

# **A Study of European, Persian, and Arabic Loans in Standard Sorani**

Jafar Hasanpoor

Doctoral dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Iranian languages presented at Uppsala University 1999.

## **ABSTRACT**

Hasanpoor, J. 1999: A Study of European, Persian and Arabic Loans in Standard Sorani. *Reports on Asian and African Studies (RAAS)* 1. **XX** pp. Uppsala. ISBN 91-506-1353-7.

This dissertation examines processes of lexical borrowing in the Sorani standard of the Kurdish language, spoken in Iraq, Iran, and the Kurdish diaspora. Borrowing, a form of language contact, occurs on all levels of language structure. In the pre-standard literary Kurdish (Kirmanci and Sorani) which emerged in the pre-modern period, borrowing from Arabic and Persian was a means of developing a distinct literary and linguistic tradition. By contrast, in standard Sorani and Kirmanci, borrowing from the state languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, is treated as a form of domination, a threat to the language, character, culture, and national distinctness of the Kurdish nation. The response to borrowing is purification through coinage, internal borrowing, and other means of extending the lexical resources of the language.

As a subordinate language, Sorani is subjected to varying degrees of linguistic repression, and this has not allowed it to develop freely. Since Sorani speakers have been educated only in Persian (Iran), or predominantly in Arabic, European loans in Sorani are generally indirect borrowings from Persian and Arabic (Iraq). These loans constitute a major source for lexical modernisation. The study provides wordlists of European loanwords used by Hêmin and other codifiers of Sorani. Most European loanwords are well established, used in magazines, books, and the spoken language although they are neither standardised in their spelling nor registered in Kurdish dictionaries. Some loan blends, loan shifts, creations, and pure Kurdish words introduced into Sorani are also established. However, under conditions of intensive language contact, borrowing and purification continue to be the main trends of standardisation.

*Keywords:* borrowing, purification, language contact, standard Sorani Kurdish, Mukri dialect, norm conflict, Silemani dialect, modernisation, standardisation, nationalism.

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ISSN 1404-0743

ISBN 91-506-1353-7

Typesetting: Jafar Hasanpoor

Printed in Sweden by Reprocentralen, Uppsala University

Distributor: Department of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

**Dedicated to the memory of my parents**



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## Acknowledgements

I owe an enormous debt to my main teacher and supervisor Professor Bo Utas for his erudite and endless scholarly guidance and advice throughout the writing and presentation of this dissertation. I am also indebted to Dr. Carina Jahani for her prudent guidance, Amir Hassanpour for his comments, suggestions, and editorial assistance, and Donald MacQueen for his final editing of the dissertation. I also wish to thank Anwar Kader Muhammad, Michael Chyet, Abbas Vali, Omar Sheikmous, Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, Leena Huss, Christiane Bulut, Irving Palm, Aziz Zhyan, Rafik Kadir, Hassan Ghazi, Anwar Soltani, Fateh Shaikholeslami, Malmîsanij, Rasho Zilan, Jaffer Sheykolislami, Hemin Koyi and Hashem Ahmadzadeh for reading earlier drafts and giving valuable suggestions. I thank my friends Goran Karadaghi and Mahmud Mola Ezat, for helping me with the analysis of Arabic loanwords in Kurdish. I am grateful to Shahrzad Mojab for assisting me in using inclusive language and in recognising and avoiding biased forms of communication. My thanks are also extended to the Kurdish writers, poets, and essayists for their kindness in answering my 1996 questionnaire about their treatment of loans in Sorani.

Kurdish is a repressed language, and it is not easy to contact Kurdish writers who live in countries where they are denied language rights including the freedom of expressing their views on their native tongue. Conducting research based on questionnaires or telephone and taped interviews threatens the safety of the respondents in Turkey, Iran, and Syria. Kurdish libraries do not exist except in Iraq, where they are also under surveillance. Even in Europe where a number of Kurdish libraries have been established since the 1980s, it is almost impossible to borrow from their collections. As a result, collecting material for a dissertation about the written variety of the language is a trial. I would like to express my gratitude once more to Prof. Bo Utas who, as Head of the Iranian Section, Department of Asian and African Languages, arranged for the departmental library's purchase of numerous publications that I would not have been able to acquire otherwise. I have also had easy access to the private libraries of Prof. Bo Utas, Amir Hassanpour, Hassan Ghazi, Mahmud Mola Ezat, Rasho Zilan, Ferhad Shakely, Elzbieta Swiecicka, Zagros Khosravi, Kerim Danisyar, Jamshid Haydari, Soleiman Kaveh, and I am most grateful to them all. I am indebted to my late friends Jalal Husen for his encouragement, and Macid Ziryan for reading the first drafts and enriching my studies with suggestions. I thank my friends and colleagues Nasser Ghazi, Hemin Koyi, Olof Pedersén and Franz Wennberg who have helped me in working with computers. I wish to thank Göran Engemar and Ingvar Nord for helping me in preparing a camera-ready copy of the dissertation.

I would like to thank the Language Division the Faculty of Arts at Uppsala University for a generous four-year research grant which made the writing of the main part of this dissertation possible, and the Indo-iranska stiftelsen, Uppsala University, for a grant which facilitated the collection of data for my research. Writing a dissertation is an arduous task, especially for a student like me who suffers

from polio. I have been able to rest at the rehabilitation home Mälargården one month annually since 1996. I thank the County Council of Uppsala, which enabled me to reside there. I wish to thank Director Nils Ahlinder, Dr. Bengt Nordgren, and the staff of Mälargården for their kindness in rehabilitating me and other 'guests'. I am grateful to the staff of Uppsala University Library, who made it possible for me to work in a comfortable environment. Finally, I would like to thank my companion Inger Vestergård, my sister Shilan, my brothers Amir and Mohsen and their families, and all my friends for their constant encouragement and support.

Of course, any shortcomings and inconsistencies in this study are my own responsibility.



# Introduction

As a native speaker of Kurdish, the study of my own language invokes the memory of violent forms of repression. Throughout much of my life in Kurdistan (Iran), I was not allowed to learn my native tongue in its written form, nor to own a book or write a letter in the language. Those who dared to resist the codes of repression would automatically be charged with the crime of “secessionism.” If Kurdish was ever mentioned in books or on radio, it was called a “local dialect” of the state language, Persian.

Numerically, Kurdish is one of the top languages of the world. It is spoken by some 25 million Kurds, who live in Kurdistan, a contiguous territory that was divided in 1918 among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. It is difficult to clearly define the boundaries of this geoethnic territory or to provide accurate population figures because these states are reluctant to provide census figures or linguistic maps. There is also a sizeable Kurdish diaspora stretching from Central Asia to North America. Some Kurdish communities were dispersed in the Caucasus between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Others were moved, often forcibly, to Central Asia, the Xorâsân province in northeast Iran, Pakistan and Lebanon. Since the 1960s, no fewer than half a million Kurds resettled as “guest workers,” refugees, and immigrants in Europe, North America, and Australia. Under these conditions, Kurdish has experienced intensive contact with numerous languages.

As a speaker and writer of Kurdish, I have been under the pressure of making difficult choices in the use of words, and in finding enough lexical resources in order to translate a text from Persian, Swedish, or English. The language, especially its spoken variety, is invaded by borrowings on all levels of structure and use. A disturbing situation is the paucity of Kurdish lexical and terminological resources in specialised forms of knowledge such as the disciplines of social sciences, the humanities or exact sciences. The question “What is the Kurdish word for ...?” is often raised in diverse contexts including informal situations. In fact, Kurdish does not match up to Western languages or even the three major languages of the Middle East, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. The language needs to be modernised lexically.

Although the lexical expansion of Kurdish is a serious challenge, there is a dearth of research on borrowing, purification, and the development of the vocabulary. Aspects of borrowing and purism in standard Sorani have received some research attention (Jamal Jalal Abdulla and Amir Hassanpour), but there is yet no comprehensive study focused on loanwords. One of the goals of my research is, therefore, to conduct an empirical study of lexical borrowing, which is theoretically informed and can address some of the questions raised by language users and reformers. Loanwords are not and cannot be reduced to purely linguistic constructs. They are products of the history of a language, and of the social, economic, political and cultural contexts in which it is used. The life of loanwords in Kurdish is, among others, the story of the transformation of a pre-modern society, the division of

Kurdistan among four nation-states, domination and subordination, the rise of Kurdish nationalism, modernisation and standardisation of the language.

Kurdish (Kirmanci and Sorani) is a member of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. It developed literary traditions between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During the twentieth century, it experienced great changes, when it was inundated by borrowings from the dominant languages of the region and, through them, European languages. All languages change and borrowing is an ever-present trend of language contact and change. The term 'borrowing' is inadequate, however; borrowing anything usually implies a temporary transmission of possession to be followed by the return of the borrowed item at a later stage. But language borrowings are permanent and are not given back. All components of language, from phonemes to words to grammatical structures, may be borrowed from one language to another.

Borrowing is a historical phenomenon, it is a product of different circumstances and plays different roles under changing situations. I have therefore compared two different periods of the development of Sorani Kurdish. In pre-standard Sorani, borrowing from Arabic, Persian, and Turkish was dominant and unproblematic, while in modern standard Sorani, borrowing from the three languages is treated as problematic and threatening. Another trend that distinguishes the two periods is borrowing from European languages, which has produced indirect loans through Persian, Turkish, and Arabic. These loanwords and their purification shape the trend of modernisation of Kurdish vocabulary. My research is mainly about European loans in Sorani.

The modernisation of the Kurdish language cannot be adequately understood without examining it in the context of the social transformation of Kurdish and other Middle Eastern societies. By the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, Kurdish society gradually changed from a tribal-feudal to a semi-modern society. New social classes, i.e., a middle class and working class, emerged, and life in cities and villages experienced Westernisation. A modern nationalist movement emerged and political parties were established. Kurdish journalism and book publishing contributed to the development of Kurdish and popularised the standardising language. These new social and cultural changes happened as a result of internal social changes and indirect cultural and political influences from European countries, especially from France and England. They brought about cultural borrowings, new words and concepts, and an expanding and modernising vocabulary.

I have been engaged in the study of loans in Kurdish since 1993. The result is the present study, organised into six sections. Chapter one examines the methods and aims of this study, which is informed by theories of borrowing, standard languages, language purism, and nationalism. The previous literature on the standardisation of loans examined aspects of loans in Sorani, and discussed their statistical and phonetic dimensions, but the process of the integration of loanwords from European languages and their use in the written Kurdish have yet not been studied in any detail. At the same time the socio-linguistic aspects of borrowing have not been surveyed either.

The only exception, Michael Chyet's unpublished Kirmanci-English dictionary, provides rich etymological and synchronic descriptions of Kirmanci vocabulary.

Chapter 2 deals with Arabic, Persian and Turkish loans in pre-standard Kirmanci and Sorani. Arabic and Persian influence on standard Sorani is examined together with the role of Farhangestân (the Persian language academy) in modernising and purifying the Persian language. In chapter 3, the term Kurd is briefly defined. Drawing on current theoretical debates about nations and nationalism, the Kurds are defined as a semi-modern nation. Construction of national standard Kurdish dialects is discussed. Kirmanci is described as the standard dialect of the Kurds of Turkey, Syria, Iran, and the former Soviet Union. The Sorani dialect is spoken only in Iraq and Iran, and was first standardised on the basis of the subdialect of the city of Silêmanî in Iraq in the post-WWI years. Later, however, the Mukri dialect of Mahabad in Iranian Kurdistan developed as an alternative, leading to a state of norm conflict.

Chapter 4 discusses the emergence and development of pre-standard and standard dialects and their treatment of loanwords. The purification of standard Sorani from Arabic and European loans is analysed. Standard Sorani is defined as a dialect which is mainly based on native structures. The emergence of codifiers of Kurdish, products of the Kurdish nationalist movements and constructors of standard dialects, is also discussed. The process of construction of a purified Sorani text is examined. The role of dialect borrowings in writing texts is also explained.

Chapter 5 contains a discussion of technical aspects of writing a standard Sorani text. Some sources of the study, dictionaries and magazines, and two wordlists of loans used by the Kurdish poet and writer Hêmin are presented. The wordlists provide information on Iraqi and Iranian Sorani usage, definitions, purist and spoken language equivalents. The loans are classified according to Haugen's model, and have been analysed, grammatically, semantically, and sociolinguistically. The establishment of loans in Sorani is explained. Chapter 6 provides a summary and a general conclusion to the study.

## Romanisation

In the transcription of Sorani and Kirmanci texts, I use the system developed by Chyet (199:xvii-xix) with some modifications. I have added phonemes /ö/ as in Sorani *nöj* ‘ritual prayer’, and /ü/ as in *üf!* ‘wonderful!’ to the system (see: Wahby and Edmonds, 1966). Phonemes /d/ د, /t/ ت and /z/ ز do not exist in Sorani and Kirmanci; they are not registered by MacKenzie (1961a:46) and McCarus (1958:8-9) in their studies of Kurdish dialects. These phonemes are not registered in the transcription system of Chyet either. But they are represented by the above-mentioned symbols in my study. With this addition, transcription of Arabic loanwords in classical Sorani and Kirmanci literature and early Modern Sorani and Kirmanci texts has become possible. Modern Standard Sorani and Kirmanci are purified from the above-mentioned borrowed letters as well as ح ض, ص and ط. Chyet uses diacritics for aspirated sounds in Kurdish, but I have omitted them because they are not distinctive and my work is not a phonetic study. In representation of Modern Standard Kirmanci and Zaza, as the Kurds and Zazas, I apply the Hawar Roman alphabet developed by the Kurdish scholar Bedir-xan. Transcription of the Persian and Arabic characters in the dissertation are based on the systems used by leading Western scholars in Persian and Arabic languages. In the transcription of Ottoman Turkish, I use the system used by Richard F. Kreutel (1965). In the case of Russian words, I use the system applied by the journal *Scando-slavica* (see: 1980, No. 26, pp. 200-201, Copenhagen).

Turkish, Persian, and Arab authorities usually do not take into consideration how Kurds pronounce the names of persons and geographical places. They transcribe these names according to Turkish, Persian, and Arabic orthographic and phonetic rules. The older generation of orientalists have followed this tradition, but the new specialists in the field of Kurdish studies (e.g. Abdulla, Bruinessen, Hassanpour and Jwaideh) use Kurdish geographical names. I write Kurdish equivalents in parentheses when I mention them for the first time, e.g., Arbil (Kurd. Hewlêr).

## Consonants

Arabic		Sorani and Kirmanci		Persian	
ء		ء		ء	
B b		ب	B b	ب	B b
none	none	پ	P p	پ	P p
ت	T t	ت	T t	ت	T t
ث	%o ®	ث	%o ®	ث	%o ®
ج	J j	ج	C c	ج	J j
none	none	چ	Ç ç	چ	Ç ç
ح	Ó´	ح	H h	ح	Ó´
خ	X x	خ	X x	خ	X x
د	D d	د	D d	د	D d
ذ	İ f	ذ	İ f	ذ	Ω
ر	R r	ر	R r	ر	R r
none	none	ر	R r	none	none
ز	Z z	ز	Z z	ز	Z z
none	none	ژ	J j	ژ	≈
س	S s	س	S s	س	S s
ش	/i	ش	S s	ش	/i
ص	Í ß	ص	Í ß	ص	Í ß
ض	Î ð	ض	Î ð	ض	z z
ط	˘ †	ط	˘ †	ط	˘ †
ظ	Ω	ظ	Ω	ظ	Ω
ع	،	ع	،	ع	،
غ	\	غ	x x	غ	\
ف	Ff	ف	Ff	ف	Ff
ق	Qq	ق	Qq	ق	Qq
ك	K k	ك	K k	ك	K k
none	none	ك	Gg	ك	Gg
ل	L l	ل	L l	ل	L l
none	none	ل	L l	none	none
م	M m	م	M m	م	M m
ن	N n	ن	N n	ن	N n
و	Ww	و	Ww	و	Vv
none	none	ف	V v	none	none
ه	H h	ه	H h	ه	H h
ی	Y y	ی	Y y	ی	Y y

## Vowels

Arabic		Sorani and Kirmanci		Persian	
آ	Å å	آ	A a	آ	Å å
ا	A a	ئه	E e	ا	A a
ا	I i	ئى	Ê ê	ا	E e
none	none	none	I i	none	none
ى	° •	ئى	Î î	ى	I i
none	none	ئو	O o	ا	O o
none	none	ئوى	Ö ö	none	none
ا	U u	و	U u	و	U u
و	Á ʔ	وو	Û û	none	none
none	none	ئوى	Ü ü	none	none
اى	ai			اى	ei
او	au			او	ou

## More about Arabic characters

European loanwords in Arabic are not completely Arabicised, and J Milton Cowan (1979:xii) uses special characters for indicating the pronunciation of these words. I have added these characters to the transcription system of Arabic.

#	as in <i>øp#rå</i> 'opera'
e	as in <i>helikoptar</i> 'helicopter'
∑	as in <i>v∑tø</i> 'veto'
o	as in <i>otomåt•k•</i> 'automatic'
ø	as in <i>v∑tø</i> 'veto'
≈	as in <i>≈andarma</i> 'gendarmery'
g	as in <i>gin∑h</i> (Eng. guinea) 'pound'
v	as in <i>v∑tø</i> 'veto'
p	as in <i>øp#rå</i> 'opera'
ç	as in <i>çåw•j</i> 'sergeant'

# Abbreviations

(see also p. 92 and p. 163)

abbr	abbreviation
adj	adjective
Amer.	American
Arab.	Arabic
Comp	compound
Conj	conjunction
CSKCL.SAP	<i>Nawend-î bilaw-kirdnewe-y ferheng-û-edebiyat-î kurd-î intisarat-î selahedîn-î eyubî</i> (Center for Spreading the Kurdish Culture and Literature. Selahedin Ayubi's Publishing House), Iran.
def art	definite article
dim	diminutive
DPK-Iran	the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iran
DPK-Iraq	the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iraq
Eng.	English
Euro.	European
Equiv	equivalent
Fr.	French
Gram	grammar, grammatical
inf	infinitive
Iran.	Iranian
ISA-KB	<i>Kor-î zanyarî 'êraq-deste-y kurd , Al-majma' al-'ilm• al-'Irâq• – al-hay'at ul-kurd•ya</i> (The Iraqi Scientific Academy - Kurdish Branch)
Kirm.	Kirmanci
Kurd.	Kurdish
lit	literally
lw	loanword
MSS	Modern Standard Sorani
n	noun
ODPK-Iran	The Organ of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iran
OTOKI	The Organ of the Toilers Organisation of Kurdistan- Iraq
part	participle
pass	passive
past st	past stem
Pers.	Persian
pl	plural
pres st	present stem
pref	prefix
prep	preposition

pro	pronoun
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
Russ.	Russian
SALWC-K	<i>Kanûn-î huner û edebiyat-î krêkar-î-Kurdistan</i> (Society for Art and Literature of Working Class-Kurdistan)
sing	singular
Sor.	Sorani
Sp	spoken
suff	suffix
Swed.	Swedish, Sweden
<i>t.m.</i>	<i>tâ' marbÿfa</i>
Turk.	Turkish
v	verb
(VN)	<i>Vâ~ehâ-ye nou ke tâ pâyân-e sâl-e 1319 dar Farhangestân-e Irân paΩirofteh ;odeh ast</i> (New words adopted by the Language Academy of Iran until 1940), [Iran], 1975, Publications of <i>Farhangestân-e zabân-e Irân</i> .
Webst	Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary
W-ISA-KB	Wordlists of <i>Kor-î zanyarî 'êraq-deste-y kurd, Al-majma' al-'ilm• al-'Irâq•-al-hay'at ul-kurd•ya</i> (The Iraqi Scientific Academy - Kurdish Branch)
Wr	written



# Chapter 1 Methods and Aims

## 1.1. The theoretical framework of the study

This study is based mainly on theories of borrowing, standardization, and linguistic purism. Borrowing and purism are linguistic as well as social and political phenomena which are closely tied to national and ethnic identities. In the Kurdish case, the political component of borrowing is prominent. This study defines Kurdish nationalism and language in the light of current theories of the nation.

### 1.1.1. Theories of borrowing

Borrowing is one of the many processes of linguistic change. All languages change, and the process is especially visible in the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic systems (Wright, 1994:1951). Lexical change is usually viewed in terms of the addition and loss of words and semantic change (Fromkin and Rodman, 1988:308, 313). Borrowing is one of the sources of lexical change.

Borrowing is not limited to the lexical level. ‘Code-switching’, for instance, involves a complex process of interaction between at least two languages. It is “the juxtaposition of elements from two (or more) languages or dialects” (McCormick 1994:581). In code-switching, the speaker does not adopt a new item but rather moves from one language to another. It is often a spontaneous switch from longer stretches of speech of one language to another, but it may also be applied to single words. Quite often, the boundaries between borrowing and code-switching are not clear-cut. English words such as ‘escape’ and ‘poor’ are fully nativised and are borrowed: the difference between code-switching and borrowing is clear, and few speakers of English are aware of French origin of these words. When loanwords are partially nativised, it would be difficult to speak of code-switching.

Culturally informed theories claim that borrowing is a universal linguistic process; all language communities are in some contact with speakers of other languages and dialects, and cannot avoid borrowing (Jespersen, 1922:208; Bloomfield, 1965:445; Haugen, 1992:198). When people from different cultures come into contact, elements from one culture transfer to the other. Cultural change usually brings about cultural borrowings (Bloomfield, 1965:444-445; Heath, 1994:393). For instance, Islamic and European cultures have both influenced Kurdish society, and linguistic borrowing may be considered a component of this intercultural dynamics.

In 1953, Uriel Weinreich developed further his theory of borrowing and introduced the term 'languages in contact'. He argued that "two or more languages are in contact if they are alternately used by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact" (Weinreich, 1970:1). Permanent contacts influence languages more strongly than temporary contacts, and prestigious languages influence other languages without widespread bilingualism. The Kurds, for example, have been in continuous contact with the Arabs and Persians. While Arabic and Persian, as prestigious languages of the Islamic world, strongly influenced the Kurdish language and literature, borrowing occurred, until the mid-twentieth century, without widespread bilingualism. In the traditional and pre-industrial states of Ottoman Turkey and Persia, integration or assimilation of the ethnic groups was minimal. In the modern centralised states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, however, "the integration of ethnic minorities through linguistic and cultural assimilation was a primary objective of these states" (Hassanpour, 1992:59).

Some languages are subjected to varying degrees of linguistic repression. Scholars have studied relations between dominant and subordinate languages and discussed 'language death': "a language dies when it no longer has any speakers" (Campbell, 1994:1960). Campbell has classified different types of language death such as linguicide and gradual language death. The latter is defined as "the loss of a language due to gradual shift to the dominant language in language contact situations" (Ibid, p. 1961). Kurdish has been a subordinate language and has been subjected to linguistic oppression in many centuries. The Kurds came into contact with Arabs after the Islamic conquest in the seventh century, when they converted to Islam. The Persians and Turks have been in contact with Kurds especially after the first division of Kurdistan in 1639. Though the period of domination was long, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish influences were mainly limited to a small group of educated mullahs and aristocrats.

In modern Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq, many Kurds have become bilinguals through integration and assimilation into the dominant and official languages of these countries, Persian, Turkish, and Arabic respectively. Although spoken by substantial numbers, Kurdish is a subordinate minority language in these countries. The Kurds of Iran, Turkey and Syria are denied the right to native-tongue education. Only in Iraq was Kurdish allowed to be used in education on a limited scale. Members of the modern middle class living in the urban areas are a major conduit for borrowings from the dominant languages. Under these conditions, Kurdish borrows from European languages indirectly through the official languages. According to the statistics from 1986, of total 239, 889 souls in urban territories (*neqât-e jahri*) of the township of Sanandaj (Sor. Senedec) 131,984 could speak Persian, 17, 315 only understood Persian and 89, 808 did not know the language; 782 did not answered the questionnaire (see *Sarjomariye 'omumi-ye nofus va maskan, jahrestân-e Sanandaj*).

### 1.1.2. Theories of standard languages and lexical modernisation

The idea of standard languages appeared during the Renaissance in Europe. Before this period, a number of written languages were extensively codified but not used by the majority of the people. For example, Greek *koiné* had a unified form. These pre-standard languages were used in literature, religion, science, and trade by a minority of literates, mostly aristocrats and educated religious figures, while modern standard languages, such as English and Swedish, have been used in mass education and as a vehicle of nation-building. In the same vein, Persian was codified in the 10th century, during the Samanid dynasty (892-999) and was used by a literate minority. Here, too, there is a clear difference between the partially codified classical Persian and the modern standard, which is used as the only official language of public education and administration. The standardization of a dialect creates a new written language with a standard spoken variety. People in modern societies are mobile socially and territorially and always ready to change their occupations and activities and move to new locations. “They must be able to communicate by means of written, impersonal, context-free, to whom-it-may-concern type messages. Hence these communications must be in the same shared and standardised linguistic medium and script” (Gellner, 1983:35).

The first experiences of modernisation or Westernisation of Kurdish culture and society date back to the late nineteenth century. By modernisation, I mean the introduction of a Western type secular educational system, industries, communication media, new social and natural sciences, political parties, and a modern way of life into the traditional society. Modern nationalist movements have emerged in various parts of Kurdistan, and nationalists have published magazines and books in their language. The print media played an important role in the standardisation and modernisation of Kurdish. The modernisation of Kurdish society has occurred in the absence of a Kurdish state, although it was largely imposed by the nation-states that have aimed at the integration of the Kurds into the dominant, modernising, culture and language. No Kurdish dialect has been the official language of any Kurdish national state for an extended period. Under conditions of the division of Kurdistan, nationalists have selected and standardised different dialects of the language. Most Kurds do not use any standard spoken Kurdish.

Theoretical studies of standardisation date back to work of the Prague School of Linguistics in the 1930s. Since the 1960s, the term ‘language planning’ is used for the conscious construction or regulation of written languages. It is defined as “the establishment of goals, policies, and procedures for a language community” (Haugen, 1972d:287). In 1966, Haugen proposed a model for explaining the process of standardisation of languages which was later developed by other linguists. Haugen (1972c:249-252) predicts four processes in the standardisation of a language or dialect. First is the selection of norm, which involves choosing a language or dialect for official use. The second step, the codification of form, produces rules for pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, and leads to minimal variation in form, i.e., one spelling, one pronunciation for every word, etc. The third process, the

elaboration of function, creates maximal variation in the uses of the language, e.g., in education, science, journalism, etc. The fourth step is acceptance by the community, when the majority of the speakers of a language use it in different contexts, both formal and informal. Haugen notes that “the first two refer primarily to the form, the last two to the function of language. The first and the last are concerned with society, the second and third with language” (Ibid., p. 252). This model was further refined in 1983, although without basic modification (Haugen, 1983:269-276).

Some critics rejected the idea of standardisation, seeing it as an oppressive intervention. Hall (1960:26), for instance, is against “attempts to set up absolute standards, rigid norms, for regulating people’s language.” Sociolinguists maintain that a language is a social phenomenon and many social and political factors influence it. Purists, among others, have played a great role in regulating and constructing ‘national’ languages. Luke et al. believe that the relationship between language planning and social control needs rethinking. They emphasize that those who are in position of political power choose a language and control its development; this choice and control leads to linguistic oppression and total or partial criminalisation of the use of local languages or dialects (Luke et al., 1990:28). Thus, language planning cannot be neutral and may reproduce cultural inequalities. Fishman (1994:3), however, defends language planning and maintains that it “is not inherently hegemonic (unless one also considers all organized efforts toward societal goals [including education, public health, environmental protection, etc.] to be inherently hegemonic) and that language planning can be engaged in side by side and simultaneously with efforts to foster human freedom and the ability to resist excessive control over the expression and selection of preferences.”

Theoretical studies of standardisation of Kurdish are still in the early stages and they are usually prescriptive. Most of the literature on the standardisation of the language produced by Kurdish researchers is not theoretically oriented. These scholars are largely motivated by the nationalist desire to maintain the unity of the language and nation. They usually deny or downplay the differences between the dialects, arguing that discussions of dialect cleavages damage the unity of the Kurdish people. The research done by Nebez (1976:22-23) is prescriptive and based on unification of Kirmanci and Sorani. Hassanpour (1992:463), on the other hand, in a descriptive study of the standardisation of Sorani, recognises dialect differences, and concludes that Kurdish is a bi-standard language, with one standard for Kirmanci and another for Sorani.

Linguists have not guided the standardisation of the Kurdish language; it has rather been mainly standardised by nationalist literati, journalists, and writers. Kurdish writers have used loans and purist suggestions in their political, social, and scholarly writings and in this way, they have modernised Kurdish vocabulary. Sorani vocabulary was modernised in Iraqi Kurdistan especially after 1958. For the first time, Kurdish (Sorani) was “used for modern scientific subjects such as physics, optics, chemistry, trigonometry, geometry, solid geometry, algebra, botany, zoology, sociology, economics, and for technology” in Iraqi Kurdistan (Abdulla, 1980:168).

### 1.1.3. Language purism and purified Sorani

The theoretical study of purism is in its infancy, and there is little agreement about its definition. Purism is a norm-setting intervention in the life of language. Its dynamics cannot, therefore, be adequately explained by descriptive linguistics, which describes facts of usage as they are rather than how they should be. Any adequate understanding of purism requires a holistic approach capable of accounting for extralinguistic actors such as nationalism. Purification of a language is used as political vehicle for creating ‘national language’ or ‘our own language’. Some scholars are opposed to purist interventions. Hall (1960: 259), for instance, argues that “any meddling with our language, by ourselves or others, in the name of ‘correctness’, of spelling, or of nationalism, is harmful.” However, while all purist interventions are political, they should not be reduced to a politics of oppression and domination. The motivations and outcomes of purism should be judged in their historical context. For instance, Kurdish purists have resisted forced assimilation by Iranian, Iraqi, and Turkish states and enriched the language by neologisms and terminological creation. Moreover, many borrowings from the dominant languages were introduced by the literate minority (the clergy and landed aristocracy), and the nationalist effort to replace these loans by words commonly used by non-literate speakers can be considered a process of democratisation of the language.

In the beginning of the nationalist movement, written Kurdish was not purified. As a reaction to the assimilation projects of the modern nation-states of Iran, Turkey, and Iraq, nationalists began to purge their language of Persian, Turkish, and Arabic loanwords in order to emphasize their separateness from Persians, Turks, and Arabs. However, the purists do not form a unified group. Extremists try to purge Kurdish of most loanwords, even fully nativised Arabic loanwords, while moderates believe that Kurdish should not be purged of nativised Arabic loanwords (Hassanpour, 1992:400-403). Extremist purists are a minority. All Kurdish essayists and poets (thirty persons) who answered my questionnaire 1996, are moderate purists. Purism can affect any element on any linguistic level, but purists are usually interested in the lexicon. Some purists maintain that borrowings of Persian, Turkish and Arabic grammatical structures are more harmful than loanwords. The purist movement is complicated by the political division of the Kurdish speech area. Not surprisingly, in territorially divided Kurdistan, purists do not share a single measure for identifying the ‘foreign’ intrusion into the national language. Iranian Kurds, for instance, are suppressed by a state which uses Persian as a vehicle of assimilating the Kurds. The purists in Iran try to purge their Kurdish from Persian words, but they are much less sensitive to Arabic loans. By contrast, Iraqi Kurds are in conflict with an Arab state, and tend to reject Arabic loans, although they frequently replace them with borrowings from Persian, which is a fellow member of the Iranian language group. Thomas mentions several factors which may serve to mitigate purist concerns; for instance, “they [loanwords] are borrowed from languages of the same language family particularly at a time of pan-national solidarity” (1991:68).

In his study of purism, Abdulla suggests that purified written Kurdish is considerably different from spoken Kurdish in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary. Prestigious written Sorani, he argues, is “used for all sorts of publications and textbooks, for lecturing, for broadcasting and for public speeches... [and spoken Sorani is] used for inter-personal communication, fireside stories and folk literature” (Abdulla, 1980:209). In other words, compared with written Sorani, there are more loans in the informal spoken language, a situation that can be explained by the growing bilingualism resulting from the forced integration of the Kurds into the Iraqi state. In the 1990s, however, Arabic was less frequently used in the areas under the control of the Regional Government of Kurdistan and, as a result, there was a decline in the rate of bilingualism. In formal contexts, however, especially in radio and television news, classrooms, and public speeches, standard spoken Sorani, as pure as its written variety, was used.

#### 1.1.4. Theoretical issues in the study of the Kurdish nation and language

While nationalism and nationalist movements experienced an unprecedented resurgence in the aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet Bloc, the theoretical debate on the nation remains as contested as ever. Nations and nationalism are often conceptualised as political phenomena created by intellectuals. While the prominent role of elites in nationalist movements is undeniable, one may argue that the formation of nations entails complex processes of social, political, economic, cultural, and linguistic change. As Hobsbawm has noted, “nations and their associated phenomena ... are... dual phenomena, constructed essentially from above, but which cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people” (1994b:10). These theoretical insights are relevant to this study, which deals in part with the emergence of ethnic consciousness among the Kurds of Mukri Kurdistan in Iran, and the formation of modern national consciousness. The Kurdish nationalist movement emerged in the late nineteenth century and developed into a mass movement in the twentieth century; it aims at self-determination, which takes the form of either an independent or autonomous Kurdistan. Nationalist consciousness is created in the process of conflicts between Kurds and the states of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran.

In this study, I adopt Gellner’s definition of ‘nationalism’ as “primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent” (1983:1). Some Kurdish intellectuals, e.g., Fateh Shaikholeslami, writing from the perspective of “worker-communism,” emphasize the constructed and imagined nature of Kurdish nationalism, and reject it as reactionary politics (Shaikholeslami, 1995:5). However, studies of diverse movements show that nationalists modernise their communities. For instance, both studies by Abdulla and Amir Hassanpour and the present work document the success of Kurdish nationalists in modernising their language and modes of literary expression. Fodor (1994:541) maintains that “... historically nationalism in its essence contributed to the flowering of an important

and progressive movement, that is, to the development of national languages, to their modernisation and official acceptance.”

While nationalists modernise their language, they also engage in constructing a pre-historical origin for their nations and languages. Kurdish nationalists, for instance, try to trace back the history of their language to ancient, pre-Islamic, times. They argue that Kurdish is a descendant of the language of the Median empire or, according to some, the Zoroastrian Avesta. There is, however, no linguistic evidence to relate Kurdish to the Median language, which has left a record of only a few words. As Hobsbawm notes, “national languages are ... almost always semi-artificial constructs and occasionally, like modern Hebrew, virtually invented” (1994a:54).

The creation of national languages is closely related to the formation of nation-states, although the process usually begins long before nationalism’s access to state power. National languages such as French and Swedish, for example, were created during the formation and establishment of national states. In the absence of a state of their own, however, Kurdish nationalists have tried to create a nation with its ‘own’ language and literary tradition. The core ideology of Kurdish nationalism is based on the separation of Kurds from Arabs, Persians, and Turks. This separation is expressed and created in language as well as in politics, culture, and territory.

The process of creation of a national language and its product, the language itself, serve the goal of unifying a diverse population into a unified nation. Some nationalist movements do not tolerate dialectal divisions. The leaders of the French revolution of 1789 looked upon dialects as remnants of the feudal past. In Kurdistan, too, nationalists treat their language as the embodiment and creator of a single nation. This explains why they usually deny the obvious linguistic differences between Kirmanci, Sorani, Zaza (Dimli), and Gorani (Hewramî). Some linguists working within the framework of comparative philology class the latter two varieties as non-Kurdish languages (MacKenzie, 1971:1261; Todd, 1985, vi). In the 1990s, some Zaza intellectuals declared their speech as an independent, non-Kurdish, language. However, all Sorani and Kirmanci speakers consider themselves Kurds, in spite of the fact that there are considerable morphological differences between their dialects. In Kirmanci, nouns are feminine or masculine but gender is almost non-existent in Sorani. The past tense structure of transitive verbs is also quite different in the two dialects. In the next chapter, I shall analyse the emergence of the two standard dialects Kirmanci and Sorani.

## 1.2. Previous research on loans in Sorani

The literature on loans in Sorani is limited both in scope and depth. While a comprehensive study demands both diachronic and synchronic insights, the literature on the subject deals mostly with phonetic and semantic changes of loanwords. An early study, Justi’s ‘Note sur les mots étrangers en kurde’, documented extensive borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and other languages (Justi, 1873:89). Zhyan (1972), too, established the influx of loanwords in the spoken Kurdish of

Mahabad in Iranian Kurdistan (see 2.2). Besîr, in an article about Arabic influences on Kurdish, discusses some loanshift creations based on Arabic words (1974).

Part of the literature consists of coined words and terms published in the form of wordlists in magazines and as monographic works. Sorani writers such as Nebez (1978) are active in coining words and evaluating the word lists published by the Iraqi Scientific Academy - Kurdish Branch (see 4.2.1.). Fexrî, in an article about the Kurdification of foreign terms, analyses the phonetic changes of Arabic loanwords in Sorani (1987). Mes'ûd Mihemed (1988) provides a detailed study of the creation of new words, analogously, i.e., on the basis of the rules of word formation in Kurdish.

The only detailed research about loanwords and purism in Sorani is Abdulla's dissertation, *Some Aspects of Language Purism among Kurdish Speakers*. His study, both diachronic and synchronic, focuses on the written standard used in Iraq between 1924 and 1973, and does not deal with the role of the Mukri dialect. In fact, Mukri and Silêmanî subdialects have influenced each other and have together formed standard Central Kurdish. Abdulla's study shows that purists have succeeded in purging the language from many Arabic words, and at the same time the number of loanshift creations based on Arabic words, and European loanwords, has increased (Ibid., pp. 203-206). There is, thus, a very sharp reduction of borrowing from Arabic, and the percentage of total loanwords between 1958-1973 was 4.46%, i.e., of a total of 941 words, 42 were loanwords of which 31 were Arabic (ibid., p. 179-181). This calculation is based on a limited sample of short texts, most of them consisting of 13 to 77 words (one text includes 117 words). It is questionable whether this kind of text shows the real number of loans (see also Hassanpour, and Zhyan's calculations: 2.2). M. Chyet's study of Kurdish lexicography examines, critically, the ways in which various dictionaries have recorded the lexical and phonological repertoire of Kirmanci (see, 'Kurdish lexicography: A survey and discussion', paper presented to the Annual Conference of Middle-Eastern Studies Association, 1994). Hassanpour's study, *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*, examines aspects of borrowing and purism as active trends in the standardization of Sorani. He also refers to the norm conflict between Mukri and Silêmanî.

I have not studied the influence of Kurdish on Persian, Arabic and Turkish. It seems clear, however, that the impact of this subordinate language on these dominant languages is limited. Al-Sayyid Addi Shir's *Mu'jam al-alfâΩ al-fârisiyya al-mu'arraba* offers separate lists of Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish words borrowed into Arabic but does not provide analysis or contextual information for the listed loans. Some Kurdish words are not registered as they are used by the Kurds, e.g., *palewan* 'strong man', 'champion' is registered as p-h-l-w-n. The latter is also registered in both the Persian and the Turkish wordlists. Mukriyanî (1961:726-41) lists some 600 words which, he claims, were introduced into Arabic by Kurdish mullahs. It is difficult, however, to establish the Kurdish origin of most of the loans.

### 1.3. Subject and scope of the study



This study deals with the dynamics of linguistic change under conditions of language contact. Its focus is on lexical borrowing as well as alternative, though concurrent, trends of lexical expansion such as purification and terminological creation. The study is based on borrowing and purification in standard Sorani Kurdish. While the intensive contact between Kurdish and dominant languages has produced systematic borrowing on all levels of language use and structure, this study focuses primarily on loanwords. The scope of research is further limited to loans, by Sorani Kurdish of Iran and Iraq, from European sources, mainly English and French, which are indirectly borrowed into Sorani from Persian and Arabic although a few Persian words coined by Iran's Farhangestân (Persian Language Academy) as well as some borrowings from Arabic are also included. The data is culled from the prose writings of the Kurdish poet and essayist Hemin.

Persian nationalists have purged their language of Arabic, Turkish, and European words to some extent, and Farhangestân, established in the 1930s, has had an important role in this process. The Kurds of Iran, who can receive their education only in Persian, have become bilinguals and have borrowed many Farhangestân coinages. These words are used both in spoken and written Sorani, and many are also established among Iraqi Kurds. I avoid documenting loans from other Persian sources since the genetic relationship between the two languages makes it difficult to distinguish between the Persian and Kurdish identities of words commonly used in both languages (see 2.2.). While it is clear that the influence of the Persian and Arabic languages on Kurdish is not limited to the lexical level or to the written language, this study does not deal with the spoken language and will make only brief reference to the influence of Persian and Arabic on Kurdish phonetics and morphology.

#### 1.4. Purpose and significance of study and research questions

Language contact is of ancient origin, although it is growing at a rate never experienced before. Our knowledge about language contact, language conflict, or language death is growing, although much remains to be done in terms of conceptualisation, theorization and collecting empirical evidence. The Kurdish language provides great opportunities for students of language contact. Numerically, it is one of the top languages of the world (fortieth among some 6,000 languages of the world), but is divided among four neighbouring nation-states with dispersed populations in a territory stretching from Central Asia to Europe. Kurdish has experienced intensive contact with the two most powerful languages of the Near and Middle East, i.e. Arabic and Persian. The political context of contact has been one of domination by the latter two languages. Also significant is the strong resistance of Kurdish nationalism to the official policy of assimilation. This involves a strong purist tendency among the users of the written and spoken standard. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, there was considerable progress in the production of Kurdish dictionaries and grammatical studies of the language. There is, however, a

dearth of research about borrowing and purism. One of the goals of this dissertation is to generate detailed empirical evidence and provide analysis about some aspects of borrowing in Kurdish.

By providing analysis and data on an understudied case of borrowing, this study may help more adequate theorizations of language contact and the relationship between nationalism, modernisation, and standardisation. It may also contribute to the work of Kurdish language reformers, who have generally refused to accept borrowing as a natural trend in the life of language, and have consequently undertaken a systematic purge of the loanwords from textbooks and dictionaries.

The principal research question of this dissertation is: What is the dynamics of borrowing in Sorani Kurdish? Other relevant questions are: How and to what extent do non-linguistic factors influence the development of Kurdish vocabulary? How do language reformers approach borrowing? To what extent have purists succeeded in replacing the loanwords with Kurdish equivalents? How established and integrated are the European loanwords in standard Sorani?

## 1.5. Type of study

This is a case study of borrowing as an aspect of language contact and linguistic change. As a case study, this research provides detailed evidence about lexical borrowing in the works of a literate speaker of the language. My data analysis is based on the methods of descriptive and historical linguistics. While philologists were interested in borrowing primarily as a historical process, my study deals with contemporary trends of borrowing and purification (see, for example, Whiteley, 1967:125; Haugen, 1972:100)

This dissertation is mainly about one aspect of borrowing, namely loanwords. There are, however, different conceptualisations of borrowing and loans. My study is based on the work of Haugen, whose approach to the study of loans appeared in 'Problems of bilingualism' in 1949, and was accepted by many linguists such as Hockett (1958:408-413) and Crystal (1987:183). He defines borrowing as "an attempt to reproduce in one language patterns that have previously been found in another" (1972a:75). Haugen, in "The analysis of linguistic borrowing," referred to the original pattern as 'the model' (1972b:82), and claimed that loans may be more or less similar to "the model." He (1972a:75-76, the examples are mine) delineates two trends in the process of borrowing, "importation" and "substitution." Loans may be divided "into three main classes, where the criterion will be the extent to which native morphemes have been substituted for foreign":

1. Loanwords: items imported with minimal essential changes: Fr. *adresse* 'address' > Pers. *âdres* > Iran. Sorani *adrês*.

