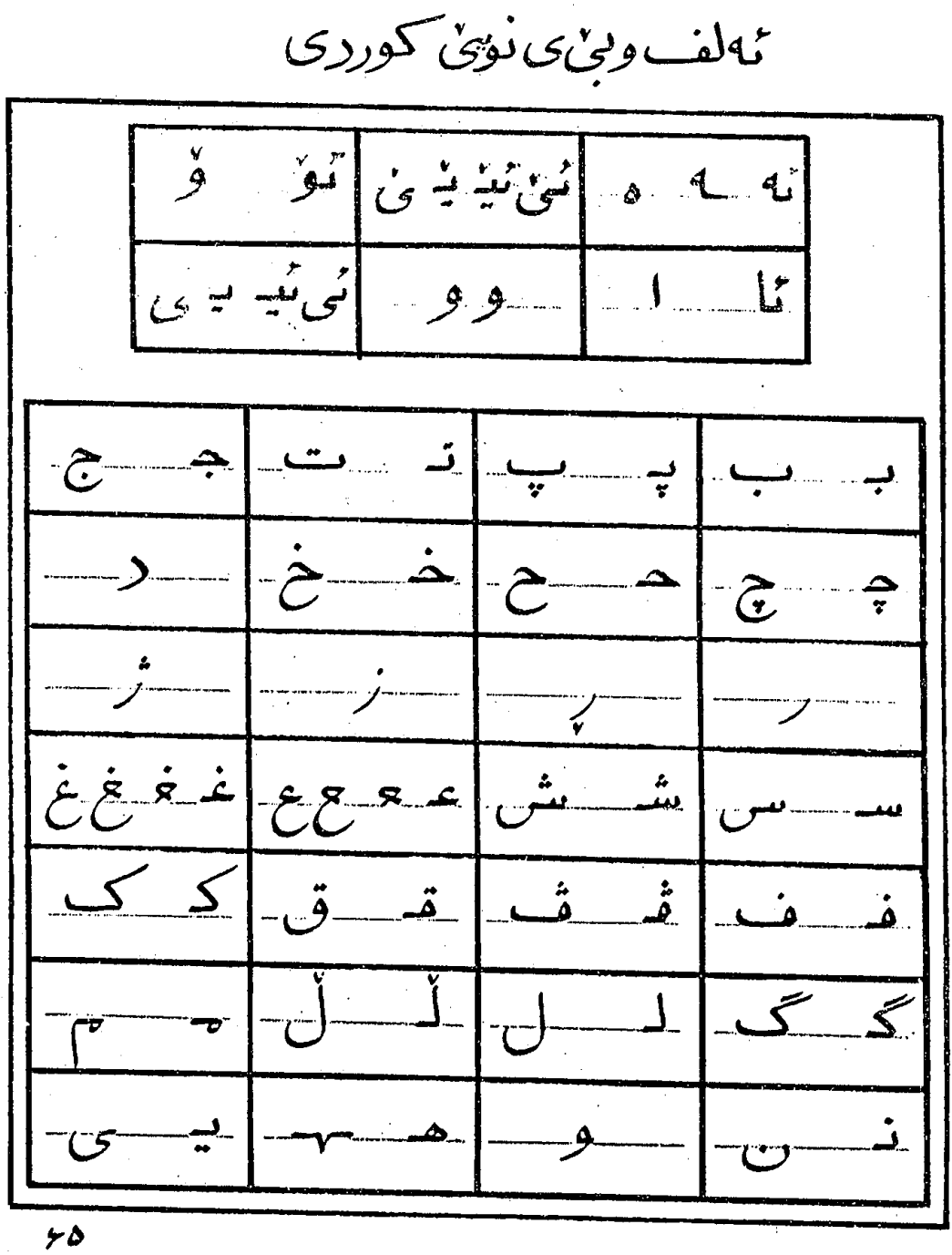


Fig. 31. The Kurdish alphabet in the ABC textbook published by the Kurdish Democratic Party, Iran.

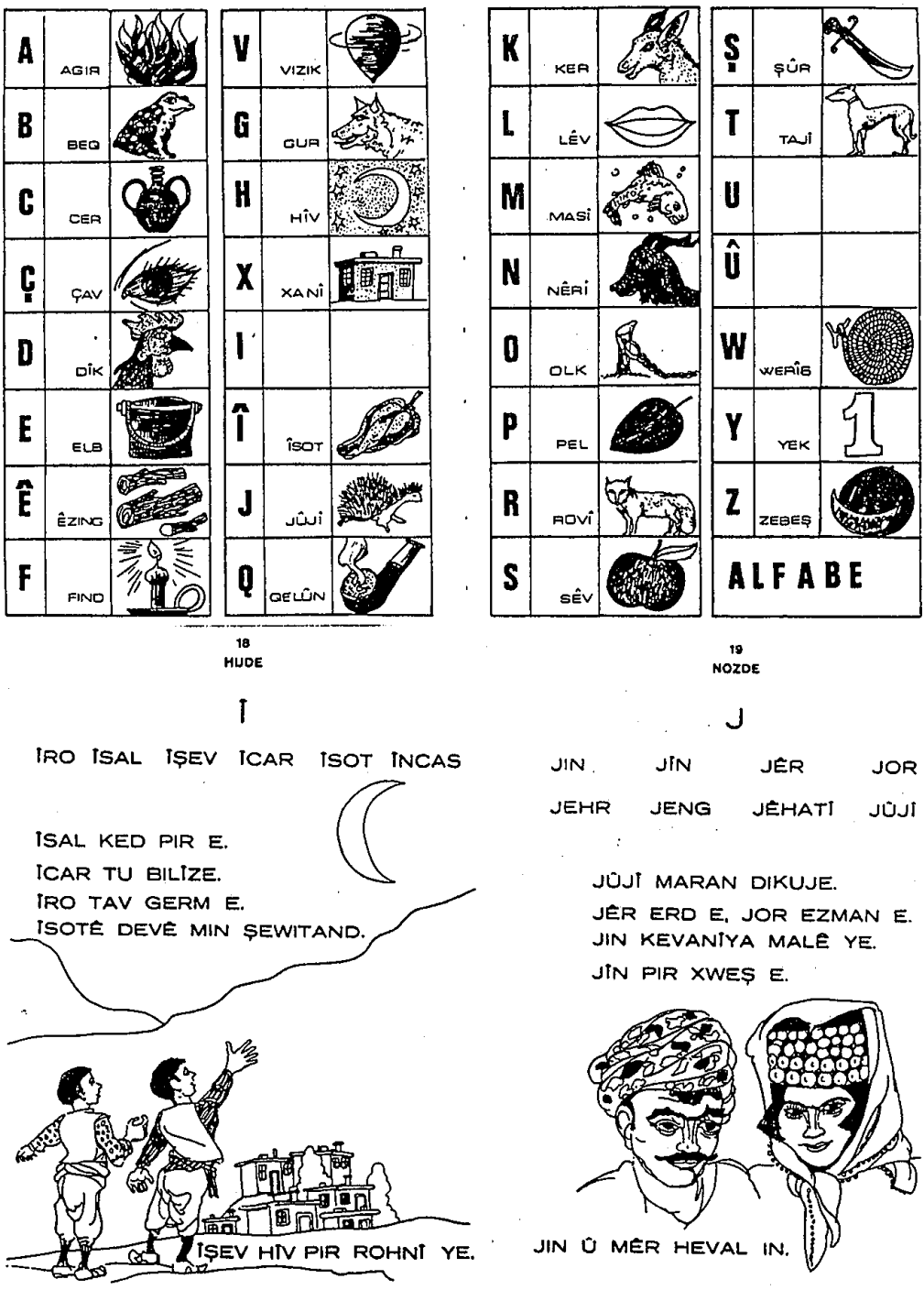


Fig. 32. Bozarslan's ABC book, in Kurmanji, first publish in Turkey in the 1970s and banned by the government.

the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia, was interested in popularizing a form of the Roman alphabet for Kurdish. A booklet, *Kitab i Awalamin i Qiraat i Kurdi* (The First Kurdish Reader), compiled by two teachers from Sulaymaniya assisted by two British officers, was published by the Department in 1920. Before long, the British authorities decided to put an Arab government in power in Baghdad, which was interested in the integration of the Kurds and, as a result, the Romanization effort was abandoned (cf. 5.1.0 to 5.1.4 on the language policy of the period).

The Kurds themselves, however, continued their effort to Romanize the script. Arguments for the change were based mostly on the drawbacks of the Arabic script in writing Kurdish, but other reasons were occasionally given. A writer in *Diyarî Kurdistan* (1925, No. 11-12, p. 11), for instance, referred, among other things, to the "revival of our nation" through closer association with the West. He also claimed that the Kurds were an "Aryan nation" and their language was also "Aryan." "That is why," he wrote, "I do not believe that the letters of a Semitic language which are products of "Semitic spirit and stock" (*rûḥ û ʿirq*) will be of use to us" (p. 9). This racist explanation of linguistic/orthographic phenomena reflects, in part, the conflict between the Kurds and the Arab regime put in power by Britain in the 1920s (cf. 5.1.3 to 5.1.7; 7.2.2.9, 7.3.2.9, 7.5.1 to 7.5.1.4). Kurdish nationalists wanted to remain distinct from the dominating Arabic language and culture, which was now closely tied to the ruling power in Baghdad. Support for Romanization was quite widespread among the literati including even the clergy. According to a memo (Secret, No. D.0.S./218, written by the Administrative Inspector of Mosul Liwa and addressed to the Advisor, Ministry of Interior, Baghdad, March 5, 1932), the majority of Kurdish delegates who attended a government-sponsored meeting to select the dialect base of the Kurdish language (cf. 6.2.0) favored the use of the Roman script:

> ...at least five of [the nine] delegates expressed themselves as strongly in favour of the use of Latin characters [two delegates were not present in the meeting; cf. 6.2.0]. These delegates included 2 from Dohuk, 2 from Shaikhan and Muhammed Ibn Shaikh Bahauddin of Amadia. The latter however influenced by his brother Shaikh Ghiyath ud Din and fearing that Arab patriots might object to his advocating the use of Latin characters, eventually declined to state this request to the Mutaserrif [governor]. (F. No. 13/14, Vol. XII, Kurdistan Policy, p. 2):

In spite of or, to be more exact, because of the popularity of Romanization (cf., also, 8.2.6), the Iraqi government and Britain rejected the demand as a manifestation of separatism. Individuals did, however, continue their struggle for promoting the script. Following a version proposed by Edmonds (1931, 1933), Tawfiq Wahbi presented his alphabet in *Xöndewarî Baw* in 1933. In Syria, the

Badir Khan brothers used a phonemic alphabet with diacritics for Kurmanji which was quite similar to the system adopted for writing Turkish in 1926 in Turkey. The Wahby system was closer to English spelling in that it used digraphs *ch*, *sh*, *gh*, *iy*, *rh*, *lh* and *uw* to represent *ç*, *ş*, *ẍ*, *î*. *ř*, *ĺ*, and *û*.

The Kurdish press, e.g., *Jiyan* (Vol. 10, No. 449, July 20, 1935) and *Gelawêj* (Vol. 4, No. 4, 1943, pp. 38-40), was interested in popularizing Wahby's version although the Badir Khan variety was being increasingly preferred (cf., e.g., *Gelawêj*, Vol. 4, No. 7; Vol. 5, No. 2, 1944). By 1957, when Jemal Nebez published his Badir Khan-based alphabet, the new writing system was far from being used in printing and writing. Giw Mukriyani, another Romanist, made the last efforts on its behalf by publishing two ABC books in 1960 and 1972.

Opposition to Romanization came from various sources at different times. The strongest and most effective opponent was the Iraqi government, which rejected alphabet reform or change as an expression of Kurdish particularism or "separatism." Among the Kurds themselves, opposition came from two sources. A conservative group opposed Romanization because of either religious considerations or their links with the central government (Nebez 1957:35). The religious opponents chanted *Em latînîye, ladînîye* 'This Latinization is irreligiosity' (Nebez 1976:86). The second group included the Communist Party of Iraq and leftist nationalists such as the poet Goran. The former attacked, in their newspaper *Ittihād al-Sha'b* in 1959, efforts for Romanization which had gained fresh momentum after the fall of the monarchy. According to Nebez (who was a target of criticism to which he responded in the journal *Sawt al-Akrād*), the Communist Party considered the Romanization campaign detrimental to the "national unity of Iraq" (Nebez 1976:86). Kurdish intellectuals were in favor of the eventual change of the writing system, but they found the timing inappropriate. Khaznadar (1971:7) remembers that Goran argued, "Let's first get schools and then we will say which alphabet we want."

In the early 1930s, the Roman script was tried virtually simultaneously in the USSR, Syria, and Iraq. In Syria, the political activists who had fled the persecution of the Kemalist regime in Turkey together with the local intellectuals used the Roman alphabet in journalism and book publishing, especially in the 1930s and during the World War II years. Since education in Kurdish was not permitted, the script was used only within the intellectual circle of Damascus. Its impact was, however, felt beyond the Syrian borders even after Kurdish was proscribed in Syria in the early 1960s. In fact, the Badir Khan or Hawar (name of a magazine published in this script) alphabet was accepted, with minor changes, by the Kurds of Turkey in their underground and semi-legal (1960s-1970s) literature and by the emigré press and publications. It is also used by other Kurds whenever they need to switch to a Latin script (the Romanization used in this dissertation is based on the Hawar alphabet).

The first book published in Kurdish in the Soviet Union in 1921 was in the Armenian script, apparently because the majority of Soviet Kurds lived as a

Table 56. The Three Alphabets of Kurdish (Kurmanji)[4]

Arabic	Roman	Cyrillic
ا	Aa	Аа
ب	Bb	Бб
ج	Cc	Цц
چ	Çç	Чч
چ	Çç	Ч'ч'
د	Dd	Дд
ه	Ee	Əə
ع	E'e'	Ə'ə'
ف	Ff	Фф
گ	Gg	Гг
ه	Hh	Hh
ح	Hh	H'h'
ي	Îî	Ии
ێ ی	Ii	Ьь
ی	Êê	Ее
خ	Xx	Хх
غ	Ẍẍ	Г'г'
ژ	Jj	Жж
ك	Kk	Кк
ك	Kk	К'к'
ق	Qq	Qq
ل, ل	Ll	Лл
م	Mm	Мм
ن	Nn	Нн
و	Oo	Оо
پ	Pp	Пп
پ	Pp	П'п'
ر	Rr	Рр
ر, ړ	Rr	Р'р'
س	Ss	Сс
ش	Şş	Шш
ت	Tt	Тт
ت	Tt	Т'т'
و	Uu	Öö
و, وو	Ûû	Уу
و	Ww	Ww
ۆ	Vv	Вв
ي	Yy	Йй
ز	Zz	Зз

Source: Kurdoev (1961:14-15)

minority in Soviet Armenia. The script had already been used in 1856, 1857, 1872, 1891 and 1911 in the translations of the Gospels into Kurmanji Kurdish by missionary groups (North 1938:200). When publishing in Kurdish resumed in 1929 in the USSR (cf. 7.2.6), a Roman alphabet was adopted, which continued to be used in schools and publishing until 1939. After World War II, a Cyrillic script replaced the Roman. The Cyrillic alphabet added to the further fragmentation of the language. In 1958, the Kurdish Students Society in Europe (with members from Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria) asked the Premier Nikita Khrushchev to allow the adoption of the Roman script by Soviet Kurds (cf. 7.4.10.1). While the alphabet was not changed, it is obvious that the Roman script was used more often in linguistic studies and folkloric texts after 1960. For example, the introduction and entries in Kurdo(ev)'s important Kurdish-Russian dictionary (1960; cf. 8.4.8) appeared in the Roman alphabet. During the *perestroika* years, the Kurds of the USSR demanded the adoption of the Roman alphabet (cf. chapter 5, Note 22). After the disintegration of the USSR in late December 1991, the Kurdish newspaper *R'ya T'eze* published in the Republic of Armenia continued to use the Cyrillic script (February 1992). However, the change seems to be inevitable.

8.2.4 Punctuation and Paragraphing

Punctuation is a recent and modern development in writing and can, therefore, be considered a significant indicator of standardization in languages with a long written tradition. Punctuation includes "the use of spacing, conventional signs, and certain typographical devices as aids to the understanding and correct reading, both silently and aloud, of handwritten and printed texts" (Brown 1987:1006). The modern punctuation of all Western European languages stems from the practice of the great Italian and French printers of the 15th and 16th centuries (*Ibid.* p. 1007).

Like their European counterparts, languages using the Arabic script (including the Arabic language) did not use punctuation and paragraphing before the age of printing. For instance, a detailed Kurdish prose text written in 1858-59 (Bayazidi 1986) lacks punctuation, paragraphing and numbered pagination. Punctuation (including full stops, commas, exclamation and question marks) and paragraphing were apparently first introduced into written Kurdish through the journal *Kurdistan* in 1898. All the punctuation marks in Kurdish as well as in Arabic and Persian are borrowed from the European languages.

8.2.5 Orthography, Standardization and Unification

Orthographically, the written Kurdish language is fragmented. The Kurmanji dialect is now written in three alphabets, Cyrillic (the USSR), Roman (the emigré press), and Arabic (in Iraq and Iran). Sorani is, however, written in the Arabic-based alphabet only.

The orthographic unity of Sorani seems to have contributed to the unfettered spread and acceptance of the standard norm developed in Iraq on the Iranian side of the border. The orthographic fragmentation of Kurmanji is, however, impeding the unification of the three varieties in Turkey, USSR and Iraq. At the all-Kurdistan level, orthography has its most negative effect on the unification of Sorani and Kurmanji.

Aware of the handicap, Kurdish intellectuals have emphasized that "orthographic unity is the beginning of our dialect unification" (Mukriyani 1972: title page). In the late 1950s, the Kurdish Students Society in Europe asked the Soviet authorities to substitute the Cyrillic alphabet with the Roman so that all Kurds could benefit from the literary and cultural achievements of Soviet Kurds (*L'Afrique et L'Asie*, 1959, No. 46, p. 55; Jwaideh 1960:802).

Orthographic fragmentation and unification are both inherently political issues. Fragmentation is the result of the removal of the Arabic script in Turkey and the USSR. Kurdish interest was not taken into account in Turkey whereas in the USSR there was probably a deliberate policy of insulating the Kurdish community from Kurdish nationalism. Unification of the script depends, therefore, on either the political union of all the Kurds or uninhibited linguistic and cultural freedom in and among all the different parts of Kurdistan. Under the present circumstances, the Kurds of Turkey are unable to shift to the Arabic script even if they achieve the right to use their language in writing, because the use of the Arabic script is proscribed in the country. Similarly, the Iranian Kurds are not permitted to adopt the Roman alphabet because the constitution of the Islamic Republic has made Arabic the official script of the country (cf. 5.2.0). In Iraq, too, any Arab ruling power will oppose Romanization. While some scholarly works on Kurdish language and culture were increasingly using the Roman alphabet in post-WW II years (especially in folkloric texts, lexicography, etc.), it was official policy to retain the Cyrillic alphabet in journalism, education and other domains. Any concession to the Kurds on the alphabet question would have encouraged other nations in the USSR to press for similar reforms.

Politics, or to be more exact, the absence of political freedom, further aggravates the impact of orthographic disunity. Given political freedom, books published in one script could easily be reprinted in another script. Unobstructed by political restrictions, the refugee Kurds of Turkey residing in Europe have already begun utilizing the Kurdish printed literature of the USSR. The Kurdish Academy of Iraq has also sponsored the reprint, in Arabic script, of a number of Soviet books and articles.

8.2.6 Political Obstacles to Orthographic Reform

The Kurdish effort to revise the Arabic script was certainly rooted in the inadequacy of the letters to represent the phonemic system of the language. An equally important motivation was, however, the desire of nationalist intellectuals to demonstrate the distinctiveness of Kurdish language and culture. It is this

powerful motivation that accounts for the success of the reform conducted by individuals in the absence of any coordination and in the wake of opposition by the Iraqi government.

The Kurdish press provides extensive documentation of the significance attached by Kurdish nationalists to adopting an alphabet that was distinctly Kurdish. To give an early example, Haqqi Shaways began his series of 1925-26 articles on the revision of the Arabic script by quoting "a great European learned man" who had said, "Give me a few letters, I will give you a civilization; give me an alphabet and I will give you a great and orderly language." He then argued that the "Kurdish language should remain Kurdish... so that Kurdish tone and pronunciation is not impaired..." To achieve this purpose, he proposed his own revisions (cf. 8.2.1.B and *Diyarî Kurdistan*, 1925, No. 5, p. 8). In a new section of the magazine entitled "New Writing and Pure Kurdish," he later wrote under the title "*Le nûsîn û şêwe da serbexoyî*" (Independence in writing and style): "Since the Kurds are not similar to any other nation in historical and social life, they do not resemble others in either language or style. Naturally, the basis of their reading and writing, too, will be different and independent" (*Ibid.*, 1926, No. 13-14, p. 18). Another reformer, Giw Mukriyani (1961:16), has argued that the Arabic script is Semitic, and "Aryan languages" such as Kurdish cannot be written in it.

Trying to confine Kurdish nationalism in all its manifestations, some of the top level authorities in the Iraqi government opposed any modification of the Arabic alphabet. The most influential person in the Ministry of Education, Abu Khaldun Sati' al-Husri, a well-known Arab nationalist, personally offered persistent resistance.

When Tawfiq Wahby (then a Kurdish officer in the Iraqi Army) was commissioned by the government to compile a Kurdish grammar for the primary schools, he noticed that the Arabic letters did not adequately represent the sound system of the language and decided to use diacritical marks over the Arabic letters. The Ministry opposed this action, arguing that putting diacritics on the Arabic letters of the holy Koran was *kufr* 'blasphemy' (Wahby 1973a:10). The Kurdish side rejected this argument by noting that the Koran was originally written without diacritics, which were added much later.[2] The authorities then commissioned a clergyman, Sidqi (1928), who did not advocate radical reform of the script. Wahby continued his effort, however, and ordered, at his own expense, new letter-types cast in Egypt, and published his "Kurdish Language Grammar" in 1929. The authorities dismissed the book (Wahby, *Ibid.*; taped interview, London, July 28, 1976).

The dispute is reported in detail by Husri in his memoirs (1967:457-74). According to this account, Wahby was one of the four members of a committee formed on the initiative of the Ministry to translate primary school textbooks from Arabic into Kurdish. He told the committee which was chaired by Husri about the necessity of orthographic reform before the books were translated. Wahby defended his proposal for adding 15 new letters and putting diacritics on 11

letters. Husri opposed the innovations, since he believed it would add 40 new letters to the printing presses, and would enormously complicate the reading and writing of Kurdish. He also argued that distinctions between /l/ and /Í/, for instance, did not require differentiation in writing, by analogy with Turkish (p. 460). However, Wahby and another member of the committee, Abd al-Rahman Salih, insisted on the reform and told Husri that they knew their own language better than he did.

Husri relegated the question to a wider meeting of Kurdish intellectuals, and the question was discussed, through Amin Zaki, Minister of Communications, himself a Kurdish historian, with Prime Minister Muhsin al-Sa'dun. It was decided to invite the opinion of Kurdish experts on Wahby's proposals through formal correspondence. Wahby wrote a detailed report and the committee provided a list of 35 names. When copies were prepared, Husri attached a note asking the respondents to express their opinion on how "to reconcile the reading of the Holy Koran with the reading of Kurdish" (p. 463). Just before mailing the letters, Wahby went to see Husri and found out about the note. He protested Husri's tactic of introducing the Holy Book into the controversy, arguing that the committee had not made that decision. Husri responded that he had raised the question in his capacity as Director General of Education, since the teaching of the Koran was part of the curriculum. Wahby informed Amin Zaki and the prime minister, and Zaki requested a copy of the note. However, Husri had arranged for the early mailing of the envelopes before responding to Zaki's request (p. 464).

When responses to Wahby's proposal came, Husri sent a report to the Minister in which he briefly outlined Wahby's proposed letters, his own detailed rejection of the proposal, and short references to the views of the respondents (pp. 465-556). According to Husri (p. 466), Wahby's proposal included the following:

(a) the use of the four letters of Turkish and Persian, i.e., پ /p, ژ /j, چ /ç, گ /g, plus the addition of three dots to ف /f, to represent ڤ/v

(b) the addition of diacritics over or under four consonants ت /t, ب /b, ل /l and ر /r,

(c) the addition of numerous diacritics over or under ی /y and و /w (ی, ێ, ۍ, ې, ۆ, ۉ, ۇ) and doubling of و.

Husri's own criticism was based primarily on the lack of necessity to mark fine distinctions in writing as was the case in Persian, Turkish and English, where one letter represented several sounds. His last point was, however, the necessity of conformity between Kurdish reading and the Glorious Koran" (p. 469). Kurdish, he argued, "used not a few Arabic words" which if written in a form different from those appearing in the Koran would lead to great confusion in the minds of the students. The confusion could not be removed or reduced except

الفبای کوردی

کرده‌وه‌ی

احمدی عزیز اغا

حقوق اعاده‌ی طبع محفوظه بومؤلفی

طبع دوم

مطبعة الفرات * بغداد

له سال

١٩٢٩

وریایی

له کوردیدا حرفی « و ی ر ل » نوعیان له یکی زیاتره . له بدر ئه بونی حرفی تایبتی نه کرا به علامات جیا بکریته‌وه .

ئه‌گای تایبتی أوه یه له‌وه‌خته‌ی درسدا که أم حرفانه بینرا باسیان بفرمون .

نوعی « و »

ا — « و » أم حرفه له کلمه‌ی « دور — ژور — زو » دا — وه‌ك « او »ی توچاوه‌یه .

ب — له کلمه‌ی « زور — بور » دا — وه‌ك « او »ی کراوه‌یه .

ج — له کلمه‌ی « ناو — وه‌ره » دا — وه‌ك « وو » وایه

نوعی « م »

ا — « ی » أم حرفه له کلمه‌ی « — زین — ژین » دا — وه‌ك « ئی » توچاوه‌یه .

Fig. 33. The Kurdish alphabet published in 1929 in Iraq.

by (a) adopting diacritics close to those used in the Koran, (b) writing the Koran according to the proposed Kurdish spelling, and (c) retention of the Arabic words used in Kurdish in their original spelling and restricting the new spelling to pure Kurdish words (pp. 469-70).

The committee had asked the respondents to give one of the following three answers: (1) agree with all the proposed letters, (2) agree with some of the letters and reject the rest, and (3) keep the Arabic alphabet as it is used in writing Persian and Turkish (p. 462).

Although Husri claims that most of the respondents rejected Wahby's proposed reform (p. 465) this is not supported by his brief recounting of each respondent's views (pp. 470-74).[3] In fact, of the 25 respondents, eleven accepted the proposed reform, six accepted it with some changes, one accepted the need for reform but did not express an opinion, and seven rejected it. As far as the Koran is concerned, only five of the rejectionists expressed concern. Among the reformist respondents, one called for the translation of the Koran into Kurdish, a bigger sin, according to Islamic principles, than the alphabet revision; others either avoided the Koran issue or did not predict any problem. Two respondents found the solution in adopting the Roman alphabet (cf. 8.2.3).

Husri was removed from the position of Director General of Education in 1927 to teach in the Teachers Training College. Opposition to alphabet reform continued, however. The following quotation from a secret note written by one of the Mandate authorities, Edmonds, is revealing:

> The author of an elementary Kurdish A.B.C., already adopted by the [Education] department recently brought out a second edition. Now Kurdish has in addition to the ordinary R & L, aspirated variants of these two letters distinguished by a dot below the R and above the L. Type being now available in Baghdad, the author applied to the Director of Education for permission to use these two letters. His refusal was of course attributed to hostility to Kurdish education and did much harm. How the inclusion of two dots, or even fifty dots, could prejudice the Iraqi State it is difficult to conceive. ("The Kurdish Question" by C.J. Edmonds included in letter, Secret No. S.A.321, by Cornwallis the Secretary to the High Commissioner for Iraq, May 12, 1929, Kurdish Policy File, No. 13/14, VI, pp. 189-99; cf. Fig. 33 for the books title-page and first page)

Since the government was not in a position to exercise control over private publishing, the reform was pursued outside of educational institutions, and by the 1950s, it was so popular that the Education department had to sanction the innovations.

Subchapter 8.2 Notes

1. A survey of the technical aspects of Romanization is beyond the scope of this study. Edmonds (1931; 1933) and Minorsky (1933) deal with the Wahby-Edmonds proposed script while Rondot (1933; 1935a) studies the Romanization of Kurdish in the USSR. A comparative study of the three alphabets of Iraq, Syria and the USSR is provided by Rondot (1935b). Bois (1965) sums up the advantages and disadvantages of both Arabic and Latin alphabets and provides specimens of various scripts used for writing Kurdish although some of them are transcriptions of folklore texts used by one author only.

2. Kurdish reformers argued that the Koran was not written during the prophet's life time, and when it was reduced to writing, dots or diacritics were not used. Non-Arab scholars, they argued, devised the diacritics much later in order to disambiguate the reading of the holy text (*Bangî Kurdistan*, No. 14-2, February 15, 1926, pp. 2-3).

3. Opinions expressed by the respondents provide insight on Kurdish attitudes towards language reform in the 1920s (brief summary of Husri 1967:470-74):

> **1)** Ibrahim Haydari (notable, Senate member) wrote that the "regulation of writing rules in the Kurdish language is one of the general rights of the Kurds" and it must be done by Kurdish experts,
>
> **2)** Dawud Haydari (Deputy): Arabic letters must be used with additions to some letters and vowels as needed in Kurdish; opinion on the proposal not given for lack of expertise,
>
> **3)** Ma'ruf Ali Asghar (Justice Department official, Mosul): the addition of diacritics on some letters is necessary although it needs discussion, especially on the unification of dialects by a committee of experts,
>
> **4)** Amin Zaki (Minister of Communications) agrees with the proposal and believes that it does not interfere with the reading of the Koran,
>
> **5-9)** Amin Faraj (Deputy from Sulaymaniya), Hazim (Deputy, Mosul), Ismail (Deputy, Arbil), Muhammad Salih (Deputy, Sulaymaniya) and Haji Sa'id Agha (notable) preferred the proposal without giving details or comments,
>
> **11)** Mustafa Shawqi (bank clerk) and Fai'q Kaka prefer the proposal,
>
> **12)** Hamdi 'Aziz (army officer) prefers the proposal and as regards the Koran he considers it necessary that it be translated into the Kurdish language,

13) Ahmad Nuri (Post and Telegraph official) accepts the proposal but adds that, considering the nature of the Kurdish language, the Latin alphabet must be adopted, while the Koran and other religious works must be taught in Arabic,

14) Respondent from Majlis Ma'arif Arbil/'Arbil Education Board' (name not provided) prefers the proposal without comments,

15-16) Shaikh Nuri (Head of al-Rahmaniya School) and Abd al-Rahman Sharaf (school principal, Koy Sanjaq) basically prefer the proposal with some changes and find no confusion with the Koran if Arabic words are not spelled according to Kurdish rules,

17) Salih Zaki Sahib Qiran (owner of *Diyarî Kurdistan*) sees a basic need for putting diacritics for some sounds but does not have the final word on it and prefers diacritics close to Arabic because of Kurdish attachment to the Koran,

18) Mustafa (school inspector) does not protest to the use of diacritics over some letters but prefers to keep close to Arabic and Koran,

19-21) Jamil Zahawi (notable), Sayid Taha (Governor of Rawandiz *qadha*), and Mulla Abd al-Qadir ('Ilmiya school principal) oppose the proposal and predict confusion in reading the Koran if adopted,

22-23) Abdulla Mukhlis (Deputy, Arbil) and Muhammad Rafiq believe that the Persian letters are adequate,

24) Sadiq Pasha Qadiri considers Turkish and Persian letters adequate and believes the proposed alphabet brings confusion; there is no choice but using the Roman letters, but this may not be accepted by the Kurds,

25) Shaikh Ali Qaradaghi protests the proposal and believes that the reading of the Koran is not admissible except in the Arabic script.

4. Cf. Kurdoev (1961:14-15)

SUBCHAPTER 8.3
MORPHOLOGY

Differences among the subdialects of Sorani are mostly morphological. However, since they do not produce any intelligibility problem, writers have felt free to use their localisms. The morphological features of Sulemani do, however, dominate, due to the central position of the city of Sulaymaniya in linguistic and cultural development.

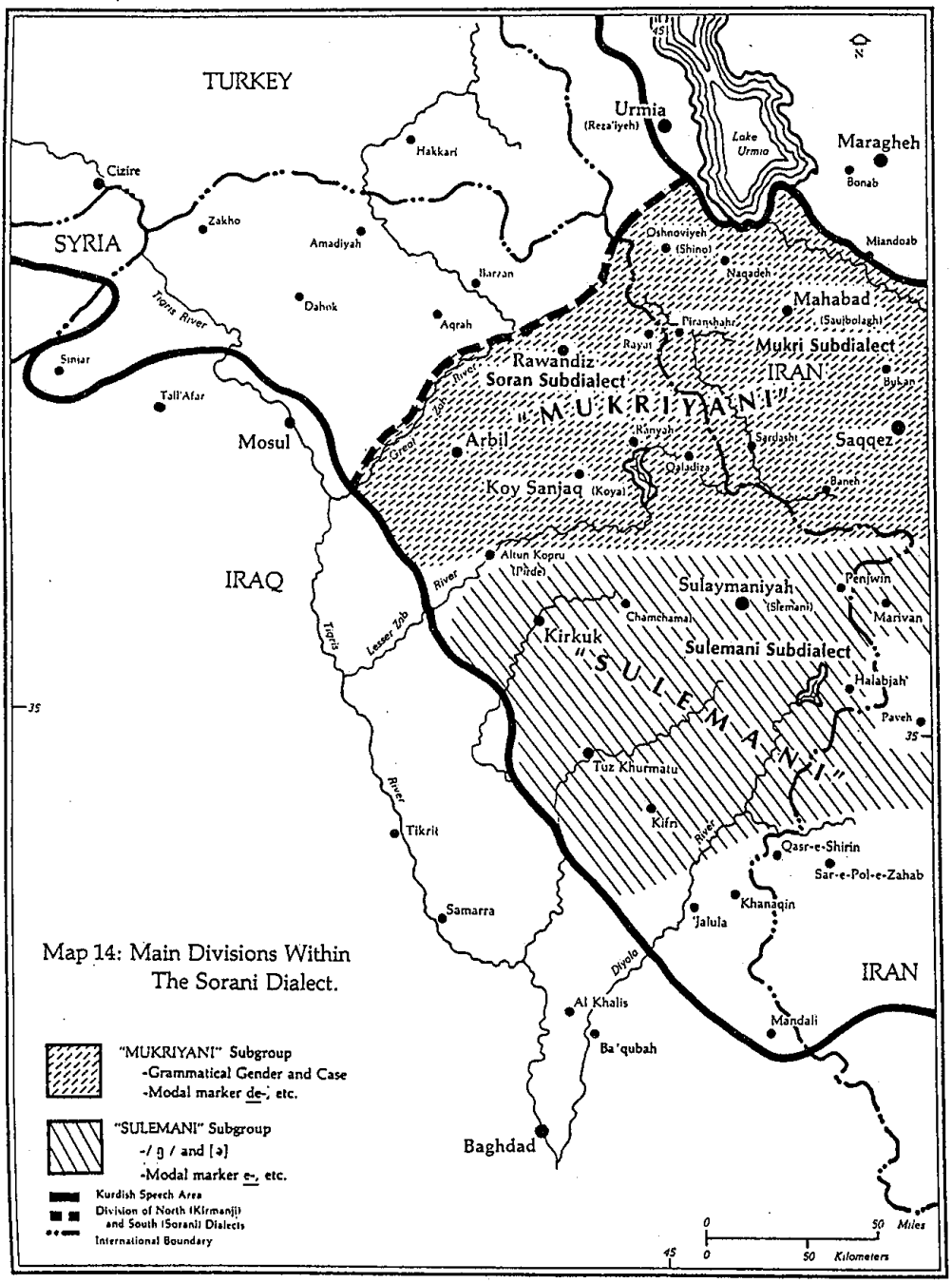
8.3.1 Norm Conflict in Sorani

Dividing lines in morphology, as in phonology (cf. 8.2.0), are drawn between the "MUKRIYANI" and "SULEMANI" subgroups of the Sorani dialect (cf. 1.3.3 and Map 14). Some of the differences that have resulted in a state of *norm conflict* are briefly outlined here.[1]

Sulemani is characterized by the absence of grammatical gender and case, whereas Mukri has direct and oblique cases, the latter being marked by the addition of singular endings *-i* (masculine) and *-ê* (feminine); some examples:

Sulemani	**Mukri**
As direct object:	
nan exoy 'you eat bread'	*nanî dexoy* (masculine)
kar ekey 'you work'	*karê dekey* (feminine)
Governed by a preposition:	
le bazař 'at bazaar'	*le bazařî* (masculine)
le maĺ 'at home'	*le maĺê* (feminine)

The case endings are the most visible indicators of Mukri particularism



Map 14: Main Divisions Within The Sorani Dialect.

and almost always appear in the writings of the native speakers. Wahby (1973:15) claimed that they were a feature of Sulemani, too, but they had disappeared under the impact of the Ardalani, i.e., Sinayi, subdialect. He considered it a positive instance of simplification to be adopted as the norm of the literary language.

Another important dividing feature is the modal marker Sul. *e-*/Muk. *de-*, e.g., *exom/dexom* 'I eat' or *ehatim/dehatim* 'I was coming'. There is a tendency among some Sulemani writers to use the Mukri form while, under the influence of Sulemani, some Mukri writers occasionally use the Sulemani alternate. Wahbi (1973), was one of the Sulemani speakers who recommended the adoption of *de-* in the literary language.

The pronominal system, too, offers problems of norm selection, e.g.:

Sulemani	Mukri
min 'I'	*emin*
to 'you'	*eto*
ew 'he/she'	*ew*
ême 'we'	*eme*
êwe 'you'	*engo*
ewan 'they'	*ewan*

Sulemani writers use their forms invariably, while Mukri speakers tend to replace their *engo* (considered very odd by Sulemani speakers) by *êwe*. Another difference between the two subdialects is found in demonstrative pronouns. Unlike Mukri, Sulemani distinguishes between 'this' and 'that':

Sul. *eme* 'this'	Muk. *ewe*
ewe 'that'	
emane 'these'	*ewane*
ewane 'those'	

In using interrogative pronouns, some Mukri speakers tend to replace, in writing, their *kengê* 'when' by Sul. *key* and their *kêhe* 'which' by Sul. *kam*. Among other frequently used morphological features that pose norm selection problems are auxiliaries: Sul. *ebê*/Muk. *debê* 'must, should, may' and *ebû/debû* 'might'. One difference among the adjectives is found between Sul. *tir* and Muk. *dî(ke)* 'other'.

It seems that awareness of two conflicting norms was first expressed in the early 1960s when Sulemani had left its mark on the literary language. For instance, a translator of Mukri origins, Micha (pseudonym), was criticized by Nariman (pseudonym) for using Mukri localisms. "It is necessary," wrote Nariman, "on the part of Kurdish writers to write on the basis of Sorani [Sulemani] dialect because it has become the basis for our writing; though the

writer [Micha] has tried to follow this principle, he has deviated occasionally."

Micha rejected the criticism by arguing that the Mukri subdialect was more fashionable (*bawtir*) than Sulemani, although most educated Kurds were speakers of the latter. He believed that though Mukri should not replace other subdialects, it would be wrong to impose Sulemani since it would impede the development of Kurdish literature and retard the progress of the subdialects. The best solution was, according to Micha, to use the best of all subdialects. He noted, furthermore, that Mukri offered two special usages appropriate for adoption by Sorani–the masculine/feminine distinction and the large number of "sound and fluent" (*sax û rewan*) words (Micha 1960:18-20).

The norm conflict issue was, however, overshadowed by the controversy over the unification of Sorani and Kurmanji and the Romanization of the alphabet during the liberal atmosphere of 1958-61 (cf. 8.2.3). Incidental references to the problem appeared after the ceasefire of 1970. It was obvious by this time that strong opinions prevailed among Sulemani writers who considered their dialect as the established norm. Kochar (1971:8), for instance, complained about the "bias of the intellectuals of the town" who rejected as non-Kurdish any idiom or word not used in Sulaymaniya. Another writer, Mihamad (1976:246), noted that he had learned and read, in private correspondence, that the literati of Sulaymaniya had frankly called for the rejection of any writing that deviated from the Sulemani norm.

Two examples of a strong "norm awareness" deserve mentioning. According to Mihamad (*Ibid.*), this "spirit of localism" (*giyanî nawçedostî*) had led to the renunciation of the republication of Oskar Mann's (1906) collection of Mukri popular ballads. Another case is the opinion of Sharif (1977:81) expressed in his criticism of a book by Mas'ud Mihamad, a native speaker of Koya [Koy Sanjaq]. Sharif cited nine examples of Koya dialectalism in Mihamad's book and wrote, "...this is a greater sin [compared with borrowing words from Arabic] in connection with the style of writing the Kurdish language; maybe his purpose is to introduce disorder into the language."[2]

Those who do not consider the norm question settled yet (e.g., Mihamad 1976:245-46; 1977:288, 292-300; Kochar 1971:8-9) do accept Sulemani as the emerging norm which, they believe, should be enriched by the phonological, lexical and grammatical resources of other dialects, especially Mukri. Although strong opinions have been expressed, no comparative study of the two norms has been conducted yet. Mihamad proposed the identification, by a group of experts, of all Sulemani features which run counter to the spirit of "the grammar of the Kurdish language." After specifying the "correct" forms, a decision must be made to select the most appropriate "replacement" (*cêgir*) for the "wrong" ones. At times, there will be one correct feature common to all the subdialects outside Sulaymaniya. In the absence of any universally shared "replacements," the "most correct regional usage" may be adopted (Mihamad 1977:293).[3]

We find in these suggestions both linguistic and non-linguistic criteria for norm selection: simplification of case endings, gender distinction, statistical

measures of correctness (correct = the most widely used), eloquence, orderliness, and so on. "Prestige" and "beauty" are qualities often attributed to the Mukri subdialect. Micha (1960:18), for example, quoted Ala'uddin Sajjadi's evaluation of the dialect as "the most sound and elastic" (*saxtirîn û rewantirîn*) branch of Sorani, while Kochar (1971:9) cites Amin Zaki's "pure and beautiful" (*pak û cuwan*) criteria of evaluation of the Mukri dialect. Among non-natives familiar with the language, Edmonds (1957:11) has called Mukri "the Doric of Southern Kurdish."

8.3.2 Purification

Kurdish texts written in early twentieth century show a high incidence of borrowed morphological features from Arabic, Persian and Turkish. This trend continued during the post-World War I years in Iraq, as is demonstrated in a study of purism by Abdulla (1980). Examining randomly selected texts from a variety of sources on widely different subjects published during the early period of written Kurdish (1924-39), Abdulla has found extensive borrowing on the morphological level. Thus, the 390 (out of 1992) nouns borrowed from Arabic during this period formed their plurals and gender differentiation according to the rules of the source language (p. 77). Some of the "verbal nouns" (e.g., *naşr* 'publishing' and *tekamul* 'integration') and the participles (e.g., *meḧkûm* 'controlled, imprisoned' and *muneqqeḧ* 'emanated, revised') also carried the Arabic gender marker *-e* when they were feminine (e.g., *siḧḧe* 'health', *mudderrise* 'secondary school female teacher'). Other borrowed word classes were adjectives (e.g., *qewmî* 'national' and *xaricî* 'external'), adverbs (e.g., *muweqqeten* 'temporarily' and *saniyen* 'secondly', and all words with the adverb-forming morpheme *-en*), conjunctions and prepositions. Three different types of phrases were also borrowed (e.g., *me'el'esef* 'with regret'; *mûma'ileyhim* 'the one pointed to', and *layeteẍeyyer* 'does not change'; pp. 82-83).

As a result of the borrowings, certain morphological features of Arabic were actively used in the written language: (a) pluralizing morphemes: *-în* (e.g., *me'mûr* + *în* 'government officials'), *-at* (e.g., *muqeddes* + *at* 'holy things, ideas, etc') and nine different patterns of broken plurals (e.g., *qanûn* 'law': *qewanîn* 'laws'), (b) the feminizing morpheme *-e* (e.g., *mudîr* 'headmaster': *mudîre* 'headmistress'), (c) various patterns of forming verbal nouns and participles from the base of Arabic verbs, and (d) the adjectival suffix *-î* and *-iyye*, and the adverb-forming morpheme *-en* (Abdulla 1980:90-91).

In less than two decades, the steady but sweeping purification of the language resulted in the elimination of Arabic morphological features, as is indicated in Table 57. Of the 24 nouns borrowed in the "modern period" (1958-73), only one, *edebiy(y)at* 'literature', was pluralized according to Arabic morphological rules. The adjectival ending *-îyye* has disappeared, while *-î* has been retained in the only three adjectives that appeared in the corpus. Adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and phrases of Arabic origin have been completely

Table 57. Purification of Vocabulary in Sorani Kurdish, 1924-73

Categories of Loan Words	1924-1939 Loan Words N = 1992			1939-1958 Loan Words N = 1153			1958-1973 Loan Words N = 941		
	#	%	% of Total	#	%	% of Total	#	%	% of Total
Masculine singular nouns	136	14.6	6.8	22	19.8	1.9	12	28.5	1.2
Feminine singular nouns	120	12.9	6.0	20	18.1	1.6	11	26.1	1.1
Masculine Plural nouns	25	2.6	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feminine plural nouns	109	11.7	5.4	13	11.7	1.1	1	2.3	0.1
Verbal nouns	302	32.6	15.1	28	25.2	2.4	3	7.1	0.3
Adjectives	91	9.8	4.5	12	10.8	1.0	3	7.1	0.3
Participles	84	9.0	4.2	8	7.2	0.7	1	2.3	0.1
Adverbs	11	1.1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conjunctions	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perpositions	2	0.2	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phrases	20	2.1	1.0	2	1.8	0.1	0	0	0
Non-Arabic Words	25	2.6	1.2	6	5.4	0.5	11	26.1	1.1
Total # of Loan Words	**926**		**46.48**	**111**		**9.58**	**42**		**4.46**

Source: based on Abdulla (1980:182) with corrections and changes in format.

discarded (*Ibid.*, pp. 184-86). At present, lexical innovation is based almost entirely upon the structural resources of Kurdish.

Sub-chapter 8.3 Notes

1. Grammatical terminology and description is based mostly on the only available comparative study of the spoken varieties of Sorani, MacKenzie (1961:1-29, 50-149).

2. This extremist position on the particularity of the Sulemani norm is in sharp contrast with Rasul's (1971:43) contention that the present written language is "a unified written variety" common to all the speakers of Southern Kurdish [Sorani]. "We can in no way call this literary variety 'Sulemani dialect'," he declares, since there is a discrepancy between the writing and speech of the natives of Sulemani and, moreover, it has received lexical, grammatical and phonological features from other dialects. The view that Sulemani norm is a mixture of all Sorani subdialects is not confirmed by dialectological field research conducted by MacKenzie (1962:1) in the 1950s:

> There can be no doubt that the 'official' Kurdish, taught in junior schools in Sul., Kirkuk, and Arbil provinces, and the vehicle of practically all Kurdish publications in Iraq, is modelled on a system recognizable in the language of Sul. Had this been a modern hybrid it would hardly have achieved such rapid and wide acceptance. In fact, everything points to the existence of a quite venerable dialect of Sul., of the town and its immediate environs, one which takes its expected place in the ordered progression of dialects from north to south, and which has been little affected by recent movement of population. Thus speakers and writers from outside Sul., or townsmen with connections or under influence from outside, betray themselves by the abnormality of the words they sometimes use. In short, they make exceptions which prove the rule.

3. It is interesting to note that the influential literary critic and historian Ala'uddin Sajjadi, writing in a different context, expressed the opinion that to prevent a breach between spoken and written Kurdish, writers must write as closely as possible to their spoken dialect. Specifically mentioned was the [ə] /d/ problem which, he believed, must be retained by the speakers/writers of each variant. Judgement on the "more correct" variant would, then, be the responsibility of the experts (Sajjadi 1974:66-67).

SUBCHAPTER 8.4
VOCABULARY

The lexical system has, like orthography, been strongly affected by codification. Two interrelated trends can be distinguished, (a) the enrichment of the lexical stock through the formation (via coinage, semantic expansion, borrowing, etc.) of new words for new ideas and concepts, i.e., *modernization*, and (b) the Kurdization of thousands of words and phrases borrowed primarily from and through Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

8.4.1 Lexical Modernization

Modernization has embraced all aspects of vocabulary, although it can be traced more conveniently in the specialized lexicons or, to use a more appropriate term, *registers* that have evolved especially since the 1920s. A "register" is a variety of language defined according to its use in special social situations. In Hallidayan linguistics, it is a variety characterized "according to use." It is distinguished from regional or social dialects, which are varieties defined according to the characteristics of the user. According to Halliday (1976:5-6), the existence of social dialects reflects the hierarchical form of the social structure. The existence of registers reflects the variety of human roles and actions and, in particular, the social division of labor.

A. Early Registers

Throughout the centuries, specialization in knowledge and experience evolved throughout the centuries in the agrarian society of Kurdistan and was transmitted from generation to generation through the use of terminologies appropriate to each area of expertise. These terms were created and/or borrowed by illiterate farmers and artisans who taught their apprentices informally and on the spot.

The primitive registers, often pejoratively called "jargons," are small in

size and extensively overlap with non-specialized vocabulary. For example, the water mill has provided a register of at least 96 terms and no less than 13 proverbs and proverbial phrases (figures calculated from terms collected by Fattahi Qazi 1972; 1972a). Baking bread, traditionally a female household activity, has furnished about 95 terms and 21 proverbial phrases and idiomatic expressions mostly based on the word *nan* 'bread' (cf. collected terms in Fattahi Qazi 1973). The primitive loom, still popular in Kurdistan, provides 86 terms and twelve idiomatic expressions (cf. terms collected by Fattahi Qazi 1983). The only dictionary of agriculture (Qaradaghi 1972) which includes also the registers of non-agricultural crafts lists some 7,000 items selected from the compiler's unpublished general dictionary of 30,000 words. Thus, agricultural terms make up about 23% of the general vocabulary of Kurdish.

In the intellectual field, religion and literature each developed registers that draw heavily on Arabic and Persian. Islam's prohibition on the translation of the Koran and the obligatory use of Arabic in prayer and other religious rites have likely contributed to the limited size of the religious lexicon. The more abstract and specialized terms in theology and jurisprudence are, thus, Arabic loanwords and limited in usage to the clergy. In the more practical domains, most of the terms are of native coinage, e.g., *nöj* (*kirdin*) '(conduct) ritual prayer', *nöjî beyan, nîweřo, êwarê, şêwan, xewtinan* 'morning, noon, afternoon, evening, night prayer', *desnöj* 'minor ritual ablution', *berdenöj* 'slab reserved as place of *nöj*', *rojû girtin* 'to fast', *bang dan* 'call to *nöj*' and many more. In the realm of literature, poetry has furnished a more extensive stock of native and borrowed words (cf. 4.3.2.1).

B. New Registers

Against this background, new registers of administration and law, elementary science, the humanities and social sciences developed after 1918, primarily as a result of officialization of the language, i.e., its use in education, mass media and administration. Unlike the Western industrial societies, these registers were not a product of a new, social and geographical division of labor within Kurdish society, although processes of social and economic development became a contributing factor later.

Borrowing from Arabic, Persian and Turkish was at the beginning the main source for providing new terms. Gradually, however, the borrowed terms were purified and new terms were coined, as is illustrated by the following examples from two selected fields.

Administration. The administrative use of the language (cf. 7.6.0) has furnished both a register and style of official correspondence and advertising. The following are examples of the old loan-terms (Arabic words in Kurdish pronunciation) and their new equivalents (some of the coinages include loan elements, e.g., *serbāz* and *qutāb*):

Loanwords

idare	'(to) administer'	*beřêwebirdin*
belediye	'municipality'	*şarewanî*
te'sîs	'(to) found, institute'	*damezrandin*
difa'	'defence'	*bergirî*
re'îs	'chief, head'	*serok*
'erîze	'petition, complaint'	*skaĺaname*
mu'esker	'garrison'	*serbazge*
medrese	'school'	*qutabxane*
terbiye	'education'	*perwerde*
cami'e	'university'	*zanistga*
dar	'house, office'	*dezga*
cimhûrî	'republic'	*komar*

The terms are mostly lexicalized and used in the press, official correspondence and broadcasting.

Science. The early scientific terms of school texts are dealt with in 7.5.5.3. Besides secondary school textbooks translated in the 1970s and early 1980s, the Kurdish Academy's terminologies (cf. 7.6.1) provide hundreds of coinages that have yet to find application, e.g.:

aşqeawî	ablutomania
rařewî geřokayetî	peripateticism
reseneçeşn	genotypes
diyardeçeşn	phenotypes
mezeçeşn	temperamental types
tozkaĺekî	molecular
rengkörî	achromatopsia
ronaneweyî	metabolic
Azmûnî Têkxistinewey Mînesota	Minnesota Mechanical Assembly Test

One outlet for terminological creation and usage in the 1980s is the popular scientific articles written and or translated in the Iraqi journals *Roşinbîrî Nö* and *Karwan* (cf. 7.6.1). The following terms, for example, were coined by the writer of an article on "The Glacial Age Man" (*Roşinbîrî Nö*, No. 111, 1986:43-63):

Çaxî Besteĺek	Glacial Stage
Serdemî Baranî Mezin	Great Interglacial Age
Mirovî baĺařêk	Homo erectus

The writer of an article entitled "Laser and Maser" (*Karwan*, No. 44, 1986, 68-74) has coined the following terms:

şebeng	spectra
girdîle	atom
banwenewşeyî	ultraviolet
neayonraw	deionized
tîşkî binsûr	infrared radiation
gewrandinî tav	light amplification

These popular science articles number around twenty per year. Although dictionaries of scientific terms have appeared (cf. 8.4.5), the absence of college level education and textbooks is a prohibitive factor.

C. The Problem of Lexicalization

Which terms get general acceptance and become part of the vocabulary? Lexicalized terms happen to belong to registers that have been frequently used; they include neologisms in domains such as politics, literary criticism, grammar and administration. Many of these terms are already part of the active vocabulary of those who are literates, especially in their writing.

Grammatical terms provide an example of the lexicalization process. Reviewing three grammatical studies published in Kurmanji and Sorani in 1956, Bois (1960) demonstrated enormous chaos in terminology. Two decades later, we find a striking degree of unification of new terms, coined mostly on the basis of English terminologies rather than traditional loans from Arabic. The following examples are popular coinages:

rêziman	'grammar' (*rê-* 'road' + *ziman* 'language')
naw	'noun' (native word for 'name')
awelnaw	'adjective' (*awel* 'companion' + *naw* 'noun')
kirdar	'verb' (native word for 'actin, deed')
awelkirdar	'verb" (*awel* + *kirdar*)
bizwên	'vowel'
têpeř	'transitive'
tênepeř	'intransitive'
paşgir	'suffix'
pêşgir	'prefix'
lêkdiraw	'compound'
nawgir	'infix'
hêz	'stress'
dengejê	'vocal cords'

Political science terms have also been lexicalized due to their frequent use in the press and broadcasting, e.g.:

rêkxistin	'to organize'
bizûtinewe	'movement'

çîn	'class'
xebatî çînayetî	'class struggle'
rêbazî siyasî	'political line'
nêwneteweyî	'international'
fireneteweyî	'multinational'

Obviously, usage is largely determined by extralinguistic factors. Kurdish, like other "modernizing" languages, is capable of developing large stocks of terms while continuing to have lexicalization problems. Some of the more advanced South Asian languages provide a similar experience. Malay, for example, created some 71,000 terms in ten years, while about 350,000 technical terms were collected for Hindi. Similar stocks were also provided for Tamil, Telugu and other languages. Social and political obstacles do, however, prevent their effective use (Maloney 1978:12-14). Non-linguistic limitations on the use of terms in Kurdish are examined in 7.6.1.

8.4.2 Lexical Purification

To many Kurds, the most visible feature of the standard norm is its purified vocabulary in both prose and poetry which, compared with the 46.4% loan load of the 1920s-1930s, carried only 4.4% in the 1960s (cf. Table 57).

The Foreign Element. Kurdish has been in contact with several languages and has been enriched by borrowings throughout the centuries. There has been intensive interaction with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as the official languages of states ruling over Kurdistan, as neighbouring languages and, in the case of Arabic, as the language of a common religion. Armenian and Assyrian, both neighbouring languages, have also affected the Kurdish language, especially the Kurmanji dialect (cf. Map 1).

In the absence of etymological studies, it is not possible to calculate the ratio of native elements to loanwords that are in general use or fully nativized. A rough idea may be gained, however, from borrowings marked in Wahby and Edmonds' (1966) dictionary (calculations are mine):

Native Words	5,896 (86.1%)
Loanwords	945 (13.8%)
Arabic	716 (10.4%)
European	100 (1.4%)
Persian	73 (1.0%)
Turkish	56 (0.8%)
Total	**6,841 (100.0%)**

It must be noted that the total number of native words in the dictionary is about 30,000, most of which are compounds and derivatives listed under the main entry (cf. Fig. 42). Thus, the figure 6,841 represents the main entries excluding

affixes. The European loans came, mostly indirectly through Arabic and Persian, from English, French and Russian. A survey of 100 European loans revealed only two abstract words (*milwên* 'million' and *nimre* 'number'), the rest belonged to administration and objects (e.g., *efser* 'officer', *polîs* 'police', *çaket* 'jacket', *bomba* 'bomb', *mikrob* 'microbe, germ', *istikan* 'tea glass', *lampa* 'lamp'), or miscellaneous items such as *domîne* 'dominoes', *çek* 'check', *bilêt* 'ticket', etc.

The influx of loans from Arabic and Persian into Sorani has been unprecedented in the post-1918 period. This is due in part to the extension of state power over all parts of Kurdistan, which has led to (a) the provision of more schooling in Arabic and Persian, (b) the intensive use of the mass media in the two dominant languages, and (c) the disadvantaged position of the language.

8.4.2.1 The *Kurdî Petî* (Pure Kurdish) Movement

Purism is known to be one linguistic expression of nationalism. The divided nation and nationalism of the Kurds provides insight on the dynamism of linguistic change resulting from purism.

Purification can be traced back to the 17th century works of Ahmadi Khani and Ali Taramakhi (cf. 4.2.2 and 4.3.2.1). In his grammar of the Arabic language, Taramakhi, for example, used *naw* 'name' and *gaz kirin* 'to call' for Arabic grammatical terms *ism* 'noun' and *nida* 'interjection' (Alani 1984:57). Early journalism, too, demonstrates concern with Kurdization of borrowed letters and words. It is, however, after World War I that purification appears most strongly as a manifestation of nationalism.

The efforts of the purists of the 1920s was based on the assumption that the language had an unrecorded rich vocabulary and could be self-sufficient in meeting new needs if all the lexical resources were utilized. A reader opposed to orthographic reform wrote to *Diyarî Kurdistan* (No. 16, 1926, p. 10) that Kurds had forgotten most of their native terms due to the frequent use of Arabic and Persian. "It is necessary," he wrote, "to search for these unused Kurdish words and to keep our words and writing apart from those of the others so that we do not need anyone else's terms." A language reformer, Shaways, wrote in a special feature, "New Writing and Pure Kurdish," in the same journal (No. 15, 1926, p. 12): "It is necessary to give the Kurdish language the color of our consciousness and spirit; we should not adorn the Kurdish language with Arabic and Persian speech but, rather, plait it richly and colorfully with the treasures of our own sweet words."