2. Loanblends: loans with a partial substitution of native morphemes: Euro.-Pers. *diktâtori* (*diktâtor* + *-i* Pers. suff for making nouns) 'dictatorship' > Sorani *dîktatorayetî* (*dîktator* + *-ayetî* Sor. suff for making nouns) 'dictatorship'.

3. Loanshifts: with complete substitution of native morphemes, including:

a) loanshift extensions (at first, called ‘semantic loans’): native terms are applied to novel cultural phenomena that are roughly similar to something in the old culture. As an example, *maf* ‘right’ as a loanshift extension in Kurdish has acquired the extended ‘human on the pattern of Arabic *‘aqq* ‘truth’, ‘right’ ‘human right’, also used in Persian with the same meaning.

b) loanshift creations (at first, called ‘loan translations’): where the morphemes in the borrowed word are translated item by item, as in Pers. *dâne;gâh* (*dâne;* ‘knowledge’ + *-gâh* ‘place’) ‘university’ > Sorani *zanistge* (*zanist* ‘knowledge’ + *-ge* ‘place’) ‘university’ > Kirmanci *zanîngeh* (*zanîn* ‘knowledge’ + *-geh* ‘place’). Haugen also discusses creations that are not direct imitations of a foreign model but whose existence may ultimately be due to contact with a second culture and its language. In his articles “The analysis of linguistic borrowing” (1950) and ‘Borrowing’ in *the International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (1992), Haugen has refined his division of loans without basic changes.

While Haugen provides an adequate framework for the conceptual organisation of my corpus, I examine diverse aspects of borrowings and do not restrict my work to Haugen’s division of loans. My study of European, Persian, and Arabic loanwords in Sorani is both diachronic and synchronic. The influence of Arabic and Persian on Kurdish during the Islamic period, and the hegemony of the modern nation-states of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey on Kurdish culture (especially introduction of cultural loans into Sorani) and language are also discussed. The Kurds have also been in contact with Russians, Armenians, Assyrians, Azerbaijani Turks, and others, and have been influenced by these peoples.

Phonetic and morphological changes of loans are discussed. In a wordlist, I explain the meaning(s) of European, Persian, and Arabic loans. I also register the loans, as used by the codifiers of Iraqi and Iranian Sorani, in sentences and phrases, and note to what part of speech the loans belong. How established the loans are has also been examined. Many loanwords have become a part of the Kurdish language and take Kurdish plural suffixes and definite and indefinite articles. Moreover, synonyms and derivations of loanwords are examined.

The coined or native equivalent(s) of loanwords, suggested by Kurdish purists, and the extent of their lexicalisation or acceptance (measured by their use in magazines, books, dictionaries) are discussed. Nationalists prefer dialect borrowing to foreign loanwords as a means of building a unified Kurdish language. I have also studied some Kirmanci loanwords into Sorani. Although dictionaries play an important part in the codification of language, Kurdish lexicographers with few exceptions do not see loanwords as a source of lexical enrichment of their language. I have therefore used magazines and books written by codifiers of Sorani as sources for generating my data, and as the arena for conducting the struggle for nativising or purifying the loans. There is a gap between spoken and written Sorani, and when necessary, I have also mentioned the spoken forms of the loanwords. Kurdish books and magazines have many printing and spelling errors, and loanwords sometimes appear, in the same text, in two or more forms. Some of these different forms are also recorded.

## 1.6. The data

My primary sources are texts by Kurdish writers. Secondary sources are articles and books about the history and culture of the Kurdish people, standardisation of the Kurdish language, letters, etc. Kurdish vocabulary is modernised by codifiers of Sorani and my study is based on prose texts written by them. I have chosen a specific codifier of Sorani, the poet Hêmin, and have classified and analysed European, Persian, and Arabic loans which he has used in his texts. In order to know how established the loans are, I have also used texts written by other codifiers of Iranian and Iraqi Sorani between 1930-1998. By a codifier, I mean writers and poets who are recognised by most of the writers of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan and whose writings are used as a model for learning Kurdish—a Kurdish that is mainly based on native grammatical structures and vocabulary. I have used texts written by many codifiers, some of them being: ‘Ebd-ula Hesen-zade, Hejar, ‘Ela-edîn Secadî, Jema1 Nebez and Mes’ûd Mihemed. I divide my data into: a) magazines published by clandestine Kurdish political parties and Kurdish magazines published by permission of the central governments, b) books, dictionaries (compiled by Xa1, Wahby, Zebîhî, Hejar, etc.), wordlists (Sorani equivalents of Arabic words proposed by the ISA-KB, and different writers) and essays written by creators of the Kurdish national language and literature, and c) translations from Persian, Arabic, and European languages into Sorani (see chapter 5).

One of my sources is a questionnaire that I sent to Kurdish poets, essayists, and writers living in Iranian Kurdistan, Sweden, Canada, Germany, England, and Spain in 1996. Most of them returned the questionnaire with detailed comments, especially on how they had learned written Kurdish and how they approached the purification of Kurdish texts. The information collected has been incorporated in some chapters of the dissertation.

## Chapter 2 An Overview of Arabic and Persian Loans in Sorani

In this part, I shall discuss those grammatical rules that are employed in borrowing from Arabic and Persian into Sorani. Farhangestân, the Iranian language academy, and its role in the development of the Persian language will also be treated briefly.

### 2.1. Arabic loans in Sorani

Pre-standard Kurdish dialects emerged in the 16th century and were influenced by Arabic and Persian at a time when only a small group of Kurds were educated in Arabic and Persian. Arabic nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and phrases were abundantly used by the Kurdish poets of the classical literary school until the 20th century. Arabic has also been the official language in modern Iraq and has strongly influenced the majority of Sorani speakers. Arabic loanwords in Iraqi Sorani include socio-cultural domains such as religion, law, education, army, government, and administration. Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed many European words from Arabic and have combined them to create some loanblends; these loanwords and loanblends will be treated in chapter five. Arabic loanwords are also borrowed indirectly from Persian. Arabic loanwords belong to various groups, which are discussed below.

**Nouns** appear in three numbers in Arabic: singular, dual, and plural. Most of the borrowed nouns are singular and plural. Arab. singular feminine *malikat-un* (the usual feminine ending in Arab. is the *tâ'* *marb¥†a*) 'queen' becomes *meleke* (*t.m.* and nunation are dropped in Sorani). There are two plural forms in Arabic, i.e., sound and broken plurals. Sound plurals are divided into two groups: the sound masculine plurals are formed by adding *-¥na* to the nominative and *-•na* to the oblique: Arab. *mu'allim-un* 'teacher' becomes *mu'allim¥na* and *mu'allm•na* 'teachers'. In Sorani, final *-a* is dropped, e.g. *mu'allm•na* becomes *mu'elimîn* (also Arab. *-ll-* > Sor. *-l-*) 'teachers'. The sound feminine plurals are formed by adding *-âtun* in the nominative and *-ât•n* in the oblique, e.g. *musta'marat-un* 'a colony', 'a settlement' becomes *musta'marât-un* 'colonies'; Arab.-Sor. *muste'mere* 'a colony', 'a settlement', Arab.-Sor. *muste'merat* 'colonies'. Broken plurals are formed by internal changes, *'âdi®at-un* 'an event', 'a happening' becomes *'awâdi®-u* 'events'; Arab.-Sor. *hadise* 'event' and Arab.-Sor. *hewadis* 'events'. To give another example, *'aqq-un* 'right' becomes

*uqʕq-un* ‘rights’; Arab.-Sor. *heq* ‘right’, Arab.-Sor. *huquq* ‘rights’. Arabic duals and plurals are now seldom used in standard Sorani.

In Arabic, nouns are divided into three types with regard to their derivation. All the types have been used by the Kurds. Primitive nouns are simple nouns, e.g., Arab. *bayt-un* ‘a house’ > Arab.-Sor. *beyt*. De-verbal nouns are derived from verbs, e.g. Arab. *amr-un* (derived from *amara* ‘to order’) ‘an order’ > Arab.-Sor. *emir* ‘order’; Arab. *Qulm-un* (derived from *Qalama* ‘to oppress’, ‘to treat unjustly’) ‘oppression’, ‘injustice’ > Arab.-Sor. *zulm* ‘oppression’. De-nominal nouns are derived from other nouns, e.g. Arab. *jins•yyat-un* (derived from *jins-un* ‘race’, ‘species’) ‘nationality’ > Arab.-Sor. *cinsîye* ‘nationality’. Nouns of place and time are made on the pattern of *maf’il-un* as in Arab. *ma\rib-un* (derived from *\araba* ‘to set’) ‘place or time of sunset’, ‘west’ > Arab.-Sor. *mexrib* ‘west’, ‘place or time of sunset’; and on the pattern of *maf’al-un* as in Arab. *maxzan-un* (derived from *xazana* ‘to store’) ‘store-room’ > Arab.-Sor. *mexzen*.

**Adjectives:** one form of adjective in Arabic is the active participle. It is formed on the pattern *fâ’il-un* as in *\âsib-un* ‘usurper’ > Arab.-Sor. *xasib* ‘usurper’; *âdir-un* ‘present’ > Arab.-Sor. *hazir* ‘present’, ‘attending’ and on the pattern *fa’l-un* as in *sa’d-un* ‘happy’ > Arab.-Sor. *se’îd*, used usually as a proper name in Sor. The passive participle is formed on the pattern of *maf’ûl-un* as in *ma’bûb-un* ‘beloved’ > Arab.-Sor. *mehbûb* ‘beloved’. Comparative and superlative (the elative) are formed on the pattern *af’al-u* as in masculine *akbar-u* ‘bigger’ > Arab.-Sor. *ekber*, used usually as a proper name in Sor.; on the pattern *fu’lâ* as in feminine *kubrâ* ‘bigger’ > Arab.-Sor. *kubra*, used usually as a proper name in Sorani. *Akbar-u* and *kubrâ* are both the elative forms of *kab•r-un* ‘big’. The elative is seldom used in Sorani. Relative adjectives are formed by adding *-yyun* to the nouns as in *ʔab•at-un* which becomes *ʔab•-yyun* (in Arabic, *-at* is dropped before adding *-yyun*) ‘natural’; Arab.-Sor. *tebî’et* ‘nature’ > Arab.-Sor. *tebî’î* ‘natural’ (in Sor., the Arab. relative adj ending is abbreviated to *-î*). ‘Arab-un ‘Arab’ > becomes ‘Arab•yyun ‘Arabic’; Arab.-Sor. ‘Ereb ‘Arab’, Arab.-Sor. ‘Erebî ‘Arabic’.

**Adverbs:** are expressed in various ways in Arabic. For instance, by using the accusative, e.g., *taqrib-an* ‘approximately’ > Arab.-Sor. *teqrîben*, and adverbial particles such as *faqat* ‘only’ > Arab.-Sor. *feqet*.

One of the effects of Kurdish purism was the elimination of morphological features borrowed from Arabic into Sorani. In the ‘middle period’ of the development of standard Sorani, between 1939-1958, pluralizing morpheme *-ât* was still used in Sorani texts (Abdulla, 1980:107,141), but was, later, nearly eliminated. However, many proposed Sorani equivalents of Arabic loanwords are fully established. For instance, Arabic active participles such as ‘*âmil-un* ‘factor’ > Arab.-Sor. ‘*amil* ‘factor’ have been replaced by Sor. *ho*; the adjective *muhimm-un* ‘important’ > Arab.-Sor. *muhim* ‘important’ is giving way to Sor. *giring*.

Arabic words are usually used in their assimilated form in standard Sorani: Arab. *ma’nâ* ‘meaning’ becomes *mana* in both spoken and written Sorani. Arabic *d•muqrâʔ•yya* ‘democracy’ becomes Sor. *dîmukratîyet* (Arab. /q/ > Sor. /k/; *t.m.* is pronounced in Sor.) ‘democracy’. The majority of Arabic loanwords are used

according to the rules of Sorani grammar. They take the Sorani definite article *-eke* and other suffixes. Borrowed nouns are regarded as singular, used with Sorani copula, and build hybrid compound verbs. Arabic loanwords are also modified phonologically: the lateral /l/ in Arabic loanwords sometimes becomes velarized /l/ as in Arab.-Sor. *miłk* ‘landed property’ < Arab. *milk-un*.

## 2.2. Persian loans in Sorani

In this study, Persian refers to New Persian. Three stages are distinguishable in the process of development of Iranian languages, i.e., Old (Old Persian, Avestan), Middle (e.g., Pahlavi, Parthian), and New Iranian (e.g. New Persian, Kurdish) stages. MacKenzie argues that some sound evidence and “a number of characteristic lexical items ... show proto-Kurdish to have been a close, if not the closest, neighbour of Persian” (1986:479).

Zhyan (1972:360-361) has studied spoken Kurdish of the people of the Mahâbâd (Kurd. Mehabad) region in Iran. This survey was a part of a major project about Kurdish dialects initiated by the department of linguistics at Tehran University. Individual graduate students were assigned to the study of the lexicon of spoken Kurdish of Bânêh (Kurd. Bane), Mahâbâd, and Urâmân (Kurd. Hewraman). Zhyan recorded approximately three thousand words on the basis of about thirty hours of conversation with local speakers of Central Kurdish. The results showed that 30% of the words were Persian loans, one third of which were pronounced as in the source language while two thirds evinced some phonetic changes. Approximately 55% of all the words were registered as deriving from the Old Iranian. Almost 15% were loanwords from Arabic, Turkish, and other languages.

Kurdish words have not been studied comprehensively, and it is difficult to determine the ratio of native words to loanwords. Wahby and Edmonds, in their Kurdish-English dictionary, have marked the loanwords. They have, however, classed some Persian words as Kurdish, e.g. *gêtî* ‘world’ and *sipas* ‘thanks’ are registered as Kurdish words while they are in fact Sorani varieties of Pers. *giti* and *sepâs*, respectively. Hassanpour has calculated this dictionary’s loanwords. The following figures includes main entries only, since the lexicographers did not mark borrowings in compounds and derivatives:

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%)

(Hassanpour, 1992:397-398)

Persian loans into Sorani may be classified as follows. **Nouns:** directly borrowed Persian nouns may be divided into two subgroups, 1) Persian nouns borrowed by Iranian Kurds which usually belong to specific socio-cultural fields: Sor. *serdosî* ‘epaulette’ < Pers. *sarduji*, and Sor. *sunasname* ‘identity certificate’ < Pers. *jenâsnâmeh*; 2) Persian nouns borrowed by Kurdish purists of Iraq such as *gêti* ‘world’ < Pers. *giti*. Indirectly borrowed words from Persian may be divided into two sub-groups. One is indirect borrowing, by the Kurds of Iran, of Arabic words used in Persian. Quite often the meanings of these Arabic loans in Persian are different from the original words, e.g., Arab. *ta’âruf* ‘to know each other’ > Arab.-Pers. *ta’ârof* ‘compliments’. The other is the indirect borrowing, by the Kurds of Iran, of many European words from Persian; for instance, words such as Euro.-Sor. *ajan* ‘police’ < Fr.-Pers *â~ân*, or Euro.-Sor. *dram* ‘drama’ < Fr.-Pers. *derâm* ‘drama’. This subgroup is studied in detail in chapter five. **Adjectives:** Sor. *destepaçe* ‘panicky’ < Pers. *dastpâçeh*. **Verbs:** *dîtin kirdin* (*dîtin* ‘to see’ + *kirdin* ‘to do’) ‘to pay a visit to’ < Pers. *didan kardan* (*didan* ‘to see’ + *kardan* ‘to do’). **Suffixes:** Sor. *-nasî* (*nas-* pres st of *nasîn* ‘to know’ + *-î*) < Pers. *-jenâsi* (*jenâs-* pres st of *jenâxtan* ‘to know’ + *-i*) ‘-logy’, ‘science of’ as in Sor. *kome1-nasî* < Pers. *jâme‘eh-jenâsi* ‘sociology’. In chapter five, loans from Persian, especially those coined by Farhangestân will be analysed in detail.

### 2.2.1. Farhangestân and the development of standard Persian

After the Islamic conquest, Persians converted to Islam, and Arabic became the dominant written language. The Persians revolted against Arab rule many times. Gradually, they established their own principalities and used Persian as an official (court) language side by side with Arabic. Pre-modern classical Persian was codified in the 10th century. Rudaki (d. ca 941), the great poet of the Samanids (892-999), wrote in a simple type of Persian, and later Ferdousi (934 - ca 1025) wrote his great epic work */âhnâmeh* in a rather pure form of Persian, purged of Arabic loanwords. In pre-modern times, only a small group of educated aristocrats and the clergy could write in Persian and Arabic, and most of them wrote in a non-purified language. Thus, purification of Persian could not develop into a nationalist mass movement. Modern Persian nationalism and purism emerged in the 19th century. In this new period, Persian nationalists began to standardise and purge their language of Arabic, Turkish and European words. They used *pârsi-ye sareh* ‘pure Persian’ as a symbol of identity. According to Jazayeri, the modern purist movement began with the works of the poet Ya\mâ-ye Jandaqi (1782-1859), who believed that Persian could manage without its Arabic borrowings (1983:254). Nationalist writers, journalists, the literati, and Persian governments as well have been active in the purist movement.

In 1921, Reza Khan came to power and was crowned as the first monarch (Shah) of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. Reza Shah Pahlavi was a nationalist and interested in the purification of Persian. He was also influenced by Turkey’s Kemalist nationalists, who had begun to purge Turkish from foreign words. In 1935, the Persian language



academy, Farhangestân,<sup>1</sup> was established. One of its goals was the purification of Persian vocabulary. The academy became inactive due to the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941, when Iran was occupied by England and the Soviet Union. After the end of the occupation, the academy's activities gradually declined. However, intellectuals such as A`mad Kasravi (1890-1946) continued to purify the language in their works. On the other hand, Persian scholars, such as Mo`ammad `Ali Foru\i (1878-1942) and Seyyed Óasan Taqizâdeh (1878-1970), were against the purification of the Persian language.

The second Pahlavi monarch, Mohammad Reza Shah, supported the idea of defending the Persian language, and established a new Farhangestân in 1970. The activities of the second academy were more systematic than the first one, and there were more language planners with a background in linguistics. The two institutions published many wordlists. One of them is 'New Words' (*Vâ`ehhâ-ye nou*) which contains the purist suggestions of the first Farhangestân. Several shorter wordlists of scientific terms were also published.

The Islamic government that assumed power in 1979 was initially against the purification of Persian, and declared Farhangestân's activities as anti-Islamic and anti-Arabic. Soon, however, official policy changed, and the government actively supported the development and spread of Persian outside the borders of the country. The third academy, *Farhangestân-e zabân va adab-e Fârsi* was established in 1990. The new institution has initiated various projects including the compilation of dictionaries, the coining of words, and the codifying of Persian grammar and orthography (see *Nâmeh-ye Farhangestân*, 1995, No. 1, Vol. 1, pp. 7-8). Some of the coinages of the three academies are now well established in both spoken and written Persian, words such as *barnâmeh* 'programme', *jomâreh* 'number', *bâygâni* 'archives' and *jahrbâni* 'police'. Kâfi (1989:32), who has made a statistical analysis of Farhangestân's suggestions in the field of mathematics, maintains that of the 133 proposed items, 22 (16.5%) are fully established, 57 (43%) not established, 27 (20%) used on the same footing with their alternatives, 2 (1.5% ) almost accepted, 16 (12%) hardly established, while 9 (7% ) are not used at all.

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<sup>1</sup> The term Farhangestân (*farhang* 'education', 'breeding', 'training' + *-stân* 'place') means 'the house of knowledge', 'school'. It is a loanshift based on Fr. *académie* 'academy'.

## Chapter 3 The Kurds, Kurdish Nationalism, and the Kurdish Standard Dialects

The purpose of this chapter is to identify pre-standard and standard Kurdish, and examine the process of language change in the context of the emergence of the Kurdish ethnic and nationalist consciousness. The chapter is divided into two parts, one dealing with ideas about the Kurdish nation and standard Kirmanci, and the other focusing on ideas about the standardisation of Sorani

### 3.1 Ideas about the Kurdish nation and standard Kirmanci

#### 3.1.1. Conceptualizing the 'Kurds'

Ambiguity prevails over the origin of the Kurds. From a linguistic point of view, Kurds constitute an Iranian group. Little is known about their history before the advent of Islam in the seventh century. In the beginnings of the Islamic period, the term Kurd was used, in Arab historical accounts, to refer to Iranian tribes and nomads of Western Persia (Minorsky, 1943:75). Between the 15th and 16th centuries, Kurdish emirates were established throughout the territory now known as Kurdistan, and Kurds came into conflict with their powerful neighbours. During this period, the identity of the Kurds, as an ethnic people different from Persians, Arabs, and Turks, was established. According to the Kurdish historian /araf-xân Bedlisi (born in 1543), Kurds are divided into four groups with different languages and traditions, Kermânj (Kurd. Kirmanc), Lor (Kurd. Lur), Kelhor (Kurd. Kelhur), and Gurân (Goran) (see Bedlisi, 1860:13).

During the 20th century, Kurdish society changed and the process of nation-building of the Kurds and modernisation of their society began, and new definitions were presented. Charles Benjamin defines the Kurds, in political terms, as a 'stateless nation', although they are not recognised as a nation by any state (Benjamin, 1977:70). Smith considers ethnic groups such as the Kurds, Basques, Tamils, etc. as subordinate ethnic communities. Leaders of the these communities claim that their resources and labour are exploited and their regions are neglected or marginalised by governments of the dominant ethnic communities (Smith, 1995:60-61). Amir Hassanpour considers the Kurds a divided non-state nation undergoing a process of 'consolidation' since World War I. Working within the framework of social class theory, he maintains that a new middle class has emerged and has engaged in

modernising the traditional feudal-tribal Kurdish society and culture (Hassanpour, 1992:60-65).

During the late 19th century, the Western concepts of 'nation' and 'nationalism' entered the intellectual and political discourses of the Middle East. In the Ottoman empire, the modernisation of the state and the educational system had begun earlier in the century. Some Ottoman intellectuals, army officers, and political activists who were not satisfied with the pace of change, organised themselves into the Committee of Union and Progress, revolted against the Sultan in 1908, and were able to force him into restoring the 1870 constitution. By 1923, Turkish nationalists led by Kemal Ataturk established the Republic of Turkey, and moved to create a nation-state based on Turkish national identity. Since the late nineteenth century, Kurdish intellectuals and political figures in Istanbul and Cairo were active in promoting demands for self-rule. The first newspaper, *Kurdistan* (1898), was suppressed, but the first Kurdish political organisation and new publications were launched in the liberal environment of 1908. Intellectuals and activists pursued diverse interests but were actively engaged in planning and creating a Kurdish nation, a state, and a national language (see 2.7.0).

The first generation of Kurdish nationalists emerged in the big cities such as Istanbul and Cairo, and some of them also lived in Paris, Berlin, etc. Gradually, Kurdish nationalism became popular and developed into a mass movement. In the early twentieth century, Kurdish society was still tribally and feudally organised, and a Kurdish 'nation' did not exist. Popular nationalist movements, products of mass education and urbanisation, emerged much later in the 1960s in Iraq, the 1970s in Turkey, and the 1980s in Iran. The Kurdish case is no exception in the history of nationalist movements. Generally, the idea of nation and nationalism emerges first among intellectuals. In Ottoman Turkey, for example, intellectuals of various ethnic origins such as the Kurds or Turks did not identify themselves as ethnic Kurds or Turks, but rather as Ottomans (Bruinessen, 1992:268-269). In the same vein, Polish or Hungarian nations did not exist when the Polish and Hungarian states were established. A Galician peasant, who grew up under Austrian rule but later lived in "an independent Poland governed from Warsaw," wrote: "I myself did not know that I was a Pole till I began to read books and papers, and I fancy that other villagers came to be aware of their national attachment in much the same way" (quoted by Kedourie, 1960:119-120).

### 3.1.2. Language nationalism and the Kurdish language

As already pointed out, the idea of national and standard languages emerged in the Renaissance in Europe, and the sixteenth century was the period of the growth of national languages and literatures. The advent of printing and its modernisation had a decisive role in the ultimate victory of 'national' languages over the powerful Latin language. National identity as a sort of ethnic identity is created by nationalists, and language as indicator of national identity is a myth. According to Greenfeld, a national language is not an "inherent attribute of a given nation, rather it is claimed

and interpreted as such” (1994:2711). The French language was originally ‘the French of Paris’ and its development into a standard language, a ‘national’ language, took hundreds of years.

Some scholars and Kurdish nationalists claim that the Kurds are descendants of the Medes, and argue that Kurdish descends from the Median language. This claim cannot be substantiated in so far as the evidence from the Median language is limited to only a few words. The claim of Kurdish identity for the ancient Medes is, however, very important for nationalists. While it establishes a distant past for Kurdish, it also distinguishes “the Kurds from the linguistically related dominant Persian nation” (Hassanpour, 1992a:66). In fact, Kurdish dialects (Kirmanci and Sorani) belong to the group of New Iranian languages such as New Persian and Baluchi, all of which emerged long after the Median Empire (728-550 BC). Kirmanci and Sorani were used as literary languages for the first time in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectively. And finally, the modern Kurdish standard dialects were created by Kurdish nationalists during the twentieth century.

Before the rise of the Kurdish principalities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, educated Kurds wrote in Arabic and Persian. Islam introduced Arabic language literacy among the Kurds and many other peoples who professed this religion. The Kurds converted to Islam after the Arab conquests of the seventh century. According to Islam, Arabic is the only language chosen by Allah to communicate with the prophet Muhammad. Moreover, most religious rites should be performed in Arabic and not in native languages. Because of this, the Kurds, like other Muslim peoples, should learn a minimum of Arabic material, although this does not amount to learning the language. One group of educated Kurds are mullahs (Sor. *mela*) who should be able to read and write Arabic and study the Koran, and interpret religious writings. The learned mullahs taught Arabic in the mosque schools. The literati in Kurdish society consisted of mullahs, some princes, aristocrats, and merchants who were almost all males, and were skilled in writing and reading Arabic. Another prestigious language of the Islamic world was Persian. Kurds acquired literacy also in Persian and many of them, such as historian Seref Xan-î Bidlîsî, wrote in this language.

Kurdish ethnic consciousness and Kurdish language, as a symbol of identity, emerged during the conflicts of the Kurdish principalities with the Ottoman and Safavid empires. On the one hand, these states could not tolerate the powerful, semi-independent Kurdish emirates. On the other hand, the two rival powers were in conflict for three centuries. The Kurdish principalities were disunited, and the Safavids and Ottomans were able to make effective use of their differences when some sided with the former and another group supported the latter. During these wars, Kurdistan was devastated. Many ethnic groups have become aware of their ethnicity during wars with other ethnic communities. According to Smith, “historically, protracted wars ( ... between Israelites and Philistines, between Greeks and Persians ... and between England and France in the Hundred Years’ War) have been the crucible in which ethnic consciousness has been crystallised” (1981:75).

Kamal Fuad maintains that “the oldest proven literary tradition in the Kurdish language dates from the sixteenth or the seventeenth century” (1990:13). This period coincides with the rise of principalities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Hassanpour, 1992a:50-52). The pre-standard literary languages Hewrami, Kirmanci, and Sorani emerged during this period. In a poem, Mela-y Cizîrî (c. 1570-1640) wrote that he composed in Kurdish in order to make Kurds free of dependence on the Persian poets of *îrâz* (quoted by MacKenzie, 1969:126). Kurdish has also been used, on a limited scale, as a medium of instruction in the *hucres* (schools in the mosques) since the 17th century. Before the end of the nineteenth century, written Kurdish was used mostly in *hucres*, the guest-houses of the landed nobility and princely courts. As mentioned above, standard Kurdish dialects emerged during the 20th century.

The core ideology of Kurdish nationalism is the idea of the distinction of the Kurds from Arabs, Persians, and Turks. Kurdish nationalists purge their language of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words in order to construct a nation with its own distinct language and ‘national’ literature. According to Hobsbawm, “at all events problems of power, status, politics and ideology and not of communication or even culture, lie at the heart of the nationalism of language. If communication or culture had been the crucial issue, the Jewish nationalist (Zionist) movement would not have opted for a modern Hebrew which nobody as yet spoke, and in a pronunciation unlike that used in European synagogues” (1994a:184).

The standardisation of Kurdish began under conditions of the division of Kurdistan between Turkey and Iran before 1918, when it was redivided among Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran, and the former Soviet Union. Inevitably, the choice of a dialect as a basis of standardisation was complicated by this division, which subjected the majority of its speakers to a policy of linguisticicide in Turkey and Iran. Today, there are ‘standard’ Botanî, Silêmanî, and Mukrî dialects. Kurdish has developed into a bi-standard language, with one standard for Kirmanci and another for Sorani. Kirmanci has been undergoing standardisation in Ottoman Turkey, Syria, the Soviet Union, and in the European diaspora. The standardisation of Sorani began in Ottoman Turkey and has continued in Iraq and Iran. The Kurds of Iraq and Iran live in different social, economic, and geographic conditions, and the two varieties of standard Sorani of Iranian and Iraqi Kurds are products of different, although related, nationalist movements. In Iraq, during the British occupation and Mandate periods (1918-1932), the Silêmanî dialect was used as a medium of journalism and education. In Iran, the nationalist movement of 1940-1946 used this dialect in the press, although it was strongly influenced by the Mukrî dialect of the nationalist leaders. There are only a few phonological and morphological differences between Silêmanî and Mukrî, although their vocabularies record more divergence due to borrowings from diverse sources, i.e. Turkish and Arabic in Silêmanî and Persian in Mukrî. Still, the two nationalist movements and the two norms of Sorani are closely intertwined.

The Kurds used Hewrami as a literary dialect in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, no modern Kurdish nationalist movement has used Hewrami as a medium of journalism, broadcasting, or political activism. Most Lurs and Bextyarîs (Pers. Baxityârîs) do not claim Kurdish ethnic identity, and their dialects are not

considered to be Kurdish either, although most Kurdish nationalists refuse to class them as non-Kurds.<sup>2</sup> While Zaza has been classed as a Kurdish dialect by the speakers of the dialect as well as others, in recent years a Zaza nationalism has emerged among emigrants in Europe. Some Zaza nationalists, such as Zilfi Selcan, do not consider Zaza a Kurdish dialect (see: Bruinessen, 1992b:35). However, many Zazas such as Malmîsanij, Haydar Diljen, J. Îhsan Espar, and C. Gundogan treat Zaza as a variety of Kurdish (see, for instance, the editorial of Zaza magazine *Vate*, 1997, No.1, pp. 3-4). In Europe, Zazas have recently launched magazines, books, grammars, and dictionaries, and organised, in Sweden, regular meetings for standardising their dialect.

Genealogically, Kurdish is a northwestern Iranian language (Payne, 1992:230). It is divided into three major dialect groups by MacKenzie (1986:479). First, the Northern group, widely known as Kirmanci: the dialects of this group are spoken in Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, northern parts of Iranian Kurdistan, the Mosul (Sor. Mûsil) 'province' of Iraq (Badînan) together with the Kurdish regions in Xorâsân and Turkmenistan. Both 'Kirmanci' and 'Northern Kurdish' are used for naming the written standard dialect of this group. Second, the Central group, widely known as Sorani:<sup>3</sup> these dialects are spoken in the Arbil (Sor. Hewlêr), Silêmanî, and Kirkuk (Sor. Kerkuk) *liwâs* of Iraq and the neighbouring districts of Iranian Kurdistan such as Mehabad, Senendec, etc. The written standard dialect of this group is called 'Sorani' or 'Southern Kurdish'. The third group is Southern: the dialects of this group are spoken in the areas to the south and east of the Sorani-speaking regions. Kermânşâhi (Sor. Kirmasanî) is one of the major dialects of this group, none of which is standardised.<sup>4</sup>

The Kurds and some Western scholars consider Kirmanci, Sorani, Zaza and Hewrami to be Kurdish.<sup>5</sup> Margreet Dorleijn is of this opinion, but maintains that their

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<sup>2</sup> Recently, some articles have been published, in the Kurdish magazines of Iran, about the Kurdish origin of Baxtiyâris (see Alimâ, 1995:110-111).

<sup>3</sup> As late as the end of the 18th century, Soran was the name of a small Kurdish principality, roughly corresponding to Erbil in North Iraq, inhabited by the Kurds. The language of the people of this territory was called Sorani Kurdish. Later, the term Sorani was used for the 'Southern' (properly 'Central') Kurdish dialect group. For a detailed analysis of the term Soran and Sorani, see Nawabi (1994:79-80).

<sup>4</sup> Recently, Kurdish nationalists have become interested in research on written traditions of Kirmasanî dialect. They consider Kirmasanîs, who are Shi'ites, Kurds, and the Islamic Republic of Iran tolerates these nationalists. In fact, the central government prefers Shi'a Kurds to Sunni ones. According to Ehmed Serîfî, the Kirmasanî dialect has been used as a literary dialect; the existing documents are in poetry, and the dialect is a mixture of Lak-Kurdish and Hewrami (see Serîfî, 1994:139-144). The Bible was also translated into Kirmânshâh• in London in 1900 (see *The Gospels in Kirmânshâh• Kurdish*). Today, in Iran, some poets use Kirmasanî for writing poetry (cf. Yusifî, 1992:22-25).

<sup>5</sup> The research by the Russian scholars Smirnova, and Ejjubij include "... the comparison of some important contemporary and historical features of Zaza with those of other Kurdish dialects. The profound system unity of Zaza with these dialects witnesses their common Kurdish nature"(1998:4). Hassanpour (1998:45) discusses the problem of the identity of Hewrami: "I suggest that the philologist's construction of Hewrami genealogies is no less ideological than the

differences are considerable. She argues that “in defining Kurdish as one language extra-linguistic factors like ethnic self-designation and the awareness of speaking a different language than the surrounding Arabic, Turkish and Persian populations play a role that is probably as important as linguistic factors” (Dorleijn, 1996:6-7). Thus, “instead of speaking of one ‘Kurdish language’, ‘Kurdish language group’ is perhaps a more adequate term” (Ibid.). However, this conceptualisation does not yet address the approach of Zaza nationalists to their language.

### 3.1.3. Opposition of the central governments to a national standard Kurdish

Turkey and Syria do not recognise the Kurds as a nation or even as a national minority. Turkey does not accept Kurdish as the language of a distinct group entitled to basic rights such as native-tongue education, or use in print and broadcast media. In Iraq, however, although Kurdish speaking populations have been subject to Arabisation, the language has been officially recognised since the establishment of the state under British Mandate. Although a Kurdish language academy was established in the 1970s, the government has made it marginal and ineffective (Hassanpour, 1992, pp. 448-451). In the Islamic Republic of Iran, Persian is the only official language but the existence of ‘local and ethnic languages’ is admitted in the constitution. Kurdish is used in book and magazine publishing and the state-run broadcast media, although Kurds are denied the right to native-tongue education.

The suppression of Kurdish was a major goal of the policies of various central governments aimed at eliminating Kurdish nationalism. However, these states were not able to pursue a single or coordinated policy of uprooting the language. This was to some extent due to their diverse political formations (secular nationalist republicanism in Turkey, socialism in Armenia, British and French mandatory rule in Iraq and Syria, secular and despotic monarchy in Iran and later Islamic theocracy, and national socialism, Ba’thism, in Iraq and Syria), and their intermittent conflicts. Another factor was the pressure of Kurdish nationalism, which put up strong resistance to assimilation. In the late 1950s, for instance, the nationalist movement was strong in Iraqi Kurdistan and Iranian authorities were concerned about its spreading to Iran. Because of this, the Iranian government changed its harsh assimilation policy and initiated broadcasting and limited publishing in Kurdish. Abdollah Mardukh (1995:42), a former employee of the Radio and Television Broadcasting Centre of Iran, maintains that Iranian authorities controlled all the programming. Their policy was to prevent the formation of a standard Sorani that could be used as a means of unification of the Kurdish nation. Mardukh asserts that broadcasting was conducted in diverse dialects including Hewrami, Ilamî, Qûçanî, Kirmanci of Wirmê (Pers. Orumiyyeh), and subdialects of Sorani such as Senendecî,

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native genealogy. Such a claim does not detract from the value of comparative philology as a source of knowledge. Indeed, an appreciation of the social construction of our disciplines will put us on much firmer ground in the challenging task of knowledge creation.”

Merîwanî, and Mukrî; at the same time, standard Sorani was used in external broadcasting intended for the Kurds of neighbouring countries. He maintains that Iranian authorities had instructed the staff to use more Persian words in order to show that there is no difference between Kurdish and Persian.

The state-sponsored weekly paper *Kurdistan*, published in Iran between 1959-1963, became very popular among Iranian Kurds. The authorities who controlled the paper pursued a policy similar to that of the radio programming. The paper was published in a plethora of dialects, and only the first few issues were openly put on sale in newsstands. The next issues were mailed to individuals who were considered loyal to the state and to subscribers outside of Iran. While the policy of the Islamic regime is more liberal in allowing publishing, the overall policy is to Persianize the nationalities and their language. For instance, twenty years after the adoption of an Islamic Constitution, its Article 15 which allows the teaching of the literature of the “ethnic and local languages” has not been implemented. While the Persian language is promoted in and outside the country, the state aims at eliminating the national and linguistic identities of non-Persian peoples, in part, through the policy of spreading Shi‘ism. The authorities force the Kurds to choose Arabic or Persian names. Iraqi authorities have, since the 1980s, increasingly been interested in opposing the purge of Arabic words and even letters from the Kurdish language and alphabet.

### 3.1.4. Marxists and the Kurdish language

Concerning the analysis of language, two tendencies are distinguishable among those working within a Marxist perspective. Some pursue a descriptive approach within the framework of linguistic and sociolinguistic theories. Hassanpour’s study, *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan 1918-1985*, is based on sociolinguistic theories of standardisation. He assesses, non-prescriptively, the achievements and failures of the purist movement. The methodology of another group is mainly prescriptive. While the standard Kurdish dialects are products of the nationalist movements, Shaikholeslami (1995:5) rejects the social import of Kurdish nationalism. He argues, for instance, that “the Kurdish nationalist movement, well-known as *kurdayetî*, is not and has not been a liberation movement. No sign of progressiveness or contribution to new economic and social relationships can be found in any period of this movement. The violent suppression of this movement by the central states has unjustly given it a progressive and just appearance.”

Both nationalists and Marxists choose the language of the villagers as a legitimate base of the written language. But Kurdish nationalists usually do not use loanwords even when used by ‘the village folk’. Since they view language as a symbol of national identity, the words must be ‘native’, ‘original’, and ‘pure’. The Marxists praise the language of ‘the masses’, but they also sanction loanwords used by the ‘toilers’. Their goal is to educate ‘the masses’ in their own language. Nasir Hisamî maintains that “the extent a word is used by the masses is the touchstone of Kurdishness of a word; if a [loanword] is used by the vast majority of the masses, [in fact,] it has become a part of the language, and it is ‘Kurdish’, no matter from where



it has come” (1991:65). Both the Marxist Hesên Qizilcî, a prominent literary personality and essayist, and Fateh Shaikholeslami, a moderniser of Kurdish poetry, use the words which are common among ‘the masses’. Throughout history, nationalists have usually praised the language of the villagers. Ivar Aasen, the famous Norwegian nationalist, writes “the peasant has the honor of being the saviour of the [Norwegian] language” (1836:296).

At first, Marxist Tudeh Party activists did not support the idea of publishing magazines in Kurdish. According to Hêmin (1974: 39), after the suppression of the Kurdish Republic in late 1946, the political activities of the DPK-Iran were revived in 1953. At that time, the DPK-Iran was under the influence of the Tudeh Party. For the party members, class struggle was more important than national struggle and the development of Kurdish. Not surprisingly, all the publications of the party were in Persian. Hêmin had insisted on the necessity of publishing a Kurdish magazine. He had argued that most of the Kurds were illiterate and did not know Persian. Hêmin believed that a magazine was an effective means of communication with toilers (*zêhmetkêsan*) of Kurdistan in their own language. He maintained that social and political problems should be described in an easy Kurdish, understandable to “the masses.” Some extremists were against Hêmin’s ideas but he succeeded in convincing a young activist that *Kurdistan*, the organ for the DPK-Iran, should be published again in Kurdish (Sorani). This activist published a few issues but was arrested and the magazine was closed. Blurian (1997:152-153), whose name Hemin did not mention for fear of repression while he was in jail, confirmed later that the party had approved publication of a magazine in Kurdish. Before the approval of the Party, Blurian had met Hêmin. Blurian writes that he used to translate letters that were sent from Kurdistan and articles from Persian into Kurdish (Sorani) for the magazine, but he also wrote articles directly in Kurdish.

Using Kurdish as a means of educating ‘the masses’ is now accepted by the Marxists. In 1983, Komele (Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran) published the first number of *Pêşrew* in Sorani. By 1999, some 96 issues have appeared. The two aims of the magazine are: to educate the Kurdish toilers about the programme and policies of the Party in their own language, and to translate revolutionary Marxist writings from Persian into Sorani (editorial in the first issue). SALWC-K published the magazine *Pêşeng* in Sorani in the liberated areas of Kurdistan between 1985-1995(?). In the first number, it is declared that the aims of the magazine are spreading and developing working-class and revolutionary literature and proletarian literary criticism.

Kurdish Marxists have been interested in the social aspects of language. Soleyman Ghasemiani (1995:14-16) maintains that Kurdish intellectuals have been more interested in purging language of loanwords while allowing inhuman words and concepts to remain. He continues that the Kurdish word *jin* ‘woman’ is sometimes used as a synonym for ‘coward’. The Sorani word *piyaw* means both ‘man’ and ‘human being’, and Ghasemiani suggests the originally Arabic word *insan* to refer to the latter.

### 3.1.5. Ideas of nationalists about the national Kurdish language in the Kirmanci-speaking areas

This section contains a short political history of the Kurds in Kirmanci-speaking areas and the ideas of Kurdish nationalists about 'national' language of Kurds and standardisation of Kirmanci. As I wrote earlier, Kirmanci has been used as a written language in Ottoman Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Armenia, Iranian Kurdistan, and among the Kurds of the diaspora. Kirmanci in Iraqi Kurdistan is used to a limited degree and in Modern Standard Sorani orthography. Recently, Kirmanci-speakers of Iran have also begun to write in the magazine *Sirwe* in Kirmanci and, occasionally, in the Hawar Roman alphabet. Kurds of these different parts of Kurdistan have not been in sufficient contact with each other, and a unified standard Kirmanci has not yet been created.

#### 3.1.5.1. A short political history

In Ottoman Turkey, some Kurdish emirates had an important role in the formation of Kurdish ethnic and national consciousness. Bedir-xan beg of Cizîre, the emir of Botan, rose against the Ottomans in 1843 but was defeated in 1847 (Minorsky, 1986:452). The Bedir-xan and his family were banished from Kurdistan and moved to Istanbul. Conflicts with the Ottomans and life in Istanbul and big cities made the Bedir-xans conscious of their ethnicity and acquainted them with European culture. Bedir-xan beg's sons Mîqdad Mîdhet and Evdirehman published the first Kurdish paper between 1898-1902. Another son of Bedir-xan beg was Emîn 'Alî who was the father of Kamiran 'A. Bedir-xan (1895-1978) and Celadet A. Bedir-xan (1897-1951). Kamiran and Celadet were born in Istanbul, and studied there as well as in Germany where the latter got a Ph.D. degree in law. They both played a prominent role in the development, modernisation, and standardisation of Kirmanci.