Language reformer Wahby believed that Kurdish was not handicapped (*'aciz*) as far as general lexical items were concerned. He found, however, that the vocabulary could not meet the demands of modern science, art and technology. In translating military instruction pamphlets for the autonomous government of Shaikh Mahmud, he replaced the Arabic terms with Kurdish counterparts as much as he could (Wahby 1973a:9-10; cf., also, 7.6.0), although the terms included large numbers of loanwords. Other writers, especially those

writing in the press, gradually wrote in what they called *Kurdî petî*, i.e., 'pure Kurdish'.

In 1926, the Kurdish Scientific Society (cf. 10.3.1) arranged a writing competition in *Kurdî petî*. The purpose was to make it known to the world that Kurdish was an old and orderly (*rêk û pêk*) language not in need of other languages (*Jiyan*, December 2, 1926, p. 3). Soon, a "Committee for Weeding the Kurdish Language" (Komeley Bijarî Zimanî Kurdî) was formed, aimed at finding native words to replace borrowings (*Jiyan*, December 9, 1926, pp. 1-2). Although the society and its committee became inactive, the Pure Kurdish movement went on uninterruptedly in both the print and broadcast media.

World War II introduced hundreds of new words and concepts into non-European languages. Although the War brought Kurdish book publishing to an end, it introduced broadcasting and one war-time propaganda journal in Iraq. The challenge of lexical innovation, exerted through the Arabic language media, was successfully met by translators, writers and broadcasters who belonged to the purist movement.

Two journals left their mark on the future development of the language. *Gelawêj*, the most celebrated magazine, announced as its prime aim "weeding the Kurdish language, revival and bringing to life of Kurdish literature by protecting and collecting the old literature and by providing opportunities for publishing new literature and translating beautiful works and good foreign books" (Vol. I, No. 1, p. 2). As of May-June 1942 (Vol. 3, No. 5-6), Wahby contributed lists of Kurdish equivalents for Arabic terms and words. The editor explained that the purpose of the new section, *Ferhengî Gelawêj* (*Gelawêj* Dictionary), was to "give power to writing in pure Kurdish" and "to clean up the vocabulary" (*Ibid.*, p. 94). The following examples are from Nos. 5-6, 9-10, 11-12, 1942; No. 2, 1943 (Arabic loanwords are Romanized in their Kurdish pronunciation):

Loanword	**Proposed Kurdish Replacements**
آن/*an* 'time, moment'	*kat* (native)
احفاد/*eḥfad* 'descendants'	*newe* (native)
اختراع/*ixtira'* 'invention'	*dahênan* (semantic extension)
اقتدار/*iqtidar* 'power'	*twana*, *yara* (Persian)
اکثریت/*ekseriyet* 'majority'	*zorbeyetî* (loan translation)
تجارت/*ticařet* 'trade'	*bazirganî* (Persian loan)
جزیره/*cezîre* 'island'	*dirge*, *duřge* (dialect loan)
دنیا/*dinya* 'world'	*gêtî* (Persian loan)
زمان/*zeman* 'time'	*dem* (native)
سری/*siřî* 'secret'	*nihênî* (native)
سعر/*si'r* 'price'	*nirix* (Persian loan)
ثروت/*serwet* 'wealth'	*saman* (Persian loan)
صلح/*sulḥ* 'peace'	*aştî* (native & Persian)
بالخاصه/*bilxase* 'especially'	*betaybetî* (native)

احصاءالنفوس/*ihsa'ulnufûs* 'census '	*serjmar* (calque, based on Persian)
اتحاد/*ittihad* 'unity'	*yeketî, yekgirtin* (native)
ادراك/*idrak* 'realization'	*peypêbirdin* (native)
ابدی/*ebedî* 'eternal'	*cawîd(an)* (Persian), *nemir* (native)
اقليت/*eqeliyet* 'minority'	*kemayetî* (loan translation)

Two tendencies are already apparent–purifying nativized loanwords (e.g., *dinya, zeman, ebedî*) and de-Arabizing even by introducing new loans from Persian (cf. 8.4.2.2). Wahby and later Huzni Mukriyani contributed also to *Dengî Gêtî Taze* which carried many articles, both original and in translation, with appended lists of neologisms. According to Wahby, the neologisms (about 1000 in 1942) were widely used by translators and purists. A contemporary observer, Edmonds (1945:187), wrote that Wahby's work was "consciously or unconsciously followed by writers in the other periodicals and by broadcasters on the Baghdad and *Sharq-al-Adna* wireless" (cf. 7.4.10.4).

8.4.2.2 Trends in Purism

As is the case in other languages, Kurdish purism has manifested conservative, moderate and extremist varieties. The success of the movement has already eliminated the conservatives who were a minority. A representative example of the conservative position is a letter quoted by *Gelawêj* (Vol. 1, No. 1, 1940), in which the writer complained about confusion caused by unfamiliar neologisms and unfixed coinages (e.g., three equivalents for the Arabic loan *kelime* 'word' in one article published by the journal).

Extremism. The dominant trend has been extremism, especially since the 1960s. This extremism manifests itself in two directions. First, fully nativized Arabic loans are being purified, e.g.:

Nativized Words	Coinages
qeĺem 'pen'	*pênûs*
şi'r 'poem'	*honrawe, heĺbest*
kelime 'word'	*wişe*
xet 'line'	*hêĺ*
kitêb 'book'	*peřtûk, peřaw*
nesir 'prose'	*pexşan*
zeman 'time'	*dem, kat*
edeb(iyyat) 'literature'	*wêje*

The politics of this extremism is rooted in the conflict between Kurdish nationalism (*Kurdayetî*) and the two states of Iraq and Iran. The Kurds of Iraq living under the direct pressure of repressive Arab governments and under the domination of the Arabic language react linguistically by purging Arabic

loanwords, replacing them with new borrowings from Persian, the official language of the neighbouring, albeit equally repressive, state--Iran. Examples abound in Wahby's lists cited above and in the most recent literature by Iraqi Kurds, e.g.:

Persian Word		Kurdish Form
قشنگ	*/qashang* 'beautiful'	*qeşeng*
سرپرستی	*/sarparastī* 'supervising'	*serperiştî*
سپاس	*/sipās (kardan)* '(to) thank'	*supas*
سپیده	*/sipīdi* 'dawn	*spêde*
پوزش	*/pūzish* 'apology'	*pûziş*
پزشك	*/pizishk* 'physician'	*pizîşk*
آمار	*/āmār* 'statistics, census'	*amar*
ورزش	*/varzish* 'exercise'	*werziş*
تندرستی	*/tandurustī* 'health'	*tendrustî*

In the same vein, European terms are preferred to Arabic ones in the various proposed terminologies, including those of the Kurdish Academy. This anti-Arabic attitude became known in the 1980s, and the General Directorate of Kurdish Education (Berêweberêtî Giştî Xöndinî Kurdî) decreed in 1986 that foreign words and idioms (Latin, Persian and other) should be avoided and, instead, Kurdish or, if unavailable, Arabic words must be used (Bimar 1986:299).

The Iranian Kurds, on the other hand, show a tendency to purify their Persian loans by replacing them with, among others, Arabic words. For example the Persian loanword فشار */fishār* 'pressure' is replaced by the Arabic loan *zext* (ضغط */ḍaght*). Most striking is the fate of *zulm*, which is an Arabic word and is widely used in both Persian (*zulm*) and Kurdish. Because it is treated as a Persian word, Iranian Kurds tend to replace this loan with an Arabic synonym غدر*/ghadr*, which is rarely used in Persian. Interesting to note, the Persian loan *supas* (cf. Wahby's list above), has gained acceptance among Iranian Kurds due to its naturalization and unrivalled use among Iraqi Kurds. A similar trend of anti-Turkism can be documented among the Kurds of Turkey who prefer to borrow form West European, Persian and Arabic languages. The Kurds of Iraq and Turkey usually justify their borrowings from Persian by pointing out the common "Indo-European" affiliation of the two languages. The Kurdish nationalists of Iran tend to ignore or downplay this genetic linguistic connection.

Extremism has led to the popularization of grammatically and lexically unacceptable neologisms. A well-documented case is the place-name *Beřwarî*, a region in Kurdistan, used as a noun, *berwar*, to designate 'date'. The story is

told by Zabihi (1977:61-62):

> ... in 1943 in the city of Tabriz, I was busy printing the [clandestine] magazine *Nîştman*. I had received from Syria the Kurdish newspaper *Roja Nû*. It carried an article under which was written "Berwarî - R.R. 1943" followed by the writer's name. At the time, it was the habit among Iranian [Persian] writers or poets to put down at the end of their composition the word [in Persian] *bi tārīkhi*... 'Dated...' followed by the day, month, and year of writing. Comparing the two, *Berwarî* and *bi tārīkhi* matched. Without knowing that *Berwarî* was the name of a region...I took it for *tārīkh*... 'date'

Zabihi further recalled that, overjoyed with the discovery, he undertook to use the word, whether necessary or not, in whatever he printed. Unaware of its origins, Iraqi Kurds disseminated the neologism in their publications.

Opposition to extremism has occasionally been expressed in the press. Abdulla (1962:16-20), for example, warned that Kurdish books had become unintelligible to the extent that readers found it easier to read Arabic books. He was especially critical of purging nativized Arabic loans and their replacement by Persian or European loans. The poet Hazhar (1974) argued that the purists were "molesting" (*ser û gölak şikandin*) instead of "cleaning" (*xawên kirdinewe*) the language. Providing a detailed list (pp. 291-320) of Arabic borrowings from other languages to prove that borrowing was one legitimate source of lexical enrichment, he called for an end to purification of nativized loans. Another poet, Hemin (1983:44) castigated "the coinage of ugly, cumbersome and non-original words by the selfish and urban word-coiners (*wişe datash*)." Both poets were born in the villages of the Mukri region, and both are excellent prose writers and translators.

The Spoken Language. The impact of purification on the spoken and written language has been uneven. According to, *Rojî Nö* (Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1961, pp. 38-39), the written language had been sufficiently purified, while the speech of the educated urban population carried a heavy load of Arabic. The writer warned that the influx of Arabic words was even heavier than before, especially among employees in government offices where the official language was, in practice, Arabic. In Iran, where native tongue education is not allowed, the situation is similar. Zhiyan (1972:360-61) found that Kurdish-Persian bilinguals in Mahabad used about 30% Persian and 15% Arabic and Turkish loans when they were asked to give the Kurdish equivalents of 3,000 selected Persian words.

It seems that as long as monolingual native tongue education is not available and the Kurdish reading and listening public depends on the dominant languages, this situation will continue to prevail.

The Gap Between Theory and Practice. Much of the lexical reform

before the 1970s was carried out by individuals who were not familiar with linguistics. Kurdish grammars composed by Iraqi Kurds did not deal with word-formation, although affixation received attention for the first time in 1958. Three grammars published outside Iraq, Kurdoev (1957:293-99), McCarus (1958:82-91) and MacKenzie (1961:140-49), had each devoted a chapter to word-formation, but it was not until the 1970s that linguistically trained native speakers began to study the subject. The first work on word-formation in Kurdish appeared in 1977 (Marif).

The reformers devoted most of their efforts to replacing loan items by "pure" words found in the speech of the illiterate native speakers. Coining was, however, inevitable, and it was done largely through the efficient method of "analogy" (*qiyas*) based on the coiners' intuition and whatever linguistic insight they had gained from their knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Turkish or, occasionally, European languages.

The reformers were not aware of the dynamism of lexical change in language generally, or of the potential of the numerous morphological and semantic resources in the Kurdish language particularly. Thus, although the purists were fearless modernizers, they acted as conservatives in the innovative use of morphological features such as affixes, or in forming new derivatives or compounds not permissible "analogically." The Kurdish Academy was apparently the first to experiment with the innovative use of grammatical features.

In 1976, the Kurdish Academy proposed the use the of verbal suffix *-andin* for the English *-ize* in verbs such as "synchron*ize*" (e.g., *heman* 'syn-' + *kat* 'chron' + *-andin* → *hemankatandin*) or the use of Kurdish *-ekî* and *-etî* for the English *-ive* and Kurdish *-etî* for English *-ity* in order to coin words such as *xoyekî* 'subjective' and *xoyekîyetî* 'subjectivity'. The Academy sought legitimacy by pointing to the practice of major languages, particularly English, which has used even obsolete Latin and Greek features to expand the vocabulary (KZK 1976:9-10). There is evidence to claim that the innovations tend to be accepted. The word *nirxandin* 'evaluate' (*nirx* 'price, rate, value' + *-andin* '-ize') is already used in non-Academy publications.

8.4.3 The Success of the Purist Movement

The success of the purist movement, suggested by the evidence examined above (cf. especially Table 57), can be explained by both the popularity of nationalist thinking among the intelligentsia, and by the methodology used by individual reformers. Acceptance of neologisms was reassured by the fact that a considerable number of loans introduced into the written language by the literati who were educated in the dominant languages, had counterparts in folk speech. One of the tasks of the reformers was, therefore, to introduce into the written language current Kurdish words for concepts such as 'east', 'west', 'especially', 'even', etc. Semantic extension and loan translation were also frequent and well received. For instance, a member of the landed nobility, whose education was

of "the Persian-mulla type," told Edmonds (1945:187) in the early stages of purification:

> My eye is not yet quite used to the news bulletins; but when they are read out they are very sweet to the ear and the meaning is perfectly clear to all of us; indeed, when the word used in the Arabic newspaper is placed in brackets after a new Kurdish compound word to explain it, the effect is the opposite, and it is in the light of the Kurdish word that I see for the first time the exact meaning of the Arabic, which I had only perceived dimly before as through dark glasses.

By the 1960s, poetry and prose (both fictional and non-fictional) had both been purified (cf. 8.6.1 and 8.6.2). The purist tendency in broadcasting had also contributed to legitimizing this aspect of language reform (cf. 7.4.10.4). Purism had by this time also affected personal names which were mostly, but not entirely, borrowed from Arabic (cf. 8.4.5).

8.4.4 Lexicography and Codification

Dictionaries and grammars are usually considered important tools in the codification of language. The dictionary, whether descriptive or prescriptive, exercises normative influence by providing information on, among other things, the orthographic, orthoepic, grammatical and semantic usage of words. Invariably, the public looks at the dictionary as an "authority" on "correct" usage. Authoritative dictionaries have, in fact, functioned as language academies in England and the United States (Zgusta 1980:6).

In their cultivation efforts, Kurdish language reformers have paid more attention to lexicography than to grammatical description. The first dictionary, Khani (1682-83) precedes the first grammar (cf. 8.5.0) by about three centuries. Khani's brief Arabic-Kurdish lexicon was composed for the purpose of enhancing the inferior status of Kurdish by introducing it into the Arabic-dominated education system (cf. 4.2.2). A century later, a similar work was composed by Nodeyi (1795) which, like its predecessor, is still used in mosque schools.

Pre-1918 Dictionaries

The early dictionaries, except the above-mentioned two, were generally written by non-native speakers for purposes other than standardization. Garzoni (1787), Jaba (1879), and Nikitine (1916) reflect the direct contact of Western diplomats and missionaries with Kurdistan. Garzoni's work was intended to help missionaries converse with Kurmanji speakers, while the latter two were composed by Russian consuls at Erzurum and Urmia, respectively. Jaba, based on field work and written material, was more scholarly, while Nikitine was a

Table 58. Some Features of Kurdish Lexicography, 1682-1985

	Date of Compilation or Printing	Author(s) Name(s)	Native	Foreign	Place of Publi: Home country	Abroad	No. of Languages: Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Language(s)	Number of words	Dialects: Sorani	Kurmanji	Multidialect	Type: General	Specialized	Alphabet
1	1682-83	Khani	+		OT			+		A-K	954		+				A
2	1787	Garzoni		+		+		+		I-K	5,000		+		+		L
3	1795	Nodeyi	+		OT			+		A-K		+				+	A
4	1879	Jaba		+		+		+		K-F	15,000		+		+		A
5	1886	Abu Muhsin	+		IN			+		K-P		+			+		A
6	1892	Khalidi		+	OT			+		K-A			+				A
7	1916	Nikitine		+	IN			+		R-K						+	
8	1933	Petojan *et al*	+	+	SU			+		Am-K	9,000		+				L
9	1934	Fatah	+		IQ			+		E-K		+				+	A
10	1936	Khachatryan *et al*	+	+	SU			+		Am-K			+			+	L
11	1947	Mokri	+		IN			+		K-P				+		+	A
12	1950	Mukriyani	+		IQ			+		A-K	15,000	+			+		A
13	1953	Sajjadi	+		IQ		+			K						+	A
14	1955	Mistafa	+		IQ			+		A-K		+				+	A
15	1955-57	Mardukh	+		IN				+	K-P-A	25,000	+			+		A
16	1957	Bakaev	+		SU			+		K-R	14,000		+		+		C
17	1957	Siyabandov	+		SU			+		Am-K	23,000		+		+		C
18	1957	Farizov	+		SU			+		R-K	30,000		+		+		L
19	1958	Avdal	+		SU		+			K	7,000		+			+	C
20	1960	Kurdo(ev)	+		SU			+		K-R	34,000		+			+	L
21	1960	Naqabay ...	+		IQ			+		A-K		+				+	A
22	1960	Nebez	+		IQ			+		K-A	300	+				+	A
23	1960-76	Khal	+		IQ		+			K-K		+			+		A
24	1960-61	Nebez	+		IQ						3,000	+				+	A
25	1961	Mukriyani	+		IQ			+		A-K	30,000	+			+		A
26	1962	Ceger-Xwin	+		IQ		+			K-K			+				A
27	1965	Blau		+		+			+	K-F-E			+		+		L
28	1966	Wahby & Edmonds	+	+		+		+		K-E		+			+		L
29	1967	McCarus		+		+		+		K-E		+				+	A
30	1967	Anter	+		TK			+		K-T	11,000		+		+		L
31	1968	Qaftan	+		IQ		+			K		+				+	A
32	1968-69	Avrang		+	IN			+		K-P	12,650	+			+		A
33	1970	Mukriyani	+		IQ		+			K		+				+	A
34	1970	Mudaris	+		IQ			+		A-K		+				+	A
35	1971	Barzinji	+		IQ		+			K-K		+				+	A
36	1971	Berêweberêtî...	+		IQ			+		A-K	1,400	+				+	A
37	1972	BGXK (GDKS)	+		IQ			+		K-A		+				+	A
38	1972-73	Qaradaghi	+		IQ		+			K-K	7,000	+				+	A
39	1973	Baha'adin	+		IQ			+		K-K-A			+			+	A
40	1973-4	KZK (KSA)	+		IQ			+		A-K		+				+	A
41	1974	KZK (KSA)	+		IQ			+		A-K		+				+	A
42	1974	BGXK (GDKS)	+		IQ						5,800	+				+	A
43	1974-79	Gharib	+		IQ				+	A(E)K		+				+	A
44	1975	KZK (KSA)	+		IQ			+		A-K		+				+	A
45	1975	Gharib	+		IQ				+	A-E-K		+				+	A
46	1976	KZK (KSA)	+		IQ			+		A-K-E		+				+	A
47	1977-79	Zabihi	+		IQ		+			K-K		+			+		A
48	1977	Nizamadin	+		IQ			+		K-A		+			+		A
49	1977	Kedaitene *et al*	+	+	SU			+		R-K	2,100	+				+	A
50	1978	Izadpanah			IQ			+		K-P				+		+	A
51	1978	Bozarslan	+		TK			+		K-T			+		+		L

Table 58. Some Features of Kurdish Lexicography, 1682-1985 (continued)

	Date of Compilation or Printing	Author(s) Name(s)	Native	Foreign	Place of Publi Home country	Abroad	No. of Languages Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Language(s)	Number of words	Dialects Sorani	Kurmanji	Multidialect	Type General	Specialized	Alphabet
52	1979	Khaomian	+		SU			+		K-R	8,000		+			+	C
53	1981	Ibrahimpur	+		IN			+		K-P				+	+		A
54	1981	Holm & Mathlein	+	+		+		+		S-K		+	+			+	AL
55	1982	Kara	+		IN			+		P-K	7,500	+			+		A
56	1982	Baban	+		IN			+		P-K		+			+		A
57	1982	Safizade	+		IN			+		K-P		+			+		A
58	1983	Fatahi Qazi	+		IN		+			K-K		+				+	A
59	1983	Bakaev	+		SU								+			+	C
60	1983	Kurdoev *et al*	+		SU			+		K-R	25,000	+			+		AL
61	1985	Shali *et al*	+		IQ			+		E-K		+				+	A
62	1985	Sharif	+		IQ				+	E-A-K	1,000	+				+	A
63	1985	Fayzizadeh	+		IN		+			K-K		+				+	A

Abbreviations: A, Arabic; Am, Armenian; C, Cyrillic alphabet; E, English; F, French; I, Italian; IN, Iran; IQ, Iraq; K, Kurdish; L, Latin alphabet; OT, Ottoman Turkey; P, Persian; R, Russian; S, Swedish; SU, Soviet Union; T, Turkish; TK, Turkey; (cf., also abbreviations in Bibliography).

military lexicon intended for the use of the Russian Army during World War I.

The remaining dictionaries (Abul-Hassan [spelled as Abu Muhsin in Table 58] 1886 and Khalidi 1892) were written by officials of the Persian and Ottoman governments soon after Tehran and Istanbul extended their control over all parts of Kurdistan in mid-19th century. The first work was composed on the orders of Naser al-ddin Shah, King of Persia, after the suppression of Ardalan principality. The composer, a native of Sanandaj, wrote that "the Kurdish language, one of the great eloquent (*fasīh*) languages, had not been written down as it should and it was necessary to have it written in the simplest manner for those who wanted to learn it" (cf. Figure 34). Khalidi, a high ranking Ottoman official and man of letters from Palestine, composed the dictionary while he was *kaymakam* (governor) of Motki *Kaza* in Bitlis *vilayet*.

8.4.5 Lexicography in Iraq

Iraqi Kurds never ceased to emphasize the need for dictionaries in cultivating their language. The journal *Peyje* (No. 1, 1927, p. 43) wrote that the unification and purification of the language could be achieved only by means of a dictionary. The editor of *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 11, September 14, 1927, p. 19), Huzni Mukriyani believed that "the foundation and bloodline of any nation" rested on a history of the people, a dictionary and a grammar of the language. Still, the first serious lexicographic work, Mukriyani's (1950) Arabic-Kurdish dictionary,

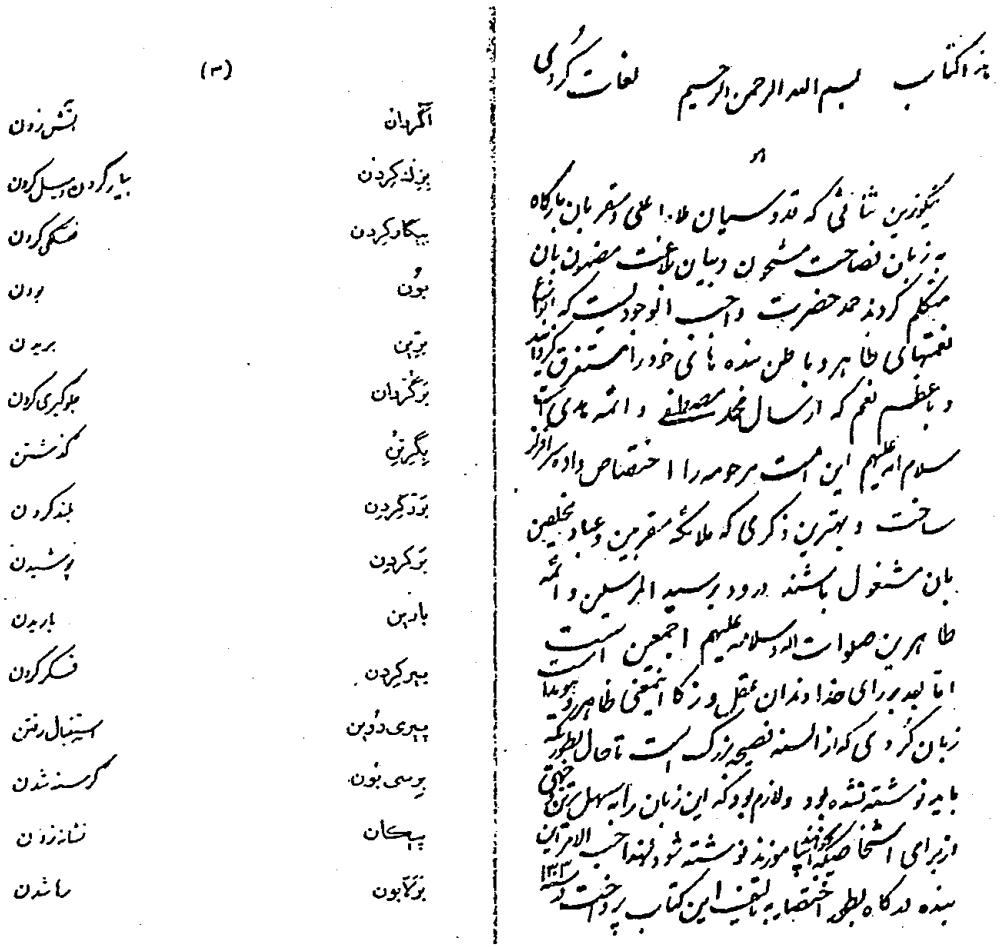
appeared very late. The author's aim was to find as many Kurdish equivalents as possible for each word. Fattah (1934) is a small English-Kurdish vocabulary, in verse, designed for pedagogical purposes. Sajjadi (1953), a collection of Kurdish personal names, met the rising demand for purifying Arabic names. Mistafa (1955) is a listing of Arabic words from 4-6th grade Arabic readers explained in Kurdish.

The Recency of Monolingual Dictionaries

The first monolingual dictionary, Khal (1960-76, cf. Fig. 35), appeared almost three centuries after the compilation of the first Kurdish dictionary (Khani 1682-83). Khal, a commentator on the Koran and a self-taught language scholar, began collecting material for his dictionary in 1935. He decided to compile a general (*têkřayî*) dictionary, because he found earlier works–Khani, Nodeyi, Khalidi, Mukriyani, Mardukh, and Soane–too limited in the scope, size and coverage of dialects (p. 15). He believed also that a nation's survival depended on language, which could be protected only through the compilation of dictionaries (p. 8). The compiler emphasized that his monolingual dictionary was a difficult innovation:

> One who looks at this dictionary must know that in this respect no model has been set for us to look at... Our words have not been put into order and their meanings have not been specified; it is extremely difficult to define meanings of words in a way that all words are made distinct and to give explanations for all words so that everyone can fully understand the meanings. Do not think that it is easy to explain and define words [such as] *belam* ['but'], *tumez* ['but as it turned out'], *meger* ['unless, except, but'], ...or thousands of similar words (p. 16).[1]

Another devoted lexicographer, Giw Mukriyani, published his second, Kurdish-Arabic, dictionary in 1961 (cf. Figure 36). His largest work, the monolingual *Kurdistan Dictionary*, has remained unpublished due to financial difficulties (cf. 7.2.2.8). This order of publication was recommended by a nationalist scholar, Ali Awni, resident of Cairo, who believed that the Arabic-Kurdish dictionary was most needed to help with "finding the meaning of any Arabic word with ease." 'Awni had promised to finance the publication of the monolingual work through contributions from "rich Kurds in Syria and Egypt." After the publication of the first work, however, Awni wrote to the author that it would have been better to publish the Kurdish-Arabic dictionary first because "the Kurdish language component was not visible" in the former. Mukriyani himself noted that, financial problems aside, if definitions were given in Sorani dialect, the speakers of other dialects would not understand them whereas Arabic, as the language of Islam, was familiar to all (Mukriyani 1961:14). It seems that,

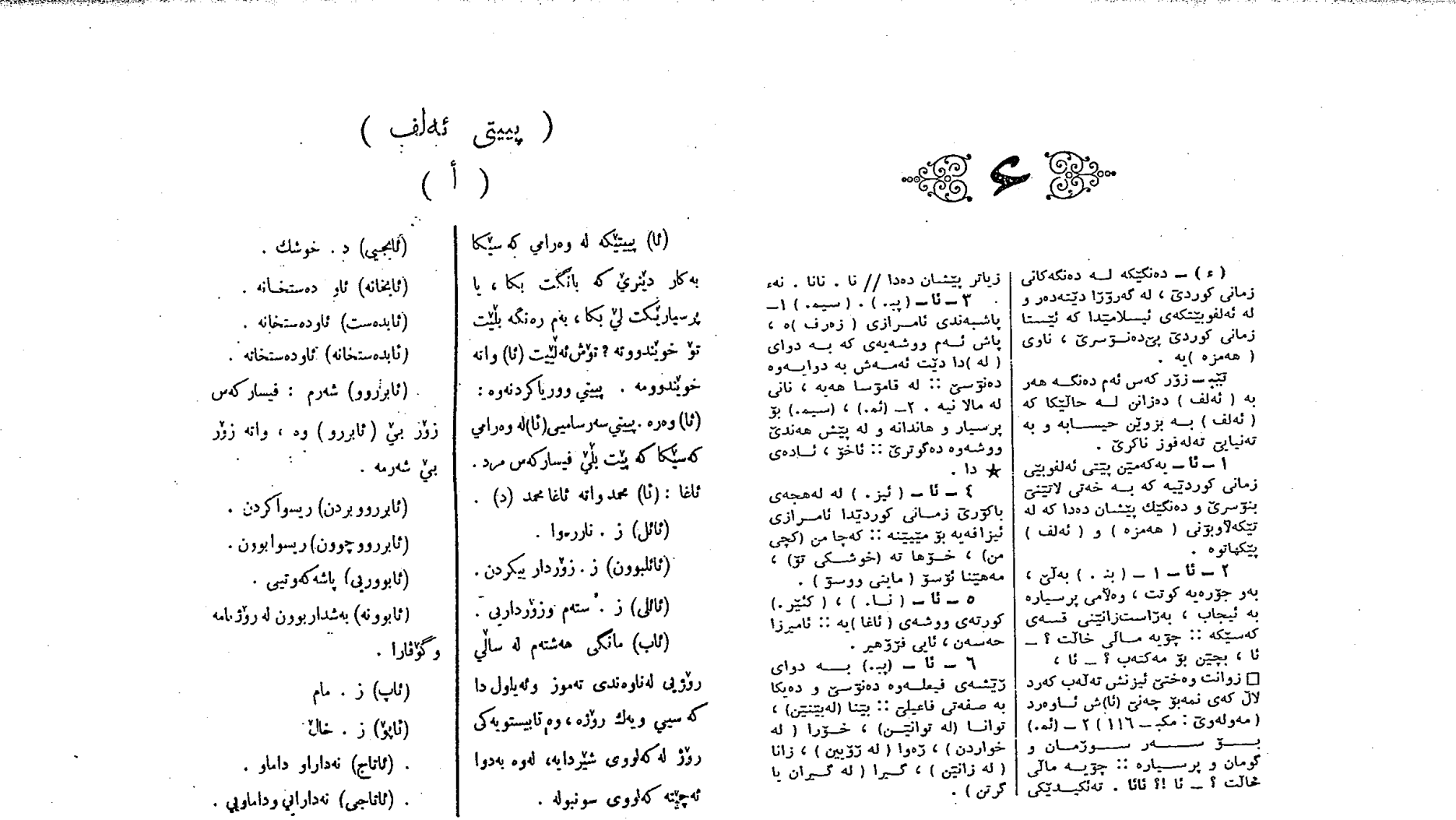


هذا کتاب بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم لغات کردی

(۳)

آگرهان	آتش زدن
بزلک کردن	بیدار کردن و بیدل کردن
بیکار کردن	فسکل کردن
بوُن	بودن
بوپن	بریدن
بوگرهان	جلوگیری کردن
بگرتن	گرفتن
بوذکردن	بلند کردن
بوکردن	پوشیدن
بادن	باریدن
بهرکردن	فکر کردن
بهری دُون	استقبال رفتن
بوسی بون	گرسنه شدن
بهکان	نشانه زدن
بوکابون	ساشدن

Fig. 34. Abul-Hassan's Kurdish-Persian glossary published in 1886 in Tehran.