Some Ottoman liberal intellectuals, later called Young Turks, founded the Committee of Union and Progress in Istanbul in 1889. They belonged to various ethnic groups of the Ottoman Empire, and the Kurds played a significant role in the committee. The young Turks carried out a revolutionary coup in 1908, and compelled the Sultan to restore the constitution. People throughout the Empire welcomed the Revolution. In the same year, Kurds established a political organisation named the Kurdish Society for Mutual Aid and Progress (*Kürd te'avun ve teraqqî am'iyat*) (Bruinessen, 1992:275). Growing Kurdish nationalism worried the Turks, and soon this society was banned. In 1912, a Kurdish students' union *Hêvî* 'Hope' was founded. Members of both the Kurdish Society for Mutual Aid and Progress and *Hêvî* were aristocrats and urban celebrities. Some of these personalities advocated independence for Kurdistan.

In 1923, Turkey became a republic, and the caliphate was abolished in 1924. Turkish chauvinism provoked Kurds to rise against the central state a few times in the 1920s and 1930s. All these revolts were suppressed. In these uprisings, aristocrats, shaikhs and tribal leaders played an important role. During and after the Second World War, Kurdistan predominantly stayed calm. After the coup d'état of

1960, some Kurdish cultural activities were permitted. A few Kurdish books and magazines were published between 1965-1968 (Bois, 1986:465). In 1971, the military took power and a period of dictatorship and repression began in Turkey. In 1974, civil rule was established again. Between 1974 and 1980, a relatively free civil rule applied despite certain incidents and martial law in some Kurdish areas. In September 1980, the military, in yet another coup, took power in Turkey again. In 1983, a civil government replaced the army. In 1984, the armed struggle of the Kurdistan Workers' party (PKK) began. In the 1990s, Kurds organised mass demonstrations against the central government, and the PKK accelerated its armed struggle against the Turks. This modern Kurdish movement is no longer led by shaikhs and aghas. In modern Kurdish nationalist mass movements, traditional loyalties have weakened, and loyalty to the nation has become stronger. In 1991, a bill introduced into the parliament legalised the use of Kurdish in speaking but not in writing. Still, spoken Kurdish could not be used in public spaces or in political campaigns conducted by political parties. However, there was considerable publishing in Kurdish, although the central government has harassed the publishers and authors or translators. In 1995, a group of Kurds in Europe launched the first Kurdish satellite television channel, Med-TV. The channel connects the Kurds of the Middle East with those in Europe. It broadcasts in both Kirmanci and Sorani and has influenced the development of the Kurdish language.

When Ottoman Turkey was abolished, Western Powers seized parts of the empire including the Kurdish territories of Syria. French and British armies withdrew from Syria in 1946, and the country attained independence (Nazdar, 1980:215). In the first years of independence, Kurds were tolerated. In 1958, the DPK-Syria was founded by some Kurdish intellectuals. The Party fought for the recognition of Kurds as an ethnic group. This was not tolerated by the central government. Sometimes, those who had Kurdish books and magazines were arrested. In 1960, some members of the party and many other Kurds were sent to prison. From 1961, after the collapse of the union with Egypt, the central government pursued a policy of wiping out the Kurds, and many Kurdish regions were Arabized (McDowall, 1996a:34). In Cizîre, the central government deprived 120, 000 Kurds of their Syrian citizenship. In 1976, Syria officially softened its harsh policy towards the Kurds. Later, the Syrian government again gradually changed its policy, and in the early 1990s, prohibited Kurdish cultural centres, bookshops, and other associations.

Dispersed colonies of Kurds live in the republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Siberia. In 1923, the Soviet government created an autonomous Kurdish region in Nagorno-Karabagh in which Kurdish was used as a medium of instruction. Soon, the Soviet Union changed its policy and the Russification of nationalities began in the late 1930s. The Kurdish autonomous region was abolished and many Kurds were deported to central Asian republics. After the death of Stalin, the Soviet government became more tolerant towards Kurds. The conflict and war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the 1990s has caused Kurds great suffering. Nearly 18,000 of them have been evicted from Armenia (McDowall, 1996a:36).

### 3.1.5.2. Ideas about standard Kirmanci

Since the end of the 19th century, Kurdish nationalists in Ottoman Turkey have selected Kirmanci as the basis of the national language of the Kurds. According to the editorial of the first number of *Hawar*, (1932), edited by Celadet 'Alî Bedir-xan, language is the first condition of existence of a nation and the first aim of the magazine is to make the existence of 'our language' (Kurdish) known. In the editorial of the first number of *Roja Nû* (1943), Celadet 'Alî Bedir-xan maintains that Kurds can survive among other nations only when they write in their language and learn and preserve it.

As regards as the selection of norm for the emerging standard language, it should be noticed that:

The first Kurdish paper, *Kurdistan*, owned and edited by Mîqdad Midhet Bedir-xan, published in 1898 in Egypt, was in Kirmanci and Turkish. *Ronahî* (1944, Vol. III, No. 23, p. 15, Syria), stated that the Kurdish of this magazine was Kirmanci, not the Botan dialect; though the owners of the magazine were from Botan, they used standard Kirmanci with loanwords from other Kurdish dialects. Thus, enrichment by internal dialect borrowing has importance for nationalists in order to consolidate their linguistic unity.

While Kurdish has been a symbol of identity for Kurds of Turkey and Syria, in the former Soviet Armenia, Kurdish was recognised as a suitable means of educating the working class. Vilchevskiî (1996:34-35) writes that the Kirmanci dialect of Armenian Kurds was selected as a basis of the unified Kurdish literary language (the standard Kurdish) of the Soviet Kurds. This was decided in a conference held on standardisation of Kurdish in the Soviet Union in Yerevan in 1934. In the process of selection of a norm, the conference did not take into consideration the selection of 'the purest' and 'the best preserved' dialects. The question of the literary language of Soviet Kurds was political, i.e. the creation of a language which was understandable to the vast majority of 'the toilers'.

Two periods are distinguishable in the development of Kirmanci. In the first period, writing in Kurdish was in itself an expression of identity, and writers of this period used an unpurified form of the language. Kirmanci articles in *Kurdistan*, the first Kurdish paper, are not written in a pure form. In the second period of the movement, nationalists began to purify Kirmanci; purification was partly a result of intensification of conflicts between the Kurds and their oppressor, the Turkish central government, and partly a result of influences of Turkish purists on Kurdish writers.

Kurdish nationalists have constructed a pure Kirmanci as a symbol of identity. Kamiran 'Alî Bedir-xan (1932b:1-2) argued that languages 'kill' each other with 'words' (read 'borrowings'). He continued that in this war, no weapon is used but it is more devastating than real war. Kurdish, he believed, was not in danger yet, but if Kurds did not watch their language, it would be destroyed; when Kurds did not use the 'words' of their own language, they would be forgotten and foreign words would replace them. Bedir-xan maintained that in order to revive the Kurdish language, Kurds should not use foreign loanwords in their spoken and written languages.

Kurdish nationalists were influenced by Turkish purists who advocated purification of Turkish from Arabic and Persian loanwords. There were many Persian and Arabic borrowings in Ottoman Turkish. The first phase of the Turkish language reform began (in the 19th century) in the period of Tanzimat reforms and the second phase after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908-1909 (Heyd, 1954:16). European culture had influenced the Ottoman Empire strongly. One of these influences was the administrative and educational reforms called Tanzimat. Tanzimat needed an educated class, and it helped the formation of a secular and Westernised middle class in the large towns. The ideology of this new class was nationalism, and Turkish nationalists advocated language reform. In 1868, İyâ' Pâjâ "called for a simplification of the administrative and legal language, so that even the uneducated might be able to understand it" (Ibid., p. 10). Nationalists tried to purge Arabic and Persian words and replace them with genuine Turkish words. In 1928, a new Turkish language reform began when parliament adopted a new Turkish alphabet, composed of Latin characters.

Kurdish has been a subordinate language, and Kurdish nationalists have 'chosen' and modified the orthographic systems of the dominant cultures in writing Kurdish. In the first period of the Kurdish nationalist movement, Kurds of Turkey used the Arabic-Persian alphabet. Mîqdad Mîdhet Bedir-xan wrote Kurdish in the Arabic-Persian alphabet. Later, nationalists chose the Latin system for Kirmanci. Kurdish nationalists chose a Latin system for Kirmanci which is similar to the Turkish alphabet because Kurds who live in Turkey know this alphabet, and it is easy for them to learn a Kirmanci variety of the alphabet ('Elfabêya Qurdî', *Hawar*, 1932, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 5). The magazine *Hawar*, edited by Celadet 'Alî Bedir-xan and published between 1932-1943, used the Latin alphabet for the first time. This alphabet, usually known as Hawar alphabet, is now accepted by Kirmanci writers and is used for writing Standard Kirmanci. In the former Soviet Union, however, the Cyrillic alphabet has been used as the orthographic system of Kirmanci after 1939.

### 3.1.6. Emergence of national Kirmanci literature

My study is not about Kurdish 'national' literature. But it is relevant to discuss its emergence as a product of the nationalist movement. The term 'national' literature is ambiguous. Kurdish 'national' literature, a literature constructed by nationalist literati, is a continuation of Kurdish classical literature, which was influenced by Arabic and Persian styles and languages. Likewise, European literary genres, themes, and forms may be considered international in so far as most of them have their origin in the Greek and Latin literatures. As Wellek and Warren (1986:52) have noted, in a different context, "It is not very easy to determine the point at which literature written in America ceased to be 'colonial English' and became an independent national literature."

Ottoman intellectuals (including Kurds) became acquainted with the Western terms 'nation' and 'nationalism' in the 19th century. They used *millet* and *milliyet* as equivalents of 'nation' and 'nationalism'. Persians use *mellat* as the equivalent of

'nation', and Kurds use *milet*. The meaning of *millet* as a separate ethnic group 'nation' is a loanshift extension of Arabic *milla* (in Pers., Kurdish and Turkish *t.m.* is pronounced) "of Aramaic origin, originally meaning 'a word' and hence a group of people who accept a particular word or revealed book" (Lewis, 1988:38).

According to Kamiran 'Alî Bedir-xan (1932a:5), 'national literature' (*edebiyata welatî*) grows out of the life, history, tales, and songs of a *milet* 'nation'. He maintains that at first, European intellectuals wrote in Latin and did not use their own languages; as a result 'people' did not understand them and were not interested in their writings and literary works, but when these intellectuals chose their own languages (vernaculars) and wrote in them, the 'nation', all the people, could read the books and benefit from them. Bedir-xan writes that Kurds should use 'their own ancestral language' as Ehmed-î Xanî (1650-1706) had done before.

Modern Kurdish poets have adopted a style based on the syllabic verse used in Kurdish oral poetry. They prefer this style to the Arabic and Persian classical metric system used by the poets of the classical school of literature. Literature is also used for nationalist agitation. There are poems and prose in *Hawar* written by Kamiran and Celadet 'Alî Bedir-xan, Osman Sebrî, and Cegerxûn which have a clear nationalistic message and persuade Kurds to fight for their national rights. The poems and prose are written in simple Kurdish with few borrowings so as to be understandable to the illiterate. Nationalists have also created novels and short stories, which were non-existent before the 20th century in Kurdish literature.

### 3.1.7. Summary and conclusions

According to some political scientists, the Kurds constitute a modern-traditional and non-state nation. They have used Kurdish as one symbol of their national identity. Pre-standard Kurdish dialects emerged during the period of the Kurdish emirates, and the Kurdish standard dialects began to unfold at the end of 19th century and, more intensively, during the 20th century in the process of the emergence and development of modern Kurdish nationalist movements. The ethnic consciousness of the Kurds had emerged at the time of the powerful Kurdish principalities which were in conflict and war with the Ottomans and Safavids in the 15th and 16th centuries. Educated Kurds and literati lived in the capital cities of the principalities, some of which had libraries and religious schools; they first wrote in Arabic, Persian, and later in Ottoman Turkish. By the sixteenth century, some of the literati began to compose poetry in their native tongue. They wrote in Kurdish in order to establish their distinction from Turks, Persians, and Arabs. At that time, Hewrami, Kirmanci, and Sorani were used as literary languages. Kirmanci was also used as a medium of instruction in religious schools.

In the 20th century, the Kurds were reduced to deprived minorities in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey. The Turkish, Persian, Iraqi, and Syrian nation-states pursued various policies of assimilating and integrating the Kurds. Modern Kurdish nationalism emerged in this new period in part as a resistance to 'national oppression'. One of the first groups who became conscious of their Kurdishness were

the Botan aristocrats, namely the Bedir-xans. In the mid-nineteenth century, their principality was crushed by the Ottomans, and they were sent into exile to Istanbul. Most of the Bedir-xans were educated in the big cities of that time such as Istanbul and the European countries. These intellectuals were acquainted with modern European nationalism. Kurdish nationalism developed further when the Turkish nationalists established the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The intellectuals resisted Turkey's policies of linguistic and ethnic cleansing, and developed the ideas of establishing a Kurdish state and constructing a Kurdish national language. At different periods, the Kurds of Turkey, Syria, and Armenia selected different subdialects of Kirmanci as their norm, and each contributed to the codification of its vocabulary and orthography and introduced it as the national language of the Kurds.

Language reformers have taken diverse approaches to the development of the Kurdish vocabulary, especially borrowing from other languages. The nationalists are generally interested in a 'pure' or 'original' (*resen*) Kurdish, while Marxists reject extremist purism. They prefer a language that can be readily used as a medium for educating the working class. The central governments, even in Iraq where a language academy was established in the 1970s, have been against the development of a national standard Kurdish.

## 3.2. Ideas of nationalists about standard Sorani in Iraq and Iran

This section provides a short political history of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan together with the ideas of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdish nationalists about the standardisation of Sorani. It will also discuss the work of the generations of language reformers who have developed Sorani in Iran; the state of Sorani in the Kurdish diaspora of Europe will also be examined.

### 3.2.1. Iraqi Kurds and the ideas of nationalists about standard Sorani

#### 3.2.1.1. A short political history

Toward the end of World War I, Britain occupied the Ottoman *vilayets* 'provinces' of Basra, Mosul, and Baghdad. From the beginnings of the British occupation of the provinces in late 1917 to late 1925, Britain supported Kurdish nationalism as a force against Ottoman efforts to regain control of the oil-rich province of Mosul. Part of this encouragement of Kurdish nationalism was the officialisation of the Kurdish language in the northern region. Consequently, Kurdish was introduced, according to a British official in charge of Kurdish affairs, "as the written official language in place of the Turkish of Government offices and the Persian of private correspondence" (Edmonds, 1925:84). After the settlement of conflicts with the Turks in December 1925, Britain pursued a policy of discouraging the Kurdish

language. Thus only some Kurdish education was allowed, and Arabic became the dominant language of administration and education in Kurdish territories.

In order to counter Turkish threats, Britain confirmed the autonomous rule of the Kurdish leader Shaikh Mehmûd Berzencî, and officially appointed him as *hukumdar* 'governor' of Silêmanî, although he was forcibly removed when he declared himself the ruler of Kurdistan in 1919. Shaikh Mehmûd was captured and sent into exile, while Amir Faysal of Arabia was proclaimed the King of Iraq in 1921. Under the pressure of renewed Turkish action, the British authorities recalled and pardoned Shaikh Mehmûd in September 1922. In November of the same year, he declared himself "King of Kurdistan." He was defeated again and finally kept under house arrest in southern Iraq. In 1932, Iraq became an independent state, and between 1932-33 and 1943-1945, a number of revolts against the central government were suppressed (McDowall, 1996b:179-180, 290). In the period between 1918-61, Kurdish revolts were mainly led by shaikhs, aghas, and tribal leaders.

In the 1940s, Kurdish nationalist intellectuals formed a political organisation called *Hîwa* (Hope), and established contacts with nationalist activists in Iran. In 1946, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iraq was founded. The Iraqi monarchy was overthrown in a coup d'état in 1958, and Iraq became a republic. Although the new regime recognised the Kurds as one of the two peoples forming the Iraqi nation, Arab nationalism gradually gained momentum. In less than two years, the government began to suppress the media, political parties, and cultural institutions. Under these conditions, a Kurdish armed uprising began in 1961, and soon turned into a mass movement led by DPK-Iraq. This uprising was in many ways different from previous Kurdish revolts, which had been led mainly by tribal, feudal, and religious figures. Many intellectuals and activists in urban areas participated in the movement, which was centred in the 'liberated areas' of the mountain villages. The leaders of the movement demanded autonomy including, especially, rights such as native-tongue education on all levels, and the use of Kurdish in administration and the media. After years of intermittent war, a peace agreement concluded in 1970 promised a gradual transition to autonomous rule within a period of four years.

The accords between the autonomists and the government between 1966 and 1974 allowed the establishment of a Kurdish university and a Kurdish Language Academy, and Kurds were instructed in Kurdish at elementary and intermediate schools. In 1974, the government declared, unilaterally, the formation of an autonomous region comprising about half of the Kurdish regions, and at the same time declared war against the DPK-Iraq, leading to the defeat of the movement a year later. In 1976, however, a new political organisation, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, was established and resumed the autonomist war. Despite these continuing conflicts, many magazines and books were published in Kurdish, and the language experienced considerable development in the post-1958 period.

The Gulf War of 1991 changed the political and linguistic environment of Kurdistan. Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, and the United States and allied forces conducted a war in order to restore the rule of the emir of Kuwait. In February 1991, Iraq was defeated and compelled to withdraw from Kuwait. This was followed by



uprisings against Baghdad in the south and in the Kurdish cities in the north. The Iraqi army sent new forces to Kurdistan and crushed the uprising, forcing hundreds of thousands of people into flight to Turkey and Iran. The Allied forces, especially the United States and Britain, intervened and created a 'safe haven' or security zone for the refugees who returned to their abandoned urban and rural residences.

In 1992, elections were held in the extended security zone, and the 'Kurdish regional government' (*hukumet-ê herîm-ê Kurdistan*) was formed. Two years later, because of internal conflicts between the two rival political parties PUK and DPK-Iraq, this administration was inactivated, and the Kurdish region was divided between the two organisations. Kurdish was declared as the official language of the Regional Government, and used in the parliament, administration, the educational system, and the flourishing print and broadcast media.

### 3.2.1.2. Ideas about standard Sorani in Iraq

The Kurdish nationalists who lived in the provinces that later formed the Iraqi state, aimed at the construction of a nation with its own language. The nationalist historian Salih Efendî Qeftan (1936:10-12) argued that language was a strong indicator of nationality, and a nation which did not use its language would be completely assimilated by its strong neighbours. Qeftan (*Ibid.* pp. 8-10, 18) compared Kurds with Germans and asserted that the latter selected German language as their national language, used it in education, and wrote dictionaries and grammar in order to develop it, while the Kurds had used Arabic, Turkish, or Persian instead of Kurdish. He concluded that the Kurds should watch, support, preserve, and develop their language. As mentioned above, Kurdish national identity is based on the idea of the strong distinction or separation of the Kurds from Persians, Turks and Arabs. Nationalists define their people negatively, i.e. a Kurd is not an Arab, a Turk, or a Persian. Muhemed Emîn Zekî, who was born in Silêmanî and studied in Baghdad and Istanbul, is one of the early Kurdish nationalists who asserted that Kurdish was an independent language and different from even the closely related Persian language (Zekî, 1931a:296, Secadî, 1943:1).

There was a discussion, among the Kurdish nationalists, about the selection of a norm for the language in Iraqi Kurdistan. Some of them favoured Mukri and others insisted on Silêmanî as the norm for standardising the language. Finally, the Silêmanî dialect was selected for education, administration, radio broadcasting, and book and magazine publishing. Nationalists usually want to select the purest and 'the best preserved' dialect as the standard national dialect. Zekî favoured the Mukrî of Sablax (Mehabad), asserting that the dialect was the oldest and closest to the Median language (1931a:292-293). Edmonds noted later that "although Mukri, the Doric of Southern Kurdish, has retained a certain prestige, it is the lively and elastic idiom of Sulaimani that has now established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression..." (1957:11). Sulaimani (Kurd. Silêmanî) is now the standard variety in Iraq and is used in almost all Sorani publications and broadcasting. Many Kirmanci-speakers in the Badînan region use Sorani as their standard written language,

although publishing and broadcasting in their own dialect was flourishing in the 1990s.

The first Kurdish grammar books were written by Europeans as early as the eighteenth century. E. B. Soane wrote *Elementary Kurmanji Grammar, dialect of Sulaimaniyah*, and published it in Baghdad in 1919. However, several grammar books that influenced the standardisation of Kurdish were later published in Iraq. The grammars of Se'îd Sidqî and Tawfiq Wahby appeared in 1928 and 1929, respectively. By the 1970s, detailed studies were made about the phonological system and parts of speech by Sorani researchers, some of whom were trained in linguistics. The Iraqi Scientific Academy-Kurdish Branch published, in its journal, several articles about Sorani grammar between 1975-1983. Ewrehman Hacî Marif, educated in linguistics in the Soviet Union, wrote detailed grammatical studies on Sorani nouns (1979), pronouns (1987), and orthography (1985). A group of scholars wrote, between 1979-1980, grammars for use in schools. Nûrî 'Elî Emîn (1986), for example, authored a detailed analysis of personal pronouns in Sorani. Xazî Fatih Weys wrote a book on phonetics and the Kurdish sound system in 1984.

Kurdish writers have reformed the Arabic alphabet and adapted it in order to produce a phonemic alphabet, with one single letter to represent one phoneme. Now, the Kurdish alphabet is to a large extent phonemic. Purists have adopted a number of letters for Kurdish vowels, and have omitted Arabic letters ث @ , ذ f , ص ß , ض ð , ط † , and ظ Ω which do not represent any phonemes in Kurdish. These Arabic letters have been also replaced by the Kurdish ones in loanwords.

Arabic		Kurdish
ث	@	س
ذ	f	ز
ص	ß	س
ض	ð	ز
ط	†	ت
ظ	Ω	ز

### 3.2.2. Kurds of Iran and standardisation of the Mukri dialect

In this section, I focus on Mukri Kurds and the development of their dialect. As I wrote earlier, the origins of the Kurdish ethnic consciousness date back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the period of the formation of Kurdish emirates. Kurdish nationalist awareness, however, is much younger, and in Iranian Kuristan, it emerged in the twentieth century, first in literature and later in politics. This nationalism appeared in Iran when the government of Reza Shah Pahlavi used extensive coercion in Persianising the Kurdish language and culture.

Unceasing wars between the Mukris and their enemies, the Ottomans and Safavids, made them conscious of their ethnic differences from these great powers. The Mukris were Sunni Muslims, and their language was Kurdish, but the

neighbouring tribes to the east were Shi'a and Azari Turks. The Safavid, Qajar, and Pahlavi monarchs consistently put the Mukri region under the administration of the Azerbaijan province. Thus the conflict between the Iranian state and the Kurds assumed the form of the conflict between the Kurds and Azeri Turks. However, the Safavids tolerated the Kurdish Ardalán emirate (McDowall, 1996b:27, 33). This tolerance seems to be one of the factors which made Ardalans less conscious than Mukris of their ethnicity. Wars have made many peoples conscious of their ethnicity. A. D. Smith (1981:75) writes that "the wars which they (pre-industrial empires) and other states conducted were often decisive in shaping, not only the ethnic sense of their own dominant community, but also that of their enemies and even of third parties caught in the cross-fire."

### 3.2.2.1. The Mukri Kurds and their capital Sablax

Mukri Kurds resettled and lived in a district with fertile soil to the south of Lake Wirmê (Pers. Orumiyyeh). According to Minorsky (1934:188, proper names appear in new transcription), Mukri Kurdistan, or Mukryan proper, was inhabited by Mukri Kurds and, later, Debokrîs, a landed aristocratic family, and its capital was Sablax, or Sâvojbolâ in Persian. Other parts of Mukri Kurdistan are Burhan, Turcan, Bokan, Serdest, Seqiz (Pers. Saqqez), and Bane (Pers. Bâneh). Many tribes, such as the Bilbas tribes (Mangur, Pîran and Mamesh), lived in Mukryan.

At first, the Bilbas were not fully settled and were in continuous conflict with Mukris and neighbouring Turks. According to Minorsky, in 1810, the governor of Meraxe (Pers. Marâ\eh) invited the Mameh aghas to a feast and massacred 300 of them (1934:190). This slaughter weakened the tribes considerably. According to Rawlinson, Mengur and Mames tribes were changing from nomadism to a sedentary life in the 1830s (Rawlinson, 1841:32). Mukri Kurdistan, at present, comprises administrative districts (*jahrestân*) of Mahâbâd, Bukan, Pirânjâhr, Sarda;t, Saqqez, O;noviyeh, Bâneh, and parts of Naqadeh and Miyândoâb.

The Mukri tribe was originally related to the Babans, who established a principality in the seventeenth century. Silêmanî was built as the capital of that emirate in 1783. The historian /araf-xân-e Bedlisi, in his */araf-nâme* written in 1597 (first published by V. Véliaminof-Zernof, 1860:288-289), maintains that during the reign of the Turkoman dynasties (15th-16th century), the Baban tribal chief Íeyf ad-din (Kurd. Seyf-edîn) gathered some Baban and other Kurdish tribes and attacked the important district of Diryaz (at present, the name of a village near Mehabad) and seized it from the Turkish Çaboqlu tribe. Afterwards, he conquered districts called Dol-e Bârik (Kurd. Dolî barîk), Âxtâçi (Kurd. Axtaçî), Ilteymur (Kurd. Yaltemir) and Salduz (Kurd. Sindûs). The tribes that lived under the rule of Íeyf ad-din were called Mukri.

Mukri princes built a powerful emirate in Diryaz and neighbouring districts. In 1506-1507 AD, the Safavid Shah Esmâ'il sent troops to Mukryan in order to subjugate the Mukris, but they were defeated by Íârem son of Íeyf ad-din (see /araf-xân-e Bedlisi, 1860:289; Minorsky, 1934:190). After this war, the Ottomans supported the Mukris. The Ottomans and Safavids took advantage of the conflict

between the emirates in order to consolidate their own power in the territory. According to Minorsky, the Safavid Shah Abbas gathered a huge force, attacked Bradost and the Mukri Kurds, and crushed them in Dimdim Castle near Wirmê in 1609 (Minorsky, 1934:190). The Mukri princes gradually lost many of their villages to the Dêbokrîs, and their emirate was overthrown by the Iranian government in the late nineteenth century.

Sablax, Seqiz and Bokan have been important cultural centres of Mukryan. These towns were modernised during the reign of the Pahlavis. Schools, government offices, streets, roads, and telegraph and telephone networks were established. The capital city of the region is called Sablax, ('cold spring', in Turkish) by the Kurds and Sâvojbolâ by Persians. In the administrative redivision of provinces under Reza Shah Pahlavi, this town formed part of Western Azerbaijan province, and was renamed Mehabad.

Sablax was the religious, trade, and urban centre of the Mukri Kurds. According to Rawlinson, who visited the region in 1838, the town was modern and had been built probably a hundred years before his journey (1841:29). "It contains about 1200 houses, of which 100 are Jewish, and about 30 Nestorian Christians; the remainder are all Mikri [Mukri] Kurds" (Ibid.). According to Wilson, Sablax was "a city of ten thousand inhabitants" in the 1890s, and a garrison of Persian soldiers kept watch over the Kurds (1896:99). Forest products such as gall-nuts and gum-mastic were brought to Sablax and were sold to the merchants of Tabriz. It was situated also on one of the great caravan routes between Tabriz and Baghdad.

Sablax has been a strategically important town for Iran, Turkey, Russia and the Kurdish nationalists on both sides of the frontier. In late nineteenth century, Shaikh 'Ubeyd-ula of Semzînan, a religious leader, fought the Ottomans and Persians, and tried to unify the Kurds and establish an independent Kurdistan. In 1880, Shaikh 'Ubeyd-ula's forces attacked Persia, mobilised many Kurdish tribes of Iran, and seized Sablax without resistance. The chief clergyman of the town declared *jihād* 'holy war' against the Shi'ites, and Kurdish forces attacked Miyândoâb and killed many Shi'ites (Jwaideh, 1960a:261). The revolt was put down through military action and cooperation with Turkey.

Even after the fall of the emirate, leaders of the Mukris tried to govern their own district without interference of the Persians. In about 1900, Shaikh Qazî Fetah (Pers. Qâzi Fattâ'), chief mullah of the town, started a movement for more self-rule. One of his demands was the appointment of local men as governors of Sablax. The Persian authorities did not accept the demand and arrested Qazî Fetah but released him soon (McDowall, 1996b:101-102). Another movement was the establishment of *Encumen-î Sablax* (*encumen*, is the Sor. variant of Pers. *anjoman* 'society'), led by Qazî Fetah. Anjomans were formed all over Iran to defend the constitutional revolution of 1906. *Encumen-î Sablax* was supported by townsfolk who were exploited by corrupt governors and feudal lords.

Russia, which was at war with the Turks and Persians during the 19th and 20th centuries, used Kurdish tribal warriors in their war against the Ottomans. In order to get information about the Kurds and turn the region into a sphere of influence,

Russians opened a consulate in Sablax, and deployed troops there. When their consul was murdered in Miyândoâb in 1914, they took revenge on the inhabitants of Sablax and massacred the town in 1915.

After World War I, Simayil Agha Simko, a tribal leader, revolted against the Iranian state in the 1920s. Aiming at the establishment of a Kurdish state, Simko captured Sablax in 1921, defeated the Iranian forces, and appointed a loyal tribal chief as the governor of the town. Simko was defeated by the Iranian army in 1922, and escaped into Iraq (Bruinessen, 1983:389). The poets Hêmin and Hejar, in their autobiographies, write about the looting of Sablax by Simko's forces (Hêmin, 1974:4; Hejar, 1997:13-14).

During the reign of Reza Shah, the army, police, and gendarmerie were established in Sablax together with various government offices and secular schools. In 1941, the British and Soviet forces occupied Iran in order to prevent an alliance between Nazi Germany and Reza Shah. In Mukryan, the Iranian army did not resist the Soviet forces, and quickly disintegrated. Kurds welcomed the dissolution of the Shah's armed forces, which had suppressed them very harshly. In 1943, the last vestiges of the Reza Shah regime were swept away in Mehabad, when a crowd of people occupied the police station and closed it down (Eagleton, 1963:25-26). After the abolition of the army and the police station, people could express their ideas freely for the first time, and began to organise themselves. In the 1940s, the first modern nationalist movement of Iranian Kurds began, and the first Kurdish Republic was established.

After the defeat of the Kurdish Republic in Mehabad in 1946, the central government gathered a large military force there. With the army and the support of local feudal and tribal leaders, the Shah of Iran could rule the district. However, the land reform that was carried out in the early 1960s, reduced the political power of the landlords in Kurdish territories. The control of Mehabad, as the centre of Kurdish nationalism was clearly a priority of the state. The more intensive modernisation of Mehabad began as a political measure after 1958, when a nationalist mass movement began in Iraqi Kurdistan and helped the revival of nationalist activities among Iranian Kurds. As a result of these developments, the Shah of Iran initiated developmental projects while increasing military presence throughout the region. In Mehabad, for instance, the water supply and electrification were improved. However, in 1978, Mehabad became one of the centres of the anti-monarchist revolution. During the revolution and after the fall of the Shah, the Kurds demanded autonomy, but their demands were ignored, and soon the autonomist movement was suppressed by the Islamic army.

In 1992, the population of the city of Mehabad was 81,987, and the rural population was 78,952 (see *Âmârnâme-h-ye ostan-e ÂQarbâyjân-e \arbi*).

### 3.2.2.2. Education and literary creation among the Mukris

According to Wilson, Kurdish was "rarely written, the Persian being the literary language for the Kurds of Iran" in the 1890s; few Kurds could read or write (1896: 100-101). In Iranian Kurdistan, before the reign of Reza Shah, there were only

Islamic schools, i.e. *medrese* or *hucra*, and Mukryan was a famous centre of Islamic studies. The majority of the ‘ulama’ were not interested in the modernisation of Kurdish society, and believed that these ideas would weaken religion. But some individuals believed that Kurdish society should be modernised. Religious personalities such as Hesen-î Seyf-î Qazî, Hacî Rehman-axa (Muhtedî), and Qazî Mihemed (who later became the president of the Kurdish Republic) were nationalists and modernists. Mela Ehmed-î Fewzî (d.1943), an Iraqi Kurd who became a *mudarris* in the village Kulîce (between Mehabad and Bokan), spread nationalist ideas among Iranian Kurds. Qazi Mihemed and Hêmin were proud of being Fewzî’s disciples (Hêmin, 1974:10-11).

The first modern and secular school, named *Dabestân-e sa’âdat*, was established in Mehabad by the governor of Tabriz in 1916-17 (Semedî, 1984:27). During Simayîl Agha Simko’s capture of Mehabad, the school was closed down. Hesen-î Seyf-î Qazî (pseudonym: Seyf ul-quzat), a Kurdish nationalist poet, became the chief of *Edâreh-ye farhang* (Office for Education) of Mehabad, and was later succeeded in this post by Qazî Mihemed. During his administration, two new schools were founded in 1926, one of which was a girls’ school. In 1936, the first high school was established in the city. Instruction in all of these schools was in Persian.

The Mukris have produced oral and written literary traditions. The oral literature includes proverbs, riddles, songs, stories, and *beyts* ‘ballads’. Oskar Mann collected many Kurdish ballads in Mukryan and other districts of Kurdistan and published them in 1906. According to Hassanpour, *bayt* (Sor. *beyt*) is similar to the ballads of Britain, Scotland, Russia, Turkey, and other countries (1990:11). Ballads are preserved orally and their authors are usually unknown. A Kurdish ballad consists either of sung verse or of both prose and poetry. Ballads have diverse themes including love, religion, and historical events. The most important *beyt-bêj* ‘bard’ was usually under the patronage of a feudal lord. Bards recited ballads for the landlords in their *dîwexan* ‘guest room’, and in tea-houses for the ordinary people.

There are many historical ballads in Kurdish. The Ballad of Dimdim is about the heroic resistance of Bradost and the Mukri principalities against the Safavids and their tragic massacre by the Safavid army. The Ballad of Bapîr-axa-y Mengur is about the massacre of Mengurs by Azari rulers in Meraxe (Pers. Marâ\eh). Kurdish writers and poets have used folklore as a source for national literary creations. In the former Soviet Union, for example, the Kurdish writer ‘Ereb Samo, wrote a modern novel based on the Ballad of Dimdim; the novel was translated into Sorani by Sukur Mistefa in 1984. At first, the moderniser of Kurdish poetry Goran (1980:3) used classical metres but he gradually switched to the syllabic metre of oral poetry, which he called “our special national metre” (*wezni taybetî neteweyîman*) in the introduction to *Behest û yadgar*.

The Mukris also developed a written poetic tradition. The leading classical poets of Mukryan were Wefayî (1844-1902)<sup>6</sup> and ‘Ebd-ula Edeb (1859-1912). Herîq (1851-1907), a pen name for Mela Salih, was born in Zêwîye near Silêmanî the capital of Baban emirate, but lived in Iranian Kurdistan. In fact, the Mukris usually refer to the Kurds from Iraq as Kurds from the other side (*Kurd-î ew-dîw*). They regard divided Kurdistan as a single country shared by Kurds who live in different parts (sides). The poets mentioned above wrote both in Central Kurdish (Mukri) and Persian. For them writing in Kurdish was an expression of ethnic identity. Generally, they used more loanwords than the coming generations of nationalist poets. Nationalist themes such as the destiny of the Kurds, self-rule, and freedom were prominent in the work of the next generation, e.g., Hesên-î Sef-î Qazî.

### 3.2.2.3. An overview of the nationalist and modern period of Kurdish (especially Mukri) literary culture

Much of the literature on Iranian Kurdistan is focused on history and politics (Coyle, 199; McDowall, 1996b). The cultural history of the people of this region remains to be studied. Mukryan had the most favourable conditions for the rise of nationalism in Iranian Kurdistan. Ethnic consciousness among the Mukris readily developed into modern nationalism. In the early twentieth century, Mukryan was a tribal and feudal society, and only a few intellectuals became conscious as nationalists. However, the liberalisation of political life in Iran after the fall of Reza Shah led to the rise of the first Kurdish nationalist movement in Iran between 1942-1947. Although it was violently suppressed by the government, the movement was revived between 1978 and 1983.

Cultural activities in the beginning of this period were short-lived and did not result in the creation of a continued tradition of using and standardising the language. By contrast, the nationalist movement that spread in Mehabad in the 1940s left its impact on the cultural and linguistic life of the region and the larger geoethnic territory of Kurdistan.

Sorani Kurdish has been used in the mosque schools as an auxiliary vehicle for explaining Arabic and Persian texts. In fact, *Ehmedi*, an Arabic-Persian lexicon, composed in verse, has been a favourite of theological students, *faqê*s in mosque schools. The first Kurdish primary school in Iran was apparently established in 1913 in the city of Xoy in the northern Kurdish regions, although it did not last for long (Kemal Mezher Ehmed, 1975: 37-38). The first group that put Mukri Kurdish to print, and used it in teaching to a few orphaned students were Christian missionaries. The Inter-Synodical Evangelical Lutheran Orient Mission Society began its work in Sablax in 1911. L. O. Fossum, one of the leaders of the mission, published a magazine, *The Kurdistan Missionary*, in English, in the United States (Hassanpour, 1987:16). In order to spread Christianity among the Kurds, the mission translated the

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<sup>6</sup> Exact information about the dates of birth and death of many Kurdish poets and writers is not available. Bois gives the dates 1836-1892 for Wefayî (1986b:482). According to Serîfî, however, the dates are 1840-1914 (1997: 52-54).

gospels and other religious writings into Mukri Kurdish. The Gospel of Mark (Mukri *Încîl-î Merqus*) had been published in 1909 before the mission started its work in the 'field'. Hymns were translated into Mukri by Fossum, and published under the title of *Kurdish Prayer Book* in New York in 1918. A year later, Fossum published a Mukri Kurdish grammar with texts and vocabulary. In 1926, 'Ezîz Zendîye (known also as 'Ezîz Elmanî) translated some parts of the Old Testament and the New Testament into Mukri, which was published with commentary under the title *Kitab-î irsad ul-mufnibîn* (Book of Guidance of Sinners) in the United States in 1945. The impact of these printed works on the development of the language was limited, however. This was in part due to their minimal circulation in a predominantly non-literate population; also, the political environment was not hospitable to the distribution of this type of literature. Even after the fall of Reza Shah's dictatorship, the Kurdish nationalist organisation Komeley J.K. was not able to find, in Mehabad in 1942, a copy of Fossum's grammar (see *Diyari Komeley J.K. bo Lawekani Kurd*, 1943, [Tabriz], pp. 90-91).

The Simko revolt produced, in 1921, the first Kurdish (Mukri) magazine of Iran. It was bilingual, Kurdish and Persian, and printed in Wirmê (Hassanpour, 1992:225, 260). Its editor was an educated *mela* (mullah) Mihemed-î Turcanî (also called Muhemed Turcanîzade Qizilcî).

In Iran, the nationalist tradition in Kurdish literature begins with Qazî Letîf, Mistefa Sewqî Qazî-zade,<sup>7</sup> Hesên-î Seyf-î Qazî (pen name: Seyf ul-quzat) and Mela Marif-î Kokeyî. There is a dearth of research about this period. In the first period of the modernisation of Sorani in Iran, as in Iraq and Turkey, the content rather than the form of poetry and prose was being modernised; the language was not purified, and styles were classical. Later, literary expression was gradually modernised, and as conflicts between the Kurds and the Iranian state intensified, the construction of 'our own language' entered the agenda of the nationalist movement, and writers began to purge their language from foreign words.

As mentioned earlier, the Mukris were in conflict with the Russians, who exercised considerable power in the region. Their consulates and army troops guarded the interests of Moscow. In Mukri Kurdistan, for example, they were opposed to the influential family of the Qazîs. According to one source (Xelil-e Fattâ` Qâzi, 1991:9, 25-26), the chief of the family, Mirzâ Fattâ` Qâzi (Qâzi Fattâ`), was killed in clashes between Kurds and Russians, and Qâzi Latif (Sor. Qazî Letîf), Mirzâ Fattâ` Qâzi's brother, was banished to Russia. After the Bolshevik Revolution and his release, Qazî Letîf travelled to Istanbul to see his son Mistefa Sewqî Qazî-zade. Qazî Letîf was later killed by the tribal army of Simko at his home in Mehabad (Ibid., p. 16). Qazî Letîf and Mistefa Qazîzade are among the first Mukri poets who wrote nationalist poetry. In one of his poems, Qazî Letîf addresses Kurdish poets and

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<sup>7</sup> Hassanpour and Ghazi (1997:41-46) write that more research is needed about two persons named Mistefa Sewqî, one called Qazîzade Mistefa Sewqî and the other known as Mistefa Sewqî. The former wrote poetry and was a physician, also called Dr. Mistefay Qazî, while the latter was editor of the magazine *Peyje* published in Baghdad.



asks them to stop writing about their beloved, arguing that the Kurds have more important problems to look after: they do not have their own *hakim* ‘commander, leader’, and because of this they are not reckoned among the ‘others’ (Qazî Letîf, 1919:14).

Mistefa Sewqî Qazî-zade (1896-1950) was influenced by Kurdish nationalists of Ottoman Turkey and wrote a few poems and articles in the magazine *Jîn* published in Istanbul between 1918-1919. He was born in Mehabad and studied medicine in Germany and Istanbul (Fattah Qazi, 1991:26). He constructed a pre-history for the Kurds, and maintained that their ancestors were Fereydûn (Pers. Fereydu), Cemsîd (Pers. Jamîd), and Key-xusrew, Sorani variant of Pers. Kay-xosrou (1919:14-15). In fact, these ‘ancestors of the Kurds’ are ancient mythical Iranian kings.

Under Reza Shah Pahlavi, minorities were discriminated against and were deprived of their national and linguistic rights. Hesen-î Seyf-î Qazî (1871-1944 or 1945) believed that the Kurds and Persians were brothers (belonged to the same race), and wondered why Kurds were oppressed by the Persians. He believed that the Kurds had ‘unmixed pure Iranian blood’ (*xön-î xalis-î êranî pak*), and they were not mixed with Arabs and Turks (Seyf-î Qazî, 1982: 74). In one of his poems, he wrote that our mother tongue (*zîman-î daykî*) was forbidden during the reign of the Pahlavis; in another piece, he wrote that Kurdish should be used as a written language and Kurds should be educated in their mother tongue (Ibid., pp. 70, 75). Seyf-î Qazî considered the Kurds an oppressed nation without a sovereign state. He wrote that they did not have their own *Sa* ‘king’, *wezîr* ‘minister’, and *supa* ‘army’ (Ibid., p. 26). He was a believer in Islam and a nationalist. In a poem, he praises God and the prophet Muhammad and asks them to help the Kurds and rescue them from *fena* ‘destruction’. In his version of Islam, patriotism was “a sign of faith,” and he wrote that the Kurds should be ready to sacrifice their lives for the ‘freedom’ of their country (Ibid., pp. 27, 75).

*The Years 1930-1947*: nationalist political and cultural activities in the 1930s created a new generation of Kurdish nationalists. In the late 1940s, secret literary and cultural societies were formed in Mukryan. In his introduction to Qizilcî’s short stories, Hêmin maintains that there was some sort of a secret literary society organised by Ehmedî Fewzî, Hesen-î Seyfî Qazî, Qazî Mihemed (later president of the Kurdish Republic of 1946), Shaikh Ehmed-î Sirîlawâ, and some other religious and literary figures (1983:82-83). Hejar writes also about the clandestine literary meetings arranged by ‘Ebd ul-Rehmanî Zebîhî (later editor of *Nîstîman*), Sidîq Heyderî (later director-general of propaganda in the Kurdish Republic), Rehman-î Hacî Bayz-axa (Muhtedî), and other Kurdish nationalists in the 1930s (1997:53-54). Throughout history, literary circles have played an important role in the process of nation-building and the education of nationalist literary and political personalities (Hutchinson, 1992:101-102).