(ء) ــ دەنگێکە لــە دەنگەکانی زمانی کوردیێ ، لە گەروێدا دێتەدەر و لە ئەلفوبێتەکەی ئیسلامێتدا کە ئێستا زمانی کوردیێ پێدەنوسرێ ، ناوی (هەمزە)یە .

تێبێ ــ زۆر کەس ئەم دەنگــە هەمر بە (ئەلف) دەزانن لــە حاڵێکا کە (ئەلف) بــە بزوێن حیســابە و بە تەنیایێ تەلەفوز ناکرێ .

١ ــ ئا ــ بەکەمێن پێتی ئەلفوبێی زمانی کوردیێیە کە بــە خەتی لاتینێ بنوسرێ و دەنگێک پیشان دەدا کە لە تێکەڵاوبوێنی (هەمزە) و (ئەلف) پێکهاتوە .

٢ ــ ئا ــ ١ ــ (بـ .) بەڵێ ، بەو جۆرەیە کوتت ، وەڵامی پرسیارە بە ئیجاب ، بەڕاستزانێنی قسەی کەسێکە :: چۆیە مــاڵی خاڵت ؟ ــ ئا ، بچێین بۆ مەکتەب ؟ ــ ئا ،

□ زوانت وەختێ ئیزنش تەلەب کەرد لاڵ کەی نمەبۆ چەنێ (ئا)ش نــاوەرد (مەولەوێ : مکب ــ ١١٦) ٢ ــ (ئەـ.) بــۆ ســەر ســوڕمــان و گومان و پرســیارە :: چۆیــە مــاڵی خاڵت ؟ ــ ئا !؟ ئائا . تەنکیــدێکی زیاتر پێشان دەدا // ئا . ئانا . نەء

٣ ــ ئا ــ (پـ.) . (سیـ.) ١ــ پاشبەندی ئامــرازی (زەرف)ە ، پاش ئــەم ووشەیەی کە بــە دوای (لە)دا دێت ئەمــەش بە دوایــەوە دەنوسێ :: لە قامۆسا هەیە ، نانی لە مالا نیە . ٢ــ (ئەـ.) ، (سیـ.) بۆ پرسیار و هاندانە و لە پێش هەندێ ووشەوە دەگوترێ :: ئاخۆ ، نــادەی ★ دا .

٤ ــ ئا ــ (ئیـز.) لە لەهجەی باکوڕێ زمــانی کوردیێدا ئامــرازی ئیزافەیە بۆ مێیبێتنە :: کەچا من (کچی من) ، خــۆها تە (خوشــکی تۆ) ، مەهێتنا ئۆسۆ (مایني ووسۆ) .

٥ ــ ئا ــ (نــا.) ، (کنێر.) کورتەی ووشەی (ئاغا)یە :: ئامیرزا حەسەن ، ئایی فرۆهیر .

٦ ــ ئا ــ (پـ.) بــە دوای رێشــەی فیعلــەوە دەنوسێ و دەیکا بە صفەتی فاعیلێ :: بێنا (لەبێنێن) ، توانــا (لە توانێــن) ، خــۆرا (لە خواردن) ، زەوا (لە زۆیین) ، زانا (لە زانێن) ، گــیرا (لە گــیران یا گرتن) .

(پێیتی ئەلف)

(أ)

(ئا) پێیتێکە لە وەرامی کە سێکا بەکار دێنرێ کە بانگت بکا ، یا پرسیارێکت لێ بکا ، یەم رەنگە بڵێت تۆ خوێندووتە ؟ تۆش ئەڵێیت (ئا) وانە خوێندوومە . پێیتی وورياکردنەوە : (ئا) وەرە . پێیتی سەرسامیی(ئا)لە وەرامی کەسێکا کە پێت بڵێ فیسارکەس مرد . ئاغا : (ئا) محمد وانە ئاغا محمد (د) .

(ئائل) ز . نارەوا .

(ئائلبوون) ز . زۆردار بیکردن .

(ئاللی) ز . ستەم وزۆرداریی .

(ئاب) مانگی هەشتەم لە ساڵی رۆژێی لەناوەندی تەموز وئەیلول دا کە سیی ویەک رۆژە ، وەئابستویەکی رۆژ لە کەلووی شێردایە، لەوە بەدوا ئەچێتە کەلووی سونبولە .

(ئالجي) د . خوشك .

(ئالخانە) ئاو دەستخــانە .

(ئالبەست) ئاودەستخانە .

(ئالبەستخانە) ئاودەستخانە .

(ئالبزروو) شەرم : فیسار کەس زۆر بێ (ئالبرو) وە ، وانە زۆر بێ شەرمە .

(ئالبرووبردن) ریسواکردن .

(ئالبرووچوون) ریسوابوون .

(ئالبووری) پاشەکەوتیی .

(ئالبوونە) بەشداربوون لە رۆژنامە وگۆڤارا .

(ئاپ) ز . مام

(ئاپۆ) ز . خاڵ

(ئاتاج) نەداراو داماو .

(ئاتاجی) نەداریی ودامانی .

Fig. 35. Two monolingual Kurdish dictionaries, *Ferhengî Xal* (Khal 1966; left) and *Qamûsî Kurdî* (Zabihi 1977).

unlike Khal, the author was either not apprehensive of the standardizing role of monolingual lexicography or unable to walk down the untrodden road.

Ceger-xwin (1962), Kurdish poet from Syria in exile in Iraq during the early 1960s, published two volumes of a monolingual dictionary in Kurmanji dialect. This work abounds in proper names and is of very meagre quality.

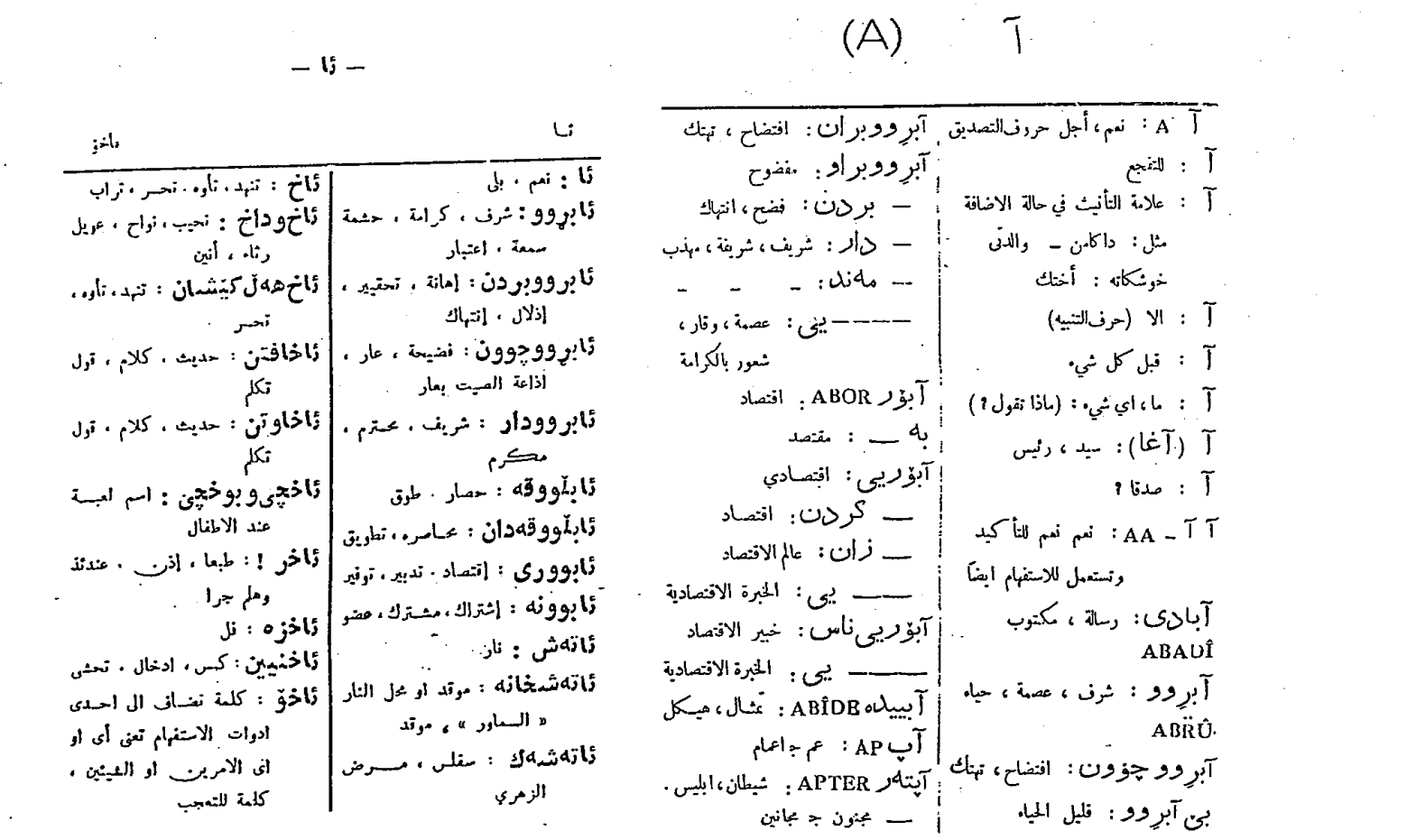
A landmark in Kurdish lexicography was set by Zabihi's (1977) monolingual work (cf. Figure 35) which is modeled on, and meets the standards of *Le Petit Larousse* (the author has also used, as a model, M. Mo'in's monolingual Persian dictionary, *Farhang-i Fārsī* which is based on *Le Petit Larousse*). Monolingual lexicography has now become an established practice due to the pioneering work of Khal and the able use of Kurdish in definitions by Zabihi, who has introduced refined techniques into Sorani lexicography.

The history of Kurdish lexicography supports the generalization that the appearance of monolingual dictionaries in a language marks considerable progress towards standardization (Gallardo 1980:61). Also confirmed is the related generalization that an unstabilized standard national language does not yet have the abstractive powers necessary for a monolingual dictionary (Zgusta 1971:306). Khal's monolingual work appeared at a time when a considerable upsurge in the cultivation of Sorani was in the making. By this time, the lexical stock of Kurdish had undergone increasing expansion and purification, and scientific terminologies and school dictionaries had appeared. It is also significant that in the Soviet Union, where bilingual Kurdish lexicography is most advanced, no monolingual work has yet appeared, apparently due to the minor position of the language (cf. 5.5.0). Two monolingual works have appeared in Iran recently; Fattahi Qazi (1983) is a brief supplement to Mukriyani's Kurdish-Arabic dictionary (it must be noted that another Iranian lexicographer, Mardukh, had used Kurdish equivalents for each headword in his trilingual compilation as early as 1955-57). The second work, Fayzizadeh (1985), is a comprehensive treatment of the word *çûn* 'to go' and its idiomatic usages.

Lexicography and Codification (in Iraq)

The only complete (i.e., covering all the letters of the alphabet) monolingual dictionary to date is Khal. Zabihi's planned ten-volume work (private correspondence, 1978) went through Kurdish letters beginning with the Arabic letter *hamza*, i.e., the words with initial vowels /a, u, o, û, e, i, ê, î/ and /b/.[2] The only general bilingual dictionaries with Kurdish as source language, Mukriyani and Nizamaddin (cf. Fig. 36), have had a limited impact on standardization in so far as no information on the headwords, except meaning in Arabic, is provided.

Phonology. Khal, Zabihi and Nizamaddin have avoided the puristic approach of omitting or replacing ڕ/ř, ع /ʿ and غ /ẍ. Khal has deliberately rejected [ə] as a Sulemani dialectalism, while words with /ŋ/ have either been omitted or given as the Sulemani variant of the headwords recorded in /ng/ (cf.



آ (A)

آ A : نعم، أجل حروف التصديق
آ : للتعجب
آ : علامة التأنيث في حالة الاضافة
مثل : داكامن ـ والدى خوشكانه : أختك
آ : الا (حرف التنبيه)
آ : قبل كل شيء
آ : ما، اي شيء : (ماذا تقول ؟)
آ (آغا) : سيد ، رئيس
آ : صدقا ؟
آ آ ـ AA : نعم نعم للتأكيد وتستعمل للاستفهام ايضاً
آبادى : رسالة ، مكتوب ABADÎ
آبرو : شرف ، عصمة ، حياء ABRÛ
آبرو چوون : افتضاح ، تهتك
بى آبرو : قليل الحياء
آبروبران : افتضاح ، تهتك
آبروبراو : مفضوح
ـ بردن : فضح ، انتهاك
ـ دار : شريف ، شريفة ، مهذب
ـ مه‌ند : ـ ـ ـ
ـ ـ ـ ـ يى : عصمة ، وقار ، شعور بالكرامة
آبور ABOR : اقتصاد
به ـ : مقتصد
آبوريى : اقتصادي
ـ كردن : اقتصاد
ـ زان : عالم الاقتصاد
ـ ـ ـ يى : الخبرة الاقتصادية
آبوريى ناس : خبير الاقتصاد
ـ ـ ـ يى : الخبرة الاقتصادية
آبيده ABÎDE : تمثال ، هيكل
آپ AP : عم جاعمام
آپته‌ر APTER : شيطان ، ابليس .
ـ مجنون ج مجانين

— ئا —

ئا | ماخۆ

ئا : نعم ، بلى
ئابروو : شرف ، كرامة ، حشمة سمعة ، اعتبار
ئابروو بردن : إهانة ، تحقير ، إذلال ، إنتهاك
ئابروو چوون : فضيحة ، عار ، اذاعة الصيت بعار
ئابروودار : شريف ، محترم ، مكرم
ئابلووقه : حصار . طوق
ئابلووقه‌دان : محاصره ، تطويق
ئابووری : إقتصاد . تدبير ، توفير
ئابوونه : إشتراك ، مشترك ، عضو
ئاته‌ش : نار
ئاته‌شخانه : موقد او محل النار « السماور » ، موقد
ئاته‌شه‌ك : سفلس ، مرض الزهري

ئاخ : تنهد ، تأوه . تحسر ، تراب
ئاخ وداخ : تحيب ، نواح ، عويل رثاء ، أنين
ئاخ هه‌ل كێشان : تنهد ، تأوه ، تحسر
ئاخافتن : حديث . كلام ، قول تكلم
ئاخاوتن : حديث ، كلام ، قول تكلم
ئاخچی و بوخچێ : اسم لعبة عند الاطفال
ئاخر ! : طبعا ، إذن ، عندئذ وهلم جرا
ئاخزه : ذل
ئاخنیین : كبس ، ادخال . تحشى
ئاخۆ : كلمة تضاف الى احدى ادوات الاستفهام تعنى أى او اى الامرين او العينين ، كلمة للتعجب

Fig. 36. Two bilingual Kurdish-Arabic dictionaries, *Ferhengî Mehabad* (Mukriyani 1961; right) and *Estêre Geşe* (Nizamaddin 1977).

8.1.1). Zabihi has a similar approach.

Orthography. All the dictionaries published in Iraq are in the Arabic-based alphabet. They have failed to contribute to the unification of the allographs used for /ř/ (ڕ in Khal, ڑ in Zabihi, ڕ in Mukriyani 1960, and ڕ in Nizamaddin), /û/ (و in Khal, Mukriyani, Nizamaddin and ۆ in Zabihi) and /î/ (ی in Khal, Mukriyani and Nizamaddin and ێ in Zabihi).

Khal is the only dictionary that has addressed the question of spelling, opting for connecting the morphemes in a word (cf. 8.2.2).

Morphology. Dictionaries can contribute to the codification of grammar by providing grammatical, generally morphological, descriptions of lexical items. Zabihi is the only dictionary which has provided labelling of the parts of speech (including, also, transitivity, infinitives, three types of adjectives, etc.) and, in the case of compounds and derivatives, has analyzed them into their constituent morphemes. This greatly delayed refinement reflects both progress in the codification of Kurdish grammar and the author's aim of compiling a Kurdish *Le Petit Larousse*. Zabihi (1977:97) acknowledges his use of Wahby and Edmonds (1966) Kurdish-English dictionary, which is the richest in grammatical description.

The Semantic System. Khal defines each lexical item in a simple word, phrase or sentence; in difficult cases, examples and ostensive definitions (e.g., "*tar* is something played like *kemançe* and emits a nice voice" [*tar* and *kemançe* are musical instruments]) are used. Different meanings of a headword are separated by a dot.

Differentiation of meanings is more refined in Zabihi, who prefers shorter definitions to longer ones which are, in necessary cases, listed separately. In case a word like *aw* 'water' has both "scientific" and general definitions, the latter is given and then briefly followed by the more technical explanation. Different meanings of a headword are numbered without any semantically significant order. Synonyms are cross-referenced but "since it is not known when the dictionary will be completed" (1977:99) those beginning with a different letter are explained whenever cited. Antonyms are also provided and used as an aid in defining. A distinction between "direct" (*ĥeqîqî*) and "figurative" (*mecazî*) is made, with the former treated first. Exemplification is more abundant and more precise than Khal. Examples are divided into a) citations (*şayed*) from poets and writers and b) constructed examples (*nimûne*) by the compiler.

Unification. Khal and Mukriyani both aimed at recording the lexical items of all dialects in order to enrich the language and, at the same time, unify the dialects (Mukriyani 1961:13). Khal has marked Badinani (=Kurmanji), Zaza, Ardalan (Sinayi), and Luri/Laki/Fayli dialects. The main body of the vocabulary is that of Sulemani and other subdialects of Sorani–Mukri, Pizhdari and Hawleri (Khal 1960:38). Zabihi records the lexicon of Sorani, although he has included words from Zaza and Hawrami, too.

Purification. Mukriyani is an extreme purist, Khal a moderate, and Zabihi is opposed to careless purism. The former has purged centuries-old

nativized loans such as *kitêb* 'book' and *şi'r* 'poem', replacing them with *peřtûk* and *helbest*. Khal includes loanwords marked as "non-Kurdish borrowings" from other languages. Zabihi records a considerable number of borrowed words and phrases used by educated Kurds in Iran and Iraq. The latter two have been strongly criticized for their tolerance of loans from the dominant languages (cf., e.g., *Hîwa*, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1960, pp. 68-69; Mukriyani 1961:10, on Khal; Nebez 1978:86-87, on Zabihi). According to Zabihi (personal interview, November 1979), the publication of his dictionary by the Kurdish Academy met with some obstacles posed by the purists.

Scientific Terms and Neologisms. Mukriyani (1961) included selected terms from Neqabey Mamostayan (1960) and Nebez (1960; 1960-61), while less purist Khal and Zabihi were reluctant to popularize them. Zabihi's main reason was "the non-original (*nařesen*) and cumbersome (*nalebar*)" nature of the coinages (private correspondence, 1978, p. 11). Nizamaddin has, however, uncritically included most of the terminology coined by Nebez and collected by Gharib (1975).

Mukriyani has sought to popularize his own or his preferred neologisms by including them without marking. After a quarter of a century, we find that many of them have remained unused, e.g., *raje* 'serving, service', *dîrok/dîrîk* 'history' (the latter is, however, being used by Kurmanji purists from Turkey), *goyiş* 'dialect' (borrowed from Persian purists), *xişok* 'automobile', etc.

Zabihi made a distinction between original (*resen*) and non-original (*nařesen*) coinages. The first type includes those based on native words (e.g., *bakûr* 'north', *komar* 'republic', etc.) or those borrowed from other dialects (e.g., *xebat* 'struggle', *hevaĺ* 'comrade', *mirov* 'man, human being'). Such items, if widely used, find their way into the dictionary, usually accompanied by a note on their origin. The neologism *abûrî* 'economy, economic', for example, is appended by this note: "I do not know where this word has come from... but it has been disseminated and established."

To sum up, dictionaries compiled since the 1960s have been increasingly norm-conscious. Khal and Zabihi undertook the codification of the Sorani dialect, especially along the lines of Mukriyani subdialect both phonologically and morphologically (cf. 8.3.0). Although the appearance of monolingual lexicography is an obvious indicator of progress in standardization, an authoritative single volume dictionary aiming at normalization at all levels has not yet appeared.

Encyclopedic and Terminological Dictionaries

This type of dictionary, concerned primarily with denotata of lexical units (i.e., providing information about the extra-linguistic world), have appeared only recently. Sajjadi (1953), Qaftan (1968) and Mukriyani (1970) are lists of names intended for use in naming children. Another work, Barzanji (1971), is a brief, single author "encyclopedia" (through letter ـس /s) of the lowest possible quality.

Dictionaries of scientific terms (Nos. 10, 21-22, 224, 37-38, 40-46, and 62 in Table 58) constitute 20.6% of the total lexicographic output. They are all bilingual with Arabic or Arabic/English as the source language. The most comprehensive is Gharib's (1974-79) yet incomplete work (through letter د /*d*) covering the exact sciences, medicine, mathematics, botany, zoology, etc. (cf. Figure 37). Gharib has also published an illustrated dictionary of scientific terms (cf. Figure 38). A recent work is Sharif's (1985) English-Arabic-Kurdish dictionary of psychology, which includes about 1,000 terms used in general psychology, psychopathology, psycho-genetics and social psychology. Also included are the names of prominent psychologists and schools of psychological thought.

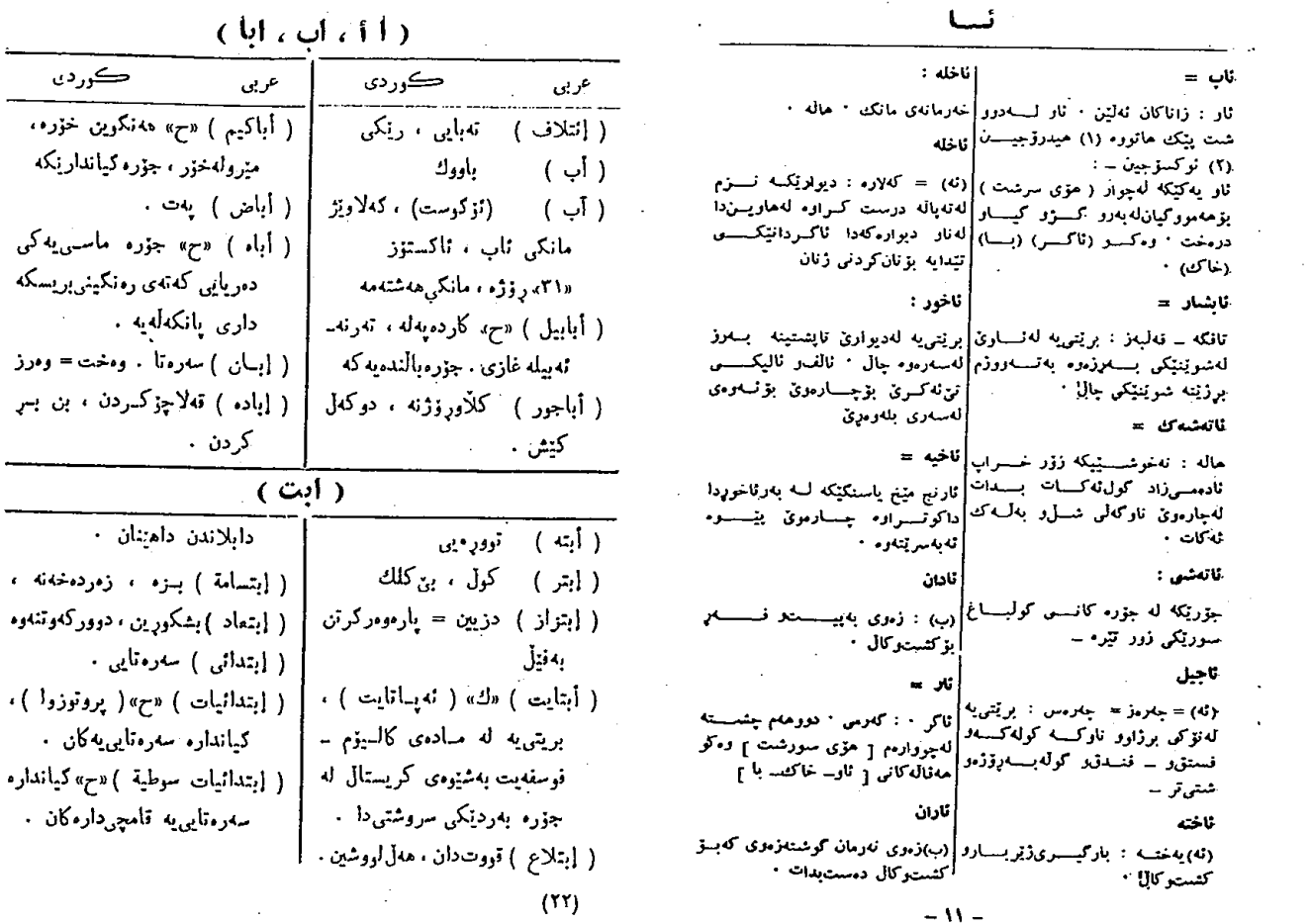
The absence of monolingual terminologies (except Qaradaghi Mardukhi 1972-73; cf. Fig. 37) reflects the unlexicalized nature of scientific terms and the dependence of Kurdish on the Arabic language. The absence of reference works, especially encyclopedias, may also be considered an indication of the subordinate position of Kurdish in Iraq.

8.4.6 Lexicography in Iran

Dictionaries in Iran have appeared under conditions of political restrictions on the written use of the language and, as such, their impact on standardization has been indirect. Mokri (1947) is a dialectological survey of bird names, while Mardukh (1955-57) records the vocabulary of the Sinayi dialect. Avrang (1968-69), a retired Iranian army officer, was interested in purging the "Aryan" Persian and Kurdish languages of Arabic and Turkish loans, and aimed at collecting in one work all the words included in the available Kurdish dictionaries. His two volumes only reach up to letter ت /*t*.

Four dictionaries appeared after the 1978-79 Revolution. Ibrahimpour (1981) is a simple listing of words from the three literary dialects for each Persian headword. Kara and Baban have each composed a Persian-Kurdish dictionary because, they believe, (a) Iranian Kurds, deprived of reading, writing and learning their own language, are more familiar with Persian words and, as such, the majority can make better use of a Persian-Kurdish dictionary (Baban 1982:2), and (b) a reader can find the meaning of Kurdish words in Khal, Mukriyani and Nizamaddin, while a Kurdish writer who does not know the Kurdish equivalent of a Persian word will be handicapped (Kara 1982:2). These arguments are consistent with those put forward by Mukriyani regarding the publication of his Arabic-Kurdish dictionary (cf. 8.4.5). Both works consist of a simple listing of Kurdish equivalents of Persian words.

Safizadeh (one volume, covering entries beginning with the vowels or letter *hamza*, ء/') aims at collecting the words of all dialects, excluding proper names and neologisms. Each entry is in the alphabetical order of the Arabic alphabet and transcribed in a Roman alphabet of his own. Marking Kurmanji, Hawrami, Laki and Luri dialect words is the only information provided for the



ئـــا

ئاب =

ئار : زاناکان ئەڵێن ، ئار لـــەدوو شت پێک هاتووە (١) هیدرۆجیـــن (٢) ئۆکسۆجین ــ :

ئاو یەکێکە لەچوار (هۆی سرشت) بۆمەموگیانلەبەرو بکـــۆو گیـــاو درەخت ، وەکـــو (ئاگـــر) (بـــا) (خاک) .

ئابشار =

تافگە ــ ئەڵبەز : بڕێتی‌یە لەئـــاوێ لەشوێنێکی بـــەرزەوە بەتـــەووزم بڕژێتە شوێنێکی چاڵ .

ئاتەشەک =

هاڵە : ئەخوشـــیێکە زۆر خـــراپ ئادەمـــیزاد گوڵئەکـــات بـــەدات لەچارەوێ ئاوگەلی شـــڵو بەڵـــەک ئەکات .

ئاتەشی :

جۆرێکە لە جۆرە کانـــی گوڵبـــاغ سورێکی زور تیژە ــ

ئاجیل

(ئە) = جەرەس : بڕێتی‌یە لەئۆکی برژاوو ئاوکـــە گوڵەکـــەو فستۆق ــ فنـــدۆق گوڵەبـــەڕۆژەو شتی‌تر ــ

ئاخنە

(ئە) یەخنـــە : بارگیـــری‌زێربـــارو کشتوکاڵ .

ئاخلە :

خەرمانەی مانگ ، هاڵە .