The formation of the first modern nationalist organisations in the 1940s and the short-lived first Kurdish Republic played a profound role in the development of Kurdish journalism and the Sorani language. Most effective in the realm of literature was a political organisation known as J.K., i.e. *Komele-y jîyanewe-y kurd* (The

Committee for the Revival of Kurdistan), established in Mehabad in 1942. According to Roosevelt, most of the founders of J.K. were “small merchants and petty officials of the town” (1980 :136). Abbas Vali writes that the nationalist strategy of J.K. was clearly different from the classical Kurdish military-political method in that it was strictly civil-political involving no military practices (1995). The Kurds of Iraq helped Iranian Kurds in the founding of J.K. (Eagleton, 1963:33). The major publication of J.K. was *Nîstiman* ‘Homeland’, published in the Mukri dialect between 1943-1944.

J.K. was abolished in 1945, and replaced by the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iran, which founded the Kurdish Republic in early 1946. Kurdish became the official language of the autonomous regime. During this period, journalism and literary activities dominated the cultural life of the region. One newspaper, and several magazines appeared: *Kurdistan* (monthly), *Helale* (Tulip) and *Gir-û-galî Mindalanî Kurd* (Kurdish Children’s Prattle). Soon, the Republic was crushed by the Iranian army, and Qazî Muhemed, his brother, and his cousin were hanged in Mehabad in 1947.

Mengûrî (forthcoming:186-188) maintains that during the reign of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks published by Iraqi Kurds were used in the schools. The republic was young and had not been able to prepare Kurdish textbooks. He notes that the Kurds of Iraq who lived in Mehabad and Iranian Kurds could not read each other’s handwriting because the styles of writing in the Arabic and Persian scripts were different in the two countries, and Iranian Kurds were influenced by the Persian style while Iraqi Kurds used Arabic forms. Mengûrî asserts that writing in Kurdish was very difficult for Iranian Kurds. Yahû, for example, the chief of the scribes of President Qazî Muhemed, was a famous scribe (Sor. *mîrza*) in Persian, but could write a Kurdish text only after considerable drafting. Ehmed-xanî Farûqî who was knowledgeable in Persian, first wrote in that language and then translated it into Kurdish. Official letters written by authorities of the republic, published by Mahmud Mola Ezat, are in a non-purified form of language, and sometimes the verbs and prepositions seem to be the only Kurdish elements.

Some Kurdish poets and writers of Iranian Kurdistan in this period were Hêmin, Hejar, Hesên-î Qizilcî, and ‘Ebd ul-Rehmanî Zebîhî (see 7.2.2.1, 5.2., and 5.3.). One of the young activists was Rehîmî Qazî who was born in Mehabad in 1925 and died in Baku in 1991 (Chireh, 1994a:13, 14-15). Qazî’s novel *Pêsmerge* was published for the first time in Yerevan (Armenia) in 1959, again in 1961 in Baghdad, and in 1981 in Iran. He studied in Azerbaijan and wrote a doctoral dissertation about Qazi Mihemed and the Kurdish nationalist liberation movement in Iranian Kurdistan (1945-1946). He and some of the activists who had fled to the USSR continued to publish *Kurdistan*, organ of the DPK-Iran in Baku.

Theatre played an important role in spreading nationalist ideas among the Mukri Kurds. The play *Daykî nîstiman* (Motherland) was repeatedly performed to full houses in Mehabad and other towns in 1945. It was the first theatrical performance in Kurdish in Iran, and called on the Kurds to rescue the motherland and fight for self-determination (Ghani Bluryan, 1997:35, 41; Eagleton, 1963:40).

*The Years 1947-1978*: the Kurdish nationalist movement in Iranian Kurdistan between 1947 and 1978 was weak, although the government felt threatened by its underground existence. The DPK-Iran became illegal after the fall of the republic and existed clandestinely. In Mukryan, a group of the activists who lived across the border in Iraq, revolted against the central government between 1967-68 under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee of the DPK-Iran. This uprising was crushed by the armed forces of the Shah. According to McDowall, in a party conference in Baghdad, A. R. Qasimlu became the secretary-general of DPK-Iran in 1971 after a new round of reorganisation (1996b:254). This reform enabled the DPK-Iran to play an active role in the Kurdish nationalist movement of 1978-1983. In 1969, *Komele-y zehmet-kêsan-ê Kurdistan-ê Êran* (Organisation for Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan), known as Komele, was formed. This leftist organisation played an important part in the Kurdish nationalist movement in 1978-83.

Land reforms, initiated by the Shah, began in 1962 and gradually changed the life of the peasants. After the reform, landlords lost much of their political influence. In time, improved communications and literacy weakened local identities and strengthened loyalties towards the state in central Iran, while among the Kurds, village or tribal identity was weakened in favour of an ethnic one (McDowall, 1996b:258). These social changes laid the foundations of a Kurdish nationalist mass movement between 1978-1983. While in the 1940s, only Mukryan was the stronghold of Kurdish nationalism, the movement spread to Senendec (Pers. Sanandaj), Merîwan (Pers. Marivân), Dîwandere (Pers. Divândarreh), and other Kurdish towns in 1978.

*Kurdistan*, the organ of the DPK-Iran was banned but this magazine was published clandestinely outside Iran until 1978. A newspaper, also called *Kurdistan*, sponsored by the government, was published between 1959 and 1963. Mihemed Sidîq Muftûzade wrote a series of articles on Kurdish grammar in this weekly paper. It also carried translated writings about various subjects such as history and science. Sukr-ula Baban, compiler of a Persian-Kurdish dictionary, was also active in publishing the paper. At Isfahan and Tabriz universities, research about Kurdish folklore and language was permitted. The most active researchers in these universities were 'Ubeyd-ula Eyûbyan and Qadir-ê Fetahî Qazî. Moreover, two Kurdish courses were offered by the department of linguistics at Tehran University in the 1970s. A private bookstore in Mehabad, Seydyan, published some Kurdish books, beginning in the 1960s. Kurdish books were also sold in other bookstores.

Iranian Kurds wrote also in their Senendecî dialect during this period. For instance, the newspaper *Xornisîn* was published in Persian and Kurdish by a few Senendecî-speakers in Tehran in 1951 (see a report and an excerpt from an article in Ehmed Serîfî, 1997: 62). The article is in non-purified Kurdish. Also, Mo'ammad Mardux, a religious figure, wrote the introduction to his Kurdish-Persian dictionary (1955) in the Senendecî dialect of his hometown. He did not use the standard Sorani alphabet either.

A third generation of Kurdish poets and writers emerged during this period. In the 1960s, Kurdish students and cultural and literary activists used to gather in the home

of Hacî Rehman-axa Muhtedî, a prominent nationalist who was interested in literature and taught Shafi'i theology at Tehran University. Some of them, Sware-y Elxanî-zade, 'Elî Hesenyanî, and Fateh Shaikholeslami, are known as the three knights of modern Kurdish poetry in Iranian Kurdistan. They were students at Tehran University and were influenced by Goran, the great modernist poet of Iraqi Kurdistan. The *Dîwan* of 'Elî Hesenyanî was published in Germany in 1993, while Sware-y Elxanî-zade's poems were published in Wirmê (Pers. Orumiyyeh) in 1993. Selah Muhtedî, also a student at Tehran University and a nationalist activist, wrote several short stories, which were later published in the Kurdish magazines of the diaspora. He is a moderate purist and one of the codifiers of Kurdish prose. Other poets and writers are Mela Aware, 'Umer-î Sultanî (Wefa), Muslih-î Sêx ul-islamî (Rêbwar), and Abdulkirim Hussami. In 1969, Rêbwar wrote the Epic of Darene (*Si'ri Darêne*) about the Iranian Kurdish revolt of 1967-68, but it appeared much later in Sweden in 1996.

*The Years after 1978*: in Kurdistan, the anti-monarchy revolution of 1978-79 took the form of a nationalist mass movement, which demanded autonomy within the framework of a federal and democratic state. This movement was, however, eventually suppressed by the Islamic regime. Soon after the fall of the monarchy, a period of political freedom ensued in the absence of state power in Kurdistan. The DPK-Iran, which had maintained its leadership and publications outside Iran, re-established its organisational network in Kurdistan. Komele and the Kurdistan Organisation of People's Devotee Guerrillas of Iran (*Sâzmân-e çerikhâ-ye fedâ'i-ye xalq-e Irân*) also came out into the open. Kurdish books and magazines were published freely, and DPK-Iran and Komele produced textbooks for teaching Kurdish in elementary schools. Plans were under way for establishing a language academy. A group of academics, non-Kurds and Kurds, initiated a project for establishing a university in Kurdistan early in the spring of 1979. This project was widely supported by the public, who donated money, land, buildings, and other resources. One of the four teaching and research areas of the university was to be "Kurdish language and culture." The founding group was planning to announce the admission of students in the month of /ahrivar (August-September), but the Islamic state's offensive against the autonomist movement put an end to the project. Political and cultural activists left the cities and moved to liberated areas after the government military offensive of 1979. In the absence of central government presence in the rural areas, teachers began instruction in Kurdish in village schools. Komele launched a Kurdish language (Sorani) magazine, *Pêşrew* 'Vanguard' in 1983 while *Kurdistan*, the organ of DPK-Iran, resumed publishing.

The Islamic Republic uses Kurdish for propaganda purposes. The authorities of the central government support publications in Kurdish in order to spread Shi'ism among the Kurds. The rulers in Tehran are not only against Kurdish nationalism but have openly complained about "cultural poverty" (*faqr-e farhangi*) among believers of Sunnite Islam, including the Kurds. While many Kurdish nationalists are aware of this policy, they work in state-sponsored publications and publishing organisations. They believe that Kurdish has the opportunity to develop in a country where it is

ranked well below the official language, Persian. However, some leftists are against any cooperation with the Islamic state. The Society for Art and Literature of Working Class-Kurdistan (SALWC-K), in *Pêşeng*, No. 6, p. 24, 1988, declared that Kurdish intellectuals should boycott the state-sponsored magazine *Sirwe*, arguing that it spreads reactionary ideas among the Kurds.

The state-sponsored Centre for Spreading of Kurdish Culture and Literature-Salahedin Ayyubi's Publishing House (CSKCL-SAP, *Nawend-ê bilaw-kirdnewe-y ferheng û edeb-ê kurdî-intisarat-ê Selah-edîn-ê Eyubî*) was founded in Wirmê in 1984. According to the will of Hêmin, the CSKCL-SAP uses the Mukri dialect as the basis for the standard Kurdish language. The Centre aims at enriching Mukri with borrowings from other Kurdish dialects in order to construct a unified Kurdish language. *Sirwe*, a cultural and literary magazine, has been published since 1985. One of the founders of the magazine was Hêmin. *Awêne* (Mirror) is another state-sponsored magazine published in Tehran since 1990. Both magazines use standard Sorani (based on Mukri and borrowings from other dialects) but at times publish articles in Kirmanci and other dialects. Standard Sorani is becoming more and more widely accepted by the speakers of other dialects. In the 1990s, two new publications, *Awîder* and *Sîrwan* were launched in Senendec. They are bilingual, Kurdish and Persian, and use mainly standard Sorani. Recently, *Sirwe* began a section in Kirmanci in the standard Kirmanci (Hawar) alphabet.

In 1985, Hêmin began his activities for holding a congress on the Kurdish language and finally, the First Congress on the Kurdish Culture and Literature (*Yekemîn kongire-y ferheng û edeb-ê kurdî*) was held in Mehabad in 1986. Some decisions of the congress were as follows: in order to develop a unified Kurdish language, the words and terms of all dialects should be used. The Kurdish alphabet was introduced, and the letters *q* and *h*, which are classed as Arabic loans by extremist purists, were accepted as Kurdish letters. A committee for discussion on textbooks, elected by the Congress, approved a textbook for the first year of instruction in primary school and gave permission to publish it. This book was published in 1988 and is widely used by the Kurds of Iran (see *Guzarist-ê yekemîn kongire-y ferheng û edebê kurdî*, pp. 27, 28, 34).

Some essayists, poets, and writers of this period are Nasir-ê Hisamî, Soleyman Ghasemiani, 'Elî Nanewazade, Jaffer Sheykhohlami, and Kerim Danisyar. Danisyar was born in Mukryan and, as of 1983, lives in Sweden. In an interview (Danisyar, 1994:31-32), he said that he was educated in Persian in Mehabad, studied at Teachers' College, and became a teacher. After the 1979 revolution, he translated the works of Lenin, Stalin, and Che Guevara from Persian into Sorani. While in liberated areas of Kurdistan, Danisyar translated from Persian the novel *Nîna*, written by Sabit Rehman, and published it in Sweden. He has written novels and short stories and translated some books into Sorani in Sweden.

### 3.2.3. The Kurdish diaspora

The term diaspora (originally Greek meaning 'dispersion') is easy to define in the case of a classic community such as the Jews who were forced to leave their homeland and disperse throughout the world, with religion as the most important bond tying them together as a group (see, for example, Smith, 1986:114). In the case of other ethnic groups, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between migration and diaspora or between minority and diaspora.

In the past, Kurdish tribes that emigrated were illiterate, but the new Kurdish refugee population consists of a large number of educated Kurds. Omar Sheikmous maintains that a majority of Kurdish exiles abroad live in European countries (1990:96). A group of these refugees are linguistically very active. They publish magazines and books and engage in broadcasting in their native tongue. In the 1960s and 1970s, many Kurdish intellectuals fled from Turkey to the West due to the repressive climate that prevailed there, and made some European countries the centre of literary activities in Kirmanci. Book publishing and journalism in exile have played a major role in the standardisation of Kirmanci. Kirmanci vocabulary is codified to a large extent thanks to translations and systematic discussions about Kirmanci usage among groups of refugees. Sweden is one of the centres of Kirmanci and Sorani literary and cultural activities.

After the military defeat of the Kurdish autonomist movement in Iran in 1983, thousands of Kurds emigrated to Western countries. Before this wave of migration, Iraqi Kurds in the diaspora were dominant in the field of cultural activities but now many Kurdish intellectuals of Iran write in Sorani and publish their books and magazines in exile. Before 1983, only a few Iranian Kurds, such as Abd ul-Kerim Hussami and Hassan Ghazi, who lived in European countries, wrote in Sorani, but in the 1980s and the 1990s, the Iranian Kurds Kerim Danisyar, Soleyman Ghasemiani, Hossein Khalighi, Ali Nanavazadeh, Nasir-î Rezazî, 'Usman Isma'îlî (Asiq), Hamed Gohary, Siamand Shikhagaie, Taymour Patai and many others have authored, translated, and published books in Sweden.

Translations have played a major role in the standardisation and modernisation of languages. In the Kurdish case, too, translations have enriched the language with the adoption of new concepts, loans, neologisms, and the introduction of punctuation and stylistic codes. However, the contributions and limitations of translated works are seldom studied. Kurdish writers are educated in Persian, Turkish, or Arabic, and they usually translate from these languages into Kurdish. As for works written in European languages, they have usually retranslated them from Persian, Turkish or Arabic translations. This is to a large extent because the translators are not familiar with these languages and access to foreign language works is not readily available. Diasporic life is quickly changing this situation, however. Many intellectuals have learned various European languages, and there is already a lively tradition of translating directly from and into not only dominant languages such as English, French, and German but also smaller languages such as Swedish, Norwegian, Danish,

and Finnish. In recent years, intellectuals such as Rebwar Reshid and Asos Shfeek (Kema1) have translated books from Swedish into Kurdish.

Kurdish is at present taught at the department of Asian and African languages, University of Uppsala, Sweden, where also research on different aspects of the Kurdish language and literature is carried out by Ph.D. candidates and other researchers. Swedish authorities, in order to give information about Swedish society to new immigrants and refugees, financially support the translation of books and other literature about Sweden. Karim Hama Saeid Hassan has translated two pamphlets about the history and geography of Sweden from Swedish into Sorani, and Mohamed Mohtadi has translated a book about Sweden into Sorani. Also, two Swedish-Kurdish dictionaries in Sorani and Kirmanci have been published by the Swedish National Agency for Education. The Kurds of the diaspora are interested in unifying Sorani and Kirmanci or bringing their speakers closer to each other. Teyfur (Taymour Patai), the novelist and essayist, has written a novel in Sorani which has been translated into Kirmanci as a script for a film or theatrical production. The Kirmanci and Sorani texts of Teyfur are published together in one volume.

### 3.2.4. Concluding remarks

Language constitutes a major arena, vehicle, source, and cornerstone of the nation-building projects of the Kurdish nationalist movement. The Kurdish language, in spite of its diverse and different dialects, is viewed by nationalists as a source of unification of a nation that is divided by international borders. It is also treated as a link with an ancient empire, Media, which predated the earliest states claimed by Persian, Arab, and Turkish nationalists. Iraqi and Iranian Kurdish nationalists consider Kurdish (Silêmanî and Mukri) written dialects to be the ancestral language of the Kurds. In fact, Mukri and Silêmanî have been standardised during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Iraqi Kurdistan, the British played a role in the standardisation of Silêmanî and in Iranian Kurdistan; members of Lutheran Orient Mission Society were the first group that put Mukri Kurdish into print.

The creation of a literary tradition beginning in the sixteenth century was clearly associated with the formation of a Kurdish ethnic identity. The composition of poetry in the native tongue in an environment dominated by Arabic and Persian was in itself an expression of ethnic distinctness, and no doubt a form of cultural, linguistic, and political resistance. However, the poets of the classical period borrowed a great deal from the dominant literary traditions of their time. Although Xanî used Kurdish oral literature (Mem û Zîn) as a source for his poetic narratives, he borrowed his literary forms and modes of literary expression from Arabic and Persian.

A feature that distinguishes the modern phase of Kurdish nationalism from the pre-modern period of ethnic consciousness is the rise of a powerful purist movement. It was during the post-WWI years that, due to the extension of government control over all aspects of Kurdish life, the dominant languages of the new nation-states, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, invaded the Kurdish language, in both speaking and writing, through mass education, the media, and the administrative system. Turkey

and Iran initiated an extensive project of assimilation, which targeted the Kurdish language as the main source of Turkification and Persianisation. This policy and practice has been conceptualised as *linguicide* or language killing (see Hassanpour 1992:143-47; Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak 1994). While in Iraq, Kurdish was allowed to be used on a limited scale in education and the media, a policy of Arabisation was in place. Resistance to attempted *linguicide* was diverse, ranging from the proliferation of underground writing and publishing to demands for language rights to alphabet reform and to purism.

The main centre of the purist movement was Iraq, where the language was used in education and the media. In Soviet Armenia, where the language enjoyed the same rights as in Iraq, the Marxist ideology of the state did not favour purism. In Turkey (after 1923) and Iran (especially in 1925-41), writing and speaking the language was suppressed.

Under conditions of intensive contact and conflict, as in the Kurdish case, borrowing and purification constitute antagonistic, though coexisting, trends of language development. Borrowing is a prevalent and important source of enrichment of language. Under conditions of conflict, however, Kurdish language reformists have seen all types of borrowing (lexical, phonological, alphabetical) as a threat; borrowing is often seen as a measure of assimilation and domination. This desire to remain distinct explains the rise of a powerful purist movement in the 1930s in Iraqi Kurdistan and later in Iran. Purification has been an important trend in the process of standardisation of Kurdish.

Under conditions of the division of Sorani Kurdish between Iran and Iraq, standardisation, especially its dynamics of borrowing and purification, took different directions. In Iraq, the dialect of the major city of Kurdistan, i.e., *Silêmanî*, emerged as the basis for the language that the British Mandate authorities used in journalism, education, and administration. This was the dialect that had already been the vehicle of literary expression in the court of the Baban emirate and, later, in the powerful poetry of the pioneer of modern Kurdish nationalism, *Hacı Qadir Koyî*, and in the Kurdish journalism of the Ottoman period. This dialect had experienced considerable codification by the time the Kurds of Iran were able to make Kurdish the official language of their short-lived Kurdish Republic in 1946. Not surprisingly, the language used in the extensive journalism of this autonomous government was based on the standard that had been evolving in Iraq since 1918. In fact, many intellectuals and activists from Iraqi Kurdistan were running the print media of the republic. However, the language used maintained a distinct *Mukri* form. This is not surprising in so far as *Mukri* had produced a rich oral literature and a number of prominent poets. Moreover, the dialect had also been used for the evangelical literature of a Christian mission in *Sablax*, the capital of *Mukri* Kurdistan, although this experiment could not leave a lasting impact on the language. In the post-WWI period, the spread of literacy through the modern education system and the print and broadcast media allowed Sorani to emerge as a standard language in Iraqi Kurdistan. Standardisation was undertaken without support from the government and in the absence of a language academy or any centre responsible for directing the



codification and elaboration of the language. The language academy formed in the 1970s, under the pressure of the autonomist movement, was made ineffective by the Iraqi government.

While a conflict between the Silêmanî and Mukri norms has existed since the formation of the Iraqi state, several factors have further complicated their relationships. One is the impact of the autonomist movement of Iranian Kurdistan, which took the form of a powerful nationalist movement, with its own publications and radio broadcasting. The other factor is the use of the Mukri norm in the legally published books and state-sponsored magazines in Iran. The linguistic and cultural activism of the Kurds of Iran in the European diaspora is also a contributing factor. Equally significant are the continuing wars in Kurdistan, which have contributed to the unprecedented movement of Kurdish populations from both sides of the border. Moreover, the war between Iraq and Iran has also imposed the use of Kurdish on these rival states. Significantly, other dialects of Iranian Kurdistan such as Senedecî are also used in the print and broadcast media, and have already left their mark on the Mukri variety of Sorani.

## Chapter 4 Pre-standard and Standard Sorani

This chapter presents an overview of pre-standard Kurdish, focusing on Sorani, and its contact with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. It will also discuss the emergence and development of standard Sorani in Iraq and Iran.

### 4.1. Arabic, Persian, and Turkish influences on Kurdish

In the beginnings of the Arab-Muslim invasion of Kurdistan, the influence of the Arabic language was limited to the sphere of religion. The first efforts to use Kurdish in writing date back to the fifteenth century under conditions of the hegemony of Arabic, Persian, and, later, Ottoman Turkish. Obviously, during this period, these languages could have influenced only a small minority of Kurdish speakers who were literate, namely the *melas* (mullahs) and educated aristocrats. However, the linguistic environment of Kurdistan changed visibly by the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, when the first efforts at standardisation were undertaken. In the first decades of the new period, Kurdish was still under the domination of the three languages mentioned above.

#### 4.1.1. A short historical background

After the Arab Muslim conquest, we know more about the Kurds. “The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrit and Óulwân in 637 AD” (Minorsky, 1986:451). The Kurds resisted Arab invasion, but they were defeated and gradually converted to Islam. Under the Umayyads (661-750) and the Abbasids (750-1258), they revolted many times. During the reign of the latter, Kurds were, according to one study (Jwaideh, 1960a:30), one of the most recalcitrant peoples of the Islamic caliphate. Native Kurdish dynasties were formed between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Minorsky argues that the rise of Khorasanian, Daylamite, and Kurdish dynasties was a revival of Iranian supremacy in so far as “a new set of rulers ousted the Arabs from their last positions held in Iran” (1953:110,113). Under the Samanids (892-999), Persian literature emerged and developed (Utas, 1966:258). Kurdish literature appeared on the scene much later in the sixteenth century (see 3.1.2.).

The Kurds, weakened by internal conflicts, could not resist Turkish invasion, which was under way by 1029. During the 11th-12th centuries, Turks abolished many

Kurdish dynasties. Under the Saljuq Sultan Sanjar, the province of Kurdistan was formed under the rule of a Saljuq governor. During the thirteenth century, the province of Kurdistan and other Kurdish territories were captured by Mongols (Minorsky, 1986:455) and administered under the rule of Mongol princes. The invasion, sudden and devastating, left many parts of Kurdistan depopulated, although its impact was not as lasting as the Turkish invasion. Then rival Turkoman dynasties turned Kurdistan into their battlefield until the rise of Safavids. As noted earlier, the Safavid and Ottoman empires divided Kurdistan in 1639. This frontier survived, in spite of numerous disputes between the two empires, until the end of World War I, when the Ottoman part was redivided as a result of the defeat of Turkey.

During the rule of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979), the Kurds were not recognised as a linguistic minority, and teaching in Kurdish was forbidden. The Islamic Republic of Iran pursues a policy of Persianisation and spreading Shi'ism among non-Persian and non-Shi'ite peoples such as the Kurds. Article 19 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (1979, amended in 1989), gives Persian the status of the only official language of the country:

The 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 (see *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*).

While Kurdish is used in state-controlled book and magazine publishing and state-run broadcast media, the constitutional stipulation regarding the teaching of non-Persian literatures had not been implemented as of 1999.

#### 4.1.2. Arabic and Persian influences on pre-standard Kurdish

The first Kurdish poets flourished in the sixteenth century. A century later, the language was introduced, alongside Arabic and Persian, as a medium of instruction in mosque schools. In Kurdistan, the first indigenous literary language was Hewrami (the term Gorani is used for naming a dialect group; Gorani proper is called Hewrami by most of Iranian Kurds), followed by Kirmanci and Sorani. During this period, poetry was dominant, and only a few books were written in prose. In terms of status, Kurdish was subordinate to the hegemonic power of Arabic and Persian. Even Turkish, the language of the Ottoman court, was not in a position to compete with the two languages, especially in domains such as literature, science, and theology.

Literate Kurds were strongly influenced by the unique and rich literary tradition in Persian, which also was the language of administration and correspondence. Some poets composed poetry in Kurdish, Persian, and Arabic. The Kurdish poets of the classical period borrowed not only the diction of Arabic and Persian poetry but also its forms and structures of poetic expression. Sometimes they engaged in a kind of

poetic ‘code-switching’ when Persian or Arabic hemistiches (*mißra‘* ) were interwoven into Kurdish couplets (*beyt*). In the manuscript of some Kurdish poetic narratives (e.g., Xani’s *Mem û Zin*), chapter headings and subheadings were quite often written in Persian. In the aftermath of the Mongol and Turkish conquests, especially after the extension of Ottoman rule over Kurdistan, contact between Kurdish and Turkish occurred increasingly.

The profound influence of Arabic and Persian on Kurdish poetry is discernible in a major Kurdish literary work, *Mem and Zîn* of Ehmed-î Xanî (1650-1706). Although the story is borrowed from Kurdish oral literature, Xanî used many Persian words and adopted the Arabic metric system (*‘arẏð*) in order to compose the oral text into a written literary work. He used the *ma@navi* form which rhymes in pairs aa, bb, cc. A Persian creation, the *ma@navi* is very suitable for romantic and epic narrative poetry. Xanî used, for instance, the following Persian loans: Kirm. *xursîd* < Pers. *xorjîd* ‘sun’; Kirm. *efser* < Pers. *afsar* ‘crown’; Kirm. *ferxunde* < Pers. *farxondah* ‘blessed’, ‘fortunate’; Arabic loanwords: *muraßß* ‘decorated’; *masmẏ* ‘audible’, ‘perceptible’; *manqẏj* ‘painted’, ‘engraved’ (see Xanî, ed. by Hejar, 1989: 26, 80, 81). The Kirmanci poet Mela-y Cizîrî (c.1570-1640), too, used many Persian and Arabic loanwords: Pers. loanwords such as Kirm. *çesm* < Pers. *çajm* ‘eye’; Kirm. *mehtab* < Pers. *mahtâb* ‘moonlight’; Kirm. *sîrab* < Pers. *sirâb* ‘satiated’, ‘quenched’; Arabic loanwords such as Kirm. *hosn* < Arab. *‘usn* ‘beauty’; Kirm. *xedar* < Arab. *\addâr* ‘perfidious’, ‘disloyal’; Kirm. *katib* < *kâtib* ‘writer’ (see Cizîrî, ed. by Hejar, 1981:13-17).

The emergence of Sorani, as the third literary dialect of Kurdish, is associated with the rise to power of the autonomous emirate of Baban in the seventeenth century with its capital at Silêmanî (Pers. Soleimâniyeh). One of the powerful princes, ‘Ebd ul-Rehman Paşa Baban, urged his poets and minstrels to abandon Gurani in favour of the Suleymaniye dialect of Kurdish, which thus rose to the status of a literary language, and was later called Sorani” (Blau, 1996:22). Under Baban patronage, many poets flourished at the court of Silêmanî and in the subject districts. Mela Xidir Nalî (1797-1855) was the greatest of the poets of the emirate.

Like his predecessors, the Kirmanci-speaking poets, Mela Xidir Nalî composed poetry in Kurdish, Persian, and Arabic, and used the Persian and Arabic metric system. The influence of Arabic and Persian literature and language on Sorani poetry is obvious in the works of those who came after Nalî. Some loanwords used by Nalî are: Arabic: *\â‘ib* ‘absent’, ‘not present’, ‘hidden’; *Qâhir* ‘visible’, ‘obvious’; *al•f* ‘familiar’, ‘intimate’; *raq•b* ‘guardian’, ‘rival’; Persian: *jâh* ‘King’, *xandah* ‘laugh’; *jarmandah* ‘ashamed’ (Nalî, ed. by Mela E. Muderis and F. ‘Ebd ul-Kerîm, 1976:82-84, 86-87).

The poets of the classical period of Mukrî literature used Arabic and Persian borrowings abundantly. Wefayî uses Arabic loanwords such as *ak•m* ‘physician’, ‘scholar’, *imdâd* ‘help’, *ijâb* ‘veil’, and *muq•m* ‘resident’; Persian loanwords such as *xadang* ‘white poplar’, *dahân* ‘mouth’ (see Qeredaxî, 1985:52-53). Sorani non-literary works were few, however, including the Arabic-Kurdish word-list, *Ehmedî*,

written in 1795, and *Mewlûdname*, the celebration of the birth of prophet Muhammad written by sêx Husên-î Qazî (1793-1871) (Hassanpour, 1992:90).

In its beginnings, modern standard Sorani was not purified. Poems, articles, and letters written by nationalist poets and writers had innumerable loanwords. Hesen-î Seyf-î Qazî used many Persian loans in his ghazals, e.g., Sor. *çah-î zenexdan* (dimple in the chin) < Pers. *çâh-e zanaxdân* (*çâh* ‘well’ + *zanaxdân* ‘chin’); Sor. *sernigûn* (head downwards) < Pers. *sarnegun* (*sar* ‘head’ + *-negun* ‘turned’, ‘upside down’); Sor. *new-ruste* (young or tender) < Pers. *nou-rosteh* (*nou* ‘new’ + *-rosteh* past part of *rostan* ‘to grow’); Sor. *suxen-dan* ‘eloquent’ < Pers. *soxan-dân* (*soxan* ‘speech’, ‘locution’ + *-dân* pres st of *dânestan* ‘to know’) (Seyf-î Qazî, 1982:31, 47, 65).

By the time the first modern Kurdish state, the Republic of 1946, was formed, the language was still inundated by borrowings. A letter written by one of the important figures in the administration uses numerous loans from Persian (the letter issued by Ehmed-xanî Farûqî and reproduced by Molla Ezat, 1997c:799). To give as an example one phrase of the letter: ... *ewane...ihðar bikrên mudetêk ya tewqîf bikrên ya tehtî neQer qerar bidrên...* The originally Kurdish words are: *ewane* ‘these’, *kirdin* ‘to do’, *dan* ‘to give’ and *ya* ‘or’. The loans are: hybrid infinitive: *ihðar kirdin* (originally Arab.-Pers. *e`zâr* ‘fetching’, ‘bringing’ + Sor. *kirdin* ‘to do’) ‘to summon’, ‘to call’; *tawqîf kirdin* (originally Arab.-Pers. *tauqîf* ‘seizure’, ‘arrest’ + *kirdin*) ‘to arrest’; *tehtî neQer qerar dan* (originally Arab.-Pers. *ta`t-e naQar* ‘under consideration’ + originally Arab.-Pers. *qarâr* ‘rest’, ‘settling’ + Sor. *dan* ‘to give’) ‘to take under surveillance’ > Pers. *ta`t-e naQar qarâr gereftan* ‘to keep somebody/something under surveillance’; *mudet* (Arab.-Pers. *muddat* ‘period of time’).

An article in *Xornisîn*, 1952, No. 8, p. 3, republished by Serîfî (1997:62), is written in unpurified Kurdish. Orthographically, the letter is not written in the reformed standard Sorani alphabet. Elements from the dialects of the writers also appear in the publications and correspondence of period such as the letter cited above, which includes this phrase: *terbîyet`esayirî w îlyatî le hey®`iβmet û`ifet-ew fire xaβ`terbîyetêke*. Senendecî elements include the adverb *fire* ‘very’; preposition *le* ‘from’; postposition *-ew*; conjunction *û* ‘and’; suffix *-êk* ‘a’ (indefinite article); and the verb *-e* (from *bûn* ‘to be’). Loans into Kurdish include *terbîyet* (Arab.-Pers. *tarbiyat*, Arab. *tarbiya* ‘education’, ‘upbringing’); ‘*esayirî*’ (‘*esayir*’ Kurdish variant of ‘*aĵâyir*’ broken plural of Arab. ‘*aĵ•ra*’ ‘tribe’ + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘tribal’; *îlyatî* (originally Mongolian-Pers. *îl* ‘tribe’ + *-y* hiatus + *-at* Arab. plural ending *-ât* + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘tribal’; *le hey®* (Arab.-Pers.: *az`ay®* ‘with regard to’, originally Arab. phrase *min`ay®* ‘regarding’, ‘concerning’); ‘*iβmet*’ (Arab.-Pers. ‘*eβmat*’, originally Arab. ‘*iβma*’ ‘purity’, ‘virtuousness’); ‘*ifet*’ (Arab.-Pers. ‘*effat*’ ‘chastity’, originally Arab. ‘*iffa*’ ‘abstinence’, ‘purity’) and *xaβ* ‘good’ (Arab.-Pers. *xâββ* ‘special’, ‘excellent’).

## 4.2. Ideas about purified standard Sorani

Nationalists generally tend to construct the ‘national’ language on the basis of ‘native’ grammatical structures and lexical resources. In their view, ‘native’ words are ‘authentic’, ‘pure’, or ‘genuine’, and non-native elements are ‘foreign’. According to Hacî Marif (1975:34-38), authentic Kurdish words are those which are etymologically Kurdish. Some purists do not consider ‘authentic’ or Kurdish any word containing the phonemes /q/, /‘/ and /h/. They argue that these phonemes are Arabic or foreign, and they should be purged from the language. According to Zebîhî (1977:59-60), however, all Kurdish phonemes are ‘genuine’, ‘authentic’ (*resen*), including /q/, /h/ and /‘/, which are used by ordinary illiterate Kurdish villagers. Examples are numerous, and include *qise* ‘talk’ and *qel* ‘turkey’, which will be unacceptable if they are purified into *kise*, and *kel*, respectively.

Some Kurdish scholars trace ‘purification’ of Kurdish back to the time of formation of pre-standard Kurdish. Xanî uses colloquial Kurdish words such as *mezin* ‘great’, and *les* ‘corpse’, ‘body’; “these words could have been replaced by their Arabic or Persian literary alternates” (Hassanpour, 1992:87). Kurdish scholars agree that Kurdish purism, as a movement, emerged after World War I. “After World War I, however, purification appears most strongly as a manifestation of nationalism” (Ibid., p. 398). Between 1924-1939, there were many loanwords in Sorani, but the purist movement had reduced the loans visibly by 1958, a trend which subsequently continued (Abdulla, 1980:180-181). Purism was a reaction to the assimilation policies and the hegemonic influence of the Arabic language. After 1925, Kurdish territories became a part of Iraq as a result of a decision made by the League of Nations, which established the status of the Kurds as a minority group, rather than a nationality with the right to self-rule. Many intellectuals, disappointed by this decision, turned deeply to their language and culture (Ibid., p. 211). One of the consequences was purification and creation of a language different from Arabic and Persian. The Kurds of Iraq, suppressed by Arab governments, are opposed to the use of Arabic words in Kurdish, and prefer Persian words to Arabic. For instance, the language reformer Wahbî suggested *gîtî* Sor. variant of standard Pers. *giti* (Nyberg, 1989: early New Pers.  $g\sum t^{\bullet}$ ) ‘world’, unknown to the majority of non-literate Kurds, as equivalent of Arab.-Sor. *dinya* (1942: 96). By contrast, the Kurds of Iran, repressed by Persian governments, prefer Arabic words to Persian, as can be seen in the use of Arab.-Pers. *qamûs* (Arab. *qâmûs*) ‘dictionary’ by lexicographer Zebîhî instead of Persian *farhang* ‘dictionary’ borrowed and consistently used by Iraqi Kurds as *ferheng*.

Attitudes toward borrowing are diverse, and shaped by various considerations including political and ideological preferences. Hêmin maintained that borrowing was a common phenomenon among nations, though some Kurds consider themselves superior to others and do not want to borrow words; this tendency damages the Kurds enormously and deprives them of many nice words (cf. Hêmin, 1983:24). Hejar, in the introduction to his Kurdish-Persian dictionary, maintains that illiterate Kurds understand loanwords such as *xelk* (originally Arab. *xalq*) ‘people’, *wefat* (Kurd.

variant of Arab. *wafât*) ‘death’, and *qewm* (Kurd. variant of Arab. *qawm*) ‘ethnic group’, which are ‘Kurdish’, and it is of no use to purge them from the language (1991:xxv-xxvi).

In the same vein, Wahby and Edmonds, compilers of a Kurdish-English dictionary, were against certain purist coinages. They exclude certain eccentricities which, though now frequently encountered in some sections of the Kurdish press, are “repugnant to the genius of Kurdish and would better be forgotten” (1966:v). This tendency seems to be prevalent among intellectuals. For instance, all the respondents to my 1996 questionnaire, numbering thirty persons, are moderates who accept purism to a limited degree but are against ‘ugly’ coinages. One of the respondents, Amir Hassanpour, maintains that Kurdish should avoid extremism in both borrowing and purism, suggesting that the policy should be (1) to creatively draw on the lexical and morphological resources of the language and its dialects (this includes coinages) and (2) to borrow words which are needed and cannot be successfully coined or lexicalized.”

Translations have developed, enriched, and promoted many ‘national’ languages such as English, French, Swedish, German and Hebrew. “At a time when English was struggling to find a form that was neither Latin nor French, [the English linguist William] Tyndale [c.1494-1536] gave the nation a Bible language that was English in words, word order and lilt” (Nama et al., 1995:33-34). Kurdish nationalists have been aware of the importance of translation in the development of their language. Hêmin, for instance, argues that word borrowing is not as dangerous as the word by word translation of Persian and Arabic texts into Kurdish; in such translations, even when the words are Kurdish, sentences remain to be, structurally, Persian or Arabic (Hêmin, 1983:26).

#### 4.2.1. Purification and the development of Sorani in Iraqi Kurdistan

During the mandatory rule by Britain, education in Kurdish was limited to the primary school level, and Kurdish language speakers were dependent on Arabic especially for written and official oral communication. In 1929, a new Kurdish orthographic system was introduced by Taufiq Wahby. He used Arabic letters, and increased their number, by adding diacritical marks in order to represent all Kurdish phonemes. Although Iraqi government authorities resisted this modification of the Arabic alphabet, most Kurds appreciated the innovation, and gradually adopted it. Thus the nationalists succeeded in transforming the Arabic-Persian orthographic system, and conferred on the borrowed alphabet a Kurdish identity.

*Gelawêj* (1939-1949), a “monthly literary and cultural Kurdish magazine,” played a historical and decisive role in the purification and development of Sorani. Its style of writing was influential and was developed further by writers and literary figures. The first issue of the magazine declared the aims of *Gelawêj*, which included, among others, the purification of the language, reviving Kurdish literature, and reforming Kurdish orthography. This publication created an active movement of writing in and translating into Kurdish (Abdulla, 1980: 107). Some of the essayists in *Gelawêj* were

Taufiq Wahby, Mihemed-ê Xa1 , and Pîremêrd (see 5.2.2.1). It carried many articles about language, education, science, and literary criticism. In some issues, Taufiq Wahby published lists of new words that could be used to replace loanwords. The magazine asked its readers to send their suggestions about coinages, and corrections and completion of the wordlists.

Before the formation of the Iraqi Scientific Academy-Kurdish Branch (ISA-KB) in 1971, purists usually suggested Kurdish equivalents of loanwords without the contribution of linguists and specialists in different fields of knowledge. The academy formed committees for research on the Kurdish language, compiling a monolingual dictionary, and terminological creation and coinages to replace loanwords. The ISA-KB, in its organ *Govar-ê kor-ê zanyarê kurd*, published different wordlists compiled by groups of Kurdish literary persons such as Hêmin and Sukur Mistefa and linguists such as Ew-Rehman Hacî Marif. In its journal, ISA-KB requested Kurdish writers and intellectuals to evaluate the lists and complete them. One of the respondents to the call, Jemal Nebez, criticised many of the academy's coinages. His criticism shows that some of the words are grammatically wrong, e.g., *dabesîn* 'to divide' suggested as a Sorani equivalent for Arabic *qâsim* 'divider'; it should rather be used as an equivalent for *taqs•m* (Nebez, 1978:102-103). Terms suggested by ISA-KB and other coinages were used in the Sorani magazines such as *Beyan* (1969), *Rosinbîrî nû* (1973) and *Karwan* (1982), which carried many articles written by specialists in biology, medicine, psychology, philosophy and literary criticism.

After the formation of the Kurdistan Regional Government in 1992, many magazines were published in Sorani, and the two major political parties published daily papers *Birayetî* (DPK-Iraq) and *Kurdistanî nû* (PUK), while other organisations launched numerous weekly and monthly papers. Although Kirmanci was used especially in the western cities, the dominant dialect of the media remained Sorani. They are both used in radio and TV broadcasting, education, and administration. Journalism continues to play a prominent role in the development of Sorani, and several specialised magazines appeared, including *Syasetî Dewlî* (International Politics), dealing with strategic affairs, international politics, and economics, and published by the 'Centre for Research on Strategy in Kurdistan' (*Senter-ê lêkolînewe-y sitratîcî Kurdistan*) in Silêmanî; *Hezarmêrd*, a quarterly journal on the archaeology and history of Kurdistan, published by the Directorate General of Antiquities, Silêmanî; *Govar-ê Wergêran*, specialised in translation, published by the Ministry of Culture of the Regional Government of Kurdistan (*Wezaret-ê rosinbîrî hukumetî herêmî Kurdistan*), Hewlêr (Arbil).

### 4.3. Codifiers of standard Sorani

The modern culture, language and literature of the Kurds are created mainly by nationalist writers and poets, historians, and grammarians. This section examines the ways these reformers have become nationalists. The first generation of Kurdish



nationalists emerged in the Ottoman Empire, and included intellectuals such as Pîremêrd, Emîn Zekî Beg, and Taufiq Wahby. While they can be considered Ottoman intellectuals earlier in their lives, they later became Kurdish nationalists. In Iran, too, a similar process of the transformation of national identity took shape. The majority of educated Iranian Kurds used to write in Persian, but engaged in writing and developing their native tongue in the process of the formation of nationalist identity. The life of language reformers provides insight into the ways in which they have approached questions of language contact, borrowing, and purism. After a brief reference to some of the activists in this area, I will focus on Pîremêrd and Hêmin, who made important contributions to the codification of the standard in Iraq and Iran.