ئاخلە

(ئە) = کەلاوە : دیوارێکـــە نـــزم لەتەپاڵە درست کـــراوە لەهاوێـــنـدا لەئار دیوارەکەدا ئاگـــردانێکـــی تێدایە بۆنانکردنی ژنان

ئاخور :

بڕێتی‌یە لەدیواری تاپشتینە بـــەرز لەسەرەوە چاڵ ، ئالفو ئالیکـــی تێئەکـــرێ بۆچـــارەوێ بۆئـــەوەی لەسەری بلەوەڕێ

ئاخیە =

ئارنج مێخ یاسنگێکە لـــە بەرئاخوڕدا داکوتـــراوە چـــارەوێ پێـــوە ئەبەسرێتەوە .

ئادان

(ب) : زەوی بەپیـــــتو فـــــەر بۆکشتوکاڵ .

ئار =

ئاگر ، : کەرمی ، دووهەم چشـــتە لەچووارەم [هۆی سورشت] وەکو هەئالەکانی [ئاو ــ خاکـــ با]

ئاران

(ب)زەوی نەرمان گوشتەزەوی کەبـــۆ کشتوکاڵ دەستبدات .

(أ ، اب ، ابا)

عربی	کوردی
(إئتلاف)	تەبایی ، ڕێکی
(أب)	باووك
(آب)	(ئۆگوست) ، کەلاوێژ
مانگی ئاب ، ئاکستۆز	
«٣١» ڕۆژە ، مانگی‌هەشتەمە	
(أبابیل) «ح» کاردەپەلە ، تەرنەـ ئەبیلە غازی . جۆرەباڵندەیەکە	
(أباجور) کلاوڕۆژنە ، دوکەڵ کێشن .	

عربی	کوردی
(أباکیم) «ح» هەنگوین خۆرە ، مێرولەخۆر ، جۆرە گیاندارێکە	
(أباض) پەت .	
(أباه) «ح» جۆرە ماسی‌یەکی دەریایی کەتەی ڕەنگینی‌بڕیسکە داری پانکەلەیە .	
(إبان) سەرەتا . وەخت = وەرز	
(إباده) قەلاچۆکـــردن ، بن بـــر کردن .	

(أبت)

(أبته) تووڕەیی	
(إبتر) کول ، بێ‌کڵك	
(إبتزاز) دزیین = پارەوەرگرتن بەفێڵ	
(أبتایت) «ك» (ئەپـاتایت) ، بریتی‌یە لە مـادەی کالـیۆم ــ فوسفەیت بەشێوەی کریستاڵ لە جۆرە بەردێکی سروشتی‌دا .	
(إبتلاع) قووت‌دان ، هەڵلووشین .	

دابلاندن داهێنان .	
(إبتسامة) بـــزە ، زەردەخەنە ،	
(إبتعاد) بشکۆرین ، دوورکەوتنەوە	
(إبتدائی) سەرەتایی .	
(إبتدائیات) «ح» (پروتوزوا) ، گیاندارە سەرەتاییەکان .	
(إبتدائیات سوطیة) «ح» گیاندارە سەرەتاییە قامچیدارەکان .	

(٢٢)

Fig. 37. Two terminological dictionaries, *Ferhengî Kîştûkaî* (agriculture, right) and *Ferhengî Zaniyarî* (general science).

زعف ، زقز ، زقي ، زلا ، زما ، زمج ، زنب ، زنج ، زهر

عربي	كوردي	الصورة
زعفران الروج ، زريرة	Meadow Saffron ، = سورنجان زەعفەرانی میرگ ، ڕووەکێکە کوڵەکی بنەوشەیی کاڵ تەکرێت مادەیەکی ژەهر لە سەلکەکەی دەرئەهێنرێت بو مەبەستی پزیشکی .	
زقزاق ، زقزق	Plover ، Dotterel ، زیقاولە . جۆرە باڵندەیەکە.	
زقزاق شامي ، ابو طيط	Lapwing ، زیقاولەی شامی .	
زقيقة ، تفاحي	Linnet ، زیقزیقە ، جۆرە باڵندەیەکی دەنگخۆشە.	
زلاجة ، زلاقة	Ski ، قاپقاپی خلیسکان ، پێڵاوێکە پێچکەیەکی پێوەیە تەکرێتە پێ بۆ خلیسکان بەسەر سەهۆڵدا .	
زمار الرمل ، طيطوي	Sand paper ، Sand piper ، جۆرە باڵندەیەکی لاق درێژی دەنووك سوورە.	
زمار مقاتل	Fighting-piper ، جۆرە باڵندەیەکی شەرکەرە .	

عربي	كوردي	الصورة
زمج الماء ، نورس	Gull ، قاقڵەبازان ، تیتلەکناچە . جۆرە باڵندەیەکی ئاویە ،	
زنبق	Tulip ، زەمەق شلێژ ، لالە ، کوڵەخەزیم ، چاڵی چەقیلە، کیامەك ، جۆرە گوڵێکە لاسکەکەی درێژە .	
زنبق البحر	Sea lily ، شلێژی دەریا، زەمەقی دەریا لالەی دەریا کیاندارێکی دەریاییە لە کۆل دەچێت.	
زنبور ، دبور	Wasp ، زەردەواڵە ژەنگە سوورە . میرووێکی زەهراوییە .	
زنبوراصفر،دبر زرقطة ، نسوحة	Polistes gallicus ، زەرکەتە ، زەردەزیرە، بق . میرووییەکی زەهراوییە	
زنجبيل	Ginger ، زەنجەفیل ، جۆرە ڕووەکێکە ڕەگ و قەدەکەی تەکرێت بە بەهارات .	
زهرة الآلام ، آلامية	Passion flower ، گوڵەئازار ، گوڵەئێش . گوڵە سەعاتی ، ڕووەکێکی خۆ هەڵواسەر، گوڵێکی کەورەی شین دەکرێت .	
زهرة الثالوث ، بنفسج الثالوث	Pansy ، هەرچایی . کیایەکە گوڵێکی جوان تەکرێت .	

Fig. 38. The illustrated scientific dictionary, Arabic-English-Kurdish by Gharib (1975).

entries.

Fattahi Qazi (1983) is a small collection of words and phrases that the author did not find in Mukriyani's Kurdish-Arabic dictionary. Definitions and other explanations are in Kurdish "so that those who know Kurdish and all Kurdish speakers can use them" (p. 3). Cf. 8.4.5 on Fayzizadeh's (1985) monolingual treatment of a single word.

Lexicography in Iran, as in the USSR, Turkey or during the early decades of officialization of the language in Iraq, is concerned with defining the position of Kurdish with respect to the dominant language. Sorani, as developed in Iraq, is considered the standard language by Iranian Kurds and the recent dictionaries also aim at familiarizing Iranian Kurds with this norm. Khal's dictionary has been available in reprint since 1979.

8.4.7 Lexicography in Turkey

Two of the dozen or so books published in Turkey in the 1960s-1970s were Kurdish-Turkish dictionaries. Antar is a short work, while Bozarslan (1978) is an adaptation (Romanization of the Arabic alphabet and redefinition in Turkish) of Khalidi's (1892) Kurdish-Arabic dictionary.

8.4.8 Lexicography in the USSR

A brief reference to the standardization role of Soviet lexicography falls within the scope of this study. First, the lexicography is entirely bilingual. Armenian was the source language before 1977 (cf. Figure 39). Later, Russian became the only language, although Kurds live also in the Azerbaijan and Georgian republics where the national languages are Azerbaijani Turkish and Georgian respectively.

Secondly, except for one terminological dictionary (Khachatryan *et al* 1936), no other specialized vocabularies have appeared. This corroborates the observation (cf. 7.2.6) that Kurdish has not been used for teaching the sciences in the post-World War II period. Thirdly, unlike Sorani dictionaries in the Arabic alphabet, Soviet lexicography has been interested in orthographic codification, in Cyrillic (E'vdal 1958; Bakaev 1983). The latter's long survey of Kurdish orthography (pp. 9-70) is in Russian and has been printed in a surprisingly small edition of 850 copies.

Fourthly, all the dictionaries were until 1977 in Kurmanji and mostly in Cyrillic orthography, although two most important works (Farizov 1957; Kurdo 1960, cf. Fig. 40) are in the Roman script. The only bilingual dictionaries in Sorani and in the Arabic script appeared in 1977 (Kedaitene *et al* and 1983 (cf. Figure 40). The former is a brief Russian-Kurdish lexicon intended for pedagogical purposes. The latter is a larger Kurdish-Russian work, with contributors from Iran and Iraq. Four reasons are given for the compilation of this dictionary, (1) the need of Russian readers interested in getting familiarized

ӘЛИФБА

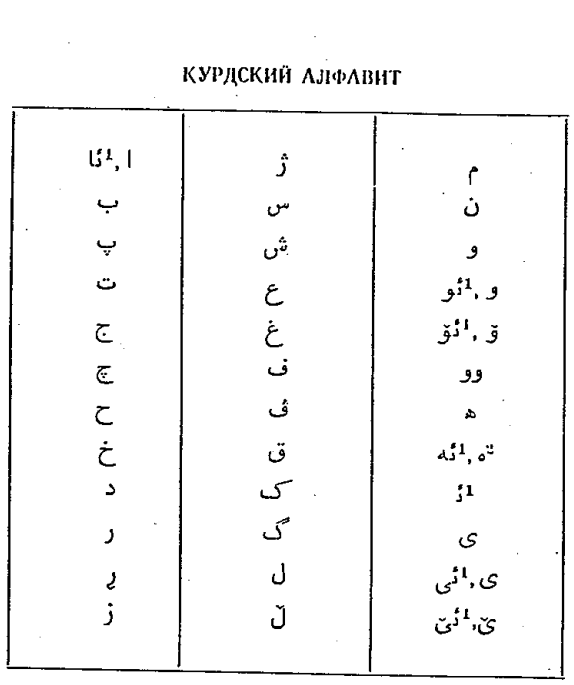
Аа—Ա	Зз—Զ	Пп—Պ	Ъъ—Ձ
Бб—Բ	Ии—Ի	П'п'—Փ	Ыы—ՀԸ
Вв—Վ	Йй—Յ	Рр—Ր	Чч—Ջ
Гг—Գ	Кк—Կ	Р'р'—Ռ	Чъ—Ճ
Гъ'—Ղ	Къ'—Ք	Сс—Ս	Шш—Շ
Дд—Դ	Лл—Լ	Тт—Տ	Щщ—Չ
Ее—Ե	Мм—Մ	Т'т'—Թ	Ьь—Ը
Әә Ә'ә' } Ա[1]	Нн—Ն	Уу—ՈՒ	Ээ—Է
	Оо—Օ	Фф—Ֆ	Qq—Կ
Жж—Ժ	Өө—Ո	Хх—Խ	Ww—ՈՒՎ

[1] { Қарқ Ә—Ա (фафлық Ը)
Қоқорқлық Ә'—Ա

Ա ա

Աբբա — аббат.
Աբբաիայր — аббабав, дербав.
Աբբայական — аббати.
Աբեռացիա — абер'асна.
Աբխազ — абхаз.
Աբխազի — абхази.
Աբխազիա — Абхазиа.
Աբոնեմենտ — абонемент.
Աբոնենտ — абонент.
Աբորտ — аборт, зар'о бәр хwэкырын, зар'о бәркырын.
Աբսոլյուտ — абсолут, э'йани.
Աբսոլյուտիզմ — абсолутизм.
Աբստրակտ — абстракт.
Աբստրակցիա — абстраксиа.
Աբսցես — абсцес.
Աբսուրդ — абсурд, бе фькьр.
Աբրա — к'аш, гредан.
Աբռեշում — һәврмуш.
Աբռեշումե — жь һәврмуш.
Ագահ — т'ернәбуйи, чә'вдөл.
Ագահաբար — нә т'ербуйи, бь ч'ә'вдөли.
Ագահուրեն — т'ернәбуйи, ч'ә'вдөли (тмак'ар).
Ագահություն — т'ернебуйинти, ч'ә'вдөлти.
Ագարակ — хутор, ферма, бәргә.
Ագարակարնակ — бәргәбиәли
Ագարակատիր — хwэйе хуторе, хwэйе ферме, хwэйэ бәрге.
Ագիվազ — кенгуру, делбәз.
Ագենտ — агент.
Ագենտուրա — агентура.
Ագի — пол', дел, фмч'ык.
Ագիտատոր — агитатор.
Ագիտացիա — агитасиа.
Ագլոմերատ — агломерат.
Ագռավ — цр'ык, фарфар', цр'ыка р'эш.
Ագրարային — аграри.
Ագրեգատ — агрегат.
Ագրեսիա — агресиа
Ագրեսիվ — агресив.
Ագրեսիվություն — агресивти.
Ագրեսոր — агресор.
Ագրիկուլտուրա — агрикултура.
Ագրոբազա — агробаза, мьскәне агрономие.
Ագրոնոմ — агроном.
Ագրոնոմիա — агрономиа.
Ագրոնոմիկական — агрономи.
Ագրոտեխնիկական — агротехники.

Fig. 39. Armenian-Kurdish dictionary published in Yerevan, Armenian SSR (Siabandov 1957).



КУРДСКИЙ АЛФАВИТ

ا, ئا[1]	ژ	م
ب	س	ن
پ	ش	و
ت	ع	و, ۆ[1]
ج	غ	ق, ڤ[1]
چ	ف	وو
ح	ڤ	ه
خ	ق	ه, ە[1]
د	ک	ڕ[1]
ر	گ	ی
ڕ	ل	ی, ئی[1]
ز	ڵ	ێ, ئێ[1]

[1] В начале слов.
[2] При определении алфавитного порядка слов приравнивается к ه.

ئا

ئا [a] *частица, выражает*: 1) *утверждение при вопросе*: ئا تۆ خواندۆته؟ ты же чита́л? 2) *подбадривание*: ئا وەرە ну, иди́ 3) *сомнение*: ؟ئایە ئا та́к ли?, ра́зве так?

ئاب [ab] I 1) гля́нец *м*, блеск *м* 2) лю́стра *ж*

ئاب [ab] II аб *м* (*название восьмого месяца европейского календаря у курдов Ирака*); а́вгуст *м*

ئابادی [abadî]: ~ بە а) ве́чно б) постоя́нно, всегда́

ئابان [abaî]: بوون ~ приходи́ть в пре́жнее состоя́ние; восстана́вливаться; کردن ~ возвраща́ть в пре́жнее положе́ние, состоя́ние; восстана́вливать

ئابدەست [abdest] *см.* ئاوده ست

ئابدەستخانە [abdestxane] *см.* ئاودەست

ئابڕوو [abṙû] 1. 1) честь *ж*; со́весть *ж* 2) стыд *м* 2.: ~ [بە] а) че́стный, поря́дочный б) стыдли́вый в) че́стно, поря́дочно г) стыдли́во □ بردن ~ бесче́стить; позо́рить, срами́ть; چوون ~ а) терять честь, со́весть б) позо́риться, срами́ться; ڕژان ~ быть обесче́щенным; быть опозо́ренным

ئابڕووچوو [abṙûçû] бессо́вестный, бесстыжий

ئابڕوودار [abṙûdar] 1) че́стный, поря́дочный 2) стыдли́вый

ئابڕووەند [abṙûmend] *см.* ئابڕ وودار

ئابڵا [abla] рассе́янный, несо́бранный (*о человеке*)

ئابلۆقە [abloqe]: دان ~, ~ کردن окружа́ть; осажда́ть

ئابنە [abne] тру́бка кальяна

ئاب‌وتاب [ab-u-tab] 1) я́ркость *ж* 2) блеск *м*, сверка́ние *с* 3) великоле́пие *с*

ئابووری [abûrî] 1) то, что отло́жено на чёрный день 2) хозя́йство *с*; эконо́мика *ж*; سیاسی ~ экономи́ческая поли́тика □ کردن ~ занима́ться хозя́йством, вести́ хозя́йство

ئابوونە [abûne] 1) абонеме́нт *м* 2) взнос *м*

ئابیدە [abîde] ме́сто поклоне́ния, свято́е ме́сто *с*

ئاپتەر [apter] 1. дья́вол *м*, шайта́н *м* 2. одержи́мый зли́ми ду́хами

Fig. 40. The first Sorani Kurdish-Russian dictionary published in the USSR (Kurdoev and IUsupova 1983).

КУРДСКИЙ ЛАТИНИЗИРОВАННЫЙ АЛФАВИТ И ТРАНСКРИПЦИЯ, ПРИНЯТАЯ В СЛОВАРЕ

Alifbaê kurdî yê latînî
û transkrîpsiya wî di ferhengêda

Латинизированный алфавит Alifbaê latînî	Транскрипция Transkrîpsiya	Латинизированный алфавит Alifbaê latînî	Транскрипция Transkrîpsiya
A a	а, а'*	K k	к, ќ
B b	б	Q q	q
C c	д͡ж	L l	л
Ç ç	ч, ч̄	M m	м
D d	д	N n	н
E e	ä, ä'*	O o	о, о'*
Ê ê	ǟ	P p	п, п̄
F f	ф	R r	р, р̄
G g	г	S s	с
H h	h	Ş ş	ш
Ḧ ḧ	h	T t	т, т̄
X x	х	U u	ö, ö'*
Ẍ ẍ	х̄	Ù û	у, у'*
Î î	и, и'*	V v	в
É é	е, е'*	W w	w
I i	ы, ы'*	Y y	й
J j	ж	Z z	з

* при айнизации

A

a [а] *см.* ya.

ab [аб] *см.* aba.

aba [аба] *м. уст.* оте́ц, роди́тель.

ababil [абабыл] *ж.* ла́сточка.

abad [абад] 1. *м.* 1) бытие́; 2) суть, су́щность; 3) ве́чность; 2. l) су́щий; 2) ве́чный; постоя́нный; 3. [bi] ~ ве́чно; постоя́нно.

abadanî [абадани] *см.* abadî.

abadî [абади] 1. *ж.* l) бытие́; 2) суть, су́щность; 3) ве́чность; 2. yê ~ l) су́щий; 2) ве́чный; постоя́нный.

abadîn [абадин] *см.* abadî.

abanos [абанос] *м.* чёрное де́рево, эбе́новое де́рево.

abasî [абаси] 1. *м.* l) *ист.* аббаси́д; *собир.* Аббаси́ды; 2) аббаси́ (*старинная монета, равная двадцати динарам*); 2. yê ~ аббаси́дский.

abdar I [абдар] l) водяни́стый; 2) вла́жный; 3) со́чный (*о фруктах и т. п.*); 4) блестя́щий, сверка́ющий (*о мече*).

abdar II [абдар] *ю.-к.* ло́шадь, навыо́ченная съестны́ми припа́сами.

abedan [абэдан] навсегда́, наве́ки.

abedetî [абэдэти] *см.* abad.

abxaz [абхаз] *м.* абха́з; jîna ~ абха́зка; zimanê ~a[n] абха́зский язы́к.

abxazî [абхази] 1. абха́зский; 2. абха́зский язы́к; 3. [bi] ~ по-абха́зски.

abîd [абыд] 1. *м.* l) *уст.* раб бо́жий; 2) раб; 2. yê ~ богомо́льный, на́божный, благочести́вый.

abnûs [абнус] *см.* abanos.

aborî [аборы] *см.* ebûrî I.

abrû [абру] *см.* avrû II.

abrûdar [абрудар] *ю.-к.* сла́вный, знамени́тый.

abstraksî [абстракси] *ж.* абстра́кция.

abû [абу] *см.* aba.

abûr I [абур] *см.* ebûr I.

abûr II [а'бур] *см.* ebûr II.

abûrkirin I [абуркырын] *см.* ebûrkirin I.

abûrkirin II [а'буркырын] *см.* ebûrkirin II.

abyêkt [абйект] *м.* l) объе́кт; 2) предме́т, вещь; 3) *грам.* дополне́ние.

abyêktî [абйекти] объе́ктный; veguherîna fêla ya ~ *грам.* объе́ктное спряже́ние глаго́ла.

abyêktîv [абйектив] 1. объекти́вный; 2. [bi] ~ объекти́вно.

abyêktîvî [абйективи] 1. *ж.* объекти́вность; 2. yê ~[yê] объекти́вный; 3. [bi] ~ объекти́вно.

ac I [а д͡ж] *м.* удо́бный слу́чай, подходя́щий моме́нт; ~ kete wî ему́ подверну́лся удо́бный слу́чай.

ac II [а д͡ж] *м.* слоно́вая кость.

aciz I [а'д͡жыз] l) сла́бый, не́мощный, бессси́льный; жа́лкий; 2) изму́ченный; 3) отча́явшийся; 4) огорчённый; 5) мучи́тельный, тру́дный; 6) беспоко́йный (*о человеке*); ~ bûn а) ослабева́ть, обессси́леть; утомля́ться; б) му́читься, страда́ть; в) отча́иваться; г) огор-

Fig. 41. Kurdoev's Kurmanji Kurdish-Russian dictionary published in Moscow in 1960.

with the expanding literary output of Iraqi Kurds, (2) the progress in economic and cultural relations between the USSR and Iraq, (3) its value as a scholarly pursuit, and (4) its use by Sorani speaking Kurds in learning Russian (Kurdoev and IUsupova 1983:13). No reference is made to the possible function of the dictionary in familiarizing the Kurmanji speaking Kurds of the USSR with their Sorani sister dialect or to unification of the language.

8.4.9 Foreign Lexicography

In this study, dictionaries published outside Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the USSR are considered "foreign" even if compiled by native speakers. The foreign/native distinction is relevant in terms of accessibility by native speakers, foreign works being usually unavailable even in university or public libraries (cf. 7.2.9).

A number of works, Blau (1965), McCarus (1967), and Holm and Mathlein (1981), are intended for pedagogical purposes. The last one is used for teaching Swedish to Kurdish refugees and reflects the expanding Kurdish diaspora (cf. 10.4.0).

Wahby and Edmonds (1966; cf. Fig. 42) have compiled one of the four best bilingual dictionaries with Kurdish as the source language (the other three being Bakaev 1957, Kurdo 1960, and Kurdoev and IUsupova 1983). According to Wahby and Edmonds, the "Kurdish of this dictionary is the standard language of belles-letters, journalism, official and private correspondence, and formal speech as it has developed, on the basis of the Southern-Kurmanji dialect of Sulaimani in Iraq, since 1918..." They hope that "this work will contribute in some measure to the standardization of the literary language..." (p. *v*).

The dictionary's contribution to standardization is, however, seriously limited. Instead of the now stabilized Arabic-based alphabet, the authors have used their own Roman "transcription." It could have contributed to the unification of the Roman Kurdish script had the authors adopted the more widely used Hawar Roman alphabet (cf. 8.2.3). Another handicap is its bilingualism, which makes the semantic and excellent grammatical description unintelligible to the majority of the Kurds: even secondary school graduates have a command of the English language which is inadequate for this purpose. Limited distribution in Iraq and Iran of a book published by Oxford University Press in London is another obstacle. Still, the dictionary has made its presence felt indirectly through other lexicographers (Zabihi; Kurdoev an IUsupova) who have used it in their more accessible works.

8.4.10 Conclusions

In this emergent standard language, dictionaries both affect and are affected by unstabilized linguistic and extralinguistic circumstances. In Iraq, general dictionaries with Kurdish as source language did not appear until 1961,

A

a[1] *affirmative particle* yes (oft. as answer to hail); ~*?*, really?, is that so?
a[2] *int. used in conj. w. imperat. mood* pray, do. *Cf.* DA[1].
-a[3] *enclitic postp.* see -ḌA[3].
-a[4] *inflexion of 3 pers. sing. pres. ind. and subj. of a small class of vv. having irregularly formed pres. stem* BIRDIN, ḌAN, GEYÎN (GEYISHTIN), KIRDIN, ḠOYÎN (ḠOYISHTIN), SHITIN, XISTIN, XUWARDIN. *Also* -AT, -ATIN.
-a[5] (*N*) *pl. ending.*
a[6] (*N*) *fem. form* of ÎZAFE, q.v.
'a[7] *int.* cry used for driving lambs and kids.
ab (*P*) *n.* lustre; ~AN, *n.* October–November, *see Appendix I*; ~-U-TAB, *n.* brilliance.
Ab *n.* August, *see Appendix I.*
'aba *n. see* 'EBA.
abaḷ *a. gen.* ~ B., revert (Y, to).
abîne *n.* part of fire-box of hookah inserted into water-bowl.
abrû *n.* honour, reputation; ~ BIRDIN, dishonour, slander, humiliate (Y; ~ BIRAN, *pass.* *be dishonoured, *hence* ~BIRAW *a.* dishonoured etc.); ~ CHÛN *be dishonoured (*hence* ~CHÛ *a.* dishonoured etc.); ~ḌAR *a.* honourable, respected.
abûrî *n.* economy; ZANIST Y ~, economics; ~ K., economize.
abxane *n.* latrine, lavatory.
'aciz (*A*) *a.* vexed, annoyed; ~î *n.* umbrage, displeasure. *See* ZIWÎR.
acûr *n.* burnt brick.
adab (*A*) *n.* customs, rules of behaviour.
Aḍar *n.* March (month), *see Appendix I.*
aḍem *n.* human being; ~î *a. and n.* human, human being; ~ÎZA, -ÎZAḌ, ~ZA, ~ZAḌ, *n.* human being.
adey *int.* now then, go on, etc.
aferîḍe (*P*) *a.* created; ~ K., create.
aferîn *n.* praise; *as int.* well done!; ~ K., praise.
afret *n.* woman.
aftawe *n. see* MESÎNE.
aga *n.* information; ~ LÊ B., * know about; ~ Ḍ., inform (PÊ; *hence* ~ḌER *n.* informer, informant); ~ḌAR *a.* informed, aware, alert, watchful, careful, (XUWA ~ḌAR-TAN BÊ, may God watch over you; ~ḌAR K., inform; ~ḌAR KW., rouse, wake, warn); ~ḌARÎ *n.* watchfulness.
aǧir *n.* fire; ~ Y BIN KA, mischief-maker, hidden hand; ~ Y QÛRET, natural f., superman; ~ LÊ BARIN, *oft. in excl.* ~-YAN LÊ BARÊ, may f. descend upon them, blast them!; ~ BARANḌIN, fire heavily (BESER ...-A, upon); ~ TÊ BER B., *catch f., *become excited; ~ BER BW., break out (conflagration); ~ TÊ CHÛN, ~ CHÛN E GIYAN, *become excited; ~ Ḍ., fire (gun etc.; *d.o.*; *pass.* ~ ḌIRAN); ~ TÊ BER Ḍ., grieve, set f. to; ~ BER ḌW., start conflagration, commit arson; ~ G., catch f., become excited; BE ~A G., warm in front of the f.; ~ DA (HEḶ) GÎRSANDIN, light, kindle, f.; ~ TÊ KEWTIN, *catch f., *flare up *become excited (~ KEWTIN E GIYAN *see* ~ CHÛN E GIYAN); ~ KEWTINEWE, break out (conflagration); ~ KIP K., damp down f.; ~ XOSH K., poke, draw up, f.; ~ KW., light f., flare up in anger; ~ GESH KW., draw up freshly lit f. (*hence* ~GESHKERE, n. small metal container w. chain for swinging ember into glow esp. for hookah); ~ KUJANEWE, go out, be extinguished (f.; ~ KUJANḌINEWE, put out f.); ~ PÊ'WE N., set f. to, fire at, cauterize; ~ NW., commit arson, create disturbance, (hence ~NÊNEWE *n.* f.-raiser, agitator).
aǧir *in comb.*; ~BARAN *n.* bombardment, hail of bullets, catastrophe, (~BARAN K., bombard etc., *d.o.*); ~BAZÎ, *n.* f.-works; ~BIḠ *n. gen.* ~BIḠ K., stifle, prevent from spreading, (trouble etc.; *d.o.*); ~DAN *n.* f.-place, grate, November–December *see Appendix I*; ~E[1] *n.* syphilis; ~E[2] *n.* name of a boisterous game in which players charge each other hopping on one leg; ~EWAN *n.* servant of f.-temple; ~EXOSHE *n.* bonfire; ~GA *n.* f.-temple; ~ÎN *a.* fiery, volcanic; ~KEḌE *n.* f.-temple; ~OCHKE, *n. dim. of* ~; ~PARE *a.* astute, quick-witted, *lit.* piece of f.; ~PERIST *a. and n.* f.-worshipper; ~PIJÊN *a. and n.* volcanic, volcano; ~-U-DÛ *n.* hearth as symbol of family (~-U-DÛ BIRAN, *die out, *die without issue); ~XANE, *n.* bath furnace, heat-tube of samovar.
agha *n.* agha (title), master, tribal chief; ~JIN, *n.* wife of a.; ~YANE *a. and adv.* a.-like; ~YETÎ *n.* behaviour, rights, perquisites, of a.; ~YÎ *n.* status of a.
aghel *n.* stable for sheep and goats.
agher *n.* cairn.
aghze (*T*) *n.* stiff tip of cigarette-paper. *See* ZIMANE.
ah *n.* sigh, groan; *as int.* alas!; ~ HEḶ KÊSHAN, sigh, groan; ~ TIYA NEMAN, *die; ~-U-NAḶE *n.* groaning; ~-U-NÛZEḶE *n.* sighing and sobbing (~-U-NÛZEḶE Y MIN BI-Y-GIRÊ, may he suffer for the wrong he has done me); ~-U-WAH *n.* lamentation.
aha *int.* look!, lo!.

Fig. 42. Wahby and Edmonds' (1966) Kurdish-English dictionary.

when standardization was making progress. The appearance of the first monolingual dictionary in 1960 in Iraq is an indicator of the codification of the standard norm. The two monolingual dictionaries published to date are concerned with problems of norm selection and stabilization, orthographic and lexico-semantic codification. The success of these works has contributed to the enhancement of the status of the language among Sorani speakers.

Lexicography in other countries (Turkey and Iran) reflects the subordinate position of Kurdish vis-a-vis the official languages. In spite of an excellent lexicographic heritage, Soviet Kurdish lexicography has not produced a monolingual work.