Taufiq Wahby (1892-1984), a native of Silêmanî, began his education in the *hucra* and, later, in the military school established by the Ottoman government in this city, finally graduating in Baghdad in 1908. He continued his military study in Istanbul (Kemal Re'uf Mihemed, 1984:16). Wahby learned Turkish, French, English, and Arabic and wrote a number of military training booklets for the autonomist government of Shaikh Mahmud. Later, he had top positions in the Iraqi government, while engaging in the reform of the alphabet and lexical modernisation of Kurdish.

Another reformer, Mihemed Emîn Zekî Beg, was born in Silêmanî in 1880, received his education in the *hucra*, primary school, and military schools in Baghdad and Istanbul (Secadî, 1943:1,6). His early writings were Turkish, and after the formation of the Iraqi state, he became a nationalist and wrote *Kurd û Kurdistan*, a history of the Kurds, in Kurdish (Zekî, 1931a:1,4). As mentioned earlier, writing in the native tongue was an expression of national identity, especially for the first generation of nationalists. Zekî's history was, thus, written in a non-purified language. However, in 1943, he rewrote a part of the book in purified Sorani and in the standardised Sorani alphabet, and was published in *Gelawêj* (Zekî, 1943:1-9).

The standardisation and modernisation of Kurdish was not limited to the realm of language or its alphabet and vocabulary. This movement was going on in the realm of literary creation, too. The early poems of Goran, for instance, were not purified, but by the 1940s, he began purifying his poems from Persian and Arabic words. His purism went beyond the reform of diction, and well into the structure of poetry. He abandoned the metric system of Arabic and Persian poetry and adopted the metric structure of Kurdish oral poetry. During the first modern nationalist movement of Iranian Kurds in 1941-46, Hesên-ê Qizilcî (1914-1984?) embraced nationalism inspired by a Kurdish nationalist, Fewzî, who was from Iraq but was staying in Mukri Kurdistan (Hêmin, 1983:83). Qizilcî's first writings appeared in the magazines of the Kurdish Republic of 1946 and became famous for their literary style. One of his contributions is the development of literary prose, especially short-story writing.

### 4.3.1. Pîremêrd (1863 or 1867-1950)

Pîremêrd, pseudonym of Tofiîq, son of Mehmûd-axa, was born in Silêmanî in 1867 (according to Secadî 1952b:418) or in 1863 (according to Bois 1986:482). Like many of his contemporaries, he studied in the *hucre* or *medrese* ‘religious schools’, and lived in Istanbul for many years. In 1926, he settled in Silêmanî (Husyar et al., 1990:35). At first, Pîremêrd wrote poetry in Persian and Turkish. One of his poems in Turkish was published in the magazine *Jîn* ( see: Süleymaniyeli Tefvîq, 1919:7-9).

As noted above, during the 19th and the 20th centuries many Kurdish, Turkish, and Arab intellectuals in the Ottoman empire came in touch with Western culture and civilisation. In 1949, Pîremêrd (quoted by Husyar et al., 1990: 22) wrote that, before all other contemporary Kurdish intellectuals, he had become a nationalist when he lived in Istanbul. Pîremêrd makes early use of terms such as *kurdayetî* ‘Kurdish nationalism’, and *qewmîyet* ‘nationalism’ and *wetenîyet* ‘patriotism’.

The Revolution of 1908 made it possible for the intellectual and political elites to establish, though for a short time, their own organisations and publish Kurdish magazines. The first organisation was the Society for Mutual Aid and Progress (*Kürd tevaviin ve teraqqî #em’iyet*). The editor of the Kurdish-Turkish organ of this society was Pîremêrd.

Pîremêrd was one of the architects of the modern Kurdish ‘national’ culture. He collected and published, in verse form, numerous proverbs and anecdotes. In order to enrich Sorani literature and unify the three literary dialects, he ‘translated’ the work of the great Hewramî poet Mewlewî (1806-1882) into the Silêmanî dialect. He also wrote a play based on *Mem û Zîn* by the Kirmanci poet Ehmedî Xanî (1650-1706). Pîremêrd was also the owner and publisher of a weekly paper.

In his will published by Hawar (1990:21), Pîremêrd advises the Kurds to serve their *ziman* ‘language’, their *qewm* ‘nation’, and *wilat* ‘native land’, ‘country’. In a poem, he writes that the Kurdish language, for the Kurds, is *zor bê-haw-ta* ‘peerless or supreme’ (see Pîremêrd, 1990a:90). At first, he was not a purist, but like others, he became active in purification later on, although he remained a moderate in purging loanwords. A text written by Pîremêrd (Süleymaniyeli Tefvîq) in *Kürd tevaviin ve teraqqî gazetesî* is in unpurified Kurdish (1908:8). A sentence from the text: *wekû le we da nûsîwye, meq bêdman eme ye: hukmî qanûnî esasî ke legel serî et da rê-dekewê, mu hafeqe bikeyn*. Kurdish elements: *w e kû*, prep, conj, ‘as’; *l e*, prep ‘from’, ‘in’; *-we* (abbr. of *ewe*), pron ‘that’; *-da* postposition, *nûsîwye*, verb, *-man* pron ‘our’, *eme* pron ‘this’, *-y* hiatus, *-e* verb; loans: *meqbûd* (Sor. variant of Arab. *maqβûd* ‘aimed at’, ‘intended’), *hukm* (Sor. variant of Arab. *ukm* ‘decree’, ‘dominion’, ‘rule’), *qanûn* (Greek-Arab. *qanûn* ‘law’), *-î iðâfa*; *esasî* (Sor. variant of Arab. *asâs* ‘foundation’ + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘fundamental’, ‘basic’, *serî et* (Sor. variant of Arab.-Pers. *jari* ‘at from Arab. *al-jari* ‘a ‘the Sharia’, *mu hafeqe* (Sor. variant of Arab. *mu âfa* ‘guarding’, ‘protection’).

### 4.3.2. Hêmin (1921-1986)

In his autobiography, Hêmin writes about how he became a nationalist, and about his ideas on Kurdish language and purism. The autobiography of Hêmin covers a period from his birth until 1974. It is published in *Tarîk û rûn* (Morning Twilight). Hêmin was worried about biographers who might give incorrect information about him after his death (1983:103-104).

Hêmin is the pen name of Seyd Muhemed Emîn-î sêx el-islamî Mukrî. He was born in 1921 in a religious family in the village of Laçîn near Mehabad and died in Wirmê (Pers. Orumiyyeh).<sup>8</sup> In the 1920s, Kurdish society was strongly feudal and tribal, and there were only a few secular schools in the towns and no modern schools in the villages. Hêmin was, therefore, sent to Sablax to study at one of the newly established secular schools. After finishing the fourth grade, he was unwillingly sent to the *xaneqa* of the shaikh of Burhan to study religion (Hêmin, 1974:7-8). In religious schools, the pupils also studied classical Persian literature, and Hêmin became interested in learning about the works of Persian poets such as Sa'dî, ÓâfeΩ and Maulavi. He began to compose poetry in Persian when he was 16 or 17 years old (Hêmin 1983:191).

Hêmin (1974:10-11) made no progress in studying religion in the *xaneqa*, and his father decided to send him to a mosque school in a nearby village, Kulice. The teacher was Mela Ehmedî Fewzî who, according to Hêmin, was probably born in Silêmanî, settled in Mukri Kurdistan, and lived and died there in 1943<sup>9</sup> He trained a generation of nationalists (Hêmin, 1974:11; Hejar, 1997:39), including Hesenî Qizilcî (Hêmin, 1983:83). Hêmin (1974:10) writes that Fewzî made him conscious of the desperate situation of the Kurdish people, and the need to love the homeland, Kurdistan, and to struggle for liberation.

In Iran, up to the mid-1940s, only a few intellectuals were aware of their 'Kurdishness', i.e. the feeling or sense of belonging to the Kurdish nation. The majority were illiterate peasants and tribesmen and had no idea of nationalism. Not even Hêmin, whose father was a well-known religious figure, was conscious as a nationalist before he met Fewzî. He writes that Fewzî made him aware of the richness of the Kurdish language (Hêmin, 1974:10-11). Before this meeting, he did not like Kurdish poetry, and had no passion for Kurdish folklore, which belonged to the illiterate 'masses' (Hêmin, 1983:191). Fewzî made him swear an oath to write in Kurdish as far as possible and never compose poetry in Persian.

Many of the founders of *Komele-y J.K* were friends of Hêmin, who together with his friend, the poet Hejar, became the first members of the organisation. Both poets published their poetry and articles in *Nîstiman*, the literary and political organ of J.K. Later, Hêmin became a member of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK-Iran), which replaced J.K. The establishment of the Kurdish Republic of 1946 by the party strongly influenced Hêmin, and he actively contributed to the political and literary

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<sup>8</sup> Hêmin died in Wirmê in 1986 (Pakzad, 1997: 49-52).

<sup>9</sup> Hejar (1997:39) writes that Fewzî was from 'Ebabeyl of Sarezûr in Iraqi Kurdistan.

life of the autonomous government, reciting his poetry at meetings and public events, and contributing poems and articles to the flourishing magazines *Kurdistan*, *Gir-û-galî Mindalanî Kurd* (Kurdish children's prattle) and *Helale* (Tulip).

Hêmin (1946:3) persuaded the young writers who were educated in Persian and used many loanwords in their articles, to use a pure and clean (*peî w pak û xawên*) Kurdish. He warned them that when "our enemies" read texts inundated by loans, they say that the Kurds praise their language but it is not a 'good' (*bas*) language. Hêmin says that this kind of writing is of no benefit to the Kurds and damages their cause.

Under the increasing political surveillance of the secret police, SAVAK, Hêmin chose to leave for Iraqi Kurdistan in 1968, and stayed there until the fall of the monarchy in 1979, when he went back to Mehabad. He led a very active literary life in Iraq, where his selected poems, *Tarîk û rûn* 'Morning Twilight' and *Nale-y Cudayî* 'Groans of Separation' were published in 1974 and 1979, respectively. Hêmin transcribed Oskar Mann's collection of Kurdish ballads from *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden* into standard Sorani alphabet in 1975. In his transcription of the ballads intended for linguistic rather than folkloric studies, Mann had used a complicated system, and Hêmin, sometimes was not able to tackle, successfully, transcription of the texts into the Sorani alphabet.

#### 4.3.3. Hejar (1920-1991)

'Ebd ul-Rehman-î Serefkendî Hejar was born in Mehabad in 1920 and died in 1991. He began his studies in the *hucra*, and became a nationalist during the nationalist movement of 1940-1946. Hejar, his friend 'Ebd ul-Rehman-î Zebîhî and a number of other intellectuals got access, clandestinely, to the Kurdish publications from Iraqi Kurdistan during the dictatorial rule of Reza Shah (1925-1941). In these secret circles, they learned to read Kurdish texts, and gradually became conscious about the national rights of the Kurds (Hejar, 1997:54). The development of the Kurdish language was very important to Hejar, who believed that the most important symbol of national identity was language (Hejar, 1991:xix). In fact, he was one of the main cultivators of the national language and literature in the Iranian Kurdistan, and wrote poetry, articles, and commentaries on the works of classical poets. He also translated from Persian into Kurdish and, later in his life, from Kirmanci into Sorani. In order to familiarise Sorani speakers with Kirmanci literature, Hejar composed a Sorani version of Ehmed-î Xanî's *Mem û Zîn*, which was published in 1960 and contributed to the dissemination of this work among the Kurds of Iran. Some critics attack Hejar for changing the texts of the source language in his translations, e.g. in *Serefname*. However, his works are intended to be free translations, which can enhance the state of Kurdish prose by using native structures and vocabulary; his main purpose is to promote Kurdish as a language threatened by the domination of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish (Hêmin, 1981:LXXI). His translations and his literary works should be used as textbooks, and as a treasure-trove of Kurdish words and idiomatic usages. Ironically, Hejar wrote his autobiography, intended to be published posthumously, in

a non-purified language. He argues in this autobiography that it is not a literary work, and is closer to non-standard spoken Kurdish, which is not purified; writing literary texts in Kurdish is a very arduous task, according to Hejar (1997:1-2).

#### 4.4. Ideas of nationalists about writing standard Sorani texts

In modern European societies, those who choose to be writers or essayists usually take courses in their own language, literature, literary criticism, and grammar. This is not the case among the Kurds, who receive their education in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. The Kurds in Iran learn written Kurdish by themselves or in the *hucre*, although many Iraqi Kurds in the post-1958 period learn their language in primary schools, and some in the secondary schools and the Kurdish program of Baghdad University or the university established in Kurdistan in the 1970s. After 1991, Kurdish has been the language of instruction in schools and universities under the Regional Government of Kurdistan.

In the article 'Let us preserve our language and develop it' (*Ziman-ekeman biparêzîn û pere-y pêbdeyn*), published in *Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran (1977, No. 49, pp. 1, 4), it is noted that intellectuals and teachers should learn Kurdish informally by reading magazines and books and the *dîwans* of Kurdish poets. The article advises the Kurds to use more Kurdish words in both speaking and writing, and to form clandestine literary societies in order to learn and develop their literature and language. In answering my 1996 questionnaire, Kurdish literary figures, scholars, translators, and poets of Iranian Kurdistan confirm that they have learned writing Sorani on their own, i.e., in the absence of institution-based learning, and clandestinely.

Kurdish is a bi-standard language, but in the absence of native tongue, Sorani speakers have to learn Kirmanci and Kirmanci speakers to learn Sorani informally. In the European diaspora, the situation is not different. In Sweden, for instance, Kurdish cultural societies sometimes offer introductory courses in Kirmanci for Sorani-speakers and courses in Sorani for Kirmanci speakers. Sorani-speaker Khabat Aref, poet and translator, who can read Kirmanci texts and to a certain degree can speak it, has learned Kirmanci in Sweden, in contact with Kirmanci-speakers and by reading Kirmanci texts. Kirmanci-speaker Omar Sheikhmous, researcher and essayist, learned Sorani in exile through party publications and communication with Sorani-speakers while he was studying in England. He also spent two and a half years among the *peşmargas* in Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan, in a predominantly Sorani environment.

Hêmin noted that writing in Kurdish faces numerous difficulties, and good writing in the native tongue demands much re-thinking. He advised the editors of the magazine *Beyan* that they should rewrite all the pieces in a unified orthography, and edit them for their linguistic merit (Hêmin, 1983:30-32). Hêmin used to read his poems to the villagers in order to be sure of their linguistic correctness (1983:196). In his preface to the Kurdish translation of *Serexfname*, Hêmin (1981:LXIX-LXXII) maintains that the Mukri dialect used by the translator, Hejar, should be used as a

basis for standard Kurdish (Sorani). On the one hand, Hêmin argues that the Mukrî dialect has a very rich vocabulary, and it is purer than other dialects; on the other hand, Hejar has grown up in the villages and is familiar with the language of the peasants, Kurdish ballads and songs and has, thus, enriched the Mukri dialect by using words from other Kurdish dialects and the folklore and language of the rural people. He maintains that Hejar translated *Serefname* into Kurdish at a time when this language was in danger of extinction by the ‘unversed selfish’ (*nezanan-î xopesend*) writers.

Language use is as complex as language structure itself, and the contexts of use are extremely diverse. Many factors such as the speaker’s position in the hierarchy of power, gender, age, education, etc. shape the variety of language and styles of verbal communication. For instance, Kurdish intellectuals who answered my questionnaire adopt different strategies in dealing with borrowings and purisms. Amir Hassanpour wrote: “In writing Kurdish, I have a different audience in mind and I try to use Kurdish words as much as possible. In informal speaking, I do not stick to this principle although in formal speaking (e.g. giving a talk) I try to use a more purified language.” The well-known Sorani poet Sherko Bekas replied that when I speak Kurdish, I use for example *teyare* (Sor. variant of Arabic *ṭayyāra* ‘aeroplane’) but when I write I use the Kurdish neologism *firoke*.”

In order to enrich and purify Kurdish texts, writers use internal loanwords. Two types of dialect borrowings into Sorani are distinguishable. One kind is Hewrami loanwords in Sorani and the other is nationalist dialect borrowings. MacKenzie and Leezenberg have analysed Hewrami loanwords in Sorani, a process of lexical change which happened several hundred years ago before the emergence of Kurdish nationalism, and is beyond the scope of my research (for a detailed discussion on the Hewrami influences on Sorani, see Leezenberg, 1993; MacKenzie, 1961), Abdollah Mardukh maintains that Sorani writers introduce dialect loans without analysis and without informing the users of written Sorani of the borrowing. Because of this, too much purification through dialect borrowings will make the understanding of Sorani texts difficult (questionnaire, 1996).

Norm conflict between the two varieties of standard Sorani may also complicate dialect borrowing and hinder intelligibility. As noted earlier, the Kurds of Iraq use the Silêmanî dialect as the basis of their Standard Sorani, and Kurds of Iran use the Mukri dialect. It seems that awareness of two conflicting norms was first expressed in the early 1960s when Sulemani [Silêmanî] had left its mark on the literary language (Hassanpour, 1992:387). Mihemed-î Mela Kerîm (1979) describes one case of norm conflict between Mukri and Silêmanî speakers. He writes that the Kurdish poet Hêmin translated the Persian version of Mark Twain’s *The Prince and the Pauper* into Sorani and submitted it to the University of Silêmanî for publication. However, the University authorities sent the translation back to Hêmin and wrote that they did not approve of its language because, on the one hand, it had a low (*nizim*) quality and, on the other hand, they did not have at their disposal the source text in Persian for checking the translation. The university specialists had underlined a few words as indication of low quality of the text, e.g., *tamezro* ‘longing’, ‘hankering’;

*melotke* ‘swaddling bands of infant’ and *nihom* ‘storey’ (Mela Kerîm, 1979). In fact, these are commonly used words in Mukri and borrowed into the Silêmanî standard by Hêmin.

## 4.5. Concluding remarks

Three pre-standard literary languages, Hewrami, Kirmancî, and Sorani, emerged during the period of the flourishing system of emirates between the 16th and 19th centuries. These languages were not purified and were strongly influenced by dominant languages of the Islamic world, Arabic and Persian. By the late 19th century and the early 20th century, two dialects, Kirmancî and Sorani were used in the emerging nationalist press and book publishing of the Kurds of the Ottoman empire. The formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 put an end to the development of Kirmancî in Turkey. In the newly formed Iraqi state, however, Sorani was used as an official local language, and experienced extensive standardisation.

Extensive borrowing distinguishes today’s Sorani standard from its literary variety of the nineteenth century and even from the early periods of standardisation in the 1920s and 1930. If borrowing was the building-stone of the pre-standard literary dialects, purification constitutes the foundation of standard Kirmancî and Sorani. The purification of Sorani is extensive, and covers all aspects of the structure and use of the language, including its phonology, alphabet, orthography, vocabulary, literary forms, and structures. The purist movement constitutes a modernisation movement along the line of the standard languages of the West. Kurdish language reformers have been inspired both by European languages such as French, English, and German, and by the modernisation experiences of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.

In their purifying and modernising efforts, purists have drawn on the grammatical structures and lexical resources of the Kurdish language. The purification of Sorani, as a political and linguistic movement, began in the 1940s in Iraqi Kurdistan. In the absence of a language academy or other institutional support, a diverse mix of intellectuals and political activists ranging from journalist and broadcasters to teachers and poets engaged in purist coinages and dialect borrowing. By the 1970s, a number of Kurdish linguists trained in Soviet and Western universities joined the standardisation movement. Borrowing and purism, especially on the lexical level, continue to be dominant trends in the standardisation movement.

A survey of the lives of some of the language reformers demonstrates the intertwining of the nationalist and purist movements. In the early stages of standardisation, most of the reformers were not purists. Equally significant, none was a born nationalist. For example, Pîremêrd and Hêmin, two major figures in the reform movement, were not nationalists from the beginning. The former was knowledgeable in Persian and Turkish, and wrote articles and composed poetry in Turkish, while the latter was educated in Persian and wrote in this language. In the beginning, Pîremêrd was not a purist. Like many intellectuals of their time, they became nationalists, and began to write in Kurdish and create standard Sorani

The standardisation process continues to be focused on borrowing and purification, because Kurdish remains in a subordinate position, politically and culturally. The political division of the Sorani standard between Iran and Iraq has further complicated the norm conflict between Silêmani and Mukri. Purists prefer to purge foreignisms and replace them with internal borrowing, which in turn complicates the formation of a single norm, and its stabilisation under conditions of extensive dialect diversity as well as political division of the language between two nation-states.



# Chaper 5 Sources, Wordlists, and Analysis of European, Persian, and Arabic Loanwords in Sorani

The main body of data, the loanwords, are presented in this chapter. It begins with a survey of the sources, which is followed by an alphabetical listing of the loanwords and their treatment by Hêmin and other language reformers and lexicographers; the loans are then classified and analysed in the next sections of the chapter.

## 5.1. Preparation of a Sorani text

Writing and publishing a text in Kurdish is a highly contested undertaking, constrained by the intervention of a host of interest groups. While individuals must self-censor their writings for fear of government reprisals, publishers and printers often impose many limitations on the writers and their texts. The absence of an adequate system of editing and proofreading and the desperate state of printing make it impossible for a Kurdish text to appear without gross and extensive spelling, grammatical, and typographical errors. Sometimes, publishers and editors change the text without the permission of the authors. Sidîq Welî Mihemed (1980:27), for example, criticised Sêzad ‘Ebd ul-Rehman for republishing and changing the contents of some of Hêmin’s works without the permission of the writer. He had changed the words he did not understand and even omitted some phrases and sentences, and he had summarised some paragraphs without informing the reader about these unauthorised interventions. Hêmin confirmed that one of his writings was censored by the Iraqi authorities but later published by Sêzad ‘Ebd ul-Rehman, who changed the text without the author’s permission (cf. Hêmin, 1983:78). In compiling the data presented here, I have tried, as much as possible, to compare different versions of the same text in order to identify the unaltered works of each writer.

Until quite recently, Kurdish printers and publishers lacked letter types, typewriters, and software and hardware equipment that could adequately represent the standardised alphabet. For example, the word *duktur* used by Hêmin is written in different forms including *duktur* (*Paserok*, an unauthorised republication of a collection of articles by Hêmin, p. 138), which is certainly an error. In the typing of *Paserok* and *Yadî Hêmin* (the latter includes some personal letters written by Hêmin), it is clear that a Persian typewriter was used and diacritical marks used in the Sorani alphabet were added by hand. In order to verify the original spellings of

Hêmin, I have also tried to check them against other sources, for instance, in his *To'feh-ye mo'âffariyeh*. This book includes sixteen ballads with extensive comments by Hêmin and was printed with letter types that carry all the diacritical marks.

## 5.2. Sources of the study

The loanwords listed below are selected from the prose writings of Hêmin. I have also studied how other codifiers of Sorani, e.g. essayists, lexicographers, translators and journalists, use the loanwords.

### 5.2.1. Writings of codifiers of Sorani

My study is based on writings of codifiers of Sorani, such as Pîremêrd, Hêmin, and the others. I have not studied the poetry of Hêmin, because poets often borrow words for the sake of metre, and their borrowings do not show the need of a majority of the people for borrowings. In this study, I focus on prose texts written by Hêmin. Hêmin's first articles were published in *Gelawêj*, *Nîstiman* (organ of *Komele-y J.K.*) and *Kurdistan* during 1940s. In 1940, nationalist ideas were very new in Kurdistan and nationalists such as Hêmin spread those ideas among the Kurds by writing poetry and prose. In one of the articles, 'Know Thyself!', *Nîstiman*, 1943, Hêmin writes that Kurds are a nation, they have their own country and Kurds must fight for their freedom.

Hêmin has also written introductions to some Kurdish books, some articles about Kurdish literature and language, the history of Kurdistan, Kurdish folklore, short literary pieces, a biography of Kurdish personalities as well as his autobiography. Later, Hêmin collected some of his articles and translations and published them in one volume under the title *Postscript (Paserok)* in 1983. Hêmin had a mastery of Persian and Kurdish languages, and his translations are from Persian into Kurdish. In two of his early translations "Why have you forgotten Kurdistan, Kurds are Iranians and they have no other shelter but Iran" in *Kurdistan*, 1946, and "Bravery of Simayl agha Simko" in *Kurdistan*, 1946, Hêmin uses many loanwords. I think that he has translated these articles hastily for the magazine and did not have enough time to rewrite them in pure Kurdish.

In his personal letters and speeches, Hêmin uses more loanwords than his articles and translations: see e.g. twelve personal letters of Hêmin, published by Kerîm-î Hisamî in *In Memory of Hêmin*, 1987; a speech of Hêmin in the Radio of Kurdistan, *Kurdistan*, 1946; an interview with the magazine *Mamostay kurd*, 1992; an interview with Hêmin by Mehmed Uzun and Mehmud Baksî, 1979.

## 5.2.2. Kurdish dictionaries

Sorani lexicography is briefly surveyed by Ew-Rehman-î Haçî Marif (1987), while Hassanpour (1992) has reviewed the contributions of these dictionaries to the standardisation of the dialect. Kirmanci lexicography has been reviewed by Soviet lexicographers and, recently, by Michael Chayet (1994), who provides an excellent introduction to all the works published by the mid-1990s.

The first Kurdish lexicon was an Arabic-Kirmanci wordlist compiled in verse by Ehmed-î Xanî in 1682-83. Later, European scholars such as Garzoni (1787) and Jaba (1879) also compiled Kurdish dictionaries and wordlists. The first monolingual dictionary of the Kurdish language was compiled by Mihemed-î Xa1 in 1960. Most Kurdish dictionaries are not written according to modern lexicographic principles. Grammatical information is not provided, and there are many shortcomings in the definitions of entries. In spite of the limitations of Sorani monolingual dictionaries, Hassanpour maintains that “the success of these works has contributed to the enhancement of the status of the [standard] language among the Sorani speakers” (1992:423). One limitation of the dictionaries is a clearly prescriptive and nationalist outlook, which does not record loanwords or anything considered a ‘foreignism’. They cannot therefore be used as a source for generating data about borrowing, although they provide rich information about the powerful purist tendency among lexicographers.

### 5.2.2.1. Monolingual Sorani dictionaries

Monolingual dictionaries appeared three centuries after the compilation of the first lexicon by Xanî. While there is yet no monolingual Kirmanci dictionary, there are a few in Sorani. The first monolingual dictionary is *Ferheng-i Xa1 (Dictionary of Xa1)*, compiled by Mihemed-î Xa1, Silêmanî. The compiler was conscious of the role of language in nation-building, and viewed dictionaries as an indispensable means for maintaining and developing a language. He believed that only a nation with a ‘written’ language could survive in the course of history and be recognised as a nation (Xa1, 1960:8). In the introduction to his dictionary, Xa1 wrote that he began compiling Kurdish words in 1935 and spent some 25 years in collecting Kurdish words from different dialects and subdialects. In order to verify the correctness of the words, he consulted women, villagers, hunters, peasants, *colas* ‘weavers’, *dartas* ‘carpenters’, *as-westa* ‘skilled mill mechanics’, *nal-bend* ‘farriers’, *ki law-dirû* ‘head-dress makers’, *zîn-dirû* ‘saddlers’, *kurtandirû* ‘pack-saddle makers’ and *kewis-dirû* ‘shoe-makers’. Xa1 was a moderate purist and registered some loanwords. He was not trained in linguistics, and did not, therefore, distinguish between phonemes and letters. Still because of his moderate approach, he treats /ʃ/, /q/ and /h/ as Kurdish phonemes. The dictionary has failed to register the homonyms and provide adequate definitions of entries (for a detailed evaluation, see: Haçî Marif’s articles on Xa1’s dictionary). Bodrogligeti (1964:197) writes that “the most precious part of Khal’s *farhang* is the dictionary itself, presenting an extremely rich lexical material.”

1977

*Qamûs-ê zîman-ê kurdî* (A Dictionary of the Kurdish Language), was compiled by 'Ebd ul Rehman-ê Zebîhî, who was one of the young leaders of the first modern nationalist movement of Iranian Kurds between the late 1930s and early 1940s. He was one of the founders of *Komele-y J.K* and the editor of its organ *Nîstîman* 'Homeland'. In this descriptive dictionary, Zebîhî, a moderate purist, has registered Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and European loanwords. Arabic loans, which are often Kurdified, are registered in the Sorani alphabet together with their original Arabic forms. Zebîhî did not accept many purist neologisms, and in his dictionary, he has used Arabic equivalents of grammatical terms rather than purist terminologies.

1995

*Gul-çînînewe le xerman-ê 'hembaneborîne'-y Hejar* (Gleanings from the harvest of Hejar's *Hembaneborîne*), compiled by 'Ebd-ula Hesen-zade, is a supplement to Hejar's dictionary *Hembaneborîne*. Some entries and definitions that are not registered by Hejar are recorded and some definitions are corrected. Hesen-zade is a prominent translator and has popularised the reading of novels through his translations. His Kurdish is often assessed as fluent and easy. A political activist and a veteran of the Democratic Party of the Iranian Kurdistan, he has lived among Kurdish peasants and peshmargas for many years and has been in contact with Hêmin and other Kurdish literary figures. At the time of this writing, he was the general-secretary of the Democratic Party of the Iranian Kurdistan.

1991

*Nêw le kome1-ê kurdewarîda* (Names in the Kurdish Community) is compiled by Nasir-ê Rezazî, a well-known singer and researcher who lives in Stockholm. The states that rule over the Kurds change Kurdish proper and place names and replace them with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish names. Rezazî has given detailed information about Kurdish names in his dictionary. He maintains that the Kurds of Iraq who do not have enough knowledge about Persian choose Persian words which are not used as proper names among the Persians. He mentions, for example, *alûde* (Kurd. variant of Pers. *âludeh* 'involved', 'polluted'), *payan* (Kurd. variant of Persian *pâyân* 'the end'), *pakîze* (Kurd. variant of Pers. *pâkizeh* 'clean'), *newzad* (Kurd. variant of Pers. *nouzâd* 'new-born').

#### 5.2.2.2. Bilingual dictionaries

1955

*Farhang-e Mardux* (Dictionary of Mardux), compiled by Mo'ammad-e Mardux, a Kurdish-Persian-Arabic dictionary, republished in Sanandaj, Iran, in 1983. In the introduction, Mardux maintains that Arabic has greatly influenced Kurdish, and he has compiled the dictionary in order to revive the language. Most of the words are from the Senendeci (Pers. Sanandaji) or Erdelanî dialect of the compiler. He spent eighteen months compiling the dictionary, and was conscious of its shortcomings. Instead of using the standard Sorani orthography, which was in common use in Iraq

at the time of compilation, he devised his own system based on the Arabic-Persian alphabet. He considers /q/, /ʔ/ and /h/ as genuine Kurdish phonemes, and does not exclude loanwords. The dictionary is a trilingual wordlist, but no grammatical information is provided.

1955

*Kolke zêrîne* (Rainbow), a Kurdish-Persian-Arabic-French-English wordlist, compiled by Gîw-î Mukryanî, published in Arbil (Kurd. Hewlêr). Wordlists are classified according to semantic fields. Mukryanî uses standard Sorani and the Hawar Latin alphabet.

1960

*Hendêk zarawe-y zanistî* (Some scientific terms), Sorani-Arabic wordlist, compiled by Jamal Nebez, published in Silêmanî. It includes coined scientific terminologies and loanshift extensions of Kurdish words.

1961

*Ferheng-î Mehabad* (Mehabad dictionary), Arabic-Sorani, compiled by Gîw-î Mukryanî, published in Hewlêr. According to Gîw-î Mukryanî, Kurdish is a symbol of identity, and preserving the language is a national duty. The compiler, a Mukri speaker, criticises Xa1 for including in his dictionary Turkish words such as *qapî* ‘door’ and Persian loans such as *arayîs* (Kurd. variant of Pers. *ârâyej* ‘adornment’, ‘decoration’). Mukryanî was an extremist purist, avoided borrowing foreign words, and promoted, instead, dialect borrowings. In the introduction to his prescriptive dictionary, he maintains that a single dialect cannot provide an adequate foundation for creating a unified language. Moreover, he argues that dialect borrowing unifies all Kurds and prevents disunity among them.

1962

*Destûr û ferhengê zimanê kurdî ‘erebî farsî* (Kurdish grammar and Kurdish-Arabic-Persian dictionary) written and compiled by ‘Ela-edîn Secadî, published in Baghdad. It is a wordlist, divided according to semantic fields and intended for language learning.

1966

*A Kurdish-English Dictionary*, compiled by Wahby and Edmonds (W & E), Oxford. In the introduction, the compilers write that the Kurdish of their dictionary is “the standard language of belles-lettres, journalism, official and private correspondence, and formal speech as it has developed, on the basis of Southern-Kirmanji dialect of Sulaimani in Iraq, since 1918.” It is moreover the language that has been adopted in Iran for Kurdish broadcasts and government-sponsored publications. Selected borrowings from other dialects and subdialects (Northern Kirmanci, Mukri, Senedeci, Bacelani, and Hewramî) are registered, while foreign loanwords are registered and

marked. According to Bodrogligeti (1967:153), words such as *qol* 'arm' and *dosek* 'mattress' are originally Turkish but not marked as such by the compilers.

1967

*A Kurdish-English Dictionary, Dialect of Sulaimania*, Iraq, compiled by Ernest N. McCarus, Michigan. "The language of the Dictionary is strictly that of Sulaimania, Iraq, predominantly literary, but including spoken language as well. As such, it is a reflection of Kurdish as it actually occurs in present-day Iraq." It is a supplement to a four-volume course book of Kurdish, intended for English language learners.

1978

*Feheng-î zarawekan-î qutabxane* (A dictionary of terms used in school), compiled by 'Abd ullâ Faraj Ismâ'î et al., an Arabic-Kurdish word list, published as a special number of the magazine *Perwerde w zanist* (Education and Science), No. 14, Baghdad. The compilers were aware that some coinages were not suitable, but they could not find better alternatives.

1982

*Ferheng-î Baban, farsî kurdî* (Dictionary of Baban, Persian-Kurdish), compiled by Sukr-ulla Baban [Iran], is a wordlist. Baban maintains that the religious books of Zoroaster are written in Kurdish, and Persian is a dialect of Kurdish. The dictionary may be considered a dictionary of synonyms. The three phonemes /q/, /' / and /h/ are treated as Kurdish.

1982

*Ferheng-î farsî kurdî wisebijêr* (A Kurdish-Persian dictionary) compiled by M.S. (Kara), published in Sanandaj. Kara has registered Kurdish equivalents of 7500 Persian words, which constitute a wordlist rather than a dictionary.

1985

*Zarawe-y nû yan ferheng-î nû* (A dictionary of new terms), compiled by Burhan Qani', Baghdad. Qani' believes that Kurdish political culture is modernised, and Kurds need a new dictionary of political terms, and his work is just a beginning. His definitions are based on works compiled in Persian.

1985

*Qamûs-î derûn-nasî* (A dictionary of psychology), English-Arabic-Kurdish, compiled by 'Ebd ul-Satar Tahir Serîf, [Iraq]. It is the first Kurdish dictionary of psychological terms, and provides Kurdish equivalents for 1000 English terms.

1989

*Ferheng-î kurdî înglîzî, wise w zarawe-y haw-wata* (Kurdish-English dictionary of synonymous words and expressions), compiled by Sewket Isma'îl Hesên, Vol. I,

Baghdad. It is the first Kurdish dictionary of synonyms, although it also lists English synonyms.

1989

*Wise-y kome layetî swêdî-kurdî* (Swedish-Kurdish social terms), compiled by Hassan Ghazi, Sweden, is a wordlist of 1500 social, political, juridical, administrative, and medical words and terms. It is sponsored by the Swedish government. Ghazi maintains the work is only a starting point for a Swedish-Kurdish dictionary.

1991

*Farhang-e kordî fârsî* (Kurdish-Kurdish-Persian dictionary), compiled by Hejar, Tehran. Hejar admits that he is not a lexicographer or linguist but has tried to compile those words which he has learned during his life among villagers, peshmargas, and speakers of different Kurdish dialects (Hejar, 1991:27-28). As a moderate purist, Hejar has registered some Arabic and Persian loanwords, and many words from different dialects. Entries are sometimes given with examples of use, followed by Persian meanings.

1992

*Ferheng-î Swêdî-kurdî* (Swedish-Kurdish dictionary), compiled by Hassan Ghazi and Hewa Cardoi (Gh & C), Sweden. It is a state-sponsored work intended for new immigrants and refugees.

1995

*Vâze-nâme-yê fârsî-kordî* (Persian-Kurdish dictionary), compiled by Mo`ammad Taqi Ebâhimpur (Ebrâhim.), Tehran.

1995

*Vâze-nâme-yê kordî-fârsî* (A Kurdish-Persian dictionary), compiled by Mo`ammad Taqi Ebâhimpur (Ebrâhim.), Tehran. Grammatical information about the entries is provided, and the compiler, a moderate purist, recognises /q/, /h/ and /' / as Kurdish phonemes. He has registered loanwords in his dictionaries.

### 5.2.3. Kurdish magazines

Although the first Kurdish newspaper dates back to 1898, the history of Kurdish journalism has not been studied adequately. Some Kurdish scholars such as Xiznedar (1973) and Malmîsanij and M. Lewendî (1989;1992) have registered the titles of Kurdish periodical publications, and provided basic information about their dates, types, places of publication, etc. Bozarlan (1985, 1991) has reprinted two Kurdish journals, *Jîn* (1918-1919) and *Kurdistan* (1898-1902), and provided detailed information about them. Others such as Ehmed-î Serîfî have written brief studies of individual publications. Hassanpour has examined the economic and social aspects of Kurdish journalism. He notes that journalism has played an important role in the

standardisation of Kurdish by “putting to print the scribal literature, especially poetry; advocating orthographic reform and popularizing it; publishing vocabulary lists and emphasizing lexical modernisation; popularising ‘pure Kurdish’ prose, and finally by advocating the unity of dialects” (1992:272-273).

Some Kurdish periodicals publish translated articles, and at times translations are evaluated and coinages to replace foreign words are discussed. The periodicals may be divided into three groups: 1. those published with the permission of a government; 2. those published clandestinely by nationalist and Marxist organisations; 3. those published outside Kurdistan by the Kurds in exile (the emigré press). The following is a list of some of the publications used in this study (only periodicals which have been published for more than 4 years).

### 5.2.3.1. Iraqi Kurdistan

#### *State-sponsored and legal magazines*

*Beyan* (1969-?) is a literary monthly magazine, published by the Ministry of Culture and Information, Baghdad.

*Gelawêj* (1939-49), *Govar-ê edeb-ê w seqafê mangê kurdî* (A monthly literary and cultural Kurdish magazine) was published in Iraq (see 4.2.1.).

*Govarê korî zanyarê kurd* (1973-?), (The Journal of the Kurdish Academy) is published in Kurdish and Arabic. Some of the contributors are Mihemed-ê Xa1, Mihemed Mes‘ûd, ‘Ela-edîn Secadî and Zebîhî. The Academy also published wordlists (see 4.2.1).

*Karwan* (1982-?) is a monthly magazine issued in Sorani and Arabic first by The General Secretariat for Culture and Youth (*Emîndarêtî gîstî rosinbîrî w lawan*). Later, the Regional Government of Kurdistan continued its publication (I have access to No. 5, 1993, Hewlêr). The magazine has published literary criticism, scientific articles (on biology, medicine, geology etc.), poetry, and writings about different subjects such as biography, linguistics, theatre, folklore, and music. Translations of short stories and plays as well as poetry were published. Other areas covered by the journal include literary criticism (e.g., by Heme Se‘îd Hesên) and science (by Ferhad Pîrbal)

*Nûser-ê kurd* (1971-?), (Kurdish Writer) was published as the organ for the Union of Kurdish writers (*Yekêtî nûseran-ê kurd*), Iraq. It is a literary magazine edited for a while by Marif Xiznedar and ‘Izeddîn Mistefa Resûl. It has been published legally and for a brief period in the areas under the control of the Kurdish political parties. Poetry, short stories, translations from Arabic, English, Turkish, and Persian appeared in the magazine.



*Rosinbîrî nû* (New Culture) (1973-?) appeared as a quarterly magazine for research (*Govarêk-ê werzî bo lîkolînewe*) produced by The Kurdish Cultural and Publishing House, Ministry of Culture and Information of Iraq, Baghdad, and carried articles on scientific subjects; research on Kurdish language, social and historical analysis, literary criticism; the social life of women; literature for children; and theatre. Anwar Kader Muhammad and Rafik Kadir wrote literary articles and poems.

*Magazines belonging to Kurdish political organisations:*

*Kurdistan-ê nû* (New Kurdistan) is a daily newspaper published by the Patriotic Union of the Kurdistan after the Gulf War of 1991, which brought parts of Iraqi Kurdistan under Kurdish rule. It has a non-daily edition published abroad.

*Brayetî* (Brotherhood) is published by the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan. After 1991, it appeared as a daily newspaper, with a non-daily edition published abroad.

### 5.2.3.2 Iranian Kurdistan

*State-sponsored and legal magazines:*

*Kurdistan* (1959-63) was a political, scientific, literary and social (*siyasî, zanyarî, wêjeyî, komelayetî*) weekly paper, published by the Iranian government. The first issues were on sale at newsstands, but later it was sent only to select individuals in Iran and abroad. Translations from Persian and classical and modern poetry, including a few pieces by ‘Elî Hesenyânî and Fateh Shaikholeslami were published.

*Sirwe* (1985-), published by CSKCL. SAP, the magazine has contributed to the development of the language in Iran and has published the works of a new generation of Kurdish poets and writers. The editorial of the first issue maintained that, as a result of ‘the Islamic Revolution’, publishing in local languages such as Kurdish has become legal and possible. The magazine carries articles on literature, history, geography, linguistics, and medicine as well as biographies, book reviews, poetry, short stories, folklore, and wordlists. There are also translations from Persian, English, and other languages. The contributors use many neologisms, dialect borrowings, and loanwords, often published in wordlists (*ferhengok*). Contributing writers and poets include ‘Elî Hesenyânî, Ehmedî Serîfî, Ehmedî Qazi, Faruqî Keyxusrewî and Semedî.

*Magazines belonging to political organisations:*

*Kurdistan* (1946-) is the organ of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, published with some interruptions since 1946. It includes mainly political articles and reports, and has contributed to the popularisation of standard Sorani among Iranian Kurds. It first appeared during the Kurdish Republic of 1946, and was forced into

exile in Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Europe. After the fall of the monarchy in Iran in 1979, it was published in Iranian Kurdistan and, later, in Iraqi Kurdistan. For a few years, two splintering sections of the DPK published their own editions. Prominent political leaders and literary figures such as Hejar, Hêmin, Hesenî Qizilcî, Rehîmî Qazî, ‘Ebd-ul Rehman-î Zebîhî and Iraqi Kurds such as Wirdî wrote in *Kurdistan*. Rehîm Qazî, ‘Elî Gelawêj and Kerîm Eyûbî were active essayists of the Baku edition. Between 1971 and 1979, the paper was published clandestinely, and the names of writers of articles are not mentioned. The relatively long history of this paper provides a living record of the approach of Iranian Kurds to the development of the Sorani standard, the complex relationship between the Mukri and Silêmanî norms, borrowing and purism, and orthographic reform.

*Pêşrew* (1983-), published by the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran (Komele). Its contents are mostly political with news reports and analyses. It has also published the poetic works of Ehmed Bazgir, Fateh Shaikholeslami (Pisko), Moslih Shaikholeslami (Rêbwar), Soleyman Ghasemiani, and Nasir-î Hisamî. It also carries articles on Marxism, which are mostly translated from Persian. One purpose of the paper is to familiarise the Kurds of Iraq, who do not know the Persian language, with Iranian Marxism.

#### 5.2.3.3. Emigré press

*Berbang* (1982-) is the ‘Organ for Federation of the Kurdish Societies in Sweden’ (*Organî fîdrasyon-î komele kurdistanîkan le Swêd*) published in Stockholm, first in Kirmanci and later in both Kirmanci and Sorani. One of its declared aims is the development of the Kurdish language. Translations made directly from Swedish and other European languages are published. The focus of the contents has changed over the years, although the publication has provided information about the Kurdish community in Sweden, Swedish politics, and political and cultural life in Kurdistan.

*Gzing* (1993-), journal of Kurdish politics and culture, is a quarterly published in Sweden under the editorship of Solaiman Chireh. The magazine publishes poetry, research on history and politics, short stories, and translations. Some writers, poets and scholars who cooperate with the magazine are Abbas Vali, Amir Hassanpour, Hassan Ghazi, Goran Karadaghi, and Kerîm Danisyar.

*Mamosta-y Kurd* (1985-1996), literary and cultural magazine published by Ferhad Shakely in Sweden, it began in Kirmanci and Sorani and appeared later in Sorani only. Its contents were diverse, including literary criticism, studies about Kurdish language, poetry, music, history, politics, and even medicine and astronomy. It also carried translations from Persian, Swedish, English, and other languages.

*Rabûn* (1991-) is a cultural Kurdish magazine published in Sweden, and edited by Rafik Kadir. It publishes articles about literature, literary criticism, language, culture,

politics, and history. Poetry and translations from French, English, Swedish, German, and Russian into Sorani are also published.

*Rehend* (1996-), as a magazine of ‘theory, culture and analysis’, published by the Centre of Rehend for Kurdish culture in Sweden, it focuses on current theoretical debates, and theoretically focused critiques of Kurdish society and culture. In recent issues, it carries a section on cultural and literary events from around the world.

### *Yekgirtin*

It was a quarterly cultural and theoretical review, published by Yekgirtin Cultural Centre in Denmark. Edited by Helkewt ‘Ebd-ula, the magazine published theoretically focused articles and research on Kurdish politics, culture, and history.

## 5.3. Wordlists of loanwords

Two wordlists are provided below. The first one is based on Euro., Arab., and Pers. loans, dialect borrowings, and the loanshift creations used by Hêmin. The second list is composed of exotica. Due to printing, editing, and orthographic problems referred to above, a single word appears in different spellings, often in erroneous forms. The following listing registers these diverse renderings.

### **Abbreviations** (see also pp. 15-16)

(A & A)	<i>The Concise Persian-English Dictionary</i> , by A. Aryanpur and M. Aryanpur
Ebrâhim.	Ebrâhimpur
(Gh & C)	Hassan Ghazi and Hewa Cardoi, <i>Swedish-Kurdish Dictionary</i>
(Hesen, 1989)	Kurdish-English
(Ismâ‘ •l, 1978)	Ismâ‘ •l, et al., 1978, Arabic-Kurdish Wordlist
(K & Y)	Kurdoev and Yosipova, <i>Sorani-Russian Dictionary</i>
[Kurdistan]	liberated Kurdish areas
(Lo\ Deh.)	<i>Lo\atnâme-h-ye Dehxodâ</i>
(W & E)	Wahby and Edmonds, <i>Kurdish-English Dictionary</i>
Zomorrod.	Zomorrodiyân

### 5.3.1. Wordlist of European, Persian, and Arabic and dialect loanwords

#### A

**abûne**, n, ‘subscription’. Used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:96): *pûl-î abûne* ‘subscription fee’. In Sor., the term is also registered as *abune*. Sor. *abûne* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *âbuneh* and *âbunemân* are Fr. loanwords, *abonné* ‘subscriber’ and *abonnement* ‘subscription’

(Moĵiri). *Abûne* is established in Sor. although it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., McCarus, Mardux, or Mukryanî (1961). *Abûne* means *besdar bûn le rojname w govar-a* ‘subscription to newspapers and magazines’ (Xa1). Zebîhî defines *abûne* as ‘subscription fee’. *Abûne* is equiv of Swed. *abonnemang* ‘subscription’ (Rashid). *Abûne* means ‘subscription’ (Hesen, 1989). Hejar does not distinguish between *abûne* and *abuniman* and defines them as ‘subscription fee’.

*Istirak* ‘subscription’ was used in Sor. before but it is now replaced by Euro. and Sor. equivalents. *Istirak* is borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iraqi and Iran. Kurds. Arab. *ijtirâk* means ‘partnership’, ‘subscription’, and *muĵtarik* ‘subscriber’ (Cowan). Arab.-Pers. *eĵterâk* and *vajh-e . eĵterâk* mean ‘subscription’ and ‘subscription fee’, respectively (A & A). Arab.-Pers. *eĵterâk* ‘subscription’ is a loanshift extension. *Eĵterâk* means ‘partnership’, ‘participation’ (Steingass). *Îstîrak* means ‘subscription’, *îstîrak kirdin* (+ *kirdin* Sor. v ‘to do’) ‘to subscribe’ and *îstîrakat* (*îstîrak* + *-at* Arab. pl suff *-ât*) ‘subscription fee’ (Zebîhî). The majority of Kurd. nationalists avoid the Arab.-Sor. variant: *istirak* is not registered by Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, or Xa1. Some Iraqi Kurds have made loanshift creations, *besdar* ‘subscriber’ and *besdarî* (+ *-î* Sor. suff for making nouns) ‘subscription’ based on Arab. *muĵtarik* and *ijtirâk*. These loanshift creations are established to some extent and indirectly borrowed by some Iran. Kurds. W-ISA-KB: Arab. *ijtirâk* means *besdarî*. Based on Silêmanî dialect, *besdar* means ‘subscriber’ (McCarus, 1967). Iran. Kurd Kara uses both *abûne* and *besdar* as equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *âbuneh*. Zebîhî does not consider *besdarî* a suitable translation of Arab. *ijtirâk*. He prefers *haw-besî*. According to him, *besdar* means *halî kesêkî besî le sitêk da hebê* ‘one who has a share in something’ (Zebîhî, 1977, entry *besdar*). This explanation made some purists reluctant to use *besdarî* ‘subscription’. *Hawbesî* and *abûne* are equivalents of Swed. *abonnemang* ‘subscription’ and *hawbes* is equiv of Swed. *abonnet* ‘subscriber’ (Rêbwar). *Hawbesî* ‘subscription’ and *hawbes* ‘subscriber’ are not established in Sor. Hejar does not use *besdar* as equiv of ‘subscriber’ either and prefers *abûne*. *Besdar* means *serîk* ‘partner’ (Hejar). In Sor. magazines both *abûne* and *besdarî* are used: *besdarî salane* ‘yearly subscription’ (*Rabûn*, 1997, No. 21, p. 106 ); *abûne-y salane* ‘yearly subscription’ (*Berbang*, 1992, Vol. XI, No. 82, 83, p. 70). Hybrid: *abûne bûn* ‘to subscribe’.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *abûne*, *istirak*; Iraqi *îstîrak*, *besdarî*.

**adrês**, n, ‘address’. Used by Hêmin in a personal letter (Hisamî, 1987:47); the orthography of the word, *adrîs*, is a spelling mistake. *Adrês* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *âdres* is a Fr. lw, *adresse* (Moĵiri). Iraqi Kurds use *edres* ‘address’ (Zebîhî). They have also borrowed *înwan* ‘address’ (Zebîhî). It is the Kurdified form of Arab. *unwân*. Arab. *unwân bar•d•* is equiv of ‘postal address’ (Karmi). Iran. Kurd Ebrâhim. has registered *nisanî*, as equiv of Euro.-Pers. *âdres*. *Nisanî* is apparently a Pers. lw in Sor. Pers. *neĵâni* as equiv of ‘address’, is a loanshift extension and suggested by Pers. purists (see Lo\ Deh.). *Neĵâni* means ‘a mark’, ‘sign’, ‘token’, ‘signature’ (Steingass). *Neĵâni* ‘address’ is now established in wr Pers.

Some Kurd. purists have suggested *nawnîsan* as equiv of ‘address’. *Nawnîsan* ‘postal address’ is a loanshift extension. *Nawnîsan* means *qedr û rêz le naw xe lk-a* ‘worth and respect among the people’ (Hejar). *Nawnîsan* and *naw-u-nîsan* are equivalents of Eng. ‘address’ (W&E). Xal has defined *nawnîsan*, *nawnîsane naw-û-nîsan* and *naw-û-nîsane* as ‘address’. *Nawnîsan* and *diyarde* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *âdres* (Baban). *Diyarde* has not been accepted as equiv of ‘address’. It is increasingly used for ‘phenomenon’. *Edrês* and *nawnîsan* are equivalents of Swed. *adress* ‘address’ (Rêbwar). Mohtadi uses *nawnîsan* as equiv of ‘address’ (1991:105). *Nawnîsan* is not registered by McCarus and Blau (1980). *Nawnîsan* is equiv of Pers. *jenâsnâmeh* ‘identity certificate’ (Mardux, 1955). *Nawnîsan* is Kurd. but the meaning is apparently a Pers. borrowing. A group of Kurd. and Pers. words are nearly the same in their pronunciation and meaning, as Sor. *nawnîsan* and Pers. *nâm-va-nejân*. *Nâm-va-nejân* as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *sejell* ‘identity certificate’ was a loanshift extension approved by Farhangestân, although not used by the Persians. Mardux’s suggestion is not accepted either.

‘*Înwan* and *nîsanî* are seldom used in wr Sor. while *adrês* and *nawnîsan* are established but the latter, the purist variant, is preferred. *Adrês* is not registered by Blau (1980), Hesén (1989), Hejar, Kara, K&Y (1983), McCarus, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E or Xal. *Nawnîsan*, ‘*înwan* and *adrês* are equivalents of Swed. *adress* ‘address’ (Gh. and C, 1992). Gh. and C have compiled a dictionary for refugee Sor.-speakers (Iraqi and Iran.) living in Sweden; because of this, they have also registered ‘*înwan*. *Adrês*, *edrês*, and *nawnîsan* are equivalents of Swed. *adress* ‘address’ (Rashid). In Sor. magazines, both *adrês* and *nawnîsan* are used: *adrês* ‘address’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1997, No. 246, p. 12); *nawnîsan* ‘address’ (*Rabûn*, 1994, No. 12, p. 1).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *adrês* ; Iraqi ‘*unwan*, *edres*.

**apartman**, n, ‘apartment’, ‘flat’ (Hêmin, 1946g.: 4). Sor. *apartman* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *âpârtmân* is a Fr. l w, *appartement* (Moçiri). Traditional Kurd. *xanû* ‘houses’ were comprised of a room and *pêsxane* ‘little hall’ and did not have modern facilities such as refrigerators, dishwashers, and furniture. In Iran, Kurd. cities were modernised and apartment buildings were built in the 20th century with the assistance of Persians who were in contact with Europeans. Iraqi Kurds use *suqe* ‘flat’, which is an Arab. l w, apparently borrowed from sp Iraqi Arab. *juqqa*. Arab. *jiqqa* or *jaqqa* means ‘apartment’, ‘flat’ (Cowan). *Apartment*, *xanû*, and *suqe* are used in wr Sor.; *apartment* is equiv of Arab. *jiqqa* (Secadî, 1962:228). *Apartment* is not registered by Baban, Blau (1980), Ebrâhim., Hejar, Hesén (1989), K & Y, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), McCarus, W&E, Xal and Zebîhî. Some Kurds prefer a loanshift extension of Sor. *xanû* ‘house’. *Apartment* and *xanu* are equivalents of Swed. *lägenhet* ‘flat’ (Rêbwar). *Apartment* is equiv of Swed. *lägenhet* ‘flat’ (Mohtadî, 1991:2; Gh. and C). Ghazi (1989) has also registered the more Kurdified variant *apartuman*: *numre-y apartuman* as equiv of Swed. *lägenhetsnummer* ‘flat number ‘.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *apartment*; Iraqi *suqe*.

**arsîw**, n, ‘archives’, ‘records’. Used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:95): *arsîwekeman le barî kitêbî kurdîyewe dewlemend nîye* lit ‘our archives, in the case of Kurd. books, are not rich’ . Sor. *arsîw* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *ârjiv* is a Fr. lw, *archives* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use *ersîf* ‘archives’, indirectly borrowed from Arab. *Arj•v* and *arj•f* are Arab. varieties of ‘archive’ (Cowan, 1979). Kurd. nationalists prefer a variant which is closer to the Euro. one. Rêbwar has registered *arsîv* as equiv of Swed. *arkiv* ‘archives’. Iran. Kurd Hesenzade (1995:6) has used *ersîv*: *çend-car ersîv-im sûtawe* lit ‘a few times, my archives have burnt’.

Modern terms are not usually registered in Kurd. dictionaries but recently specialisation has resulted in exact definition of terms. Kurd. historian, Mola Ezat, in introduction to a collection of Kurd. documents, defines *ersîf* as equiv of ‘archives’ (1992:3-4). *Arsîw* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Gh&C, Hejar, Hesên (1989), Kara, K&Y, McCarus, Mukryanî (1961), Marduxh, Rashid (1994), W&E, Xal , or Zebîhî.

Hybrids: Mola Ezat uses *ersîfkar* (*ersîf* + *-kar* Sor. suff ‘maker of’, ‘doer’) ‘archivist’ and *ersîfge* (*ersîf* + *-ge* Sor. suff. meaning ‘place’) ‘a place where historical records are stored’ (1992:3-4). Iraqi Kurd Ferhad Pîrba1 (1991:49) uses *arsîf-xane* (*arsîf* + *xane* ‘house’) as equiv of ‘a place for storing historical records’.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *arsîw*, *bayeganî*; Iraqi *ersîf* or *ersîv*. *Bayeganî* is a Pers. lw in Sor. Farhangestân has suggested *bâygâni* as equiv of Euro.-Pers. *ârjiv* (VN). *Bâygâni* ‘archives’ is a loanshift extension. *Bâygân* means ‘a guardian’, ‘a treasurer’ (Steingass). *Bâygâni* ‘archives’ is now established in Pers. Iran. Kurds usually avoid using *bayeganî* in wr Sor.: *bayeganî* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar and Zebîhî.

## B

**balêt**, n, ‘ballet’. *Bale* ‘ballet’ (Hêmin, 1974:45). *Bale* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *bâleh* is a Fr. lw, *ballet* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *balîye* and *balê* both meaning ‘ballet’ from Arab. Arab. equiv of ‘ballet’ is *raqb al-bâl•ya* (Karmi). Arab. *bâlΣh* is equiv of ‘ballet’ (Cowan). Ferhad Pîrba1 uses *sema-y balîye* (*sema* ‘dance’ + *-y içâfa* + *balîye*) ‘ballet dance’, a loanshift creation from Arab. (1991:52). Resad Mîran uses *balê* ‘ballet’ (1986:92). Some Kurd. writers use *balêt*. Iraqi Kurd O. M. Mihemed uses *balêt* as equiv of ‘ballet’ (1992:45). *Bale* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Baban, Gh & C, Hejar, Kara, K&Y, McCarus, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux,

Rêbwar, Rashid, W&E, Xa1 , or Zebîhî.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *bale* ; Iraqi *balîye*, *balê*.

**balswîk**, n, ‘Bolshevik’ (Hêmin, 1974:17). At first, it was directly borrowed from Russ.: *balsewîk* ‘Bolshevik’ (cf. Hejar, 1997:65) . Later *bolswîk* was indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *boljevîk* is a Fr. lw, *Bolchevique* (Mo‘in). Iraqi Kurds use *bulsefîk*, which is apparently an indirect borrowing from Arab. *Baljifî* and *buljif*• are Arab. varieties of ‘Bolshevik’ (Cowan; Karmi). Iraqi Kurd Zuhdî has used *bulsefîk* ‘Bolshevik’ (1990:63). Some writers prefer the more Kurdified varieties: Emîn uses *bulsewîk* ‘Bolshevik’ (1993:76). Sehab uses both *belsewîk* and *bolsewîk* (1994:107). *Balswîk* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, Xa1 , or Zebîhî. In the Iran. Sor. magazine *Pêşrew* (1986, appen. to No. 19, p. 29), *bolshivîk* is used.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *balswîk*, *bolshivîk*; Iraqi *bulsefîk*, *belsefîk*.

**berdenûsraw**, n, ‘rock inscription’ (Hêmin, 1975f:147). *Berdenûsraw* is formed by *berd* ‘stone’ + *-e idâfa* + *nûs* pres st of *nûsîn* ‘write’ + *-ra* past pass suff + *-w* Sor. suff for making past part. It is apparently a loanshift creation based on Luri-Pers. *sang-nebejteh* (*sang* ‘stone’ + *nebejteh* past part of *nebejtan* ‘to write’) ‘rock inscription’, purist equiv of Arab.-Pers. *lov`eh* ‘tablet’ (see Mo‘•n and A & A). *Sang-nebejteh* or *sang-nevejteh* (+ *-nevejteh* past part of *nevejtan* ‘to write’) are now established in Pers. Arab.-Sor. *lewhe* and its pl *elwah* were used by Kurd. writers in 1930s: *le lewheyek-î dewr-î hukumet-î...* ‘in an inscription of the period of the government of...’, *elwâh-î nusrawe-y...* ‘(written) inscriptions of...’ (Zekî, 1931a: 70, 289). Arab. *law`a* (pl. *alwâ`*) means ‘tablet’ (Cowan). *Lewhe* ‘rock inscription’ is not used any longer in wr Sor. but *berdenûsraw* is used both by Iran. and Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurd Kemal R. Mihemed uses *berdenûsraw* (1984: 8). *Berdenûsraw* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, Xa1 , or Zebîhî.

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi: *lewhe*.

**bername**, see **program**

**bomba**, n, ‘bomb’ (Hêmin, 1981:LXVII). Iraqi Kurds use *bomba* which is originally Italian (Zebîhî). Iraqi Kurds have apparently indirectly borrowed the word from Ottoman Turks. Turk. (originally Italian) *bomba* is equiv of ‘bomb’ (Redhouse). Iran. Kurds who have indirectly borrowed the term from Iraqi Kurds use also *bomb*. *Bomb* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *bomb* is a Fr. lw, *bombe* (Moçiri). *Bomba* and *bomb* are established in Sor. Used as *bom* by (Ebrâhim; Mardux) as *bom*, *bomba* by (Hejar; Xa1), as *bomba* by (Baban; W&E). After the establishment of Iraq, Arabic became the dominant language and many Arab. words were borrowed into Sor. Iraqi Kurds also use *qunbule* ‘bomb’. It is apparently an Arab. lw. Arab. *qunbula* means ‘bomb’ (Cowan).

Hybrids: Secadî has registered *bomba hawîstin* (*bomba* + *hawîstin* Kurd. inf ‘to

throw’) ‘to bomb’ (1959:167). *Bomba-hawêj* (determinative dependent comp: *bomba* + *hawêj* pres st of *hawîstin* ‘to throw’) means lit ‘bomb-thrower’, e.i. ‘bomber’ (aircraft) (W&E). *Bomb dananewe* (*bomb* + *danan* ‘put down’, ‘establish’ + *-ewe* suff which changes the meaning of v) means ‘to plant a bomb’. *Bomb teqinewe* (*bomb* + *teqîn* Kurd inf ‘burst’ + *-ewe* Kurd. suff meaning ‘again’) ‘to explode’, as in *bomba-yek teqêwe* ‘a bomb exploded’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 13, p. 3).

*Baran* means ‘rain’ in Kurd. but when it is added to some nouns, it means ‘a lot of something’ as in *berdebaran* ‘lapidation’, ‘stoning’. Pers. *bârân* has the same meaning and function as in *goluleh-bârân* ‘cannonade’. *Bombaran* (*bom* + *baran*) and *bombabaran* meaning ‘bombardment’ is registered by (Secadî, 1959:99; Hesenzade, 1995:249). Pers. *bombârân* (*bomb* + *bârân* ‘rain’: one b is omitted) ‘bombardment’ is a Farhangestân suggestion (Mo‘in). It is now established in Pers.

Sp Sor.: Iran *bom*, *bomb*; Iraqî *bomba*, *qunbule*. *Bom* is used by villagers and ordinary people, and *bomb* by the educated (Zebîhî).

**borjwazî**, n, ‘bourgeoisie’. It is also used in wr Sor. as *burjwazî*. *Le wiLatêkî here burjwazî da* ‘in one of the most (developed) capitalist countries’ (Hêmin, 1983:199). [In this phrase, Hêmin uses *burjwazî* as an adj]. *Borjwazî* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds (Zebîhî). Pers. *bur~ovâzi* is a Fr. lw, *bourgeoisie* (Zomorrod). Iraqî Kurds use *borcwazî* ‘bourgeoisie’ which is indirectly borrowed from Arab. (Zebîhî). Arab. *burjwâz•ya* means ‘bourgeoisie’ (Karmi). Qani‘ uses *borcwazî* (1985:53). Both *borjwazî* and *borcwazî* are used in Sor., the tendency is towards using the former which is closer to the Euro. term.

The whole word-family is borrowed into Kurd. Iraqî Kurd Mola Ezat uses *burjwa* as in *çînî burjwa* ‘bourgeois class’ (1984: 114). *Wirdeborjwazî*, comp n, ‘petty bourgeoisie’. *Tenanet wirdeborjwazî-s-yan lege1 nebû* ‘even petty bourgeoisie was not with (did not support) them’ (Hêmin, 1974:39). *Wirdeborjwazî* (*wirde* Kurd. adj ‘small’ + *borjwazî*) is apparently a loanshift creation of Euro.-Pers. *xordehbur~ovâzi* (*xordeh* ‘bit’ + *bur~ovâzi* ‘bourgeoisie’). *Xordehbur~ovâzi* is a loanshift creation based on Fr. *petit bourgeoisie*. Iraqî Kurd, Goran Karadaghi uses closer to Pers. variant *xurde-borjwa* ‘petty bourgeois’ (1995:10). Kurd. *wirde* is added to some nouns as a pref meaning ‘small’ as in *wirdefirosî* ‘retail-selling’. Pers. *xordeh* has the same function and meaning as in *xordeh-kâri* ‘minor works’. The words *wirde* and *xordeh* are also equally Kurd. and Pers. In *Komele*, OTOKI, 1980, No. 8, p. 32, *borcwazî biçuk* ‘petty bourgeoisie’ is used. It is apparently a loanshift creation from Arab. Arab. *al-bÿrjwâz•ya al-sa\ra* is equiv of ‘petty bourgeoisie’ (Cowan). Adjectives: *sorisî borcwazîyane* (*borcwazî* + *-y* hiatus + *-ane* Kurd. suff for making adj) ‘bourgeois revolution’ (Qani‘,1985:54). Kurds of Iran use *burjwayî* which is indirectly borrowed from Pers. *bur~ovâyi* (*bur~ovâ* + *-y* hiatus + *-i* Pers. suff ‘belonging to’). *Dîplomastî burjwayî* (+ *burjwa*+ *-y* hiatus + *-î* ‘belonging to’) ‘bourgeois diplomacy’ (*Pêşrew*, 1995, No. 65, p. 8).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *burjwazî*; Iraqî *burcwazî*.

Terminological differences between ‘bourgeoisie’ and ‘capitalism’ are not taken into consideration by some Kurd. purists. In Sor., originally Pers. *sermayedar* ‘capitalist’



is used as a synonym of 'bourgeois'. Qani' has registered *burcwa* as equiv of *sermaye-dar* 'capitalist' (1985:54,182). **Sermayedar**, n, adj , 'capitalist'. *Le wilate sermayedarekan da* 'in the capitalist countries' (Hêmin, 1983:199). *Sarmâyeh-dâr* (*sarmâyeh* 'capital' + *-dâr* pres st of *dâjtan* 'to have') is a Pers. purist suggestion for 'capitalist' which is now established in this language. *Sarmâyeh* is equiv of 'the capital of a merchant', 'stock-in-trade', 'principal sum', 'fortune'; *sarmâyeh-dâr* is equiv of 'a moneyed man', 'a capitalist' (Steingass). Iraqi Kurds use originally Arab. *re's-elmâlî* 'capitalist'. Arab. equiv of 'capitalist' is *ra's al-mâl*• (Karmi). *Sermayedar* is Sor. variant of Pers. *sarmâyehdâr* (Ebrâhim.). *Sermayedar* is established in Sor.: *sermayedaran* 'capitalists' (*Pêsrrew*, 1989, No. 28, p. 16); *e'yan û sermayedarekanî Sine* 'aristocrats and moneyed men of Sine' (Secadî, 1959:73). The whole word-family is borrowed: *wilatanî sermayedarî* 'capitalist countries' (Hesenzade, 1995:124). *Sermayedarî* is Sor. variant of Pers. *sarmâyeh-dârî* (*sarmâyehdâr* + *-i* suff for making nouns and used as equiv of Euro. *-ism*, see Påjâ'i, 1990) 'capitalism' which is now established in Pers. Zuhdî uses more Kurdified *semayedarêtî* (1990:377). Asos Kemal uses *semayedarefî* (1997:190). Sor. suffixes *-etî* or *-êtî* are used for making abstract nouns.

Kurd. writers use more and more *desmaye-dar*; they consider it more Kurd. In fact, *desmayedar* is a loanshift creation based on Pers. *sarmâyeh-dâr*. Xal has registered *desmaye-dar* (*desmaye* Sor. n, 'money which one needs to do a job' + *-dar* Sor. suff *-dar* meaning 'possessor of') as synonym of *sermayedar*. *Desmaye-dar* is equiv of Arab. *βâ'ib ra's-al-mâl*• and *ra's-al-mâl*• (Mukryanî, 1961). The suff *-dar* in Sor. means 'possessor of' and is added to nouns as in *agadar* (*aga* 'information'+ *-dar*) 'aware'. Pers. *-dâr* has the same function and meaning as in *xâneh-dâr* 'housekeeper'.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *sermaye-dar*; Iraqi *re's-elmâlî*.

## Ç

**çapxane**, n, 'printing-house' (Hêmin, 1983:36). Apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Hindi-Persi. *çâpxâneh* (*çâp*, originally Hindi, 'printing' + *xâneh*, Pers. 'house') means 'printing-house' (Dehxodâ; Mo'•n). Hindi *çhâp* means 'seal', 'stamp', 'print' (Platts). According to Mojtabâ Minovi (quoted by Lo\ Deh., entry *çâp*, 1959), the printing industry was introduced into Ottoman Turkey, Egypt, and India before Persia. In the 19th century, Iran. intellectuals who were in contact with Turks and Arabs, used originally Arab. *ḥab*' 'printing' and *ḥabâ'at* 'art of printing' and those who were in contact with Indians used *çehâpe* or *çâp*. Arab. *maḥba'a* means 'printing-house' (Cowan). Arab.-Pers. *maḥba'eh* (derived from *ḥab*' ) 'printing-house' and *çâpxâneh* were used before establishment of Farhangestân. Farhangestân choice *çâpxâneh*, as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *maḥba'eh*, is now completely established in Pers. and *maḥba'eh* is no longer used.

At first, Kurds used originally Arab. *metbe'e* 'publishing-house'. In *Te'lim-î ḥaqim* 'Platoon Drill', published in Sor. in 1920 in Iraq, the word *meḥbe'e* is used (Hassanpour, 1992:198, front page republished by). Later *çap-xane* was applied and

it is now completely established in wr Sor., and *metbe‘e* is not used any longer. In his gram of Sulaimaniyah dialect, Soane uses *çap-xane* ‘printing-house’ (1919:137). Iran. Kurds have also used *çap-xane*. *Çap-xane-y Xîret* ‘Xiret Publishing-house’ (*Rojî Kurd*, 1920, Vol. I, p. 1). *Çap-xane w intisarat* ‘printing-house and publications’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1946, No. 1, p. 1). *Çap-xane* is Sor. variant of Pers. *çâpxâneh* (Hejar; Mardux). *Çap-xane* is equiv of Arab. *maṭba‘a*. (Mukryani, 1961; Secadî, 1962:174). Xa1 has defined *çapxane* as ‘printing house’. Baban and Kara have not registered *çap-xane*.

The whole word-family is borrowed: *çap* ‘print’ is established in Sor. *Çap* is Sor. variant of Hindi-Pers. *çâp* ‘print’ (cf. Mardux; Heja; Kara). Hybrids: *çap kirdin* (+ *kirdin* ‘to do’) means ‘to print’ (Heja; Xa1). *Çapemenî* (*çap*+ *-emenî* Sor. suff meaning ‘material for’) is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *maṭbu‘ât* ‘printed matters’ (Kara).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *çap-xane*; Iraqi *çap-xane*, *metbe‘e*.

**çîrok-î drêj**, see **roman**

## C

**cigere**, see **sîxar**

**cîhan**, n, ‘world’ (Hêmin, 1983: 58). In wr Sor. it is registered also as *cihan*. indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds. *Cîhan* is apparently a Pers. lw *jahân*, borrowed by Iraqi Kurdish purists who prefer Pers. loanwords to Arab. ones, as equiv of Arab.-Kurd. *dinya* ‘world’. Arab. *dunyâ* means ‘world’ (Cowan). Pers. *jahân* means ‘world’ (Mo‘in). Some have borrowed the term without changes: *cehan* is Sor. variant of Pers. *jahân* (Mardux). But more Kurdified forms are usually preferred. *Ciyan* is equiv of Pers. *jahân* (Kara). On the one hand, some Kurds avoid using *cihan*; they believe that when there is a well-established lw, there is no need to borrow a new one. On the other hand, extremist purists are not satisfied with borrowing *cihan*; they prefer *gîhan* which is purer with /g/ which does not exist in Arab. *Gîhan* is equiv of Arab. *dunyâ* (Mukryani, 1961). In fact, Pers. *jahân* is Arabicised form of New Pers. *gihân*. New Pers. *gehân*, *gi hân*, and *jihân* are equivalents of ‘the world of creatures, men and animals, especially the world of man’ (Nyberg). Some Kurdish purists of Iraq have borrowed another word with /g/, *gêtî*, as equiv of Arab. *dunyâ*. Pers. *giti* means ‘world’ (Mo‘in). *Gêtî* ‘the world’; *ser-î gewre-y duwemî gêtî* ‘the Great Second World War’ (Secadî, 1959: 5, 184). Indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurd: *gêtî* is equiv of Pers. *jahân* (cf. Kara). Wahby, in *Gelawêj*, 1942, No. 5, 6, p. 94, in *Ferhengî Gelawêj* ‘Gelawej wordlist’, suggested *gêtî* as equiv of Arab. *dunyâ*. *Gêtî* is also registered in the dictionary compiled by W&E.

Before emergence of the Kurdish purist movement, *dinya* was established in both sp and wr Sor. *Dinya* ‘world’ is used by M. Sewqî, in the magazine *Jîn*, 1919, No. 10, p. 16. Now, Kurdish writers use both *cîhan* and *dinya*. *Dinya* is equiv of ‘world’ (W&E). *Cihan* is not registered by W&E. Ebrâhim. has registered closer-to-origin *cehan*, and *dunya* as equivalents of Pers. *jahân*. Purists usually prefer Kurdified

forms of *dunya*: *dinya* and *dinê*. Mukryanî (1961) and Hejar have registered *dinê*. Some writers and magazines use the two loanwords: *cîhan* ‘world’; *dinya* ‘world’ (Mihemed, 1992:99, 176); *netewekanî cihan* ‘nations of the world’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 2, p. 2); *le bazarekanî dinya* ‘in the world markets’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 15, p. 4). *Dinya* and *cîhan* are equivalents of Pers. *jahân* and Arab.-Pers. *donyâ* (Hejar).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *dinya*; Iraqi *dinya*, *cîhan*.

**Hybrids:** *cîhanger*, n & adj, ‘tourist’ (Hêmin, 1983:94). *Cîhanger* (determinative dependent comp: *cîhan* + *-ger* derived from *geran* ‘to wander’), meaning lit ‘world wanderer’, is apparently a loanshift creation based on Pers. *jahângard* (*jahân* + *gard* pres st of *gardidan* ‘to rotate’, ‘to walk’) meaning lit ‘world-walker’, i.e., ‘tourist’. *Farhangestân* has suggested *jahângard* as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *sayyâ* (VN). It is now established in Pers. *Cîhanger* is equiv of Arab. *al-sayyâ* (Secadî, 1962:204). *Kara* has used a more Kurdified form. *Ciyanger* ‘traveller’ is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *sayyâ* (Kara). *Ebrâhim*. and *Baban* use less Kurdified borrowings *cehangerd* and *cîhangerd*, Sor. variants of Pers. *jahângard*. Some Kurdish purist equivalents of ‘tourist’ are not established: Hejar has suggested *dinya-ger*.

At first, Sor. writers used Arab. *sayyâ*. It means ‘traveller’, ‘tourist’ (Cowan). Later, Kurdish purists suggested *gerok*, *gerîde*, *cehanger* as equivalents of Pers. *jahângard* and Arab. *sayyâ*. *Seyah* ‘tourist’ (Zekî, 1931a: 282); *seyahîn* ‘tourists’ (Zekî, 1931b:26), *seyahîn* is originally Arab. pl n of *sayyâ*. Arab.-Kurd. *seyah* is equiv of Pers. *jahângard* (Hejar). Some purists use *gerîde* as equiv of ‘tourist’. It is a loanshift extension and has been accepted to a limited degree. Hejar, W&E, and Xa1 have registered *geride* and defined it as ‘widely travelled’. *Gerok* (*ger* derived from *geran* ‘to wander’, ‘to circulate’) + Sor. suff *-ok* for forming adj from v stems) as equiv of ‘tourist’ is not accepted. *Gerok* is equiv of Arab. *sayyâ* (Mukryanî, 1961).

Sp Sor. : Iran. educated *cehangerd*, *turîst*; Iraqi *seyah*, *gerîde*.

**cuxrafya**, n, ‘geography’ (Hêmin, 1983:54). Sor. *cuxrafya* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. or Arab. Arab. *ju|râfiyâ* and *ju|râf•ya* are equivalents of ‘geography’ (Cowan). Pers. *jo|râfi* and *jo|râfiyâ* are indirect borrowings from Arab., borrowed by Arabs from Greek (Mo‘•n). *Cuxrafya* is not registered by Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E and Xa1. *Cuxrafya* is Sor. variant of Arab. *ju|râfiyâ* (Ismâ‘•l, 1974). *Cuxrafî* is Kurd. variant of Per. *jo|râfiyâ* (Ebrâhim.). Some Kurd. purists and ISA-KB use *cugrafya*, which is closer to the Euro. variant. *Cugrafya* is equiv of Euro.-Arab. *ju|râfiyâ* (cf. W-ISA-KB, 1974). *Cîgrafî*. is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *jo|râfiyâ* (Kara).

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi *cuxrafya*

## D

**dadperwer**, n, adj, ‘just’ (Hêmin, 1975f:147). *Dadperwer* ‘just’ (generally of judge) is a Pers. lw in Kurd. (W&E). Indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *dâd-parvar* (*dâd* ‘justice’ + *parvar* pres st of Pers. *parvardan* ‘foster’, ‘educate’) means

lit 'fosterer of justice', i.e. 'just' (cf. Lo\ Deh.). *Dad* and *dâd* are Sor. and Pers., respectively. *Dad* is equiv of 'justice' (W&E). Pers. *dâd* and Sor. *dad* mean 'justice' (cf. Baban; Ebrâhim.; Kara; Mardux). *Dadperwer* 'just' is established in Sor. *Dadperwer* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. 'âdel 'just' (Baban). Kurd. *dadperwer* and Pers. *dâdparvar* mean 'just' (Hejar). *Dadperwer* is equiv of Arab. 'âdil 'just' (Mukryanî, 1961). *Dadperwer* is equiv of 'just' (Xa1). *Dadperwer* is not registered by Ebrâhim. or Mardux. [Kurdish purists have borrowed other derivations of Pers. *parvardan*. Kurd. *perverde* 'nurtured' is a Pers. lw. (W&E). Pers. *parvardeh* (past part of *parvardan*) means 'nourished', 'nursed' (Mo'in). Also Sor.-Pers. hybrid: *nîstimanperwer* (*nîstiman* Sor. n 'homeland' + *-perwer*) 'patriot'.]

Iraqi extremist purists try to purify Kurd. from all Arab. words. If they cannot find Kurd. equivalents of Arab. loanwords, they borrow them from Pers. Before the purist movement, Arab.-Kurd. 'adil was completely established in sp and wr Sor. in both Iraq and Iran. *Hakimêkî* 'adil 'a just ruler' (Zekî, 1931b:247). Hejar(1991), a moderate purist, has registered 'adil as Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. 'âdel 'just'. Ebrâhim. and Xa1 have not registered 'adil.

Sp Sor.: Iran. 'adil; Iraqi, 'adil, *dadperwer*.

**danisga**, see **zanistge**

**dastan**, see **roman**

**dawa**, n, 'demand' (Hêmin, 1946e:1). *Dawa* is originally Arab. and means 'demand', 'legal proceedings' (W&E). *Da'wâ* means 'demand', 'request' (Cowan). *Dawa* is completely established in sp and wr Sor. in both Iran and Iraq, and since it is Kurdified and unrecognisable from its Arab. origin, it has been 'tolerated' and used also by purists. *Dawa* is equiv of Pers. *xâst* 'demand' (Ebrâhim.). *Dawa* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *ḥalab* 'request', 'demand' (Hejar). *Dawa* is equiv of Arab. *ḥalab* 'request' (Mukryanî, 1961; Marduxh). Xa1 has defined *dawa* as 'demand'. Hybrids: *dawa kirdin* 'to demand' is widely used in sp and wr Sor. Xa1 has registered *dawaker* and *dawa-kar* as synonyms meaning 'one who demands something'; Sor. suffixes *-ker* and *-kar* denote 'agent', 'maker', 'doer'.

**debîristan**, n, 'secondary school' (Hemin, 1946d:2). The term is registered as *dibîristan*, which is a printing mistake. *Debîristan* is a Pers. lw in Kurd. At first, Pers. *dabirestân* (*dabir* 'writer', 'secretary', 'notary' + *-estân* suff meaning 'place') meant 'a school (for writing)', 'a record office' (Steingass). *Dabirestân* meaning 'secondary school' is a modern loanshift extension (Mo'in). Pahlavi *dip•var* means 'secretary' (Nyberg). *Dabir* meaning 'secondary school teacher' is a modern loanshift extension (cf. Mo'in). During the reign of Reza Shah, the educational system of Iran was modernised, and secular schools, secondary schools, and universities were established and named for Pers. terms.

Iraqi Kurd Wahby has registered only the old meaning of the term: *debîristan* means 'office for clerical work' (W&E). *Debîristan* is not registered by Ebrâhim.,

Hejar, Mardux, (Mukryanî,1961) and Xa1. The Sor. purist suggestion *qutab-xane-y nawendî* as equiv of ‘secondary school’ is accepted. *Qutab-xane-y nawendî* is equiv of Pers. *dabirestân* (Baban). Iraqi Kurds use *amadeyî* as equiv of ‘secondary school’. Kara has registered *sêwaz-ge* (*sêwaz* + *-ge* Sor. suff meaning ‘place’) as equiv of Pers. *dabirestân*. Hejar has defined *sêwaz* as synonym of Sor. *ra-hatin* ‘become accustomed’, ‘become familiar with’. *Sêwaz dan* is equiv of Arab. *ta’d•b* ‘education’, ‘discipline’ (Mukryanî, 1961). *Sêwaz-ge* ‘secondary school’ is not accepted in wr Sor. *Sêwaz* is used as equiv of ‘method’ and ‘manner’ (W&E). *Sêwaz* is equiv of Pers. *jiveh* ‘method’ (Ebrâhim.). Recently, *sêwaz* has been used as equiv of ‘style’. Kakî: *sêwaz* means ‘style’ (1989:9). *Danisistan* (*danis* Kurd. variant of Pers. *dânej* ‘knowledge’ + *-istan* suff meaning ‘place’) is equiv of Arab. *al-madrasa-@ânaw•ya* ‘secondary school’ (Secadî, 1962:140). Suffixes *-istan* and *-estân* are Kurd. and Pers., respectively. Secadî’s suggestion is not accepted.

Sp. Sor.: Iran. *debîristan*, Iraqi *qutab-xane-y nawendî*, *amadeyî*, *medrese-y sanewî*. The latter is an Arab. lw into Kurd.

**dêmuokratî**, see **dimokrasî**

**dîmukrat**, see **dîmokrasî**

**dîjban**, n, ‘military policeman’ (Hêmin, 1983: 4). *Dîjban* is a Pers. lw in Sor. It is used by Iran. Kurds. *De~bân* (*de~* ‘castle’ + *-bân* Pers. suff meaning ‘guard’) means ‘keeper of a castle’. *De~bân* meaning ‘military police’ in modern army of Iran during the reign of Pahlavis, is a loanshift extension. It is now established in Pers. *Dîjban* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor. Iran. *dijban*, *dîjban*; Iraqi *surte*. *jurfa al-‘askarîya* and *jurfa al-jayj* are equivalents of ‘military police’ (Ba‘albakî).

**dîktator**, n, ‘dictator’. *Ew dîktator-e xön-mij-e* ‘this blood-sucker dictator’ (Hêmin, 1983:1). The term is indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *diktâtor* is a Fr. lw, *dictateur* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use also *dîktator* which is apparently indirectly borrowed from Arab. Arab. equiv of ‘dictator’ is *diktâtør* (Cowan). *Dîktator*, as a political term, is established in Sor. although it is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. As equivalents of ‘dictator’, Kurd. purists have suggested loanshift extensions of different words, but these suggestions are not accepted. *Serero* ‘headstrong’ and *milhur* ‘obstinate’ are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *diktâtor* (Kara). *Deselat-dar* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *diktâtor* (Baban). *Deselat-dar* is established in Sor. as equiv of ‘one who has authority or power’. *Lasar* ‘heedless’ is equiv of Euro.-Arab. *d•ktâtør* (Ismâ‘•1, 1978).

Hybrids: some Kurd. writers use directly Pers. and Arab. hybrids and some of them prefer Kurd. ones. *Dîktatorî*, Sor. variant of Euro.-Pers. *diktâtori* (*diktâtor* + *-i* Pers. suff for making nouns) ‘dictatorship’ is indirectly borrowed by Kurds: *dîktator-î w koneperestî* ‘dictatorship and reaction’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 1, p. 2 ).

*Diktatorî* is equiv of Euro.-Pers *diktâtori* (Secadî, 1962:212). Ehmed Qazî uses *diktatorî-yet* ‘dictatorship’ (1996:22). *Diktâtor•ya* is Arab. variant of ‘dictatorship’ (Cowan). In Kurd. variant, *diktatorî-yet*, *t.m.* is pronounced. Some Kurd. purists use more Kurdified alternatives. Mihemed uses *diktatorayetî* (*diktator* + *-ayetî* Kurd. suff. for making abstract nouns) ‘dictatorship’ (1992:186).

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi *diktator*.

**dîkte**, n, ‘dictation’ (Hêmin, 1974: 7). It is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *dikte* is a Fr. lw, *dictée* (Moçiri). Iran. and Iraqi Kurds use also *îmla* ‘dictation’. It is borrowed from Arab., *imlâ* ‘dictation’, or indirectly borrowed from Pers., Arab.-Pers. *emlâ* ‘dictation’. *Dîkte* and *îmla* are established in wr Sor. but they are not registered in dictionaries: *dîkte* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, W&E, or Xa1; *îmla* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Kara, W&E, or Xa1. Baban, Mardux and Mukryanî (1961) have registered neither *dîkte* nor *îmla*. Some Kurd. purists have suggested *nijwe* and *rênûs* as equivalents of ‘dictation’. *Rênûs* is accepted to a limited degree. *Rênûs* (*rê* ‘way’ + *nûs* pres st of *nûsîn* ‘to write’) is equiv of Arab. *imlâ* ‘dictation’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Rênûs* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *emlâ* (Hejar). *Nijwe* ‘dictation’ is not accepted and only exists in some dictionaries. *Nijwe* is equiv of Arab. *imlâ* (Mukryanî, 1961). *Nijwe* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *emlâ* (Heja; Kara).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *dîkte*, *imla*; Iraqi *imla*.