Extralinguistic factors, political restrictions and an underdeveloped publishing structure, continue to have a debilitating effect on the standardizing influence of the dictionaries. The only completed monolingual general dictionary, Khal, took sixteen years make its way into print.

Subchapter 8.4. Notes

1. Khal's note on the back cover of the third volume (1976) demonstrates the difficulty of writing monolingual dictionaries in emerging standard languages: "No one has explained Kurdish words in Kurdish before me; any explanation of any word made by me is my own creation and in fact every definition is an independent composition; no one should borrow these definitions without citing *Khal Dictionary*... the same way Firouzabadi's dictionary has done with Sahahi Jawhari's dictionary."

2. According to Kurdish opposition groups, Zabihi–a prominent nationalist figure, journalist and lexicographer–was jailed, released, then killed by the Iraqi government in the mid-1980s.

SUBCHAPTER 8.5
CODIFICATION OF GRAMMAR

The syntactic structure of language, like the phonological, morphological and semantic systems, undergoes varying degrees of change (codification) in the process of standardization. While dictionaries codify the orthographic, orthoepic, morphological and semantic structure of the lexicon, grammar books contribute to the codification of the overall structure, including syntax.

Kurdish lexicography predates grammatical description by approximately three centuries (cf. 8.4.4). The first grammatical description of Kurdish is limited to a few examples employed by Ali Taramakhi (17th century) in his Arabic grammar taught in the mosque schools of Kurmanji speaking parts of Kurdistan (cf. 4.2.2). If we disregard European grammatical studies (e.g., Garzoni 1787) which did not affect the standardization process, the first monographic work written by native speakers is *Muqeddimet ul-ʿirfan* (Introduction to *ʿirfan* 'knowledge, etc.') which deals with the "grammatical rules of the Kurdish language." The book was published by a nationalist group in Istanbul in 1918 (cf. 7.2.1).

The writing of grammars in Iraq began in response to the need of primary schools for a textbook. The first book, composed by Tawfiq Wahby, was not authorized by the Ministry of Education because of the writer's radical approach to orthographic reform (cf. 8.2.6). Sa'id Sidqi's (1928) more conservative, less reformist, work was the first grammar book adopted in the primary schools. While Wahby's work was based on traditional English and French grammatical models, Sidqi's description is based on traditional Arabic grammar. The book was used for a few years before the subject was removed from the curriculum of the primary schools in the 1940s (7.5.4). Wahby's work was privately published in 1929.

A major contribution was made by Nuri Ali Amin's *Qewaʿidî Zimanî Kurdî* 'Rules of the Kurdish Language', (Vol. 1, 1956; Vol. 2, 1958). Amin

used English grammar as a model for grammatical description and introduced new material and analysis together with purified terminology. By this time the Ministry of Education had readmitted grammar into the curriculum (cf. 7.5.4) and a four-member committee published a number of grammar books. The first was *Rêzmanî Kurdî* 'Kurdish Grammar', for the fifth grade of primary school, compiled by Nuri Ali Amin, M. Khal and two other authors (Baghdad, 1960, 152 pp). These textbooks used simple language and were rich in exercises and examples. Although there are no significant syntactic differences among Sorani subdialects, the norm described by these grammars was recognizably that of the Sulemani subdialect.

Grammatical studies resumed after the 1961-70 stalemate in publishing (cf. 7.2.2.1). Several features distinguish the works published since the early 1970s. First, research independent of pedagogical considerations is conducted and published in the press, especially in the Kurdish Academy's journal, in *Bayan*, *Roşinbîrî Nö* and *Rojî Kurdistan*. Secondly, description is now increasingly based on modern linguistics rather than on Arabic or Western grammatical models. Research is now focused on special areas such as phonetics, lexicology and particular problems such as affixation and word-formation. Comparative studies of Kurmanji and Sorani are also being conducted. Thirdly, more refined textbooks have been published for both primary and secondary school levels.

Grammar books for the secondary schools prepared by committees sponsored by the Ministry of Education were published by 1980. According to a detailed review of these textbooks (*Roşinbîrî Nö*, No. 99, September 1983, pp. 75-90), all the terms are Kurdish.

SUBCHAPTER 8.6
LITERARY FORMS: PROSE, POETRY AND GENRES

The new functional differentiation of Kurdish (cf. chapter 7) and the codification processes described thus far all occurred within the framework of an historically significant change in the literary language–the development of prose. The need for prose seems too obvious to invite explanation: although poetry has been used for teaching subjects such as mathematics in medieval times, the poetic medium fails to serve the functions of modern education, science, administration and journalism. Indeed poetry itself has undergone significant changes in both form and content as a result of standardization.

8.6.1 Non-fictional Prose

We know only two specimens of prose in Sorani dialect dated prior to the twentieth century (cf. 4.4.0). Prose in the dialect is obviously a product of journalism. The first known example of modern prose in Sorani is found in the bilingual (Turkish-Kurdish) and bidialectal journal *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (1908; cf. Figure 10) published in Istanbul. The text is a brief statement written on the aims of the publisher, Kurdish Cooperation and Progress Society by Tawfiq (later known as Piramerd), a writer from Sulaymaniya. Other journals, *Rojî Kurd* (1913), *Bangî Kurd* (1914), and *Jîn* (1918-19), featured many articles on the Kurds and the causes and cures of their social, cultural, linguistic, educational and political backwardness.

Albeit late-comers to the domain of prose, books (in Sorani) steadily contributed to the consolidation of the new written medium. Legal prose first appeared in translated pamphlets in the early 1920s, and scientific prose developed in primary school textbooks translated from Arabic and published in the late 1920s (cf. 7.5.5.3).

By the early 1980s, most of the major forms of non-fictional prose--e.g.,

essays, history, criticism, reportage, biography, travel, dialogue and religion, politics, polemics and science (Peyre 1983)—were represented in the literary language. To give a more accurate picture, the developmental stages proposed by Kloss (1978:48-50) may be used as a crude measurement. According to Kloss, this type of prose evolves in four stages:

> 1) ***Popular Prose*** roughly corresponds to primary school level, although not written for children alone,
>
> 2) ***Refined Prose*** roughly corresponds to secondary school level, including summaries of essential scientific or technological findings; some of these (e.g., literary criticism, biography, history and other literature of the language) may contain original data; also characteristic of this stage is "horizontal differentiation" of magazines into those catering to special audiences, e.g., youth, women, etc.,
>
> 3) ***Learned Prose*** roughly corresponds to college level education; the beginning of original research work, although largely restricted to community-oriented and other closely related problems; "vertical differentiation" of magazines, e.g., two types of literary periodicals, etc., and
>
> 4) ***All Round Prose***, attempts to cover all areas of contemporary research at all levels.

The evidence examined in chapter two and here makes it clear that "refined" prose has already emerged (cf. 7.5.5.3), although original research has been limited to the fields of social science and the humanities (cf. 7.6.1). Both "horizontal" and "vertical" differentiation of magazines have also occurred (cf. 7.3.5.4).

8.6.2 Fictional Prose

The first fictional work in Sorani Kurdish, *Le Xewma* 'In My Dream', was written by Jamil Sa'ib (1897-1951), and appeared serially in *Jiyanewe* and *Jiyan* in 1925-26. Another story written by Piramerd (1867-1951), *Awatî Dil* (The Heart's Yearning), was published in the pages of *Jiyan* during 1932-33 (Arif 1977:39). Since then, the journals have continued to be the main vehicle for publishing short stories and novels. The literary monthly *Gelawêj* (1939-49), for example, has left its mark on the progressive growth of this genre. Another journal, *Şefeq* (1958), encouraged fictional prose works by offering prizes for the best Kurdish stories (Haydari 1984:84). According to Arif (p. 151), 126 "artistic" (i.e., belletristic) stories (*çîrokî hunerî*) appeared in the press between the years 1925 and 1960; a list of the works published in book form (p.178)

shows only 16 titles for the same 35-year period.

The early fictional works were all original compositions by native writers who found fiction a convenient practical vehicle for criticizing the political and social conditions in Kurdistan and in the country at large. The writers, all bilinguals or trilinguals, were familiar with Arabic or Turkish fiction, including translations from European literature. Translations of Western works, mostly short stories, started to appear in the literary journals, most notably in *Gelawêj*.

Since the 1960s, fiction and drama have become very popular forms of literary expression. Short stories, better suited to the circumstances of a troubled journalism and book publishing situation, appear regularly even within the limited pages of journals such as *Rizgarî* (Emancipation), published in the mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan (No. 1, 1985, pp. 6-7). The genre has emerged and continues to expand in Iran, where Kurdish publishing was proscribed before 1979. A number of short stories were written by a young writer, Salahuddin Muhtadi, in the 1960s and circulated privately in handwritten form. Another writer published the story *Baqebên* in Tehran after the fall of the Shah's regime.

Like other domains of writing, fictional prose has gradually been purified. According to Arif's (1977) survey of Kurdish fiction in the 1925-60 period, the prose of the first stage (1925-39) was dominated by loanwords, especially from Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The language of the second stage (1939-50) was quite "mature and fresh" (*puxt û paraw*) and became "fluent and pure." The prose of the third stage (1951-60) was found to be less elastic, since it had been affected by the influx of unfamiliar coinages (p. 164; cf., also, 8.4.2.2. and 8.4.3).

8.6.3 Prose in Conflict with Poetry

Although the new functional differentiation of the language had provided a firm basis for prose production, poetry continued to flourish, as indicated by the data in Table 59. Even though a trend of increasing use of prose was

Table 59. Prose and Poetry in Iraqi Kurdish Books, 1920-77

		Poetry Titles		Prose Titles	
Year	# of Books	#	%	#	%
1920-57	266	104	39.0	162	61.1
1958-77	852	298	34.8	556	65.1
Total	**1120***	**402**	**35.8**	**718**	**64.1**

Source: Data from Table 20

* Total No. of books is 1122 (cf. Table 20); data on two titles were lacking.

discernible in the post-Monarchy period, voices of concern over the hypertrophy of poetry were heard.

The following comments by Bashir Mushir, a nationalist who was residing in Baghdad, are representative of these concerns:

> Oh the poets!! As if they are wasp-nests! They have crowded upon the people! I can claim that the number of uncultivated (*kolke*) poets almost exceeds the number of readers of poetry!! Just look at it: whoever takes a pen is a poet.
>
> My dear, what is poetry? Is it bread? Water? What is it? ...Every nation needs poets, but not this many!
>
> If I write a poem once in a while, I do not intend to be known as a poet; it is only because separation from my homeland, beloved Kurdistan, has made my burning heart affect my feeling and senses...
>
> ...Oh, dear educated [group] of the Kurdish nation! Pay more attention to [prose] writing, to political, scientific and literary writing, not just poetry and poetry!! This is because more enlightenment can be achieved through [prose] writing and it will be more useful for our nation. And I assure you we won't be short of poetry... (*Rojî Nö*, 1960, No. 8, p. 36).

Given the fact that poetry has been universally esteemed as the highest form of literary art, a number of factors are also known to have contributed to this situation: (a) the literary heritage, all in poetry, had to be put into print, (b) in the absence of printing facilities, poetry could be copied and circulated more conveniently in manuscript form, (c) censorship has prevented most Kurdish authors from writing openly about the political, social and economic conditions in Kurdistan. For example, during the 1920s, although the intelligentsia felt cheated by the British Mandate and the League of Nations and hated the Iraqi monarchy, they were not able to criticize them in the press. However, a considerable quantity of poetry (circulated privately and published later) was composed by contemporary critics (cf. 5.1.4), and (d) under the prevailing political conditions, poetry has been used as a powerful instrument of political agitation; its short form, its emotional appeal, and ease of memorization are the most suitable to strict censorship circumstances (cf., e.g., Dabaghi 1984:14-24 on the important role of poetry in the nationalist movement of the Kurds of Iran during 1941-46).

In his study of the processes of "language enfoldment," Kloss (1978:44) concludes that "contrary to a wide-spread romantic notion, the impact of non-narrative prose is stronger among newly literate populations than that of poetry and fiction" (cf., also, Joseph 1980:161). In spite of poetry's inseparable ties

with Kurdish life, Kloss' generalization is supported by the evidence presented in this study (cf., below on the question of quality in literary production).

8.6.4 The New Codification of Poetry

Poetry has undergone great transformations in both form and content since the work of Abdulla Goran appeared in the 1950s. The main changes in form have been the gradual departure from the rigid metric system and rhyme patterns borrowed from classical Arabic and Persian literatures, and the adoption of the syllabic verse commonly used in Kurdish oral poetry, especially in *beyt*s or popular ballads. Writing in 1950 on his gradual abandonment of the classical meter, Goran (1971:12) called the syllabic meter of the popular ballads "our special national meter" (*weznî taybetî neteweyîman*). Another important change is the simplification, modernization and purification of poetic diction. Free rhyme and meters are now used by the majority of the young generation of poets.

The change in poetic content is equally radical. Serious poetry is now almost entirely secular and continues to emphasize the nationalist themes of Haji Qadir Koyi under new conditions: class struggle and the fight for democracy and freedom; social themes such as the oppression of peasants and women, poverty, backwardness, etc. predominate in much of the poetry (Khaznadar 1967). The description of nature is also different in the sense that beauty in nature is often portrayed in terms of the concrete conditions of Kurdistan.

These developments stem from both internal conditions and external influences. The expansion of modern education and the formation of a reading public have contributed to the democratization of literary production and consumption, while the weakening of feudal relations has brought the middle strata of Kurdish society into ascendency in the intellectual sphere. These changes would probably not have been so effective or so rapid without the impact of the anti-colonial movement of the present century, which introduced similar changes in the literatures of all the Islamic peoples (Schimmel 1983:969-72). Even Arabic poetry "has at last freed itself completely from the fetters of classical tradition" (*Ibid.*, p. 971). In all these changes, modern Western literature has served as a model and as an important source of inspiration.

8.6.5 Quantity and Quality in Literary Development

The data on Kurdish books and journals (cf. 7.2 and 7.3) reveal that the Kurdish language suffers from scarcity of print output in spite of the fact that a considerable quantity of classical and modern literature remains in manuscript form.

Understanding the relative role of quantity and quality in literary production provides insight into the problems of language standardization. What is the role of literature, both poetry and prose, in the formation and acceptance of a norm? What role do writers and poets play in language cultivation?

According to Gilbert (1977:479), "high-quality literature creates (or defines, justifies) a high quality language (or the upgrading of dialect to a language); and a high-quality language creates a high-quality literature...Still no matter how it is defined, 'quality of written material' and the associated reputations of the writers probably constitute THE most important component of *ausbau.*"

In terms of quality, the new-style poetry of Goran has been ranked by many as a true masterpiece of Kurdish literature. None of the prose works, however, seem to have made such a strong impact, although Ibrahim Ahmad's short stories and his *Janî Gel* (Suffering of the People) are greatly appreciated. In the sphere of non-fictional prose, two compilations have been influential in consolidating the position of the language, both among native speakers and non-natives. One was Amin Zaki's two-volume history of Kurds and Kurdistan (*Kurd û Kurdistan*, Baghdad, 1931; 1937), the other, Ala'uddin Sajjadi's "History of Kurdish Literature" (*Mêjûy Edebî Kurdî*, Baghdad, 1952). The latter was especially valued for its more refined prose, biographies of 24 poets mostly appearing for the first time, selection of excellent poems, historical and literary analysis. The coined word *mêjû* 'history' (replacing the Arabic loanword *tarîx*) dislodged the rival coinage *dîrîk/dîrok* and gained currency in Sorani due to its use in the book (*dîrok* is, however, used in Kurmanji because it appeared in the Kurmanji literature of Syria in the 1930s and 1940s).

Chapter 8 Conclusions

Sorani Kurdish has been undergoing an intensive process of codification on all levels, especially since the early 1920s. This codification is not complete yet, and the different levels of language have been affected to varying degrees:

1. ***Phonology.*** The phonological system of the Sulemani subdialect has been normalized by (a) adopting certain features of the "MUKRIYANI" subgroup of dialects, (b) purification of a number of borrowed phonemes, and (c) other minor changes.

2. ***Orthography.*** The Arabic alphabet is to a great extent codified on the basis of *phonemization* and *purification.* Letters representing Arabic phonemes that do not exist in Kurdish have been purged and special diacritical marks have been devised to represent Kurdish phonemes. A number of other phonemes and their graphemes are being purged because they are considered to be borrowings from the Arabic language. The alphabet is now largely phonemic, with only two letters representing more than one phoneme– ی /*î, y*/ and و /*u, w*/. Spelling is, however, far from being codified, although increasing research on this problem is being carried out.

The Kurmanji dialect is written in three alphabets, the Roman (by the Kurds of Turkey and, occasionally, the USSR), the Cyrillic (in the USSR), and Arabic (in Iraq and Iran). Orthographic disunity, together with political fragmentation of Kurdistan, has been the most serious impediment toward unification of the two major dialects.

The introduction of punctuation and paragraphing, which were absent in the scribal literature is another feature of the standard written language.

3. ***Morphology.*** The most important differences between the subdialects of Sorani are found on the morphological level. The norm of Sorani standard is recognizably based on the Sulemani subdialect, and a norm-conscious attitude has developed among speakers and writers of Sulemani origin, who consider the morphological features of their subdialect to be *the* norm, rejecting the use of "MUKRIYANI" or other dialect features. This state of "norm conflict" is continuing and a number of normalization trends are already discernible (e.g., the adoption of some Mukriyani features by Sulemani writers). The norm conflict is characterized by the absence of intelligibility problems.

The numerous morphological features of Arabic and Persian introduced into the written language were almost totally purged in the post-1918 period.

4. ***Vocabulary.*** The lexical stock has been modernized and extensively purified. Registers in the areas of administration and sciences (exact and social) have been created though their use is restricted by non-linguistic factors of a political nature. An important index of progress in standardization is the maturing of lexicography. The appearance of monolingual dictionaries is considered a major step in the process of standardization.

5. ***Grammar.*** Codification of the syntax is a recent development, and began largely as a by-product of teaching Kurdish in the primary and secondary schools of Iraq. There are no significant syntactic differences between the subdialects of Sorani.

6. ***Prose, Poetry and Genres.*** The most important change in the literary language is the formation of prose, both fictional and non-fictional, and its increasing supremacy over poetry. Poetry itself has been codified along new lines: the classical forms--meter, rhyme and diction--have been abandoned, the content has been largely secularized, and new themes dominate the art.

Stylistic differentiation appropriate to the functional differentiation of the language has taken place. Almost all of the literary forms and genres of journalism (e.g., editorials, reportage, commentary, etc.), genres of fictional prose (the novel, short story, drama), and the forms of non-fictional prose (essay, biography, travelogue, etc.) have made their appearance.

Extralinguistic factors, especially political restrictions, have retarded the codification process. Various Iraqi governments have opposed alphabet reform (1920s-1930s), the establishment of a language academy (before 1970), the use of Kurdish in secondary schools (before 1970) and at the university level. However, another non-linguistic factor, *Kurdayetî* 'the Kurdish nationalist movement', has acted as a strong codifying agent. Purification, as the linguistic expression of this nationalism, has operated at all levels of language structure and use.

The evidence presented in this chapter reveals that codification, like functional elaboration, has been largely motivated by Kurdish nationalism. Codification, too, has become a site of struggle between the central government

and Kurdish nationalists, although government interference in Iraq has been more limited in this case. Purification of the phonological, orthographic, and morphological/lexical structure and poetic meter are clear manifestations of nationalism. The modernization of the vocabulary and literary forms has also been motivated by nation-building considerations.

The struggle for the codification of Kurdish in Iraq was largely limited to the Sorani norm. The use of Kurmanji in broadcasting and publishing began in Iraq in 1958. However, as the data presented in chapter 7 demonstrated in great detail, Kurmanji in Iraq has retained a position subordinate to Sorani.

The codification of Sorani was, therefore, a site of struggle between various forces. The main conflict was between Kurdish nationalism and the central governments of Iraq. Other conflicts occurred between the Sorani and Kurmanji norms and, later, between the subdialects of Sulemani and Mukri. The codification of a norm does not lead to immediate acceptance by the speakers of other dialects. One important issue is, therefore, the scope of acceptance of the codified form of Sorani by the speech community. This question will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE SORANI NORM

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the extent of acceptance of Sorani as developed on the basis of the Sulemani subdialect by the speakers of other (sub-)dialects. Due to political restrictions on certain types of field work (cf. 2.1.10), it has not been possible to apply appropriate data collection methods, such as face-to-face interviews, mail questionnaires and telephone surveys. In the absence of data on attitudes and preferences of dialect speakers, the actual use of Sorani in print and broadcast media by (sub-)dialect speakers is taken to represent the spread of the Sorani standard.

The codified language (i.e., Sorani standard based on the Sulemani subdialect) is universally accepted *in writing* by the speakers of other subdialects (Sinayi, Mukri, *Soran*) in both Iraq and Iran, although speakers of some subdialects, especially Mukri, prefer to keep some of their own phonological and morphological features. The orthography and modernized vocabulary is invariably accepted.

Spoken standard Sorani is also used in formal contexts, such as in speeches and broadcasts in Iraq and Iran. Its impact has, however, gone beyond formal contexts, due to the extension of education and the influence of broadcasting. In fact, as early as 1954-56, dialectologist MacKenzie (1961:xviii) was unable to find pure (sub-)dialect speakers not affected by official Sorani.

Acceptance by Speakers of Kurmanji and Other Dialects

It is known in Iraq that literate speakers of Hawrami and Luri (Fayli) use Sorani if they choose to write in Kurdish or to communicate with the larger population. The situation is quite different when we look at the language use of Kurmanji speakers in Iraq. While the print and broadcast media were dominated by Sorani in the pre-1958 period, the use of Kurmanji has proliferated in

Republican Iraq. While there are Kurmanji speakers who use Sorani in writing, the fact that they regularly contribute to the press in their dialect indicates non-acceptance of the Sorani standard.

In Iran, too, Sorani has dominated the print media, although Kurmanji speakers (both Iraqi refugees and natives of Iranian Kurdistan) prefer to use their own dialect. This is best documented by the letter to the editor section of the bidialectal journal *Amanc* published in Tehran. The Kurds of Turkey, Syria and the USSR have regularly used their Kurmanji dialect.

Is Kurdish a Bi-standard Language?

Many Sorani speakers believe that their codified dialect is *the* standard Kurdish language. It is more accurate, however, on the strength of the evidence presented in this study, to state that Kurdish, like a number of other languages (e.g., Armenian, Norwegian and Albanian), is a bi-standard language, and will develop as such in spite of the proscription of the use of the Kurmanji dialect in Turkey and Syria (cf. chapter 5, Note 17).

Historically, Sorani and Kurmanji developed along parallel lines before 1918. When modern political organizations appeared in Kurdistan in and after 1908, both dialects were used in their journals (cf. 7.2.1 and 7.3.1), apparently because members were speakers of both Sorani and Kurmanji. However, *Kurdistan* (1898-1902, 1908-9, 1917-18), published by the Kurmanji speaking Badir Khan family, appeared in Kurmanji. Similarly, *Bangî Kurd* (Baghdad, 1914) was in the Sorani dialect of the publisher. The situation in today's growing Kurdish diaspora is quite similar to that of the pre-1918 Ottoman empire. The Kurds of Turkey and the all-Kurmanji organizations use Kurmanji alone in their print and broadcast media. The publications of all-Kurdistan organizations such as those of the student movement (Kurdish Students Society in Europe, Association of Kurdish Students Abroad, etc.) are generally bidialectal (for more information on dialect use, cf. 7.2.2.4.A, 7.3.5.1, 7.4.10.2, 7.5.7, 10.4.0).

The unification of bi-standard languages has proved to be extremely difficult. This is in part due to the fact that unification is not a purely linguistic process. Dialectal disunity is tied to political, economic and social conditions under which it has evolved. The Albanian language achieved a considerable degree of unification under conditions conducive to unification–an ideologically unified and centralist state, which aimed at eliminating rural-urban, social class, and regional cleavages (on the unification of Albanian, cf. Byron 1976). Norwegian remains divided, however.

In the Kurdish case, political unification seems to be the primary condition for dialectal unification. Even in the absence of political unity (i.e., a united Kurdistan), certain forms of unification e.g., on the orthographic level, can be achieved if all the Kurds are allowed to exercise language and communication rights in their homeland. No doubt, an even and simultaneous democratization of life in the countries which have divided Kurdistan seems to be unlikely under

present circumstances. As in the past, language freedoms and rights in even one country will leave their mark on the linguistic environment of the whole region. For instance, the balance of power and prestige will change in favor of Kurmanji if the Kurds of Turkey are allowed to enjoy language rights. Also, the Dimili dialect in Turkey will emerge as a third important literary dialect.

In the case of the Kurds of Armenia, a relatively small community, the status of the language depends not only on political freedoms but also on state support. Left to the regulatory forces of the emerging market, the Kurdish minority of Armenia and other newly independent republics will be subject to the law of the "survival of the fittest." Like other small minorities in the Western world, they will be assimilated into the dominant language. However, with adequate state support for Kurdish language electronic (television, radio, video) and print media, the use of Kurdish as the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools, and free linguistic and cultural association with other parts of Kurdistan, the small community of Armenia will play a significant role in the survival of the language. Also, regional rivalries among the countries of Western Asia will leave their mark on the competing dialect bases of standard Kurdish.

CHAPTER 10

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF STANDARDIZATION

Continuing some of the topics covered in Chapters 3 and 4, this chapter examines relevant trends of socio-economic development of Kurdish society in the post-1918 period: the growth of urbanization, the rise of a reading public (cf. 4.2.4), increasing literacy, and the struggle for the conscious and planned development of the Kurdish language--language planning led by a language academy.

10.1.0 Urbanization and Standardization

Historically, urbanization is associated with the extensive development of the written use of language, mass literacy and mass education. There are, however, considerable differences between the industrial and pre-industrial or "feudal" city in all aspects of life (Sjoberg 1960), including the use of language. The most detailed division of labor and specialization are found in the industrial city. Mass literacy and mass education are products of the industrial society, which requires extensive social interaction and maximized communication (Sjoberg 1964:893-94).

It is a truism that all types of intellectual activity have flourished more in towns and cities than in the country (Thompson 1930:192). This is especially true regarding the more diversified and refined use of language in literature, science, philosophy and religion. The industrial city is also the breeding ground of language standardization.

The industrial city exercises two contradictory influences: it both diversifies and uniformizes. The economy of the pre-industrial city is characterized by its non-standard measurements--currency, prices, weights, measures, manufacturing and marketing of goods, and so on. In spite of the great diversity that industrialization introduces into the economy, production and

exchange will be crippled without standardization. The same process operates in language use. In fact, the Linguistic School of Prague considers a standard language as a major linguistic correlate of urban culture. The degree of language standardization is, thus, taken as a measure of the urbanization of the culture of the speakers (Garvin and Mathiot 1960:783). The standardizing impact of urbanization has been discerned even in the non-industrial town of Ramallah in Palestine (Cadora 1970).

Although Kurdish society has been predominantly rural and tribal, urban life in Kurdistan is of ancient origins. Feudal towns with extensive division between manual and intellectual labor were flourishing in the 16th-17th centuries (cf. 3.1.1).

The earliest census data on Kurdish urbanization (in the post-1918 period) dates back to 1926 and shows that the Kurds of the USSR were predominantly rural (96.6% rural and 3.4% urban). By 1970, the urban population had grown to 38.6% (Akiner 1983:211).

In Iraq, the percentage of urban population in the two predominantly Kurdish provinces was: Sulaymaniya 24% in 1947 and 38% in 1957 and Arbil 21% in 1947 and 26% in 1957 (McCrary and Sa'eed 1968:86). These figures demonstrate both a low level and increasing rate of urbanization.

The available information on urbanization in Kurdistan (Iran and Iraq) indicates the following trends: (a) as a whole, Kurdish society is rapidly urbanizing; the population of all Kurdish towns in Iran increased over 110 percent between the two censuses of 1956 and 1976; (b) the Sorani-speaking population is more urbanized that the Kurmanji population. In Iraq, Sulaymaniya alone was twice the size of the Kurmanji towns in 1956, while in Iran no towns have emerged in Kurmanji areas; the only Hawrami-speaking town is Paveh in Iran, with a population of 5,740 in 1976; and, (c) this rapid urbanization is mostly due to rural migration in both countries. In Iraqi Kurdistan, "insecurity during the conflicts between the Kurdish nationalists and Iraqi Government forces, the destruction of villages by the Iraqi air force, and a severe drought between 1958 and 1961 are the major factors which have precipitated or reinforced this trend towards greater urbanization" (Lawless 1971:104). In Iran, the land reform of the early 1960s was the main source of rural migration. According to one calculation, 52.5% of the 67.9% increase in Mahabad's population and 81.5% of the 61.4% increase in Sanandaj's population between 1966 and 1976 can be attributed to rural migration (Hooglund 1982:117).

Kurdish urbanization is of the non-industrial type. The towns are mercantile and administrative centers, each serving the hundreds of villages encircling them. The separation of industrial and mercantile products from agriculture, which characterizes the development of modern Western cities (Thompson 1930:189-90), has proceeded very slowly in this part of the world. This situation, identified by some researchers as "urbanization without urbanism," is characteristic of many developing societies, including Kurdistan.

Table 60. Sorani and Kurmanji Speaking Towns of Iraq and Iran

IRAQ

	A 1947	B 1965	% Increase over A
Sorani-speaking Towns			
Arbil	27,036	90,320	234.0
Sulaymaniya	33,510	86,822	159.0
Koy Sanjaq	7,703	10,338	342.0
Halabja	6,395	11,206	75.2
Kifri	4,760	8,500	78.5
Chamchamal	1,818	7,416	307.9
Shaqlawa	3,355	6,814	103.0
Qala Diza	2,795	6,250	123.0
Rawandiz	3,320	5,807	74.9
Altun Kopru	3,744	4,581	22.3
Raniya	1,301	4,090	214.3
Kurmanji-speaking Towns			
Dahok	5,621	16,998	202.0
Zakho	14,249	14,790	3.7
Aqra	5,579	8,659	55.2
Amadiya	2,511	2,578	2.6

IRAN

	C 1965	D 1966	E 1976	% Increase over C
Sorani-speaking Towns				
Sanandaj	40,641	45,578	95,872	135.8
Mahabad	20,332	28,610	44,067	116.7
Saqqiz	12,729	17,834	30,661	140.8
Bukan	5,307	9,357	20,579	287.7
Baneh	4,800	8,617	15,552	224.0
Marivan	1,384	4,333	13,610	883.3
Sardasht	2,645	5,759	10,207	285.8
Oshnaviya	2,778	4,248	7,438	167.7

Source: A. Sousa (1953:35-36); B, Najm al-Din (1970) and Iraq Republic (1966); C, Iran (1961); D, Iran (1966); E, Iran 1981 .