**dîmukrasî**, n, ‘democracy’. Used by Hêmin as *dêmukrasî* (1983:60). It is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. into Sor. Pers. *demokrâsi* is a Fr. lw, *démocratie* (Moçiri). **Dêmukratî**, n, ‘democracy’ (Hêmin, 1946b:1). Indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Iraqi Sor. Kurdified *dêmukratî* is an indirect borrowing from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. *Dimÿqrât•ya* is equiv of ‘democracy’ (Cowan).

*Dêmukratî* and *dêmukrasî* are both established in wr Sor. but they are not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E and Xa1. *Dîmukratî* is registered by Secadî as equiv of Euro.-Pers. *demokrâsi* (1962:212). *La-y dîmukrasî bû-m* ‘I supported democracy’ (Mihemed, 1992:193); *dêmukrasî le wilat-eke-man-da rîse-y nîye* ‘democracy has not any roots in our country’ (Hesenzade, 1995:138); *azadî w dîmukratî* ‘freedom and democracy’ (*Kurdistan*, 1971, No. 1, p. 1). Qani‘ uses both *dîmukrasî* and *dîmukratî* as Kurd. variants of Fr. *démocratie* (1985:83).

One of the problems of borrowing Euro. words is treatment of derivations of different terms. The situation is chaotic, Kurd. writers have different policies; some of them prefer indirectly borrowed forms from Pers. and Arab. and some of them prefer Euro. or Kurdified forms. Qani‘ writes *dîmukratî-yet xizmet-î xelk dekat* ‘democracy serves the people’ (1985:90). *Dîmukratî-yet* is Kurdified form of Arab. *dimÿqrât•ya* (*t.m.* is pronounced). *Dêmukratî* as equiv of ‘democratic’ is an indirect borrowing from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds, indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds. Arab. *dimÿqrât•* means ‘democrat’, ‘democratic’ (Cowan). *Cûlanewe-y dêmukratî w zidî împiryalîstî* ‘democratic and anti-imperialist movement’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran,

1971, No. 1, p. 2); *le bizûtnewe-y netewayetî w dîmokratî Mehabad da* ‘in the national and democratic movement of Mehabad’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 15, p. 2). More Euro. *dîmokratîk* is sometimes preferred. It is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *demokrâtik* is a Fr. lw, *démocratique* (Moçiri). *Azadî-ye dêmokratîkekan* ‘democratic freedoms’ (*Pêşrew*, 1989, No. 28, p. 3). *Dîmokratîk* ‘democratic’ is also used by Iraqi Kurd Qani (1985:187). *Dîmokratîk* is sometimes considered a noun, and a hybrid is formed by adding the suff -î for making adj. *Cûlanewe-y dîmokratîkî azirbaycan* ‘democratic movement of Azerbaijan’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 11, p.1). Sometimes *dîmukrasî* is used by Iraqi Kurds as an equiv of ‘democratic’: *bîr-û-bawer-î sosyalîstî w dîmukrasî* ‘socialist and democratic ideas and beliefs’; *komarî Kurdistan komarêkî dîmukrasî bû* ‘the Kurdish Republic was a democratic republic’ (Mola Ezat, 1984:47, 128).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *dêmukrasî*; Iraqi *dêmokratî*.

The whole word-family is borrowed. **Dîmokrat**, n, adj ‘democrat’, ‘democratic’. Used by Hêmin in the phrase *Kurdistanêkî azad û dîmokrat* ‘a free and democratic Kurdistan’ (1946f:2). This word is registered in different forms: *dimokrat*, *dêmokrat*, *dêmkokrat* in wr Sor. In one text, Hêmin (1983: 2-3) uses all three alternatives. *Partî dîmokratî kurd* ‘Democratic Party of Kurdistan’ (Mihemed, 1992:113). *Dêmkokrat* means also ‘member of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan’: *dêmkokrat-êk-î demargirj* ‘a fanatic member of Democratic Party of Kurdistan’ (Hesenzade, 1995:9). *Dimokrat* is established in wr Sor. but is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi, *dîmokrat*.

**dîsplîn**, n, ‘discipline’. *Hîzbêk-i nehênî û be dîsplîn-î tund* ‘a clandestine party with a strong discipline’ (Hêmin, 1974: 21). *Dîsplîn* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *disiplin* is a Fr. lw, *discipline* (Moçiri). Persians use also Arab.-Pers. *enzebâf* ‘discipline’ but Kurd. purists prefer indirectly borrowed Euro. lw. Iraqi Kurds also use the term: *dîsplîn* ‘discipline’ (*Komele*, OTOKI, 1981, No. 9, p. 40). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *zebt* from Arab. Arab. equiv of ‘control’ and ‘discipline’ is *ðabf* (Cowan). *Dîsplîn* is established in Sor. but it is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. *Dîsplîn* ‘discipline’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, Nos. 2&6, pp. 3&4). Hybrids: *be-dîsplîn* (*be-* Sor. prep meaning ‘with’ + *dîsplîn*) as in the phrase *nîstiman-perwer û be-dîsplîn* ‘patriot and disciplined’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 9, p. 1). Kurd. equiv of ‘discipline’, suggested by compilers of W-ISA-KB(1983), is not accepted: *dabîn kirdin* is equiv of Arab. *ðabf* or *inðibâf*. *Dabîn kirdin* is established in Sor. as equiv of ‘to provide’ and ‘to prepare’.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *dîsplîn*, *inzibat*; Iraqi *zebt*, *dîsplîn*.

**dosîye**, n, ‘file’, ‘dossier’, ‘case’. It is also registered as *dewsîye*. *Kes ... dewsîye-y bo dirust nedekirdim* ‘no one ... used to fabricate a case against me’ (Hêmin, 1983:140). *Dosîye* is an indirect borrowing from Pers., Turk. or Arab. Pers. *dosiyeh* is a Fr. lw, *dossier* (Moçiri). The term is no longer used in Pers. Turk. *dosya* is equiv

of ‘dossier’ (Redhouse). Arab. *dusya* is equiv of ‘dossier’, ‘file’ (Cowan, 1979). *Dusya* is not used in Arabic any longer. *Dosîye* is used in wr Sor. but it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. *Dosîye* is equiv of Arab. *iðbâra* ‘file’, ‘dossier’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Dosîye*, *fayl* and *beste* are equivalents of Pers. *parvande* ‘file’ (Secadî, 1962:142). In Sor., *beste* ‘parcel’ is not accepted as equiv of ‘file’. *Fayl* is Kurd. variant of Eng. ‘file’ and is probably borrowed into Sora. directly from English. Iraqi Kurds still use *fayl* ‘file’, (see *Xermane*, 1991, No. 3, p. 44). *Dosîye* and *perwende* are equivalents of Pers. *parvande* (Kara). *Perwende* is apparently a Pers. lw in Kurd. Farhangestân suggestion for Fr. *dossier* is *parvande* (VN). It is a loanshift extension. *Parvande* means ‘a bundle’, ‘roll’, or ‘truss of clothes’ (Steingass). *Parvande* ‘file’ is now completely established in Pers. *Perwende* ‘file’ is used by some Iran. Kurds. Some Kurd. purists prefer Kurdified forms. Ebrâhim.: *perwene* is Sor. variant of Pers. *parvande*. *Perwende* is not registered by Baban, Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *perwende*; Iraqi *izbare*. In wr Sor., some Kurd. purists prefer *dosîye* to Arab. and Pers. purist alternatives. At first, Iraqi and Iran. Kurds used *dosîye* in their sp Kurd., later when Iraq was established as an official state and Arab. became dominant, *izbare* was borrowed by Iraqi Kurds. In Iran, a modern Pers. state was formed and Pers. administration and language became dominant, and Kurds gradually used *perwende*.

**drama**, n, ‘drama’. It is also used as *dram*. *Dramekan-î sikispîr* ‘Shakespearean dramas’ (Hêmin, 1975c:74). *Dram* is apparently a Pers. lw in Sor, borrowed by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *derâm* is a Fr. lw, *drame* (Mo’iri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *drama* from Arab. *Drâmâ* is Arab. variant of ‘drama’ (Cowan, 1979). Turk. *dram* is a Fr. lw and is equiv of ‘drama’ (Redhouse). *Drama* is indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurd Rizgar Kerîm (1985:356) and Iran. Kurd Ehm̄ed Fersî (1992:21) use *drama* ‘drama’.

*Dram* and *drama* are not registered by Baban, Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E and Xa1. Purist equiv of ‘drama’, *xemname*, is not established in Sor. *Xemname* (*xem* ‘sorrow’ + *name* ‘book’) is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *derâm* (Ebrâhim.). *Xemname* and *sano* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *derâm* (Kara). *Xemname* is a loanshift creation from Pers. Pers. *\amnâme* (*\am* ‘sorrow’ + *nâme* book) is a synonym for ‘tragedy’ (Mo’in). In Sor., *sano* is established as ‘stage’. **sano**, n, ‘stage’ (Hêmin, 1974:22). *Sano* is apparently borrowed from Italian by Ottoman Turks and indirectly borrowed by Iraqi Kurds. *Sano* is a Turk. lw in Kurd. and means ‘stage’ (for playing theatre), ‘platform’ (W&E). Turk. *sano* ‘stage’ (theatre) is originally Italian (Redhouse). *Sano*, originally Fr., is equiv of Arab. *maßra* ‘stage’, ‘theatre’, ‘scene’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *dram*; Iraqi *drama*.

**duçerxe**, n, ‘bicycle’. Used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by (Hisamî, 1987:39). *Ducerxe* means ‘a cart for transporting soil’ in Sor. (Xa1). *Ducerxe*



'bicycle' is apparently borrowed from Pers. *Doçarxeh* is a loanshift creation based on Fr. *bicyclette* 'bicycle' (cf. Mo'in, quoted by Lo\ Deh.). Iraqi Kurds use *paski1*, which is probably indirectly borrowed from Arab. *Biskil*Σt and *baskil*Σt are Arab. equivalents of 'bicycle' (Cowan, 1979). Iraqi Kurds also use *payskil* and avoid the purist Arab. variant. Arab. equiv of 'bicycle' is *darrâja* (Cowan). *Pasîkl* is used in the Iraqi Kurd. magazine *Kurdistan-î nû*, PUK, 1994, No. 678, p. 7. *Duçarxe*, *payskil* and *paski1* are established in Sor. *Payskil*, *dûçerxe* and *espedarîne* (*esp* 'horse' + *-e* iðâfa + *dar* 'tree' + *-îne* 'made of' Kurd. suff forming nouns denoting things having quality) lit 'made-of-tree horse', are equivalents of Pers. *doçarxeh* (Hejar). *Espedarîne* is equiv of Arab. *darrâja* (Mukryanî, 1961). Kurd. purist suggestion *espedarîne* is seldom used and is not accepted. Xa1 has registered both *dû-çerxe* and *paysikil*. *Dû-çerxe* and *paski1* are equivalents of Pers. *doçarxeh* (Ebrâhim.). *Paski1* is equiv of Pers. *doçarxeh* (Kara). *Duçarxe* is not registered by Baban or Kara. *Dûçerxe* is equiv of Arab. *al-darrâja* (Mukryanî, 1961; Secadî, 1962:180).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *duçarxe*; Iraqi *payskil*.

**duktor**, n, 'physician', 'doctor'. *Duktor Sewqî* 'Dr. Shewqi' (Hêmin, 1983:41). The term is originally borrowed from modern Euro. cultures. *Duktor* means a person who has one of the highest degrees given by a university, a doctor in medicine, a philosophy doctor in law, etc. *Duktor* is indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Iraqi Kurds. At first, Iraqi Kurds indirectly borrowed *doqtor* from Ottoman Turks. After the fall of Ottoman Empire, they indirectly borrowed *duktor* from Arabic, when Arab. culture and language became dominant in Kurd. districts. *Doqtor* (originally Fr.) is equiv of 'doctor', 'physician' (Redhouse). Zekî (1931a:37) uses *doqtor*. *Duktor* is equiv of 'doctor' according to Iraqi Kurd (Xa1). It is indirectly borrowed from Arab. *Doktør* or *duktør* are Arab. variants of 'doctor' (Cowan). Iran. Kurds use *duktur*. Pers. *doktor* is a Fr. lw, *docteur* (Mo;iri).

*Duktor* and *duktur* are established in sp and wr Sor. Registered as *duktur* by (Ebrâhim). *Duktor pê-y witûwe* 'the physician has said to him' (*Pêswew*, No. 66, 1995, p. 4); *duktor Qasimlû* and *duktur Qasimlû* 'Dr. GhassemLou' (Hesenzade, 1995:3, 131); *diktor* 'physician' (Mihemed, 1992:35). *Diktor* and *pispor* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers *doktor* (Kara). Kurd. *pispor* is established in wr Sor. as equiv of 'specialist'. Some Kurds prefer loanshift extension of the Arab.-Kurd. *tebîb* 'medieval doctor'. Arab. *ṭab•b* is equiv of 'physician', 'doctor' (Cowan). *Tebîb* is equiv of Pers. *pezejk* 'doctor' (Mardux). *Duktur* is not registered by Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), or W&E. The whole word-family is borrowed. **Têz-î duktora**, comp.n, 'doctoral thesis', 'dissertation' (Hêmin, 1983 :165). *Têz-î duktora* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *tez-e doktorâ* is a Fr. lw. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *utruhe* 'dissertation' from Arab. Arab. equiv of 'dissertaion' is *uṭr•a* (Cowan). Hybrid: Iraqi Kurds use *name-y duktora* (*name* 'letter', 'book' + *-y* iðâfa + *duktura*) 'doctoral thesis'.

Hêmin has also borrowed **pziisk**, n, 'doctor', 'physician' (1983:138). It is apparently a Pers. lw in Sor. Pers. *pezejk* is a Farhangestân suggestion (VN). It is now completely established in Pers. Kurd. purists borrow Pers. words until they find a

'genuine' Kurd. alternative. According to compilers of W-ISA-KB, 1973, *pjîsk* is equiv of Arab. *ḥab•b* 'doctor' and *pjîsk* is used in Kurd. districts Cizîr and Botan and is Kurd., but *pzîsk* is borrowed from Pers. The term is registered by Hejar as *pzîsk*, *bjîsk*; by Xa1 as *pzîsk*, *pezîsk* and by Kara as *pzêsk*. Baban has registered *pzisk*, *pizêsk* and *hekîm* as equivalents of Euro.-Pers 'doktor'. *Hekîm* 'medieval physician' is a loanshift extension and is not accepted. *Pzîsk* is equiv of Arab. *ḥab•b* (Mukryanî, 1961; Ismâ'•, 1978). *Pzîsk* 'physician' (Secadî, 1959:167). *Pzisk* is not registered by Ebrâhim. or W&E. The whole word-family is borrowed: *pziskyar*, n, 'medical assistant' (Hêmin, 1983: 164). It is apparently a Pers. lw in Sor. Pers. *pezejkÿâr* (*pezejk* + *ÿâr* 'friend', 'assistant') 'medical assistant'.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *duktur*; Iraqi *diktor*, *duktor*.

## E

**eflatûnî**, adj, 'Platonic'. *Isqêk-î ... eflatûnî* 'a Platonic love' (Hêmin, 1974:13). Indirectly borrowed from Pers. or Arab. *Aflâḥÿn* is Arab. variant of 'Platonic' (Karmi). Arab.-Greek equiv of 'Platon' is *Aflâḥÿn* which is indirectly borrowed by Persians as *Aflâḥun* (cf. Mo'in). Pers. equiv of 'Platonic' is *Aflâḥuni*. Iraqi Kurd H. 'Ezîz Se'îd uses *eflatun* 'Platon' (1979:223); hence, Iraqi Kurdish: *eflatuni* 'Platonic'. Iraqi Kurd Neqsbendî uses more Kurdified *îflatunî* 'Platonic' (1985:59). Soleiman Kaveh (Sema1) prefers more Euro. *Platon* 'Platon'; hence, *platonî* 'Platonic' (1997:60). *Eflatûnî* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961) W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *eflatunî*; Iraqi *eflatunî*, *îflatunî*.

**efser**, n, 'officer'. *Efser-êk-î piçûk* 'a low-ranking officer' (Hêmin, 1974:26). W&E consider Kurd. *efser* 'officer' a Euro. lw in Sor. *Efser* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. into Sor. (cf. Zebîhî). *Afsar* is Farhangestân equiv of Eng. 'officer' or Fr. *officier*; the meaning is borrowed from Eng. or Fr. (Mo'in). Before Farhangestân, *afsar* 'a crown' was used in Pers. Pers. *afsar* is equivalent of 'a crown', 'diadem', 'a bridle', 'halter' (Steingass). Pers. *afsar* meaning *farmânde* 'commander', *sâlâr* 'leader', 'chief', *sarvar* 'master', 'lord' and *ra'is* 'chief' was used in the early New Pers. poetry of Ferdousi and Nâßser Xosrou (cf. Lo\, Deh.). *Afsar* is Hindustani or Hindi variant of English 'officer' (cf. Platts, 1930). "The keyword *afsar* (later disowned by the Farhangestân) was ostensibly a classical word meaning 'diadem', 'crown', though subjected here to a mind-boggling semantic somersault; in fact it is a phonetic calque on English 'officer' processed through Urdu (it was in use in India from at least the middle of the nineteenth century)" (Perry, 1985:301).

Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *zabit* from Arab. Arab. *ḍâbiḥ* is equiv of 'officer' (Karmi). *Efser* is established in wr Sor. and Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *efser* from Iran. Kurds: *efser-êk emr-î da* 'the officer ordered' (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 4, p. 3); *efser-an-î nîstimân-perwer* 'patriot officers' (Hesenzade, 1995:136). *Efser* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *afsar* (Hejar). Iraqi Kurds: *efser-êk-î*

*bêgane* ‘a foreign officer’ (Mihemed, 1992:21); *ew casus û efser û sarezeyane* ‘these spies, officers, and specialists’ (Mola Ezat, 1984:51); *efser* ‘officer’ (Secadî, 1959:133); *efser* is equiv of Arab. *ôâbi†* (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Efser* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Mardux, or Xal.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *efser*; Iraqi *zabit*, *efser*.

**emnîye**, see **jandarmerî**

**etom**, n, ‘atom’. *Insan etom-î sikand* ‘man-splintered atom’ (Hêmin, 1974: 34). *Etom* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *atom* is a Fr. lw, *atome* (Moçiri). Iran. Kurds have also borrowed *atom* (Zebîhî). This variant is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and is seldom used. *Atom* was also used in Pers. (Mo‘ i n). Iraqi Kurd H.‘E. Se‘îd uses also *etom* (1979:175). Arab. equiv of Eng. ‘atom’ is *farra* (Cowan). *Etom* and *atom* are not registered by Baban, Hejar, Ebrâhim., Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), or W&E. Kurd. purist equiv *gerdîle* (*gerd* ‘dust’ + *-île* Kurd. suff for forming diminutives) ‘etom’ is not established. It is a loanshift extension. *Gerdîle* means *zor çikole* ‘very little’ (Hejar). *Gerdîle* and *otom* are registered as equivalents of Arab. *farra* by (Ismâ‘îl, 1978). *Otom* is not accepted.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *atom* and *etom*; Iraqi *etom*.

**ewîn**, n, ‘love’ (Hêmin, 1983: 154). *Ewîn* is Sor. variant of Kirm. *evîn*. *Evîn*, *hevîn* are equivalents of Fr. *amour* (Jaba). Malmîsanij has not registered *evîn* in his Dimli-Turk. dictionary. Before purist movement, ‘*isq* and ‘*esq* meaning ‘love’ were established in both sp and wr Sor. (especially classical literature), in both Iraqi and Iran. Kurdistan. Sor. purists, in order to get rid of these Kurd. variants of Arab. ‘*ijq*, have borrowed *ewîn*. *Evîn* and *ewîn* are now established in wr Sor. *Evîn*, *ewîn* are equivalents of Arab.-Pers. ‘*ejq* (Hejar). *Ewîn* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. ‘*ejq* (Baban and Kara). *Evîn* is equiv of Arab. ‘*ijq* (Mukryanî, 1961). Mardux and W&E have not registered *ewîn*. Some prefer the Arab. lw: ‘*esq* is equiv of ‘love’ (W&E); ‘*isq* is equiv of Arab. ‘*ijq* (Mardux).

**ezmûn**, n, ‘experience’ (Hêmin, 1983:93). *Ezmûn* is equiv of Arab. *imti‘ân* ‘test’. It is Kurd. and used by Kurds of Balek, Sûrçî and Naw-dest districts and many other parts of Kurdistan (Zebîhî, W-ISA-KB, 1973). Pers. *âzmun* ‘test’ has been used in the early New Pers. poetry of Ferdousi, Nâßer Xosrou, and Asadi (cf. Lo\, Deh.). Now, only some Pers. purists use the term. Kurd. *ezmûn* and Pers. *âzmun* are apparently different variants of a common origin. *Âzmun* is no longer used in sp Pers. but *ezmûm* is still used by Kurd. speakers in some districts of Kurdistan. Recently, *ezmûn* has been used by Kurd. Purists, and it is now established in wr Sor., too. At first, Kurd. purists of Iran considered *ezmûn* Pers. and avoided using it but later borrowed it from Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurdish purists, in order to get rid of Arab. loanwords *tecrebe* ‘test’ and *imtihan* ‘test’, ‘examination’, which have been established in sp and wr Sor., have borrowed *ezmûn* from other Kurd. dialects. *Ezmûn* is not registered by Iran. Kurd Mardux, Iraqi Kurds Xal or Wahby (W&E).

*Taqî* in the hybrid inf *taqî kirdnewe* ‘to test’, ‘to try’, is originally Arab. *ta`q•q* ‘realisation’, ‘achievement’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973). Kurdified *taqî* is unrecognisable and is accepted by many Kurd. purists. *Taqî-kirdnewe* and *ezmûn* are equivalents of Arab. *tajriba* ‘test’, ‘experience’ (Ismâ‘î, 1974) . *Ezmûn-î mangane-y ziman-î înglîzî* ‘monthly examination in Eng. language’ (Mihemed, 1992:145). Iran. Kurd Kara has registered *taqî kirdnewe* as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *tajrebeh* ‘test’, ‘experience’. *Taqî kirdnewe* is equiv of Arab. *al-tajriba* (Secadî, 1962:143). *Taqî kirdnewe* is equiv of Pers. *âzmâyej* ‘test’ and Arab.-Pers. *emte`ân* (Baban). Some Kurd. nationalists have used *azmayist* ‘test’, ‘examination’. *Azmayist* is equiv of ‘examination’ (W&E). *Azmayist* is Kurdified form of Pers. *âzmâyej* and is preferred to Pers-Kurd. *azmayis*. The latter and *azmayist* are not established in wr Sor. Pahlavi *âzmâyišn* means ‘trial’ (Nyberg).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *tecrebe*, *taqî kirdnewe* and *azmayis*; Iraqi *tecrûbe*, *ezmûn*.

## F

**fasîzm**, n, ‘fascism’. *Fasîzm û nazîsm* ‘fascism and nazism’ (Hêmin, 1974:22). *Fasîzm* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers., and Kurdified: /s/ is changed to /z/. Pers. *fâjism* is a Fr. lw, *fascisme* (Mo‘jiri). Arab. *fâjist•ya* and *al-fâj•ya* are equivalents of ‘fascism’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *fasistîyet* and *fasîyet* (in Kurd., *t.m.* is pronounced) from Arab. *Fasîzm* and *fasistîyet* are established in Sor. but they are not registered by Kurd. dictionary compilers Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Fasîzmî Hêtlerî* ‘Hitlerian fascism’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 5, p. 3). As equiv of ‘fascism’, Qani‘ (1985:124) uses *fasîzm* and Zuhdî (1990:386) *fasistîyet*.

The whole word family is indirectly borrowed: *fasîst* ‘fascist’, indirectly borrowed from Pers. or Turk. or borrowed from Eng., is established in wr Sor. *Fasîstekan-î Bexda* (fascists of Baghdad) used by Ehmedî Qazî (1996:20); *nazî w fasîst* ‘nazists and fascists’ (Mihemed, 1992:193). Redhouse: *fasist* is Turk. variant of ‘fascist’. Hybrids: originally Arab. *fasîstî* ‘fascistic’ is used: as in *rêkxirawî fasîstî* ‘fascist organisation’ (Qani‘, 1985:124). Qani‘ uses also Kurdified adj *fasîstîyane* as in *deste w kome1î fasîstîyane* ‘fascistic organisations’ (Qani‘, 1985:124); *fasîstîyane* (*fasîstî* Euro.-Arab. ‘a fascist’ + -y hiatus + -ane Kurd. suff for making adj). Arab. *fâjist•* is equiv of ‘fascistic’ or ‘a fascist’ (Cowan). Asos Kema1 (1997: 204) uses Kurdified *fasîstane* (*fasîst* ‘fascist’ + -ane). Iran. Kurds use also the term: *siyasetêkî ... fasîstane* (*fasîst* Euro.-Pers. *fâjist* ‘a fascist’ + -ane) ‘a fascistic policy’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 6, p. 3).

Spok Sor.: Iran. *fasîzm*; Iraqi *fasîyet*, *fasistîyet*.

**felsefe**, n, ‘philosophy’ (Hêmin, 1983:114). Kurd. *felsefe* is indirectly borrowed from Arab. or Pers. Arab. *falsafa* is borrowed from Greek and it is indirectly borrowed into Pers. as *falsafeh* (Mo‘in). *Felsefe* is used by Iraqi and Iran. Kurds and is established in both wr and sp Sor. although it is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux and Xa1. *Felsefe* is equiv of ‘philosophy’ (W&E). Kurd. *felsefe* is equiv of ‘philosophy’ (W-ISA-KB, 1976). Some Kurd. purists have used

*pîtolî* (*pîtol* ‘clever’, ‘smart’ + *-î* Kurd. suff for making abstract nouns from adj) lit ‘cleverness’ as equiv of *felsefe* but it is not accepted. *Pîtolî* is equiv of Euro.-Arab. *falsafa* (Mukryanî, 1961). *Pîtolî* is equiv of Pers. *falsafeh* (Kara). *Pîtolî* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, W&E, or Xa1.

The whole word-family is borrowed. Hêmin has used **filesuf**, n, and **feylesuf**, n, both meaning ‘philosopher’ (1983: 43, 85). *Fîlesûf* is apparently a Pers. lw in Sor. *Filsuf* or *faylasuf* are Arab. loanwords in Pers. (Mo‘in). *Faylasuf* is originally Greek (Steingass). In Modern standard Pers. the term is pronounced as *filsuf*. The term is pronounced as *feylesuf* by students of *hucre* and Iraqi Kurds. Arab. *faylasuf* is equiv of ‘philosopher’ (Cowan). *Fîlesuf* and *feylesuf* are established in Sor. but they are not registered by Baban, Hejar, Mukryanî (1961) and Xa1. *Fîlesuf* is equiv of Euro.-Arab. *faylasuf* (Mardux). Iraqi Kurds: H. ‘E. Se‘îd (1979:13), Mola Ezat (1988:56) and Asos Kema1 (1997:21) use *feylesuf*. Kurd. purists have suggested *pîtol* as equiv of ‘philosopher’ but it is not accepted. *Pîtol* is equiv of Arab. *faylasuf* (Mukryanî, 1961; Ismâ‘îl, 1978). *Pîtol* ‘clever’ is established.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *filsuf*; Iraqi *feylesuf*.

**ferheng** is a homonym and has two different meanings in Sor.:

**I. ferheng**, n, ‘dictionary’, ‘wordlist’ (Hêmin, 1983:28). *Ferheng* ‘dictionary’ is apparently a Pers. lw in Sor. Pers. *farhang* is equiv of *lo\at-nâmeh* ‘dictionary’ (Lo\, Deh.). *Ferheng* or more Kurdified *fereng* are registered by Mardux and Hejar as equivalents of Pers. *lo\at-nâmeh*. Xa1 has defined *ferhang* as ‘dictionary’. *Ferheng* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *qâmus* ‘dictionary’ (Kara). *Ferheng* is equiv of Arab. *mu‘jam* ‘dictionary’ (Mukryanî, 1961). Kurd. purist equivalents of ‘dictionary’ are not established: *kitêbî wise* (*kitêb*, originally Arab. *kitâb*, ‘book’ + *-î îdâfa* + *wise*, a Kurd. purist coinage, ‘word’) is equiv of Pers. *farhang* (Baban); *kitêw-luxet* (*kitêw*, Senendecî variant of *kitâb* + *luxet* originally Arab. *lu\â* ‘word’) means lit ‘book of words’, i.e. ‘dictionary’ (cf. Mardux); *wisedan* (*wise* + *-dan* Kurd. suff for forming nouns meaning ‘container’) and *wisename* (*wise* + *name* ‘book’), used by Hejar and Kara, respectively, are equivalents of ‘dictionary’. Hybrids: **ferhengnûs**, n, (*ferheng* + *nûs* pres st of Kurd. *nûsîn* ‘to write’) ‘lexicographer’ (Hêmin, 1985:33). **Ferhengok**, n, (*ferheng* + *-ok* Kurd. suff for making diminutives) ‘wordlist’ (Hêmin, 1983:46-47). *Ferheng*, *ferhengnûs* and *ferhengok* are established.

Iraqi Kurds use originally Arab. *qamûs* ‘dictionary’. *Qamûs* is Arab. equiv of ‘dictionary’ (Cowan). *Qamûs* is equiv of ‘dictionary’ (W&E). Kurd. nationalists of Iran are aware of the Pers. origin of *ferheng* ‘dictionary’ and prefer originally Arab. *qamûs*. *Qamûs-î ziman-î kurdî* (a Dictionary of Kurd. language) (Zebîhî). Some Kurds use both *qamûs* and *ferheng*. **Qamûs**, n, ‘dictionary’ (Hêmin, 1983:44). **Qamûsnûs**, n, ‘lexicographer’ (Hêmin, 1985:33). *Qamûs* is established in Sor., but it is not registered by Xa1 or Ebrâhim. *Qamûs* is also used as equiv of ‘vocabulary’: *le qamûs-î ... emperyalîstekan ... da* ‘in the vocabulary of ... imperialists’ (*Pêşrew*, 1988, No. 25, p. 4). Pers. *dar qâmus-e emperyalîst-hâ* is used with the same meaning.

Sp Sor.: *ferheng*; Iraqi *qamûs*.

**II. ferheng**, n, ‘culture’ (Hêmin, 1983:89). Kurd. *ferheng* ‘culture’ is apparently a

Pers. lw. Pers. *farhang* is equiv of ‘culture’ (Åjuri). Pers. *farhang* ‘culture’ is a loanshift extension. Pers. *farhang* means ‘good-breeding’, ‘wisdom’, ‘science’ (Steingass). New Pers. *farhang* means ‘education’, ‘breeding’ (Nyberg). *Farhang* as equiv of Western sociological term ‘culture’ is now established in Pers. Iran. Kurds usually use *ferheng* ‘culture’: *ferheng û îdi’olojî kon* ‘old culture and ideology’ (Pêşrew, 1988, No. 25, , p. 14). Iraqi Kurds usually use *kultur*; Kurd. variant of ‘culture’. Sometimes, different variants of ‘culture’ are used in one article: *koloniya1-î kirdin-î keltur* ‘colonialisation of culture’ and *kiltur* ‘culture’ (*Kurdistanî nû*, PUK, 1994, No. 746, p. 3). Some Kurd. writers prefer *kultur* to *keltur* and *kiltur*. Rêbwar Sîweylî (1994:264) uses both *ferheng* and *kultur*.

Sp Sor.: Iran. (educated) *ferheng*; Iraqi *kultur*.

**form**, n, ‘form’. *Nêwerok ... ruwalet û form ...* ‘content ... external appearance and form’ is used by Hêmin (1983:101) in the introduction to a literary work. *Form* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. *Form* is a Fr. lw, *forme* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds also use *form*. They prefer the term to the Arab. equivalents. Arab. *jakl* and *βÿra* are equivalents of ‘form’ (Cowan). In a translated philosophical work, Mecîd Ziryan uses *sêwe* and *nawerok* as equivalents of ‘form’ and ‘content’, respectively (1988:98). *Sêwe* is established in Sor. as equiv of ‘method’; because of this, some Kurds prefer *form*. In a literary work, Soma uses *form* and *nawerok* as equivalents of ‘form’ and ‘content’, respectively (1994:69). *Form* and *nawerok* (Mukri variant *nêwerok*) are established in wr Sor. *Form* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, W&E and Xa1. Some purist equivalents of ‘form’ are not accepted. *Çesn*, *tesk* and *cor* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *form* (Kara). *Çesn* and *cor* are established as equivalents of ‘kind and sort’ and *tesk* as ‘mien’, ‘figure’. Mola Ezat uses *nawerok* ‘content’ and *ruxsar* ‘form’ (1988:355). *Ruxsar* means ‘face’ in Kurd. and *ruxsar* ‘form’ is a loanshift extension. H. M. Kerîm, in his book about Kurd. nationalism, uses *rûkar* ‘form’ and *nawerok* ‘content’ (1993:152). *Rûkar* means ‘façade’ in Kurd. Recently, some Kurd. purists have suggested loanshift extensions of *töki1* ‘skin’, ‘peel’, ‘shell’ and *kaki1* ‘kernel’ as equivalents of ‘form’ and ‘content’, respectively. *Kaki1 û töki1* ‘content and form’ (Mola Ezat, 1988:355). Fazîl Caf uses *töki1* ‘form’ in a literary article (1992:55).

Sp Sor.: (educated) Iran. *form*; Iraqi *form*, *siki1*

**folklor**, n, ‘folklore’ (Hêmin, 1983:43). Registered as *fulklor* which is a printing mistake. *Folklor* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *folklor* is a Fr. lw. *folklore* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *folklor* from Arab. *Folklør* is Arab. variant of ‘folklore’ (Cowan). *Foklor* is established in Sor. although it is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E and Xa1. *Folklor-î ême* ‘our folklore’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 14, p.1). *Folklor* is used by Iraqi Kurds M.K. Serîf (1986:3) and F. Hefîd (1991:5). Baban has registered different branches of ‘folklore’ instead of an equiv: *goranî* ‘song’, *çîroke-konekan* ‘old stories’ are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *folklor* (Baban). Hybrids: *folklorî* (*folklor* + -î Kurd. suff for making adj) ‘folkloric’ as in *kerese-y... folklorî* ‘folkloric

material' (Mistefa, 1970:41). *Folklornas* (*folklor* + *-nas* pres st of *nasîn* 'to know') 'folklorist'.

Sp Sor.: (educated) Iran. and Iraqi *folklor*.

## G

**gramofon**, n, 'gramophone', 'phonograph'. Used also as *gram*. *Îstiwane-y gramekan* 'gramophone records' (Hêmin, 1983:89). *Gram* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers *gerâmâfon*, 'abbreviated as *gerâm*', is a Fr. lw, *gramophone* (Moçiri). ['Gramophone' was originally a trademark; later it was used as equiv of 'phonograph'.] Iran. Kurds use also *gramafon*, which is indirectly borrowed from Pers. *Giramafon* (Heja; Ebrâhim.). Iraqi Kurds usually use *gramofon*. It is probably borrowed from Eng. or indirectly borrowed from Turk. Turk. *gramofon* is originally Eng. (Redhouse). Arab. equiv of 'gramophone' is *kirâmîfîn* (Karmi). *Gram* and *gramofon* are established in Sor. but they are not registered by Kara and W&E. Used by Iraqi Kurds as *giramofon* 'gramophone' (Mihemed, 1992:87); *gramefon* (Xal). Kurd. purist coinages as equivalents of 'gramophone', are not accepted: *desga-y awaz* lit 'apparatus for songs' is equiv of Euro.-Arab. *kirâmîfîn* (Mardux); *sindoq-î qewan* (*sindoq* 'box' + *-î idâfa* + *qewan*, originally Turk., 'phonograph record') lit 'box of phonograph records' is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *gerâmâfon* (Secadî, 1962:180); *sindûq-î goranî* (*goranî* 'song') is equiv of 'gramophone' (Hejar, 1991).

Sp Sor.: Iran, *gram*; Iraqi *gram*, *qewan*.

**groban**, n, 'sergeant' (Hêmin, 1983:5). *Groban* (*gro* 'group' + *-ban* suff meaning 'keeper') is loanshift creation of Pers. *goruhbân* (*goruh* 'group' + *-bân* suff meaning 'keeper') is equiv of 'sergeant' (A&A). The term is established in Pers. *Gruban*, Sor. variant of *goruhbân*, is also used by Iran. Kurds. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *nayib* from Arab. *nâ'ib* (*f• al-jayj* 'in army') is equiv of 'sergeant' (Karmi). *Groban* is established in sp and wr Sor. in Iran. Kurdistan although it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, W&E, or Xal.

## H

**hadi@e**, n, 'event' is Sor. variant of Arab. *âdi@a* (Mardux, 1955). *Hewadi@*, n, pl, 'events' (Hêmin, 1946c:1). In Sor., it is pronounced *hewadis*. *Hewadi@* is borrowed from Arab. *awâdi@* (pl of *âdi@a* 'occurring', 'happening') or indirectly borrowed from Pers. *avâdi@* with the same meaning. *Hadi@e* and *hewadi@* are not used in wr Sor. any longer. The Kurd. term *rûdaw* (*rû* 'face' + *da-w* past part of *dan* 'give') 'event' is now established in wr and sp Sor. as equiv of *hadi@e*. Persians use *ruydâd* (*ru* or *ruy* 'face' + *dâd*, abbreviated form of *dâdeh* past part of *dâdan* 'to give') 'happening'. Both Kurd. *rû dan* and Pers. *ru-y dâdan* mean 'to happen' and are equally Kurd. and Pers.

**heq**, n, 'right' is Kurd. variant of of Arab. *âqq* (Mardu; Ebrâhim.). *Heq* is

established in both sp and wr. Sor. Borrowed from Arabic or indirectly borrowed from Arab.-Pers. *`aqq*. Kurd. purists use *maf* as equiv of *heq*. *Maf* is equiv of Arab. *`aqq* or Arab.-Pers. *`aqq* (Ebrâhim.; Hejar; Kara; Xal; Mukryanî, 1961). *Maf* ‘right’ is used in sp Sor. in phrases such as *maf-it be-ser ew maLewe nîye* “you have no right to ‘own’ this house.” *Maf* is equiv of ‘human right’ (W&E). *Maf* ‘human right’ is a loanshift extension and is established in Sor. **Huquq**, n, pl, ‘rights’, ‘jurisprudence’ (Hêmin, 1946h:1). Borrowed by Iran. and Iraqi Kurds from Arab. *`uqÿq* (plur of *`aqq* ‘truth’, ‘right’) or indirectly borrowed by them from Pers. *`oquq* with the same meaning. *Huquq* ‘law’ is also used in Kurd.: *saLanî xöndin-î huquq-im* “in the years, when I studied jurisprudence” (Mihemed,1992:228).

## I

**ictima’**, n, ‘meeting’ is Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *ejtemâ’* (Ebrâhim.). *Ictima’* is not registered by (Hejar; Kara; Mardux; Mukryanî, 1961; Zebîhî). Kurd. purists prefer *kobûnewe* (*ko* ‘pile’, ‘collection’ + *bûn* ‘to be’ + *-ewe* suff for making new verbs), v, n, ‘to come together’, ‘meeting’, ‘gathering’ to *ictima’*. *Kobûnewe* is equiv of Arab. *ijtimâ’* (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Kobûnewe* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *ejtemâ’* (Baban; Kara). *Kobûnewe* ‘meeting’ is now completely established in Sor. **Ictima’at**, n, pl, ‘meetings’. Used by Hêmin: *kobûnewe w ictima’at* ‘meetings’ (1946h:3). [At first, purist equivalents are usually mentioned as synonyms of the loanwords.] *Ictima’at* is borrowed by Iran. and Iraqi Kurds from Arab., *ijtimâ’ât* ‘meetings’, ‘gatherings’ or indirectly borrowed from Pers., *ejtemâ’ât* with the same meaning. *Ictima’at* is not used in wr Sor. any longer.

**ihsas**, n, pl, ‘feeling’. **Ihsasat**, n, pl, ‘feelings’ (Hêmin, 1946h:3). *Ihsasat* is borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Arab. *i’sâsât* pl of *i’sâs* ‘feeling’ or from Pers. *e’sâsât* with the same meaning. *Atîfe* (Kurd. variant of Arab. *’atîfa* ‘affection’), as equiv of *ihsasat*, is used by Iraqi Kurds (Zebîhî). *Ihsasat* is not used in Sor. any longer. Kurd. purists prefer *hest* ‘feeling’. *Hest* is established in sp Sor. and now in wr Sor., too. *Hes* or *hest* are equivalents of ‘feeling’, ‘sense’ (W&E). *Hes* and *hest* are equivalents of Arab.-Pers *e’sâs* (Hejar). Kurd. *hest* is equiv of Arab. *’iss* ‘feeling’ (W-ISA-KB, 1975). Arab. *’iss* or *’ass* mean ‘feeling’, ‘sensation’ (Cowan). As a psychological term, *hest* ‘sensation’ is used by S. T. Ehmed (1985:75).

**impiratorêtî**, n, ‘empire’ (Mola Ezat, 1988:63). Used by Hêmin as *împiratorî* ‘empire’ (1975d:96). *Împiratorî* or *împiraturî* are indirectly borrowed from Pers.; *împiratorêtî* or *împiraturêtî* (*împirator* or *împiratur* + *-êtî* Kurd. suff for making nouns) are the Kurdified variants (Zebîhî). Pers. *emperâuri* is equiv of ‘empire’ (A&A). [Pers. *emparâtur* ‘emperor’ is originally Latin (Steingass). Pers. *emperâtur* is a Russ. lw, (Zomorrod)] Iran. Kurd Xelîqî uses *împiraturî* ‘empire’ (1995:15). Iraqi Kurd Qani’, in his dictionary, which is mainly translated from Pers. into Sor., uses *împiratorî* ‘empire’ (1985:180). Iraqi Kurd Zuhdî uses *împiratorîy-et* (originally Arab. *imbarâtÿr•ya* ‘empire’ which is Kurdified through pronouncing *t.m.*)



(1990:15). Asos Kemal uses *imperatorîyet* (1997:39). *Împiratorî*, *imperatorêtî* and *imperatorîyet* are used in wr Sor. although they are not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xal.

**împiryalîzm**, n, ‘imperialism’. *Împiryalîzm û koneperestî* ‘imperialism and reaction’ (Hêmin, 1974:31). *Împiryalîzm* ‘imperialism’ is a Fr. lw in Kurd. (Zebîhî). *Împiryalîzm* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *amperyâlism* which is a Fr. lw, *impérialisme* (cf. Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds prefer *impiryalîzm* to Arab. *imbiryâl•ya* ‘imperialism’ (cf. Karmi). *Împiryalîzm* ‘imperialism’ is used by Iraqi Kurds Qani‘ (1985:25) and Mola Ezat (1988:27). Asos Kemal uses *impêryalîzm* (1997:240). *Împiryalîzm* is established in wr and sp Sor. although it is not registered by (Baban; Ebrâhim.; Hejar; Kara; Mardux; W&E; Xal.)