10.2.0 Literacy and the Formation of a Reading Public

If we apply UNESCO's definition of a literate society, i.e, one with no less than 70% literate population of 15^{+} years old, much of Kurdistan except the towns must be considered illiterate. Progress in literacy has, however, been considerable, especially in the last few decades.

The earliest census with information on literacy among the Kurds is the 1926 Soviet data which indicates that 3.7% of the Kurds and 2.1% of the Yazidis (believers in the Yazidi religion, most of whom are Kurdish speakers) were literate. Only 2.3% (47 persons) of the literate Kurds and 10.4% (32 persons) of the total literate Yazidis were literate in their own language. By 1970, however, over 99.0% had acquired literacy (Akiner 1983:212) in both the native language and a second or third language (cf. 1.2.5).

The next census, taken in Turkey in 1927, shows a similar pattern in all the predominantly Kurdish *vilayets* (provinces) (cf. Table 61). The literacy rate was 39.4% in the largest city, Istanbul and 10.0% in the new capital city of Ankara and 8.1% for the whole country.

Table 61. Literacy in Selected Kurdish Provinces of Turkey, 1927 (all ages)

Province	Unable to Read		Can Read		Total Population
	Number	%	Number	%	
Bayazit	101,921	97.4	2,665	2.5	194,586
Bitlis	89,018	98.2	1,613	1.7	90,631
Diyarbekir	185,569	96.5	6,626	3.4	194,316
Hakkari	18,858	98.6	263	1.3	24,980
Mardin	176,550	97.8	3,906	2.1	183,471
Siirt	98,927	96.5	3,506	3.4	102,433
Van	74,344	98.7	985	1.3	75,329

Source: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (1930:30-49). * Percentages provided.

Although conducted three decades later, the first census of Iran revealed a similar pattern. The following percentages for two areas of Iranian Kurdistan were computed on the basis of the decennial censuses:

Table 62. Percentage of Literate Population in Saqqez and Mahabad Areas, Iran, 1956-76 (15+ years)

	1956	1966	1976
Saqqiz			
Census District*	5.83	9.75	16.95
Saqqiz City	19.91	30.67	36.92
Rural Areas	3.51	4.45	9.00
Mahabad			
Census District	6.20	10.72	22.08
Mahabad City	24.22	32.74	44.42
Rural Areas	3.07	3.65	9.33

* Includes city and rural areas
Source: See Note 1.

The first census of Iraq, taken in 1947, shows a similar trend of a high rate of illiteracy in the population of 5+ years old. The following figures from some *qadhas* of Sulaymaniya *liwa* are representative (Table 63):

Table 63. The Literate Population in two Qadhas of Sulaymaniya, 1947 (5+ years old)

	Total Population	Literates	%*
Sulaymaniya Qadha Center[a]	30,669	5,528	18.02
Surdash Nahiya	9,564	236	2.46
Tanjaro Nahiya	8,244	221	2.68
Qara-Dagh Nahiya	7,739	331	4.27
Baziyan Nahiya	3,495	54	1.54
Halabjah Qadha Center[b]	17,570	1107	6.30
Khurmal Nahiya	15,237	704	4.62
Warmawah Nahiya	5,605	75	1.33
Penjwin Nahiya	17,451	456	2.61

* Percentages provided. [a] Sulaymaniya City and 75 villages. [b] Halabjah town and 98 villages. *Source:* Based on Iraq Government (1954).

As is the case in other parts of the world, literacy rates in Kurdistan are much higher in the urban areas. Language-wise, literacy is acquired and measured in Iran, Turkey and Syria in the official language. In Iraq, literacy in some parts of the Kurdish areas is in both Kurdish and Arabic, and in the USSR, it is often in three languages–the native tongue, the national language of the republic, and Russian.

The Formation of a Reading Public

A "reading public" is defined here as a population of individuals capable of independent reading. The minimum age at which an individual is capable of independent cultural activity is considered to be fifteen years. The size of a *potential* reading population can be determined roughly on the basis of the number of literates fifteen years old and over. In 1950, the world's reading public represented 36% of the world population, while in 1961 it had risen to 40% (Escarpit 1966:87).

It is, however, more difficult to determine the size of an *actual* reading public. Literacy, defined as the ability to read and write a sentence, does not necessarily lead the literate person to reading. Decisive factors are the degree of intellectual development or education, type of political system, and social organization. An economically well off, educated and large reading public creates the demand for literary production and, at the same time, provides a fertile breeding ground for writers (*Ibid.*, pp. 81-82).

Pre-20th century Kurdish literature lacked a sizable reading *public* which was limited to the clergy and, on an even more limited scale, to the landed nobility (cf. 4.2.3). It is, however, possible to identify a growing reading audience in Iraq and Iran. While census data reveal growing literacy (cf. above), we can gain a more accurate view of the size of the potential reading public by examining the number of post-primary school students, which has increased significantly since the end of 19th century (cf. 4.2.5). While the ratio of students (in both traditional mosque schools and modern institutions) to population was 1.2% in the Sulaymaniya region about a century ago, secondary students alone formed 3.4% of the total population in 1978-79 (cf. Tables 14, 15 and 64). Adding to the 23,574 secondary student population of Sulaymaniya Governorate (1978-79) the number of students (920) in teacher training schools and those (3,244) in vocational schools (Iraq Republic 1978:247, 253), the number is 27,713, i.e., 4.0%. The ratio of teachers to total population has also increased from 0.1% in the late 1890s to 0.7% in 1978-79 (a total of 5,195 teachers, i.e., 180 in vocational schools, 37 in teacher training schools, 705 in secondary schools and 4,273 in primary schools; cf. *Ibid.*).

In Iranian Kurdistan, too, a significant increase in the size of educated groups has occurred since the 1950s. According to the 1950 census, only 6% of the population of the Sanandaj census district (951 villages with a total population of 266,693) and 14% of the population of Sanandaj city (population 40,641) had

Table 64. Number of Secondary School Students and Teachers in Arbil and Sulaymaniya Governorates, 1947-79

	Population		Number of Secondary School Students		# of Teachers
	1947[a]	1977[b]	1947-48[c]	1978-79[d]	1978-79[e]
Arbil	240,273	541,456	324 (0.1%)	22,645 (4.1%)	753
Sulaymaniya	222,732	690,557	451 (0.2%)	23,549 (3.4%)	705

Sources: [a] & [c] Government of Iraq, *Statistical Abstract*, 1948, p. 67, 18. [b] Iraq Republic, *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, 1978, p. 22. [d] & [e] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

completed one or more years of formal education. About 3% of the population in the District and 14% in the city had completed elementary school. Less than one per cent had completed secondary school and only 111 persons were receiving college education. Twenty years later (according to the 1976 census), 59.75% of the age group 6-11 years old, 53.6% of 12-14 years, and 31.0% of 15-19 years were attending school in Sanandaj Shahrestan (population 264,102). The number of those attending college had increased to 475 (the geographic size of the Sanandaj census district was decreased in 1976 census; this explains why the population decreased from 266,000 to 264,000 in the twenty year period).

The Middle Class. The size of the new intelligentsia is, in fact, much larger than indicated by the above-mentioned figures. A growing middle class, consisting of civil servants, nurses, doctors, engineers, technicians, lawyers, media professionals and others, have changed the face of traditional urban life in Kurdistan.

A similar change has occurred in the composition of the traditional middle class, which consisted mostly of shopkeepers, artisans, handicraftsmen, and small merchants. New professional differentiation and the increasing integration of the local markets into the world economy have offered business opportunities in or out of the traditional *bazaar*.

The Kurdish reading public in Iraq is distinguished by a number of features: (a) no member of this reading public is literate in Kurdish only. Until the late 1970s, mother tongue education was limited to the primary school, where Arabic was also taught. The more "cultured" readers have invariably received their post-secondary school education in Arabic and, as such, are well-read in this language, (b) native tongue literacy is limited to Sorani dialect speakers only, (c) more than half of the Kurdish areas are not provided with mother tongue literacy, and (d) the reading public is essentially secular in education, although the traditional clerical population still exists.

10.3.0 The Organization of Language Planning

The cultivation of the Kurdish language is due largely to the efforts of individuals. Organized linguistic and cultural activity by the Kurds has generally been considered "illegal" in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey.

10.3.1 The Contribution of Individuals

Individuals have contributed to language reform in different capacities--as journalists, translators, broadcasters, lexicographers, grammarians, prose writers, etc. Special studies are required to assess the role of individual reformers, although it is known that the following names, mentioned throughout this study, have consciously devoted much of their work to language standardization in Iraqi Kurdistan:

1. Tawfiq Wahby (1891-1984), alphabet reform, Romanization, lexical modernization, grammatical description, lexicography.
2. Huzni Mukriyani (1886-1947), lexical modernization, lexicography.
3. Giw Mukriyani (1903-72), lexical modernization, lexicography, alphabet reform, Romanization.
4. Mihamad Khal, lexicography.
5. Nuri Ali Amin, grammatical description, alphabet reform, textbook writing.
6. Ibrahim Baldar, alphabet reform (textbook writer).
7. Abdulla Goran (1904-62), innovator in poetry, prose writer, translator.
8. Ibrahim Ahmad, prose writer, poet, journalist.
9. Ala'uddin Sajjadi (1910-1985), literary critic, journalist.
10. Hamid Faraj, alphabet reform.
11. Jemal Nebez, scientific terminology, Romanization.

10.3.2 Group Efforts

The first group efforts at language reform began early in this century by Kurdish nationalist political organizations in the Ottoman empire. One of the objectives of Kurd Telebe Hêvî Cemiyetî (Kurdish Student Hope Society) was "the reform, compilation and cultivation of the Kurdish langauge and literature" (quoted by Kurdvani 1925:41). The organization's journal, *Rojî Kurd* (1913), published a thoroughly revised alphabet based on the Arabic script (cf. 8.2.0).

The second organized effort was made by an organization called Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti 'Kurdistan Advancement Society' (cf. 7.2.1) in 1918-19 in Istanbul. Publishing of the scribal literature and the formation of a Language

Association, *Dil Encümeni* (*Jîn*, No. 15, 1919, pp. 11-18, quoted in Bozarslan 1985:71) were on the agenda of the organization. A publishing organ was also set up (cf. 7.2.1). However, under the unfavorable political conditions of the early 1920s, the Society was dissolved.

The Kurds of Iraq have been actively involved in planning efforts since the mid-1920s. A major obstacle to formal and group efforts in Iraq, as well as in other countries where Kurds live, has been the need for acquiring government permission for any organized activity.

The first organization that dealt with language cultivation, Cem'iyetî Zanistî Kurdan (Kurdish Scientific Society) was founded by three Kurds in Sulaymaniya in 1926. The organization was licenced by the Interior Minister in a letter addressed to the Governor of Sulaymaniya *liwa*, copies of which were sent to the Chief of Police and the Administrative Inspector of the province. The main purpose of the Society, according to its program, was "to diffuse science and knowledge in Kurdistan by a) publishing journals and scheduled treatises and, b) translation and composition of textbooks and other [books]..." (Article 1). It was emphasized (Article 5) that the Society would not get involved in politics in any form (Cem'iyetî Zanistî Kurdan 1926).

The Kurdish Scientific Society's revenues came from membership admission fees (minimum one rupee), monthly fees and donations. According to *Zarî Kirmancî* (No. 1, May 24, 1926, p. 8), 2,520 rupees were donated by twenty-two notables soon after the formation of the organization. An early effort in language reform was the purification of vocabulary (cf. 8.4.2.1). The Society went through many upheavals; it was closed after the mass anti-government protest of the people of Sulaymaniya in September 1930 (cf. 5.1.4), reopened in 1932, disactivated due to financial problems in 1936, and finally its licence was revoked in 1938. During the last years of its existence, the Society devoted all its efforts, under the leadership of Piramerd, to the propagation of literacy in Kurdish (Sajjadi 1943:14-16).

The second organization partly involved in language planning was founded by Ma'ruf Jiyawuk in Baghdad in 1930. Yaney Serkewtinî Kurdan (Kurdish Uplift Society) was a "literary club" not involved in politics in any way (Article 2), and aiming at "scientific and educational endeavors through guidance and propagation of the Kurdish language and its revival by means of composing, translating, and education of the Kurds..." (Yaney Serkewtin 1930:1).

Like its predecessor, Yane led a turbulent life; the licence was acquired "after much struggle and trouble" (Yaney Serkewtin 1943-44:27). Financial and political restrictions were most prominent before 1958, while political fragmentation, i.e., the allegiance of the leadership and members to various parties, were inhibiting factors in the more liberal environment of 1958-61 (*Rojî Nö*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1960, pp. 26-28). Government control over this cultural organization under the Republican regime was as rigid as in the Monarchical period. The Society's elections, for example, had to be authorized by the military governor of Baghdad (*Hîwa*, Vol. 4, No. 31, p. 53). Like other political and

cultural organizations, Yane was dissolved after the beginning of the 1961 autonomist war. Its main contribution to standardization was the publication of the monthly *Hîwa*, which contained modern literary, mostly prose, works and research articles on the Kurdish language.

10.3.3 The Struggle for a Language Academy

Aware of political and financial restrictions on organized cultural and literary effort, Iraqi Kurds raised the demand for a government-sponsored language academy. As early as 1927, *Peyje* (No. 1, p.44) called for the formation of a scientific society (Cem'iyetî Me'arif).

When the Iraq Scientific Academy was founded by the Ministry of Education in 1947, the Kurdish press demanded the formation of a similar organ for the Kurdish language. *Nizar*, for example, called for the establishment of an academy (No. 4, May 15, 1948:6-8) and a chair of Kurdish language and literature at Baghdad University (No. 11, August 31, 1948, pp. 9-10), asking the Kurdish intellectuals to form a "Translation and Publishing Committee" in spite of financial problems (*Ibid.*). In 1957, *Jîn* (No. 1342, April 25) demanded the formation of a language academy. Also, Jemal Nebez (1957:70; 1957a: p. *w*) emphasized the need for a 'language academy' or "Kořî Zaniyarî Zimanewanî."

During the early years of the Republican regime, demands for a language academy were voiced by the Kurdish Democratic Party (e.g., in *Xebat*, July 28, 1960), the press (e.g., *Jîn*, December 17, 1959), individuals (e.g., in *Rojî Nö*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1961, pp. 75-76), and in 1959 and 1960 by the first and second congress of Kurdish teachers. In spite of an initially positive response by the government in February 1960 (*Rojî Nö*, Vol. 1, No. 5, August 1960, p. 68), these demands were eventually turned down as being unnecessary and prejudicial to national unity (*al-Zamān*, March 9, 1960 quoted in *Middle East Record*, Vol. 1, 1960, p. 257).

10.3.4 The Kurdish Scientific Academy

The first and only Kurdish academy was founded in 1972 after nine years of intermittent war between the Kurds and the central government. In the absence of freedom of association, the formation of the academy had to be sanctioned by the bureaucracy of Ba'th Party. Thus, the constituting law of the Kurdish Academy, based on the provisions of article 42 (a) of Iraq's Interim Constitution, was promulgated in August 1970 by the Revolutionary Command Council, and signed by the President of the Republic.

The Kurdish Scientific Academy (henceforth the Academy), Kořî Zaniyarî Kurd, began as the Kurdish branch of the Iraqi Scientific Academy, although it was considered to be an independent body with separate legal character and having financial and administrative independence. The Academy was administered by a presidential council and represented by the Minister of

Education before the responsible authorities (Article 1).

The Academy was composed of five full-fledged, ten part-time, and an unspecified number of honorary and associate members (Article 6). The active members had to be Iraqis well-acquainted with the Kurdish language and having one of the following qualifications: (1) a mastery of one or more branches of knowledge with original research carried out or books published in the field of expertise and (2) being well-read in the Kurdish language and thoroughly versed in and capable of research in its idioms [dialects?] (Article 7). The president was "a president of an independent office" having the right to appoint officials and employees according to the ranks determined by the Academy (Article 14a). The budget came from an annual government grant, its revenues, savings, and donations (Article 21) ("Law of the Kurdish Academy," *GKZK*, Vol. 1, Part 1, 1973, 793-785).

The Law of the Kurdish Academy (*Ibid.*, pp. 790-91, text in English, slight changes in spelling and translation provided) defined the goals and aims of the institution as follows

Atricle 3. The Academy aims at:

a. Raising the studies and the scientific researches in Iraq to keep in line with scientific progress.

b. The safeguarding of the Kurdish language and developing it to the fulfilment of the requirements of sciences, literatures and arts.

c. Reviving the Kurdish and Islamic heritage in the sciences, literature and the arts.

d. Giving due attention to the study of the history of Iraq, her civilization in general and that of the Kurdish area in particular.

e. Publishing original research and encouraging the translation and compilation in the fields of the sciences, literature and the arts.

Article 4. The Academy endeavors to achieve its aims by the following means:

a. Compiling scientific and linguistic dictionaries.

b. Issuing magazines and bulletins.

c. Publishing books, documents and old texts.

d. Consolidating its relations with the Iraqi Scientific Academy and with academies and cultural and linguistic establishments in the Arab world and other countries.

e. Awarding prizes to researchers, authors and distinguished men of literature.

f. Offering financial aid to researchers, authors and translators.

g. The writing and translating of subjects chosen by the Academy.
h. Organizing discussions.
i. Establishing a library for the Academy, developing it, and paying due attention to printing [publishing].

Although the formation of the Academy was welcomed, criticism was not lacking. M. Mala Karim (1971), a member of the Union of Kurdish Writers, complained that the Kurds needed a language academy rather than one dealing with all the sciences. He also stated that the five full members of the Academy were not qualified according to the provisions of Article 7. Jemal Nebez (1978) was critical of the qualifications of active members, the proposed orthographic reform, scientific terminologies and publishing policy.

The Academy's main linguistic work was terminological creation and orthographic reform (cf. 8.2.0 and 8.3.0). Publication of books and one journal, the purchase of a printing press, the founding of a library, and collecting oral literature, documents, manuscripts and rare journals were among the Academy's achievements. According to a report covering the period from March 1974 to 1977, the institution had become less involved in terminological work. This shift of focus was apparently related to the resumption of the armed conflict between the government and the Kurdish autonomists, with Baghdad's subsequent victory in March 1975. During these three years, 27 books (24 titles in 27 volumes), three Arabic books and three issues of the Academy's journal were published. Besides these, nine books were published with the Academy's assistance. The budget increased from 45,500 dinars in 1975 to 79,900 in 1977 (*GKZK*, Vol. 5, 1977, pp. 422-34). The President of Iraq donated 20,000 dinars in 1974.

The Inactivation of the Academy. Although the Academy's budget increased to 98,320 dinars in 1978 and publishing reached a peak of 20 volumes in a single year (*GKZK*, Vol. 6, 1978, pp. 486-92), the institution was dissolved by the end of the year and later integrated into the Iraqi Scientific Academy. It was then renamed the "Iraq Scientific Academy–Kurdish Corporation." The outlawed opposition party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (*Dengî Yekêtî*, No. 5, January 1979, pp. 9-10) assessed the "dissolution" of the institution as an escalation of Arabization pointing to the simultaneous Arabization of 60% of instruction in the Kurdish schools and the removal of the Kurdish chancellor of Sulaymaniya University.

Although the publication of the Corporation's journal resumed in 1980 (Vol. 7), the reports published in this journal, and in the Iraqi Scientific Academy's Arabic language magazine, indicate considerable reduction in activity. The Corporation's "authority" (*deselat*) was limited to annual publication of 12 books in Kurdish or Arabic (related to Kurdish culture) on the condition that the total number of printed "forms" (galleys) of all the books did not exceed 400 pages (i.e., 6,400 pages, each "form" consisting of 16 pages). Subsidies to Kurdish authors for publishing their works (up to a maximum of 10 books

annually) was reduced from a maximum of 500 dinars in 1975 (*GKZK*, 1975, Vol. 3, Part 1, p. 557) to a maximum of 300 dinars. The number of books published by the institution in 1979-80 totaled eight titles only (*GKZ'E-DK*, Vol. 7, 1980, pp. 287-301).

According to a report covering the period 1981-82, published in the Arabic journal of the Iraqi Academy (*Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī*, Vol. 33, Part 2-3, 1982, pp. 566-67), the only activities of the Kurdish Corporation were research on the phonology and pronouns of the dialects, research on the *dîwan* of a Kurdish poet, and the reprint of a rare book by Amin Fayzi, together with the publishing of three books.

10.3.5 The Impact of the Academy

The Academy's main achievement in language codification was the coining of terminology during the first two years of its existence (cf. 7.6.1). The institution failed, however, in cooperating with another government organ which was involved in term-coining for school textbooks–the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies (cf. 7.5.5.2). As a result, the Academy's terminological work was out of touch with the only sphere of application, i.e., secondary school textbooks. Another consequence was the independent creation of different terms for the same concept by the two government organizations (Abdulla 1983:195-96).

The proposed alphabet and spelling reform was used in the publications of the Academy only. The reform's failure can be partly attributed to the fact that decisions were taken by a committee which had no contact with other language reformers or government organs involved in language reform. The Academy's printing press was the only one with the two proposed new letter types ێ /î and ۆ /û. Furthermore, the editors of the Kurdish section of the journal of Baghdad University's College of Letters (*Govarî Kolêcî Edebiyat*, No. 22, 1978, p. 86) repudiated the reform.

The Academy's more tangible impact was in the field of publishing. Many important works, edited *dîwan*s and dictionaries, could not have been published without its financial and editorial contribution or its printing facilities (cf. 7.1.2.II.B and 7.2.2.3).

The rise and fall of the Academy was determined by political circumstances. Its establishment was due to the pressure of the Kurdish autonomist war on the government. The defeat of the autonomist movement and the subsequent intensification of Arabization reduced it to a name fit for propagating the government's respect for minority rights. The experience of the Academy demonstrated, however, that a modest annual budget of 80,000 dinars (about $240,000) could effectively contribute to the cultivation of the Kurdish language.

10.3.6 The Kurdish Diaspora

The new Kurdish diaspora formed in the Western countries since 1975 is, as far as language is concerned, significantly different from the old dispersions of the population (cf. 3.1.2). Although some of the forcibly moved Kurdish populations such as those in Northern Khorasan and Qazvin (in Iran, cf. Map 6) have retained their language after three centuries, many others were gradually assimilated.

The population displacements in the past centuries involved entire tribes or regions in which illiteracy was the norm. Between the 1870s and 1918, however, political leaders and intellectuals migrated to places such as Istanbul, Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut and, to a lesser extent, Europe. As a result, Kurdish journalism, book publishing and modern political organization began outside of Kurdistan.

The 1975 defeat of the autonomist movement in Iraq forced about 200,000 refugees into Iran, where they were not only deprived of language and other rights, but were also dispersed by the Iranian government throughout the non-Kurdish regions of the country. These repressive measures affected the non-educated rural group; some of the educated, urban-based refugees resettled in Western countries. This migration process was accelerated by new developments in the region: the Islamic regime's full-scale war against the Kurdish autonomists in August 1979, the Iraq-Iran war that began in 1980, Syria's Arabization program since the early 1960s, and especially the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey.

A major feature of the refugee population is that it consists of a large number of educated Kurds who were politically active in the nationalist movement. Moreover, they belong mostly to the urban middle class. The Kurds of Turkey, however, include a considerable number of workers who moved as hired labor to Western Europe, particularly Germany, in the 1960s.

Reliable figures on the number of Kurdish refugees are not available. The following figures are rough estimates of refugee population in Europe and North America in 1989 (Sheikhmous 1989:6):

Australia	3,000
Belgium	8,000 to 10,000
Canada	2,000
Denmark	11,000
E. Europe	1,000
England	10,000 to 12,000
France	60,000
Germany	350,000
Greece	8,00
Holland	20,000 to 30,000
Norway	1,000
USA	2,000

Sweden	10,000 to 12,000
Switzerland	12,000
Total	**490,800 to 506,800**

The first generation of refugees has been linguistically active. The freedom of writing, publishing and broadcasting in the native tongue is limited only by non-linguistic, especially financial, factors. Linguistic contact between Kurmanji speakers of Turkey and those of other countries and between them and Sorani speakers is possible in the diaspora. Quite naturally, the political division of the speech community for over eight decades has left its mark on the refugees whose relations are, to a large extent, shaped by their dependence on their countries of origin. It is not difficult to discern, from publishing activity in the diaspora, that the Kurds of Turkey are more self-contained than those of Iraq and Iran.

Since the late 1970s, considerable publishing (cf. 7.2.7) and journalistic (cf. 7.3.4) work in both dialects has been supplemented by native tongue education (cf. 7.5.7) and occasional broadcasting (cf. 7.4.7). The Kurmanji speaking Kurds of Turkey are the main force in the promotion of this dialect. They draw on the standardization efforts of the Kurds of Syria (1930s to 1946) and the Soviet Union. It is possible to depict in the diaspora a trend of unification of the three literary variants of Kurmanji (Yerevan, Syria and Turkey). Prospects for the union of Sorani and Kurmanji are not so clear, however.

It is difficult to accurately assess the long-term impact of the diaspora on the Kurdish language. There can be little doubt, however, that the increasing depopulation of the literati associated with the forcible transfer of the rural population in Iraq, Turkey and Syria threatens not only the language but the very survival of the people speaking the language. The diaspora, although populated by the linguistically conscious intelligentsia, is not a replacement for the living social base of the Kurdish language–the rural and urban population of Kurdistan.

In terms of language retention, Kurdish experience has not been different from that of other dispersed linguistic minorities such as the Armenians, Assyrians, Jews or Arabs. While first generation adults maintain and, urged by nationalism, quite often promote the language, it is already known that their children, even those born and raised in Kurdistan, regularly reject their mother tongue. Although in the diaspora the political freedom to use Kurdish is virtually unlimited, the forces of the market do not allow the exercise of these freedoms or language rights (the right to speak, write, print, publish, broadcast, teach, plan, reform and develop one's language; cf. 5.6.0). Technological innovations such as the personal computer and laser printer, for example, allow intellectuals to set up very efficient printing presses in their homes (the states ruling over Kurdistan do not allow free access to this technology). In the West, however, this realized dream is shattered because publishing is subject to the rules of the market. Here, the dispersed Kurdish community, like the minorities and

aboriginal peoples of North America and Australia, do not form a commercially viable reading public or viewing and listening audience. As a result, they have to rely on state support which is inadequate or non-existent. It is not surprising therefore that Kurdish publishing and cultural activities have been flourishing in Sweden where such support has been available.

Kurdish nationalism has so far successfully resisted the military and political power of the despotic states in the Middle East. The Kurdish speech community was able to maintain its language under the most repressive linguicidal policies of Turkey, Syria and monarchist Iran. However, Kurdish nationalism has failed to maintain the language weapon in the melting-pot of the market in Western countries, where economic power determines the distribution of linguistic, cultural and political powers. It is already apparent that the second generation of Kurdish refugees will be assimilated in the dominant language and culture of the market-based societies. While the long-term political and cultural impact of the diaspora on the future of Kurdistan may be significant, it is already apparent that cultural and linguistic activity will be affected by language loss in the second generation (cf. 7.2.7 and 4.6.0).

Chapter 10 Notes

1. Percentages are based on data from Iran's decennial census reports: a) Ministry of Interior. Public Statistics. *Census District Statistics of the First National Census of Iran* (November 1956), Vol. XLVII, *Mahabad Census District* (in English), Tehran, May 1961; b) Plan Organization. Iran Statistical Centre, *National Census of Population and Housing, November 1966, Vol. No. LV, Mahabad Shahrestan.* (Tehran: February 1968); c) Islamic Republic of Iran, Plan and Budget Organization. Statistical Centre of Iran, *National Census of Population and Housing, November 1976,* Serial No. 48 (Tehran, November 1979). For Saqqiz, cf. decennial reports bearing the same titles as above (1956 report Tehran 1338/1959; 1966 Report Vol. 124, Tehran 1968; 1967 Report No. 123, Tehran 1979).

CHAPTER 11

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined the language factor in the struggle of the Kurdish people for national emancipation. The main research question centered upon the standardization of the Sulemani subdialect of the Sorani dialect in Iraq and its adoption as the national language by the Kurds in Iran (cf. 2.1.4). In exploring this question, this study has examined linguistic (chapter 8) and non-linguistic changes (chapters 3, 5, 10) that have occurred within the Kurdish speech community since the language was first used in writing in the fifteenth century. According to the evidence presented in previous chapters, numerous changes in the structure, function and social base of written Kurdish have occurred since the end of the nineteenth century, especially in the post-1918 period when the Sulemani subdialect achieved official regional status in the newly created state of Iraq. These changes, which demonstrate a complex and continuing trend of standardization, are outlined in Table 65. The standard stage in the development of the language coincides with a new stage in the evolution of Kurdish society--the emergence of the Kurds as a nation (chapter 3).

While Table 65 provides a summary of the main features of standard Kurdish, the following paragraphs sum up social and historical trends which shaped the standardization process:

1. Written Kurdish emerged at a time when Arabic and Persian were the dominant languages in religion, literature, science, commerce and administration in Western Asia and North Africa. The dominance of Arabic, "the language of Allah," left little or no room for other languages to thrive in the religious, literary, scientific, or administrative domains. Not surprisingly, the emergence of literary Kurdish coincides with the rise of Kurdish political power, i.e., the formation of (semi-)independent principalities in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

2. The earliest conscious cultivation efforts, which aimed at enhancing the status of Kurdish among the major languages of the Islamic world–Arabic,

Table 65. Main Features of Pre-standard and Standard Kurdish

	Kurmanji & Sorani Pre-standard before 1898	Sorani Standard, 1985
CODIFICATION OF FORM		
	Structure	
Phonology	Dialectalism, loan elements	Purified, normalized
Orthography	Non-phonemic Arabic alphabet & spelling; no punctuation & paragraphing	Purified, phonemized alphabet & new spelling: punctuation & paragraphing
Morphology	Dialectalism, loan elements	Norm formation & norm conflict
Vocabulary	Heavy borrowing; lack of scientific terminology	Modernized; purified
Lexicography	No general dictionary; few bilingual dictionaries	Mono- and bilingual, general & specialized, dictionaries
Grammar	Not codified; no indigineous grammatical description	Codified; extensive grammatical description
	Literary Forms	
Prose	Few texts	Preponderance of prose, both literary & non-literary
Poetry	Dominance of poetry; borrowed metrical system, imagery, diction	Dominance of prose; "syllabic" metrical system; new imagery, purified diction
Genres	Narrative & lyrical poems	Narrative, lyrical & dramatic poetry; novels, short stories, plays, essays, etc.
ELABORATION OF FUNCTION		
Literature	The most extensive use of written Kurdish	Still important domain but has given way to other functions
Religion	Limited use	Increasing use

Education	Limited use (religious)	Primary & secondary education (secular)
Science	None	Primary & secondary school science; popular science
Administration	None	Local administration
Broadcasting	Not invented	TV & extensive radio broadcasting
Cinema	Not available	Limited subtitling and dubbing
Theater	None	Considerable use
Books	Manuscripts	Increasing in number, printed
Journalism	None	Increasing use
	ACCEPTANE OF SORANI	
Spread	Regional	All Sorani subdialects, Iran & Iraq
Audience	Absence of a reading "public"; literati mostly clergy and landed nobility	Growing reading public; wider social base, especially the secular middle class
	SELECTION OF NORM	
	Spontaneous use of dialects by dialect speakers; absence of norm and dialect conflict	Increasing planning efforts; norm and dialect conflict

Persian and Turkish—began in the seventeenth century. Efforts towards language cultivation especially those of Ahmadi Khani (1650-1706), were an expression of the Kurdish national awakening known as *Kurdayetî* which appeared, anachronistically, in the feudally organized society of Kurdistan. Khani and another nationalist poet, Haji Qadiri Koyi (1817-1897), rebelled against the subordination of the Kurds by the Persian, Arab and Turkish Empires, and called for the establishment of an independent Kurdish state. They believed that independence could be achieved and maintained only if the Kurds had both *the sword*, i.e., political power, and *the pen*, that is, a prestigious literary language.

3. The early language reformers did not consider language cultivation as an end in itself, but rather as a means of achieving nationhood. While some progress in upholding the "pen" was made (e.g., limited use of Kurdish in Arabic dominated religious schools), the "sword" was lacking. The Kurdish principalities failed to unite, and a unified Kurdish state did not emerge. Thus, as had been predicted by Khani and Haji, the "pen" alone did not bring about national unification and emancipation. By the mid-19th century, all the principalities were overthrown by the Ottoman and Persian empires which were then able to extend their rule over all parts of Kurdistan.

4. Kurdish nationalism was not, however, weakened by the fall of the principalities. In fact, a new middle-class type of *Kurdayetî* appeared in the late 19th century which was in conflict with feudal-tribal social relations and political leadership. Language remained as a main pillar of this new nationalism which undertook to unify and standardize it. The Kurdish language itself entered the era of mass communication when in 1898 nationalist leaders published the first journal.

5. By the time of World War I, the two major literary dialects--Kurmanji and Sorani--were being used in journalism and book publishing; in terms of quantity of publication, Kurmanji had the upper hand. Kurmanji speakers were more numerous, more urbanized, and more extensively involved in the nationalist movement.

6. The relationship between the Kurmanji and Sorani dialects changed drastically due to the intervention of non-linguistic factors, principally the 1918 division of Kurdistan among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the USSR. As a result of these changes, Kurmanji speakers formed the majority of Kurdish speakers in Turkey, Syria and the USSR, while they were minorities vis-à-vis Sorani speakers in Iraq and Iran. An equally significant development was the planned linguicide of Kurmanji in Turkey after 1923 and in Syria after 1962. In the USSR, where the dialect was promoted, restrictions on linguistic contact imposed on both sides of the border resulted in the isolation of Soviet Kurmanji, which was undergoing planned standardization. The standardization efforts of the 1930s and the 1940s in Syria continue to influence the literary use of Kurmanji in the Kurdish diaspora. One could claim that Kurmanji has developed three norms, one each in Soviet Armenia, Syria and Turkey. A trend towards unification of these norms is discernible in the emigré literature of the Kurds of Turkey.

As a result of the historical changes outlined above, the Sorani dialect has emerged as the more visible standard norm with a longer history of uninterrupted standardization during the modern period. These changes will be briefly outlined below.

Standard Sorani Kurdish

The officialization of Kurdish in the post-1918 period in the newly created state of Iraq was largely due to the rising power of Kurdish nationalism. Failing

to establish a Kurdish state, the nationalist movement in Iraq was able, through relentless efforts and the intervention of the League of Nations, to achieve limited linguistic rights (the use of Kurdish in schools, local administration and the courts), which were grudgingly implemented by various Iraqi regimes in some parts of Kurdistan.

The Selection Process. On the inter-language level, Kurdish speakers in Iraq as well as those in Iran, Turkey and Syria have aimed at replacing the official languages of these countries with their mother tongue. In Iraq, Kurdish competes with Arabic and has been able to replace or supplement it in several domains, e.g., primary and secondary education, local administration, private correspondence, and in the broadcast and print media.

On the intra-language level, selection had to be made between the Kurmanji and Sorani dialect groups. Although in 1918 Kurmanji had the upper hand on the *all-Kurdistan level* (in terms of number of speakers, volume of scribal and print output), it had been relegated to a lower status *within the borders of Iraq*. Kurmanji speakers in Iraq were less urbanized, less literate and less involved in the nationalist movement.

The Sorani speaking community in Iraq was more numerous, more urbanized, and extensively involved in the nationalist struggle. The main intellectual and political center of Iraqi Kurdistan was the town of Sulaymaniya, the former capital of the Baban principality. It was the location of one of the few military schools established by the Ottoman government in the late 19th century in the provinces that later formed the present state of Iraq. The town and the region of Sulaymaniya were once more under local Kurdish rule after the collapse of the Ottoman administration in 1917-18. Sulaymaniya boasted an influential core of a new intelligentsia composed of army officers, teachers, government employees and the traditional group of clergy. These non-linguistic factors explain the selection of the Sulemai subdialect as the standard norm in Iraq.

After four decades of the unrivalled development of Sorani in Iraq, Kurmanji began to be used in state broadcasting, journalism, and publishing in 1958. Sorani has, however, retained its dominant position in all functions.

The Codification Process. The codification process has been characterized by several trends: (a) all levels of the linguistic structure--phonology, orthography, morphology, vocabulary--and literary forms of expression have, to varying degrees, undergone continuous codification. The most visible changes have occurred in orthography, morphology and prose, (b) the strongest trend in the normalization of the Sulemani subdialect has been purism, present at all levels of language use, and (c) the trend of "modernization," i.e., the appearance of new forms and functions such as new concepts, new genres, punctuation, and paragraphing, largely borrowed from Western languages through the intermediary of Arabic, Turkish and Persian.

Although phonological differences among the subdialects of Sorani are minimal, the phonological system has been normalized by (a) the replacement of two phonological features of the Sulemani subdialect by their "MUKRIYANI"

variants, and (b) a purist effort to discard phonemes which the nationalists consider to be of Arabic origin.

Differences among subdialects which have, since the 1960s, contributed to a situation of "norm awareness" and "norm conflict" appear mostly on the morphological level. Although many Sulemani speakers/writers consciously avoid any deviation from the established norm of their dialect, a tendency to use alternate forms of "MUKRIYANI" is already discernible.

In the sphere of orthography, the Kurds have extensively reformed the Arabic alphabet. In a purist spirit, Arabic letters representing Arabic phonemes not present in Kurdish have been discarded even in the writing of proper names of Arabic origin. To represent Kurdish phonemes not present in Arabic, new letters have been formed by using diacritical marks, doubling and digraphing. These changes were motivated by (a) the idea that a phonemic alphabet (with one letter for each phoneme) is more efficient and (b) the nationalist tendency to be different from the dominant Arab nation. While the reformed alphabet is more or less stabilized, spelling remains a major problem.

Codification on the lexical level has manifested itself in both modernization and purification, affecting old nativized words as well as loans. Loan elements in the written language, 46.4% in the 1920s, were reduced to 4.4% by the 1960s. The success of the purist movement can be attributed to the strong desire to make Kurdish independent of the dominant state language. Thus, while in Iraq words were borrowed form Persian and European languages in order to replace Arabic loans, the Kurds of Iran tend to borrow from Arabic and other languages in order to replace Persian loans.

The appearance of grammars and monolingual dictionaries are significant landmarks in the standardization process. Prescriptive grammars for primary and secondary schools have been compiled and used in Iraq. By 1985, one general monolingual dictionary was available, while another one, comprehensive and methodologically advanced, had remained incomplete.

Written communication is an important function of a standard language. This study has made brief reference to the use of punctuation and paragraphing as indicators of standardization in both Western languages and Kurdish.

The new codification of literary forms was considered to be an important indicator of standardization: (a) the classical metrical system, imagery and diction borrowed from Persian and Arabic poetry have been largely discarded; (b) poetry has become largely secular and national(istic); (c) prose has gradually overtaken poetry in output; non-literary prose has preceded the literary or belletristic variety due to the early appearance of journalism.

Codification was, like other standardization processes, the result of conflicting non-linguistic features. Language reformers included poets, writers, teachers, political activists, journalists and broadcasters who were nationalists interested in the cultivation of the language. During the 1920s-1940s, the Iraqi government opposed the reform of the Arabic alphabet. In Iraq, where the formation of political or cultural organizations had to be authorized by the

government, the demand for a Kurdish language academy met staunch opposition until 1970 when, under the pressures of the Kurdish autonomist war of the 1960s, an academy was at last established.

Codification efforts were restricted not only by political factors, but also by the socio-economic obstacles inherent in the under-developed nature of Kurdish society. A viable publishing system capable of producing dictionaries and other reference works did not exist until quite recently.

Elaboration of Function. The new functional differentiation of the language began with the journalistic and book publishing efforts of Kurdish nationalists early in the twentieth century. Later, the officialization of the language in the 1920s in Iraq allowed the language to be used in primary schools, local administration and, under the conditions of World War II, in broadcasting.

The functional development of the language has been a target of both government and Kurdish policy throughout Iraqi's history. The Kurdish side demanded unrestricted use of the language in education, administration, and the judicial system. The various governments, whether the British Mandate, the Monarchy or the Republican regimes, made every effort to restrict the use of the language (a) to primary schools and some local administrative functions and (b) to a small part of the Kurdish territory only. These functional and technical restrictions were carried out in violation of various constitutional, legal and international commitments in regard to the rights of the Kurdish people. The politics of the conflict were simple. As far as the Iraqi governments were concerned, unrestricted use of the language meant encouraging Kurdish nationalism which was considered by Baghdad as a threat to the "security" and "territorial integrity" of Iraq and the neighbouring states. For the Kurds, unrestricted use of their language was a means of national consolidation in the wake of planned assimilation and integration efforts by the central governments.

This dissertation has provided a rather detailed survey of the functional elaboration of Kurdish. The Kurdish case demonstrates that functional differentiation is a very difficult and complex process of social and linguistic development. For example, in order to extend the use of language to secondary and higher education and local administration, the Kurds needed to engage in protracted political, diplomatic and armed struggle.

The transition from scribal to print culture began in 1898, when the first Kurdish journal appeared. The use of the language for mass-mediated communication was, however, regularly restricted by political and economic obstacles which impeded the diffusion of printing.

Journalism and book publishing began early this century, when nationalists used both types of media for political mobilization and the maintenance and promotion of the Kurdish language and culture. The print media suffered from both state censorship and the social and economic under-development of Kurdish society. In Iraq, the Kurds were not allowed to publish a daily political newspaper. Until the 1970s, the state of print media was characterized by the non-commercialized nature of publishing, a small reading public and high

illiteracy rates. The evidence presented in this study demonstrates, however, that political restrictions were the more powerful obstacles to the institutionalization of the print media. It was shown that journalism and book publishing proliferated during periods of relative political freedom. Journalism has played a prominent role in the development of Kurdish prose, lexical modernization and orthographic reform.

In a country where broadcasting is monopolized by the state, Kurdish access to the airwaves was largely due to the political circumstances of World War II, when Kurdistan became strategically important. Kurdish nationalists welcomed the initiation of Kurdish language broadcasting by Britain and France. Under the conditions of the 1940s, when Turkey and Iran were carrying out a policy of linguicide, Kurdish nationalists saw Allied broadcasting as a factor which was capable of enhancing the position of the language and contributing to its survival. In the 1950s, the Kurds welcomed Radio Cairo's Kurdish program and asked the Soviet government to start a Kurdish program on Radio Moscow. The pressures of foreign and clandestine radio stations, reflecting international and regional conflicts, led to extensive Kurdish broadcasting in Iran. Clandestine broadcasting has been a major factor in Kurdish access to the airwaves. Later in the 1960s, with a gun in one hand and a radio in the other, Kurdish autonomists in the 1960s continued their armed resistance for autonomy. While Kurds have looked at broadcasting as a tool for linguistic unification and nation-building, the Iranian and, later, Iraqi governments have tried to use broadcasting as a tool for de-ethnicizing the Kurds and preventing the unification of their language.

The standard norm is the primary symbolic code used in the mass media and modern formal education. The school, more than any institution, transmits and promotes the standard variety in both oral and written forms--in lectures, textbooks, dictionaries and other educational activities and tools. Education, like broadcasting, is a state monopoly in Iraq and Iran. Although Iraq is legally committed to allowing native tongue education in the Kurdish language, various Iraqi regimes have restricted the scope of primary education. Unceasing demands for secondary education were met only under the pressure of the autonomist war of the 1960s. Arabization of Kurdish education was, however, intensified after the defeat of the autonomists in 1975. In spite of these obstacles, primary and secondary education has contributed to the standardization of the language, especially to grammatical codification, the development of prose, scientific terminology, functional differentiation, and the popularization of the norm.

The use of Kurdish in local administration, as in other domains, was characterized by continuing conflict between the Kurds and the government. The legislation of the 1930s, for example, did not allow the use of the language in the army, "technical services" such as health and communications, and the Endowment (*awqāf*) offices. Moreover, correspondence in Kurdish had to be limited to that between district offices, making Arabic the language of inter-province communication.

The scientific use of Kurdish originated in and continued to be limited

primarily to educational textbooks. Although a journal devoted to scientific research and a number of scientific dictionaries have appeared, the non-industrialized nature of the country together with the proscription of native tongue higher education operate as inhibiting factors. The use of Kurdish in phonograph records and theatrical performances has been allowed, while access to the cinema has been limited to occasional subtitling and dubbing.

Acceptance: One or Two Standards? On the intra-dialectal level, the Sorani standard, as developed on the basis of the Sulemani subdialect, has been accepted by the literate members of the subdialects of Sorani in both Iraq and Iran. The state of norm conflict between the "MUKRIYANI" and "SULEMANI" subgroups of Sorani group of dialects does not reflect a rejection of the standard norm by "MUKRIYANI" literates, in so far as many "SULEMANI" literates opt for Mukriyanization. Norm mixing is, in fact, facilitated by the fact that it does not cause intelligibility problems. Broadcasting has made it possible for the Sorani standard to be accepted as the more prestigious formal language among non-literate subdialect speakers.

On the inter-dialectal level, the Sorani standard is accepted and used in both writing and formal oral contexts by the Fayli speakers in Iraq and by many Hawrami speakers. As far as Kurmanji speakers are concerned, only a few writers have chosen to use Sorani in their written communication. The general trend seems to be, both on the *all-Kurdistan level* and in Iraq, Iran and the diaspora, "everyone in one's own dialect." This is indicated by (a) the proliferation of bidialectal publishing and broadcasting by both the Kurds and the Iraqi and Iranian governments, and (b) the exclusive use of Kurmanji by the Kurds of the USSR, Turkey and Syria (the latter two largely in the diaspora).

On the basis of the evidence presented in this study, it is appropriate to conclude that Kurdish is, like Armenian, Norwegian, Albanian and a number of other languages, a bi-standard language, with one standard for Kurmanji and another for Sorani. The Sorani-speaking intelligentsia is reluctant to admit the bi-standard situation, although the course of events (e.g., the extensive use of Kurmanji both in the expanding diaspora and in Turkey in the early 1990s, as well as the emerging freedom of contact with the Kurmanji Kurds of Armenia and other republics of the former USSR) may change this attitude.

While this study has focused on Sorani, enough evidence was presented to document the codification of the Kurmanji dialect in the USSR since the 1920s and in Syria during the 1930s-1940s. At present, a substantial number of Kurmanji refugees from Turkey are engaged in publishing and broadcasting in the diaspora. They draw on the codified norms of the USSR and Syria, forming a bridge between the two.

Selected Theoretical Issues

Some of the theoretical implications of the findings outlined above were discussed in previous chapters. Other issues of theoretical interest (e.g., the

question of quantity and quality in the literary development of language, lexicography and standardization, significance of state policy, the role of urbanization, printing and broadcasting in standardization) were also examined. In this section, selected theoretical issues raised in the review of literature (cf. 2.1.2) will be briefly examined in the light of some of the findings of this study.

A. The Universality of Western Experience. There is little doubt that each language follows a *particular* pattern of standardization. Here, however, as in other domains of social (in the broadest sense of the word) development, *general* trends or *universals* can be detected, conceptualized and explained. A theory of language standardization would be, by and large, a synopsis of these regularities.

According to the data presented in this study, processes of selection, codification, functional differentiation, and acceptance in Kurdish, a non-Western language, follow the general pattern of standardization in Western languages. Conceptualizations of the the Western experience, e.g., "norm," "literacy," "literary language," "purism," also apply to the Kurdish case.

While there is evidence that oral languages can undergo codification, especially on the lexical level, it seems that a number of important language functions, such as usage in science, technology, and modern education, would not be possible without writing. The Kurdish case demonstrates, moreover, that even writing and lexical elaboration (through terminological creation) are not adequate for functioning in the sphere of science. The penetration or institutionalization of written language in the life of a speech community is not linguistically determined. It seems that social, economic and technological developments are some of the necessary conditions for a language to meet the challenge of science, commerce and modern education.

Codification of written languages occurred in Asia (e.g., in Chinese and Sanskrit) long before European languages such as Greek and Latin developed a written tradition. However, these codified ancient languages were not national or standard languages. It is important, therefore, to make a distinction between codification and standardization.(cf. section C, below).

B. Linguistic and Socio-economic Modernization. The standardization of West European languages was, historically, a concomitant part of the process of social and economic development that has been called *modernization*, i.e., the transition from *Medieval* to *Modern* society. The Kurdish case demonstrated similar patterns of social and linguistic change. Cultivation efforts to enhance the status of Kurdish during the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century failed largely for non-linguistic reasons–social, economic and linguistic fragmentation of the feudal society of Kurdistan. Standardization began when agrarian Kurdish society showed signs of change at the beginning of the twentieth century. The release of land-tied peasants through land reform, almost total sedentarization of tribes, a higher and increasing rate of urbanization, a growing middle class, the formation of a wage earning class, the penetration of modern education into towns and many villages, and increasing secularization are some

of the developments that distinguish today's Kurdish society from the previous period. The mass-mediated use of the language was part of this social transformation.

Needless to say, these changes occurred under circumstances that were not merely a repetition of the conditions prevalent in Western Europe. Changes in Kurdish society, for example, were effected to some extent within the framework of the "modernizing states" that ruled over Kurdistan in the post-1918 period. In these states, planning was more prominent than it had been in the West, and political rule was not democratized.

While centralization of state power in the West was based on a spontaneously evolved *national* economy, in Third World countries such as Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, it was imposed on the economically and regionally divided agrarian societies of these countries through the use of coercion. This situation entails important linguistic repercussions (cf. section D below).

C. Standardization and Nation-building. The transformation of West European *"vernaculars"* into full-fledged prestigious *national* languages was perhaps inevitable in the modern period of history. While the small group of literati could effectively use Latin in all written communication, the majority was unable to master this archaic and foreign language and make use of it in domains such as trade, education, journalism, and even religion. The replacement of Latin by the national languages of Europe was a necessary condition for the success of the modern social and economic system of capitalism.

The role of standardization in nation-building is even more obvious in the Kurdish case than it was in the West. The primary indicator of Kurdishness is language. Since the seventeenth century, Kurdish nationalists have put language ("pen") on par with state power ("sword"), and have used it as a weapon in the struggle for the formation of a unified Kurdish nation. The unrestricted use of the language in speaking and writing is a major demand of all Kurdish political parties in all parts of Kurdistan.

The evidence presented in this study has shown that *Kurdayetî*, the Kurdish nationalist movement, has been the moving force in standardization, especially in the codification and functional differentiation of the language. It would be appropriate to generalize on the basis of this case study and other known cases that standardization is both cause and effect in the process of national consolidation. A nation (in the sense defined in this study) cannot be formed without a national language, while such a language cannot emerge in a tribally organized society.

It is important to make a distinction between codification and standardization. A number of languages, such as Arabic, Latin, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, and Latin, experienced most extensive codification long before the advent of modern capitalist society. However, none of these written or literary languages was used by the majority of the speakers who were illiterate. While these old codified languages were used in literature, science, administration, religion and trade, their scope of use was much more limited than

that of the standard languages of modern Europe. This claim is clearly supported by the history of the old codified languages such as Chinese, Arabic and Persian. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, these languages have had to undergo standardization through both planned and unplanned efforts. The ancient rigid codification of phonology, orthography, vocabulary, grammar, meaning system, style, etc. was adequate for the small caste of scribes and literati; this codification is, however, an obstacle to the functioning of the language on the national level. It would be appropriate, therefore, to claim that the old codified languages were not *national* or *standard* (in the sense used in this study) languages. They were not vehicles of national integration or nation-building.

The distinction between codification and standardization is thus theoretically significant. While codification occurs under different socio-economic systems, the types, scope, and degrees of codification depend on the social use of the codified language: how extensive is the use of the language? Is it the vehicle of mass literacy or mass education? Is it used by the feudal class to monopolize and maintain power? Is it the vehicle of the much larger middle class? Is it used by a vast reading public or is it the vehicle of small literate circles?

D. Standardization and Language Maintenance. In spite of its considerable numerical strength (fortieth language of the world by number of speakers) and progress in standardization, the Kurdish language is among the most threatened of languages. Since the 1920s, it has suffered from various degrees of planned linguicide in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria.

While language death is an ancient phenomenon with diverse origins, the present case together with other evidence underlines the role of state policy, especially in a Third World context. The policy of building a "nation-state" requires the centralization of state power, language, culture and economy. Equipped with a monopoly of the educational system and the mass media and unrestricted in the use of coercion, the "modern" etatist states are able to plan the extinction of undesired languages. Under such circumstances, status planning plays a prominent role in standardization, often determining the course and outcome of corpus planning.

In spite of the spread of writing, the number of languages is rapidly decreasing (Kloss 1978:31). Standardization depends on formal education and the mass-mediated use of the language. The experience of minority languages in the modern world shows that they cannot survive, let alone become standardized, if used in interpersonal communication alone. The last refuge, the "privacy" of the home, is no longer instrumental, since the home is increasingly invaded by the audiovisual media such as television, VCR, video games, as well as mass education, most of which are based on the dominant language.

E. Typology and Periodization. Comparing pre-standard and standardized Kurdish, a number of features distinguishing the two stages have been identified in this study (cf. Table 65 above). More case studies are needed in order to reveal other features which will contribute to the typological and comparative

study of standardization. Especially important is research on criteria for examining selection and acceptance processes.

The literature on standardization, which comprises diverse sources from the social sciences and the humanities, provides abundant generalizations in the form of conceptualizations, propositions, hypotheses, and small-scale theories. The problem of building a *general theory of language standardization* seems to lie not in the lack of generalizations but, rather, lack of a general theory of society which can contribute to the systematization of the existing disparate and heterogenous body of theory.

Haugen's model (cf. 2.1.2.1, on the distinction between theory and model) has provided a framework for both organizing the extensive data and formulating generalizations in this study. The model achieves this organizing role by highlighting four interrelated components of standardization. While the picture provided by the model is not original, it has proven to be most useful in terms of simplicity and economy. Being essentially descriptive, Haugen's model cannot handle a key theoretical issue, i.e., the relationship between *linguistic* and *social* components of standardization, although it does predict their interdependence.

Language is a constituting part of society. Detaching it from society and granting it an independent status is achieved only through the abstracting power of the human mind made possible by language itself. While the study of language outside of the social context has provided much insight into its structure, many processes of linguistic change can be understood only if we account for the social factor.

Standardization involves a complex interaction of language (both micro- and macrostructural elements), social, economic and political structures, culture, literature, and religion. Building general theories of language standardization inevitably entails a high risk of reducing the whole to a part.

The four principal perspectives on the relationships between the "social" and "linguistic" components of language (language is determinant; social structure is determinant; both are co-determining; both are determined by a third factor; cf. 2.1.3.C) are likely to persist in standardization and other sociolinguistic studies. Case studies are unlikely to modify this diversity of theoretical perspective. The relationships between various components of society are complex and have baffled theorists of society not because of lack of data, but rather due to ideological, philosophical and political complications involved in theory building. This claim does not rule out the need for more case studies of standardization. It implies, however, that case studies will prove to be most useful in theorizing on *particular* aspects of language standardization, e.g., processes of selection, codification, and functional elaboration.

While this study has not explicitly adopted a holistic theory of society, it has avoided the positivist tradition, which dissects society into isolated and autonomous components such as society, political system, economy, culture, language, communication, etc. Such an approach is inherently reductionist and deterministic in so far as it explains social phenomena in terms of a single cause.

For example, in explaining the emergence of nationalism, this trend reduces the national phenomenon to politics, psychology, communications (Deutsch 1966), communication technology (McLuhan 1969:282-85), and other single causes.

The underlying theoretical perspective in this study has been a holistic theory of society which treats nationalism and language as historically evolved and interdependent social phenomena. This approach is consistent with the views of the two apostles of Kurdish nationalism, Ahmadi Khani and Haji Qadir Koyi, who were able to see the inseparable connection between the structure of power (the sword), language (the pen) and the process of national development.

The case of Kurdish nationalism is probably unique in that it emerged not in an urban middle class milieu but, rather, in a predominantly rural society, characterized by feudal relations of production. However, this unique or "anachronistic" case becomes part of the universal pattern when we consider the fact that, in the absence of an urban middle class before the twentieth century, it failed to develop a national or standard language; also, it failed to transform the nationalist ideology formulated by Khani and Haji into a political, social, cultural, and organizational platform for nation-building efforts.

Summing up the Kurdish experience, it would be safe to claim that this nationalism has been one of the most persistent and suppressed movements during the twentieth century. On the language side alone, the struggle has been conducted on all fronts, ranging from linguistic and literary work at the modest mosque schools of the villages to parliamentary debates to armed struggle to debates in the League of Nations and the United Nations. Facing a powerful array of local, regional and international forces, the very existence of the nation is seriously threatened. Nevertheless, the pen continues the struggle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The list of references is organized into the following sections:

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As a rule, unauthored references to books or articles are not included in this bibliography. Iraqi authors are listed under the last name. When the last name consists of two names (e.g., Mihamad Mala Karim), the author will be listed under the first item of the two-part name (e.g., Mala Karim, Mihamad; one exception is Aw-Rahaman Haji Marif who is listed under Marif).

Information on the Romanization of Middle Eastern and Russian sources is provided in 2.1.11, Table 11, p. 42.

Abbreviations

AN SSSR	Akademiia Nauk SSSR.
BGXK (GDKS)	Berêweberêtî Giştî Xöndinî Kurdî (General Directorate of Kurdish Studies, Iraq).
BHCF	Baghdad High Commission File (in National Archives of India, New Delhi).
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
EB	*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

EI²	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, New (2nd) Edition.*
GB	Great Britain.
GIINS	Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Inostrannykh i Natsional'nykh Slovarei.
GKZK	*Govarî Kořî Zaniyarî Kurd.*
GKZ'Ê(I)-DK	*Govarî Kořî Zaniyarî 'Ê(I)raq--Destey Kurd.*
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationary Office.
IVL	Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
JRCAS	*Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
KDP	Kurdish Democratic Party.
KSSE	Kurdish Students Society in Europe.
KZ'Ê(I)-DK	Kořî Zaniyari 'Ê(I)raq-Destey Kurd.
KZK(KSA)	Kořî Zaniyarî Kurd (Kurdish Scientific Academy).
LN	League of Nations.
LPLP	*Language Problems and Language Planning.*
MEJ	*Middle East Journal.*
Nauka	Izdatel'stvo "Nauka."
NDAUEDT	*Nashriyi-yi Dānishkadi-yi Adabīyyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tabrīz.*
OPU	Oxford University Press.
PMC	Permanent Mandates Commission.
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.
REI	*Revue des Études Islamiques.*
RMM	*Revue du Monde Musulman.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

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C. Maps

The maps are based on (a) my own personal knowledge of parts of Kurdistan, (b) investigation, including correspondence with individuals who were familiar with particular regions of Kurdistan, and (c) secondary sources.

Map 1: Arfa (1966); AN SSSR, *Atlas Narodov Mira* (Moscow, 1964, pp. 70-71); Simpson (1963); Map 2: Nyrop (1973); Map 7: Rondot (1939); Map 8: Aristova (1966:45); Map 9: Dimili-speaking region, Malmîsanij (1984:86-87); Map 11: K.M. Röhrborn, *Nizāmi Iyālāt dar dowri-yi Safavīyyi*, translated by K. Djahandari (Tehran: Bungāhi Tarjumi va Nashri Kitāb, 1978); Map. 12: Vanly (1980;155); Map 13: Vanly (1968b).

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