Sp Sor.: Iran. *impiryalîzm*; Iraqi *impiryalîzm*, *empiryalîzm*.

The whole word-family is borrowed and established: Kurd. *împiryalîst* is equiv of ‘imperialist’ (Zebîhî). *Empiryalîstekanî emrîka* ‘the American imperialists’ (*Pêşrew*, 1988, No. 25, p. 3). Qani‘ uses more Kurdified *împiratorî-xwaz* (*împiratorî* ‘empire’ + *-xwaz*, pres st of *xwastin* ‘wish’, ‘desire’) ‘imperialist’ (1985:179). Pers. *emperâturi-xâh* (*emperâturi* ‘empire’ + *-xâh* pres st of *xâstan* ‘to wish’) is equiv of ‘imperialist’ (Âçuri). S. Y. Xetat uses *impiryalî* ‘imperialist’, ‘imperialistic’, as in *le-m dewlet-e impiryalî-yane...* ‘of these imperialist states’... (1982:49). *Impiryalî* is an Arab. lw: *imbiryâl•* is equiv of ‘imperialistic’, ‘imperialist’ (cf. Cowan, 1979). But the Kurdified variant is preferred. *Împiryalîst-î* (*împiryalîst* + *-î* Kurd. suff for making adj) is equiv of ‘imperialistic’, ‘imperialist’ as in *pîlanêk-î împiryalîstî* ‘an imperialist conspiracy’ (Zebîhî). *Dewlete empiryalîstîyekan* ‘the imperialist states’ (*Pêşrew*, 1989, No. 28, p. 4). Qani‘ uses also *împiryalîstî* (1985:25). *Dij-î împiryalîstî* (*dij* Sor. ‘an opposite’, ‘anti-’ + *-î* iðâfa + *impiryalîst* + *-î* suff for making adj), ‘anti-imperialistic’ (Hêmin, 1974:29). *Zid-î împiryalîstî* (*zid* Kurd. variant of Arab. *îidd* ‘opponent’. ‘anti-’ + *-î* iðâfa + *impiryalîst* + *-î*) ‘anti-imperialistic’, is Kurd. variant of Pers. *zedd-e-amperyâlîstî* (*zedd-* Pers. variant of Arab. *îidd* + *-e* iðâfa + *amperyâlîst* + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘anti-imperialist’: *culanewey dêmukratî w zidî-împiryalîstî* ‘democratic and anti-imperialistic movement’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 1, p. 2).

## J

**jandarmerî**, n, ‘gendarmerie’. It is also used as *jandermerî*: *Femande-y jandermerî* ‘commander of gendarmerie’ (Hêmin, 1983:10). *Jandarmerî* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *ândârmeri*, which is a Fr. lw, *gendarmerie* (Moçiri). *ândârmeri* (in Iran) is an organisation that maintains public order outside the cities and police (Euro.-Pers. *polis*) inside. At first, Iraqi Kurds indirectly borrowed *jandarme* ‘gendarmerie’ from Turk. or Arab.: *jandarme* ‘gendarmerie’ (Zekî, 1931a:246). *andarma* is Arab. variant of ‘gendarmery’ (Cowan). *Jandarma* and *candarma* are equivalents of ‘gendarmerie’ and ‘gendarme’ (Redhouse). Later, Iraqi Kurds indirectly borrowed *polîs* from Arab. They have also borrowed *surte*. *Bêl•s* is Arab. variant of ‘police’ (Cowan). *urta* is Arab. equiv of ‘police’ or ‘policeman’

(Cowan). Iraqi Kurds: Mihemed uses *polîs* ‘police’ (1992:136), and R. Hilmî *surte* ‘police’ (1956:4).

The whole word-family is borrowed. Ebrâhim.: *jandarm* is Kurd. variant of Euro.-Pers.  $\approx$ *ândârm*. *Jandarm* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers.  $\approx$ *ândârm* which is a Fr. lw, *gendarme* (Mo;iriI). *Jandarmerî* and *jandarm* are used in wr Sor.: *pasga-y-ekî jandarmirî* ‘gendarmerie station’ (Hesenzade, 1995:134). **Emnîye**, n, ‘gendarme’, ‘gendarmerie’. *Emnîye* is used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:51). *Emnîye* is used by Iran. Kurds (Zebîhî). It is apparently an Arab.-Pers. lw. in Kurd. In Pers. *amniyyeh* means both ‘gendarmerie’ and ‘gendarme’. *Amniyyeh* (*amn* Arab. ‘safety’, ‘security’ + *-iyyeh* originally Arab. suff) does not exist in Arab. Perry calls these kinds of words “pseudoloans” created by Persians (1991:210).

**jeneral**, n, ‘general’ (military rank). *Jeneral-e koneperestekan* ‘reactionary generals’ (Hêmin, 1974:18). Indirectly borrowed from Iraqi Sor. Iraqi Kurds use *ceneral* which is apparently an indirect borrowing from Turk. *Ceneral* is Turk. variant of ‘general’ (Redhouse). *Ceneral* ‘general’ is used by Iraqi Kurds Zekî (1931b:290; Secadî, 1959:15; Mihemed, 1992:213). Arab. equiv of ‘general’ is *jen#râl* (Cowan). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *jênral* or *jinral* from Pers.  $\approx$ *enerâl*, which is a Fr. lw, *général* (Mo;iri). *Jinral* ‘general’ (*Pêšrew*, 1995, No. 66, p. 22). *Jeneral* ‘general’ is used by Iraqi Kurds Hilmî (1956:54) and Mola Ezat (1984:105). Hybrids: *ceneralî* (*ceneral* + *-î* suff for making adj): *be cil-û-berg-î ceneralî* ‘in a general’s military uniform’ (Secadî, 1959:281).

**jimare**, n, ‘number’ (Hêmin, 1983:38). *Jimare* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *jomâreh*. It is a Kurd. purist suggestion. */omâreh* (*jomâr* pres st of *jomordan* ‘to count’ + *-eh* suff for making verbal nouns) means ‘number’. */omâreh* is equiv of ‘number’ (Steingass). Farhangestân suggestion *jomâreh* ‘number’ as equiv of Euro.-Pers. *nomreh* is now established (VN). Kurd. *jimare* (*jimar* ‘counting’, ‘calculation’ from *jimardin* ‘to count’ + *-e* suff for making nouns) is a loanshift creation of Pers. *jomâreh*. In sp Iran. Sor., *sumare* and *simare* are used which are direct loans from Pers. Kurd. *-e* is used for making nouns from nouns as *anîsk* ‘elbow’, *anîske* ‘bracket’. Pers. *-eh* has the same function.

At first, Iran. Kurds considered *jimare* ‘number’ Pers. and were reluctant to use it. They used *çil* ‘number’ (cf. *Kurdistan*, 1960, PSLs, No. 50, p. 1). *Çil* means ‘tree branch’ in Kurd. and *çil* ‘number’ is a loanshift extension and is not accepted. *Jimare* is now established in Iran. and Iraqi wr Sor. *Jimare* is equiv of ‘number’ (W&E). *Simare* and *jimare* are equivalents of Pers. *jomâreh* (Mardux). Kurd. *jimare* and Pers. *jomâreh* mean ‘number’ (Heja; Kara). *Jimare* is equiv of Arab. *al-‘adad* (Mukryan; Ismâ‘ •l, 1978; W-ISA-KB, 1973). In sp Iraqi Sor., ‘*eded* ‘number’ is also used, borrowed from Arab. ‘*adad* which is equiv of ‘issue of a newspaper’ (Cowan).

## K

**kadir**, n, ‘cadre’. *Kadr-î raberî* ‘leadership cadres’ (Hêmin, 1974: 23). *Kadir* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *kâdr*, which is a Fr. lw, *cadre* (cf. Zomorrod). Iraqi Sor.-speakers use *kadîr*, indirectly borrowed from Arab. *kâdir* ‘cadre’ (cf. Cowan). *Kadir* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardukh, W&E, or Xa1. *Kadir* or *kadîr* are established in wr Sor.: *kadîr* ‘cadre’ (*Rabûn*, 1997, No. 20, p. 7).

**karîkator**, n, ‘caricature’ (Hêmin, 1983:22). *Karîkator* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *kârikâtor* which is a Fr. lw, *caricature* (cf. Zomorrod). Iraqi Kurds use *karîkatêr* ‘caricature’ (cf. *Hana*, 1997, No. 5, p. 55). Arab. equiv of ‘caricature’ is *kârikât•r* (Doniach). *Karîkator* is established in Sor. but it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. Purist equivalents of *karîkator* are not accepted. *Sêwêne* (*sêwên* pres st of *sêwandin* ‘to confuse’ + *-e* suff for forming n from verbal roots) and *teserwêne* (*teser* ‘innuendo’ + *wêne* ‘picture’) are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *kârikâtor* (Kara). The whole word-family is borrowed. **Karîkatorîst**, n & adj, ‘caricaturist’ (Hêmin, 1983:22). It is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *kârikâtorîst* which is Fr. lw, *caricaturiste* (cf. Zomorrod). Iraqi Kurds use *karîkatêrîst* ‘caricaturist’ (cf. *Hana*, 1997, No. 5, p. 55). Hybrids: *karîkatêrî* (*karîkatêr* + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘caricatural’ (cf. *Sîxurme*, 1997, No. 8, p. 1).

**kart**, n, ‘(postal) card’. Used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by (Hisamî, 1987:43). *Kart* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. or Arab. Pers. *kârt* and *kârt-postal* are Fr. loanwords, *carte* and *carte postal* (Zomorrod). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *kart* from Arab. *kârt* ‘card’ (cf. Cowan). *Kart* is Kurd. variant of Europ.-Pers. *kârt* (Ebrâhim; Hejar). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *bitaqe* from Arab. but they prefer *kart* to the Arab. lw. Arab. equiv of postal card is *biḥāqa bar•d•ya* (Karmi). *Kart* is equiv of Arab. *biḥāqa* (Mukryanî ,1961; Ismâ‘ •l, 1978; W-ISA-KB, 1973).

**katolîk**, n, ‘Catholic’, ‘Catholicism’. *Mezebî katolîk* (mezeb Sor. variant of Arab.-Pers. *maΩhab* ‘religion’ + *-î iḏâfa* + *katolîk*) ‘religion of Catholicism’ (Hêmin, 1983:166). *MaΩhab-e kâtolîk* (*-e iḏâfa* + *kâtolîk*) is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *kâtolisism* ‘Catholicism’ (Mo‘in). Pers. *kâtolîk* is a Fr. lw, *catholique* (Mo;iri). Iraqi Kurds use *katolîk* ‘catholic’ (cf. R. M. Zuhdî, 1990:87). Arab. equiv of ‘a Catholic’ and ‘Catholic’ is *kâḥl•k•* (Cowan). Turk. variant of ‘Catholic’ is *Katolik* (Redhouse). *Katolîk* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E and Xa1. Hybrids: Asos Kemal (1997:116) uses *katolîkayetî* (*-ayetî* suff for making nouns) as equiv of ‘Catholicism’. He uses also *katolîkane* (*-ane* suff for making adj) ‘Catholic’.

**Kemalîst**, n&adj, ‘Kemalist’ (Hêmin, 1983:23). ‘Kemalist’ is one who believes in the ideas of Turk. nationalist Kemal Atatürk, founder of Modern Turk. Republic. *Kemalîst* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *kamâlist* ‘Kemalist’. Iraqi

Kurds have borrowed *kemalî* ‘Kemalist’ from Arab. *kamâl*. *Kemalîst* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. Both *kemalîst* and *kemalî* are used in wr Sor. *Kemalîstekan* ‘the Kemalists’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 5, p. 3); *hukumet-î kemalî* ‘Kemalist government’ (Secadî, 1959:62).

**kilas**, n, ‘class’, ‘grade’, ‘classroom’. *Sagirdekan-î kilas* ‘the pupils of the class’ (Hêmin, 1974:7). *Kilas* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *kelâs* ‘class’, ‘classroom’, ‘grade’ which is a Fr. lw *classe* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use *sinif* ‘class in school’ (cf. McCarus, 1967). Kurd. purist suggestion *pol* meaning ‘class’, is a loanshift extension. *Pol* is equiv of ‘flock’, ‘flight’, ‘group’, (school) ‘class’ (W&E). *Kilas* and *pol* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *kelâs* (Baban; Ebrâhim; Hejar). *Pol* is equiv of Arab. *βaff* (Mukryanî, 1961; W-ISA-KB, 1973; Ismâ’ •, 1974). *Pol* and *koz* are equivalents of Arab. *βaff-al-madrasa* (Secadî, 1962:140). *Koz* means ‘sheep pen in open air’ and as equiv of ‘class’, a loanshift extension, it is not accepted. *Kilas* and *pol* are established in wr Sor. New words are formed by *pol*, such as *haw-pol* (*haw* ‘together’ + *pol* ‘class’) ‘classmate’. *Yek-êk le qutabîye haw-polekanim* ‘one of my classmates’ (Mihemed, 1992:178).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *kilas*, Iraqi *sinif*, *pol*.

**kilîse**, n, ‘stereotype plate’ (Hêmin, 1983:39). *Kilîse* is indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Pers. Pers. *kelijeh* is a Fr. lw, *cliché* (Moçiri). Pers. *kelijeh* ‘stereotype plate’ (A&A). *Kilîse* is also indirectly borrowed from Arab. or Turk. by Iraqi Kurds. *Kilîse* is not registered by Baban, Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), or W&E.

**kodeta**, comp. n., ‘coup d’état’. Used also as *kudêta* ‘coup’ (Hêmin, 1974:40). *Kudêta* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *kudetâ*, which is a Fr. lw, *coup d’état* (cf. Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use *inqilab*, borrowed from Arab. *araka-inqilâb•ya* ‘coup d’état’ (Karmi). In Iran. Arab.-Sor., *inqilab* means ‘revolution’; indirectly borrowed from Pers., Arab.-Pers. *enqelâb* ‘revolution’. Iraqi Kurds use also *kodeta* ‘coup’. *Kodeta* ‘coup’ (Zuhdî, 1990:56). Purist equivalents are not accepted: *pasagerdanî* as equiv of Euro.-Pers. *kudetâ* (cf. Kara). *Pasagerdanî* is accepted as ‘constant changes of authorities or régime’, ‘anarchy’ (W&E). Baban has registered *pîlan*, *raperîn*, *sêwawî*, *silejawî*, *goranî rijîm* as equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *kudetâ*. These terms are accepted as *pîlan* ‘plot’, *raperîn* ‘uprising’, *sêwawî* ‘confusion’, *silejawî* ‘being disconcerted’, *goranî rijîm* ‘change of the régime’. *Kudêta* is established in Sor. but it is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Rêjîm-î kudêta* ‘régime (in power by) coup’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 7, p. 1; *kodîta 'pîroz'-ekey Sa* ‘the 'victorious' coup by the Shah’ (Hesenzade, 1995:160).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *kudîta* ; Iraqi *inqilab*, *kodeta*.

**kome1nas** (*kome1* ‘society’ + *-nas* pres st of *nasîn* ‘to know’), n & adj, ‘one who has some knowledge about society’, ‘sociologist’. *Eb ul-Hesenî Seyfî qazî ... kome1nas û mêjûzan bû* ‘E. had a knowledge of society and history’ (Hêmin,

1983:42). *Kome1nas* is increasingly used as equiv of ‘sociologist’. *Kome1nas* is a loanshift creation of Arab.-Pers. *jâme‘eh-jenâs* (*jâme‘eh* + *-jenâs* pres st of *jenâxtan* ‘to know’) ‘sociologist’ which is a loanshift creation of Fr. *sociologiste* and established in Pers. [At first, Persians used *sosyolozi* which is a Fr. lw, *sociologie* (cf. Moĵiri). Now, it is seldom used in Pers.] *Kome1nas* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

The whole word-family is borrowed. Iraqi Kurd Mola Ezat has indirectly borrowed *sosyolocî* ‘sociology’ from Arab. (1988:319). The Arab. variant of ‘sociology’ is *sosyolojyâ* (Ba‘albaki). Kurd. purists prefer variants with *-lojî* and *-logî*, which sound less Arab. Azad Heme has indirectly borrowed *sosyolojya* ‘sociology’ (1989:63). Mola Ezat uses also *sosyologî* (1988:319). Kake Res uses *sosyolojî* (1991:30). Kurd. purist equivalents are accepted. *Kome1-zanî* (*kome1* + *zan* pres st of *zanîn* ‘to know’ + *-î* suff for making adj) and *kome1-nasî* are equivalents of Arab. ‘*ilm al-ijtimâ‘* ‘sociology’ (Ismâ‘ •1, 1978).

**komîte**, n, ‘committee’. Used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:48): *komîte-y nawendî* ‘central committee’. *Komîte* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and Turk. Pers. *komiteh* is a Fr. lw, *comité* (Moĵiri). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *qomîte*. *Qomîte* is equiv of Arab. *mu‘tamar* ‘conference’, ‘congress’ (Secadî, 1961:145). Turk. *qom•te*, borrowed from Fr., means ‘committee’ (Redhouse). *Qomîte* is not used in Sor. any longer. Kurd. nationalists prefer a direct loan *komîte* to Turkicised one. *Komîte* is established in Sor.: *komîte-y nawendî kome1e* ‘central committee of Komele’ (*Pêşrew*, 1988, No. 25, p. 1). *Komîte* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), or W&E.

Some Iraqi Kurds use *encumen* as equiv of ‘committee’, ‘council’. *Encumen* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *anjoman* ‘society’, ‘association’. The Pahlavi variant is *hanjaman* ‘meeting’, ‘assembly’ (Nyberg). *Encumen* is equiv of Fr. *comité* (Qani‘, 1985:194). In Iraqi Sor., *encumen* is usually used as equiv of ‘council’: *enjumen-î bala-y soris-î islamî le ‘êraq* ‘High Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq’ (*Kurdistan-î nû*, PUK, 1994, No. 688, p. 1). *Encumen* is equiv of ‘council’, ‘assembly’ (W&E). *Encumen-î komun* (*encumen* + *-î iðâfa* + *komun* originally Euro.) or *encumenî komon* are equiv of Swed *kommunfullmäktige* ‘municipal council’ (Mohtadi, 1991:92; Ghazi, 1989). Some dictionary compilers use *encumen* as a synonym for *kongire* ‘congress’. Kara uses *encumen* as a synonym for Euro.-Pers. *kongereh*. *Encumen* is synonym for *kongire* ‘congress’ (Hesen, 1989). Some Kurd. purists use *lîjne* ‘committee’. *Komîte* and *lêjne* are equivalents of Swed. *kommitté* ‘committee’ (Ghazi, 1989). *Kumîte* and *lêjne* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *komiteh* (Kara). Iran. Kurds Kara, Ghazi and Baban consider *encumen* Pers. and seldom use it. **Lîjne**, n, ‘committee’. Hêmin uses *lîjne* as a synonym for *deste* ‘group’ (1974:24). At first, *lecne* ‘commission’ was borrowed by Iraqi Kurds. *Lecne-y ‘uβbat al-‘umam* ‘Commission of the League of Nations’ (Zekî, 1931a:29). Arab. *lajna* means ‘commission’, ‘committee’ (Cowan). Arab. *lajna* is originally Greek or Latin (Ma‘ lÿf al-Yasÿ‘ •). Later, Iraqi Kurds began to use *lîjne* ‘committee’ which is Kurd. and a loanshift extension. *Lîjne* is a pure Kurd. word, as in *lîjnedar* ‘wood-pile’ (W-ISA-

KB, 1973). *Lîjne* is equiv of ‘wood-pile’, ‘committee’ (W&E). *Lîjne* is equiv of ‘committee’, ‘commission’ (McCarus). *Lêjne* and *lîjne* are equivalents of Arab. *lajna* (Mukryanî, 1961; Secadî, 1962:144); W-ISA-KB, 1973; Ismâ‘ •l, 1978). Xa1 defines *lîjne* as ‘wood-pile’ and as synonym for *encumen*. Hejar has defined *lîjne* as ‘wood-pile’ and ‘a group of people who are responsible for a job’. *Lijne*, *lêjne*, and *lîjne* are established in Sor.: *lîjneyek-î astî w birayetî* ‘a committee for peace and brotherhood’ (*Kurdstanî nö*, PUK, 1994, No. 687, p. 1) (see also **kongire**).

Spok Sor.: Iran. *komîte*; Iraqi *lajna*, *komîte* and *lîjne*.

**komunîzm**, n, ‘communism’ (Hêmin, 1974:17). *Komunîzm* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *komonism* is a Fr. lw, *communisme* (Mo;iri). At first, Iraqi Kurds borrowed *komyûnîzm* ‘communism’ (cf. *Yekêtî têkosîn*, 1944, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 7) directly from Eng. Later, Arabic became the dominant official language in Kurd. areas and Kurds borrowed *siyû‘îyet*. Arab. equiv of ‘communism’ is *juyÿ‘ •ya* (Cowan). In Kurd. variant *t.m.* is pronounced. Iraqi Kurds have also indirectly borrowed *komunîzm* from Iran. Kurds. *Komunîzm* is not registered by Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Komunîsm* ‘communism’ (Ebrâhim.). The whole word-family is borrowed: *komunîst* ‘communist’ is used by Iran. Kurds. Iraqi Kurds use *siyu‘î* ‘communist’. Arab. equiv of ‘communist’ is *juyÿ‘ •* (Cowan). Iraqi Kurd Asos Kema1 uses *komyunîzm* ‘communism’ (1997:276). Hybrids: *komonîstî* (*komonîst* + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘communistic’: *rêkxrawî komunîstî* ‘communist organisation’ (*Pêşrew*, 1995, No. 65, p. 3; Emîn, 1993:75).

Purist equivalents of ‘communism’ are not accepted. *Yasa-y serîkatî* (*yasa* Turk. ‘law’ + *-y* iðâfa meaning ‘of’ + *serîk* Kurd. variant of Arab. *jar•k* ‘sharer’, ‘partner’ + *-atî* Kurd. suff for making nouns) lit ‘law of partnership’ and *rewistî serîkatî* (*rewist* ‘way’, ‘manner’ + *-î* iðâfa) are equivalents of Euro.- Pers. *komonism* (Baban). *Haw-besî* (*haw* ‘together’ + *bes* ‘share’, ‘part’ + *-î*) is also used as equiv of ‘communism’. Qani‘ uses *kome1ga-y hawbesî seretayî* ‘primitive communist society’ (1985:142). (see **sosyalîzm**) *Siyu‘î*, *komunîzm* and their derivations are established in Sor.: *hizbî komunîstî sûrewî* ‘communist party of the Soviet (Union)’ (Hesenzade, 1995:116); *kiçe ... cûlekeyekî siyu‘î* ‘a communist Jewish girl’ (Mihemed, 1992:198).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *komunîzm*, Iraqi *siyu‘î*.

**kongire**, n, ‘congress’. *Kongire-y hizbî dîmokrat-î Kurdistan* ‘congress of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan’ (Hêmin, 1974: 23). *Kongire* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *kongereh*, which is a Fr. lw, *congrés* (Mo;iri). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *qongire*, apparently indirectly borrowed from Turk. Turk. *qongire* is equiv of ‘congress’ (Redhouse). *Qongire* is no longer used in Iraqi Sor. Purists prefer *kongire*, which is closer to Euro. origin. Later, when Arabic became dominant in Kurd. areas, Iraqi Kurds used *mu‘temer*. Arab. *mu‘tamar* is equiv of ‘congress’ (Cowan). *Mu‘temer* is not used in wr Sor. Iraqi Kurd Ibrahim Ehmed uses *kongire* many times in an interview. He uses also *kongrês* ‘congress’: *kongrês-î partî* ‘congress of the Party (DPK of Iraq)’ in the interview. (cf. H.M. ‘Ezîz, 1995:12, 25)

The term is a direct lw from Eng. *Kongrês* is also used in the magazines of Iraqi Kurds: *kongrês-î emerîkî* ‘the American Congress’ (*Kurdistan- î nû*, 1994, PUK, No. 745, p. 1). *Kongre* ‘congress’ is used in Sulaimania dialect (cf. McCarus, 1967). *Kongire* is established in Sor. Xa1 has registered *kongire* and *kongere* as loanwords into Kurd. and does not define the entry and only gives the Arab. Synonym, which is *mû’tamar*. The term is registered by W&E as *kongire*, by Hejar as *kongire* and *kongere*. Hejar has registered *kongire* as a case of polysemy. He defines *kongire* as 1) *burcî ser qela, qongire* ‘tower’, ‘notch’ 2) *kobûnewe-y salane-y kome1* ‘yearly assembly of an organisation’. Mardux has considered *kongire* a case of homonymy, historically different variants, and registered them separately: 1. *kongire* ‘congress’ and 2. *kongire* ‘tower’, ‘notch’.

*Kongire*, meaning a (political) ‘congress’, is widely used in Kurd. writings: *kongire-y hestem-î kome1e* ‘the eighth Congress of Komala’ (*Pêşrew*, 1995, No. 65, p. 1); *kongire-y dûwemî hizb-î zehmetkêsan-î Kurdistan* ‘the second Congress of the Toilers’ Party of Kurdistan’ (*Birayetî*, DPK-Iraq, 1994, No. 2003, p. 1). The whole word-family is borrowed: *kongrêşman* ‘congressman’ (*Kurdistanî nû*, 1994, No. 745, p. 1). The English compound is borrowed directly. Hybrids: *kongre bestin* or *kongire girtin* are equivalents of ‘holding a congress’. *Le rojanî bestran-î kongre-da* ‘in the days of holding the Congress (of the Party)’ (Hesenzade, 1995:38); *pêş girtinî kongire-y ses* ‘before holding the Sixth Congress (of the Party)’ (Kave, 1996: 278).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *kongire*; Iraqi *mu’temer, kongire, kongrês*.

**kulunêl**, n, ‘colonel’ (Hêmin, 1983:10). It is registered by Hêmin as *kulunêl*, which is a printing mistake. *Kulunêl* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *kolonel*, which is a Fr. lw, *colonel* (Moçiri). It is no longer used in Pers., which has replaced it with the fully established purist *serheng*. Arab. lw. *koløn*∑l is equiv of ‘colonel’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds use *kolonel* ‘colonel’ (Hilmî, 1956:15) which is probably indirectly borrowed into Sorani. Later, they replaced it with ‘*eqîd* ‘colonel’ borrowed from the terminology of the newly established Iraqi army. Cowan defines Arab. ‘*aq•d* as ‘lieutenant colonel’. *Kulunêl* is not registered by Baban, Hejar, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Serheng* ‘colonel’ (Hêmin, 1983:86) is borrowed from Pers. Pers. *sarhang* is equiv of ‘colonel’ (A&A). *Serheng* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *sarhang* ‘colonel’ (Hejar and Mardux). *Serheng* is equiv of Arab. ‘*aq•d* (Xa1). *Kulunêl* and *serheng* are used in Sor. *Serheng Ensarî* ‘Colonel Ansari’ (Secadî, 1959: 223). Iraqi Kurd Mola Ezat uses *kolonîl*: *kolonîl Mîr Hac* ‘Colonel Mir Haj’ (1984:105).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *kolonêl*; Iraqi *kolonel*, ‘*eqîd*.

**kumîsyon**, n, ‘commission’, ‘committee’. *Kumîsyon-î teblîxatî* ‘committee for propaganda’ (Hêmin, 1974:24). *Kumîsyon* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *komîsyon*, which is a Fr. lw, *commission* (Moçiri). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *qumîsyun*, indirectly borrowed from Turk. *Qomîsyon* is equiv of ‘commission’, ‘committee’ (Redhouse). Zekî, a Kurd. Ottoman intellectual, has used *qumîsyun* (1931a:26). Later, *kumîsyon*, closer to the Euro. form, was preferred. *Kumîsyon* is not

registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Komîsyon* is used in Kurd. magazines and wrtings: *komîsyonî* (printing mistake: *komsyonî*) *ba la-y kar-û-bar-î penaberanî ser be netewe yek-girtûekan* ‘United Nation’s High Commission for Refugees’ (*Kurdistan-î nû*, 1994, PUK, No. 688, pp. 1&7). *Komîsyonî kar-û-bar-î kirê* is equiv of Swed. *hyresnämnd* ‘rent tribunal’ (Mohtedi, 1991). *Komîsyon* is equiv of Swed. *nämnd* ‘committee’ (Ghazi& Cardoi).

Sp Sor.: Iran. & Iraqî *kumîsyon*.

## M

**masên**, n, ‘car’, ‘machine’. *Masên* ‘car’ (Hêmin, 1974:17). *Masên* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *mâjin* ‘machine’, which is a Fr. lw, *machine* (Moçiri). *Masên* and *masîn* are equivalents of ‘machine’, ‘car’ (Ebrâhim.; Hejar). [Iraqî Kurds have indirectly borrowed *mekîne* ‘machine’ from Turk. or Arab. Turk. equiv of ‘machine’ is *makina* (Redhouse). Arab. equiv of ‘machine’ is *mâkina* or *mak•na* (Cowan).] Purist equiv is not accepted. *Xuloke* (*xul* ‘spin’, ‘rotate’ + *-oke* suff for making diminutive n) is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *mâjin* (cf. Kara). At first, Iraqî Kurds indirectly borrowed *otomobêl* from Turk. or Arab. *Otomobil* is Turk. variant of ‘automobile’ (Redhouse). *Otomobîl* is Arab. equiv of ‘automobile’ (Cowan). Later, Iraqî Kurds borrowed *seyare* ‘car’. Arab. *sayyâra* is equiv of ‘car’ ‘automobile’ (Cowan). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *utumbîl* from Pers. *otomobil* which is a Fr. lw, *automobile* (Moçiri). There are many variants of the lw in wr Sor.: *otomobêl* ‘car’ (Secadî, 1959:131); *utumbîl* ‘car’, *tirumbîl* ‘car’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 17, p. 4; *otomobîl*, *otomobêl* ‘car’ (Mihemed, 1992:23,108). *Tirumbîl*, *utrumbîl* and *tirombêl* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *otomobil* and *mâjin* (Hejar). Hêmin has indirectly borrowed **utumbêl**, n, ‘car’ from Iraqî Kurds (cf. Hêmin, 1983:70)

**mehbûb**, adj, ‘beloved’, ‘dear’ (Hêmin, 1946:3). The term is borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers.: Arab. *ma`bûb* and Arab.-Pers. *ma`bub* with the same meaning. *Mehbûb* was used in the classical Kurd. literary works. Now, it is seldom used in MSS. Sometimes Kurd. purists choose words from sp language and use it in wr language, instead of loanwords. Iran. and Iraqî Sor.-speakers use *xosewîst* ‘beloved’. *Xosewîst*, chosen by Kurd. nationalists, is now established in MSS. The whole word-family is borrowed. *Mehebet* is equiv of Arab. *ma`abba* ‘love’ (Mardux). Kurd. purists prefer *xosewîstî* (*xosewîst* + *-î* Kurd. suff for forming n) to *mehebet*. Hejar, a moderate purist, uses both *xosewîstî* and the more Kurdified *mihîbbet*.

**mentîqe**, n, ‘district’ (Hejar, 1991). **Menatîq** ‘districts’ (Hêmin, 1946h:3). In sp Sor., educated Kurds use *menatîq*, which is borrowed from Arab. and indirectly borrowed from Pers. with no change in meaning. Arab. *manâfiq* is pl of *minfaqa* ‘area’, ‘district’; Pers. variants are *manâfeq*, *manfaqeh*. *Menatîq* is seldom used in MSS. *Nawçe* is equiv of Arab. *minfaqa* (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Nawçe* is equiv of ‘centre’, ‘region’ (W&E). *Nawçe* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *manfaqeh* (Ebrâhim.).



*Menteqe* or more-Kurdified *mentîqe* are borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers. *Nawçe* ‘district’ is completely established in MSS and is preferred to *menteqe*.

**midîr**, n, ‘director’ used by Hêmin: *midîr-î ... debîristan-î Mehabad* ‘director of Mehabad secondary school’ (1946d:2:). Registered as *dibîristan*, which is a printing mistake. The term is used by Iran. and Iraqi Kurds. *Midîr* is borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers. into Sor. Arab. *mud•r* means ‘chief’, ‘director’ (Cowan). Arab.-Per. *modir* means ‘director’, ‘one who is in charge of a school’. *Mudîr* and *mudur* are equivalents of Arab.-Pers. *modir* (Ebrâhim; Hejar). Kurd. purist equiv of *midîr* is now established. *berêweber* (derived from *berêwe birdîn* ‘to manage’ + *-er* Kurd. suff meaning ‘doer’) is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *modir* and Arab. *al-mud•r* (Secadî, 1962:214; Kara; Ismâ‘ •l, 1978). *Midîr* is still used in Sor.: *midîrî qutabxane* ‘director of the school’ (Mihemed, 1992:145).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *mudîr* or *midîr*; Iraqi *midîr*, *berêweber*.

**mîkrob**, n, ‘microbe’ (Hêmin, 1983:60). It is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and indirectly borrowed from Turk. or Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *mikrob* is a Fr. lw, *microbe* (Moçiri); Arab. equiv is *mikrøb* (Cowan) and Turk. equiv *mikrob* (Redhouse). Registered by Hejar as *mîkrob* and *mîqro*; and by Xa1, W&E, and Ebrâhim.: as *mîkrob*. Purist suggestions are not accepted. *Hûrd* and *gera* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *mikrob* (Kara). These terms are established as *hûrd* ‘very small’ and *gera* ‘spawn’. *Mîkrob* is equiv of Arab. *jur@ÿm*. (Mukryanî, 1961; W-ISA-KB, 1974). The whole word-family is indirectly borrowed. *Mîkroskop* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *mikroskop* (Heja; Ebrâhim.). *Mîkroskop* ‘microscope’ (Xa1). *Mîkroskop* is indirectly borrowed from Pers., Turk. or Arab. Pers. *mikroskop* is a Fr. lw, *microscope* (Moçiri). Turk. equiv of ‘microscope’ is *mikroskop* (Redhouse). Arab. equiv of ‘microscope’ is *m•kroskøb* (Cowan).

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi *mîkrob*.

**milyon**, n , ‘million’ (Hêmin, 1946:1). Indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and from Turk. or Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *melyun* is a Fr. lw, *million* (Moçiri) Arab. equiv of ‘million’ is *milyøn* (Cowan) and Turk. equiv *milyon* (Redhouse). The term is registered by Ebrâhim. as *milyon*, by Hejar, Kara, W&E and Xa1 as *milyon* or *milwên*. *Milyon* is established in Sor.: *milyon* ‘million’ (Mihemed, 1992:120); *mîlyon* ‘million’ (*Kurdistan*, 1971, ODPK-Iran, No. 3, p. 3).

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi *milyon*.

**mîtir**, n, ‘metre’ (Hêmin, 1985:35). Indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. variant is *metr*, a Fr. lw, *mètre* (Moçiri). Arab. equiv of ‘metre’ is *mitr* (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds use also *metr*. *Metr* or *metre* are apparently indirectly borrowed from Turk. *metre* ‘metre’ (Redhouse). The term is registered by Iraqi Kurd Xa1 and Hejar as *mîtir*, *metre*, and *metr*; by Kara as *metir*.

*Mîtir* and *metir* are established in Sor.: *sed metrêk* ‘about a hundred metres’ (Mihemed, 1992:151).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *mitir*; Iraqi *metir*.

**mîtîng**, n, ‘meeting’. *Mîtîngekan-î hizb* ‘the Party meetings’ (Hêmin, 1974:24). *Mîtîng* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *miting*, which is an Eng. lw. The term is registered by Qani‘ as *mîtîng* (1985:197). It is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Mîtîng* is established in Iran. Sor.: *hizib... mîtîngêkî gewre-y ... pêk-hêna* ‘the Party... organised a big ... meeting’ (Hesenzade, 1995:137); *le mîtîng-e-kan-î Seqiz...* ‘in the meetings of Saqqiz’... (*Pêşrew*, 1989, No. 28, p. 15). Kurd. purists prefer Kurd. equiv of ‘meeting’: *kobûnewe* which is now established. Recently, Kirm. *civîn* ‘meeting’ is also borrowed by Sor. writers. (see also **icitima**)

Sp Sor.: *mîtîng*; Iraqi *kobûnewe*.

**mubsir**, n, ‘monitor’, ‘prefect’ (Hêmin, 1974:7). *Mubsir* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Arab.-Pers. *mobşer* means ‘a pupil who helps the teacher and watches other pupils’. Sp Sor.: Iran. *mubsir*.

**mufakere**, n, ‘negotiation’ (Hêmin, 1946h:3). The term is pronounced as *muzakere* in Kurd. and is borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers. Both Arab. *mufâkara* and Pers. variant *moΩâkereh*. mean ‘negotiation’. *Muzakere* is seldom used in MSS. The purist suggestion *wit-û-wêj* ‘negotiation’ is now established. *Wit-û-wêj* (*wit* from *witin* ‘say’, ‘talk’ + *û* ‘and’ + *-wêj* rhyming word) means ‘talk’, ‘conversation’. *Wit-û-wêj* is equiv of Pers. *goft-o-gu* ‘conversation’, ‘talk’ (Hejar). *Wit-û-wêj* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *moΩâkereh* (Baban). Some Sor. purists have borrowed *axawtin* from Kirm. and use it as equiv of ‘negotiation’ (cf. Kara). Kirm. *axaftin* is equiv of ‘speech’, ‘conversation’ (Baran).

Spok Sor.: Iran. *muzakere*; Iraqi *muzakere*, *wit-û-wêj*.

**musîqa**, n, ‘music’ (Hêmin, 1983:18). Indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Iraqi Kurds. Indirectly borrowed from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *musiqi* is indirectly borrowed from Arab. Arabs borrowed the term from Greek or Latin (Mo‘in). Pers. *musiqi* is originally Greek (Steingass). Iran. Kurds use *musîqî* ‘music’ which is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *musîqa* ‘music’ from Arab. Arab. *mÿs•qâ* is equiv of ‘music’ (Cowan). Iran. Kurds use also *muzîk*. **Mûzîk**, n, ‘music’ (Hêmin, 1983:68). It is apparently a borrowing from Pers. *muzik*, which is Fr. lw, *musique* (Moçiri). *Mûsîqa* and *mûzîk* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *muzik* (cf. Hejar). *Musîqa* and *muzîk* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *musiqi* (Kara). *Musîqî* and *musîqa* are established in Sor.: *mamosta-y musîqa* ‘music teacher’ (*Birayetî*, 1994, No. 2007, p. 8).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *musîqî*; Iraqi *musîqa*.

## N

**name**, ‘letter’ (Hêmin, 1983:103). *Name* is apparently borrowed from Pers. *nâneh* ‘letter’, which as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *marqumeh* and *morâseleh*, both meaning ‘letter’, is a Farhengestân choice (VN). *Nâneh* ‘letter’ is now completely established in Pers. *Nâneh* means ‘letter’, ‘book’ (Steingass). *Name* is borrowed from New Pers. into Kurd. in two periods: at first, by classical Kurd. poets before the 20th century. It was borrowed for the second time in the 20th by Kurd. purists who avoid using Arab. *maktûb* ‘letter’ and Pers. *kâ\â\Omega*. In Iran. sp. Sor., *kaxez* ‘letter’, ‘paper’ is used more often than *name*. *Kaxez* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. Pers. *kâ\â\Omega* ‘paper’, ‘letter’ is probably of Chinese origin (cf. Huart & Grohmann, 1978).

**nasyonalîst**, n &adj, ‘nationalist’. *Sa‘irêk-î nasyonalîst* ‘a nationalist poet’ (Hêmin, 1983:61). The term is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *nâsyonâlîst*, which is a Fr. lw, *nationaliste* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *nasyonalîst* from Iran. Kurds. Iraqi Kurds use also originally Arabic *qewmî* ‘nationalist’. W&E have suggested *netewe-perist* (*netewe* + *perist* pres st of *peristin* ‘worship’) as equiv of ‘nationalist’. *Netewe-perist* is increasingly used in Sor. as equiv of ‘patriot’. Originally Kurd. *netewe* meant ‘lineage’ and ‘descendents’ and its meaning as ‘nation’ is a loanshift extension in recent times. Hejar uses *netewe* as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *nasl* ‘generation’ and *ne\âd* ‘race’. *Netewe* is a synonym for Kurd. *tuxm* ‘descendents’ (Mardux). *Netewe* is equiv of ‘nation’ (W&E). At first, Iran. and Iraqi Kurds indirectly borrowed *milet* ‘nation’ from Turk. and Pers. *Milet* ‘netewe’ is now seldom used in Kurd. *Netewe* ‘nation’ is established. As mentioned above, Ottoman intellectuals became acquainted with Western nationalism during the 19th and 20th centuries. This acquaintance brought about lexical and semantic changes. According to Lewis (1988: 38), *milla* means ‘a word’, ‘a group of people who accept a particular word or revealed book’. Arab.-Turk. *millet*, and Arab.-Pers. *mellat* (in non-Arab. variants, *t.m.* is pronounced) were used as equivalents of ‘nation’, which is a loanshift extension of Arab. *milla*. ‘Nationalism’ was introduced into Kurd. culture in late 19th century and also caused lexical and semantic changes in Kurd. *Milet* is Kurd. variant of Arab. *milla* and Arab.-Pers. *mellat* (Mardux; Hejar). *Gel* is also used in Sor., as equiv of ‘nation’, which is a loanshift extension. *Gel* means ‘assemblage’ or ‘crowd’ (W&E). *Gel* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *mellat* (Hejar).

The whole word-family is indirectly borrowed. Some Kurds use Euro. *nasyonal* ‘national’. *Dewletî nasyonal* ‘national state’ (Nebez, 1984:84). W&E have suggested *neteweyî* (*netewe* + -y hiatus + -î suff meaning adj) as equiv of ‘national’. Qani‘ uses *nasyonalîsm* and *nasyonalîzm* both meaning ‘nationalism’ (1985:163). *Nasyonalîzm* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, or Xa1. Hybrids: *nasyonalîstî* (*nasyonalîst* + -î suff for making adj): *bîrêkî nasyonalîstî* ‘a nationalist idea’ (Hesenzade, 1995:28). Pers. *nâsyonâlîstî* (*nâsyonâlîst* + -i suff for making adj) ‘nationalist’. More Kurd. variants are preferred. *Nasyonalîstane* (*nasyonalîst* + -ane

Kurd. suff for making adj) ‘nationalist’: *rêbazî nasyonalîstane* ‘nationalist way of thinking’ (Nebez, 1984:122).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *nasyonalîst*; Iraqi *qewmî, nasyonalîst*.

**nazim**, n, ‘assistant superintendent of a school’. *Nazim-î medrese* ‘assistant superintendent of the school’ (Hêmin, 1974:6). *Nazim* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers.Arab.-Pers. *nâΩem* means ‘assistant superintendent of a school’ (A&A). *Nazim* is equiv of Arab.-Peris. *nâΩem- madreseh* (Hejar).

**nazîzm**, n, ‘Nazism’. Used by Hêmin (1974:22) as *nazîsm*. *Nazîzm* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *nâzism* which is a Fr. lw, *nazisme* (Mojiri). Iraqi Kurds use *nazîyet*, which is indirectly borrowed from Arab. *nâz•ya* ‘Nazism’ (cf. Cowan). (In Kurd. variant, *t.m.* is pronounced). *Nazîzm* ‘Nazism’ (Qani‘, 1985:160; Asos Kemal, 1997:204). *Nazîzm* is established in MSS. although it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xal. The whole word family is indirectly borrowed. Kurd. *nazî* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and Arab. Pers. equiv of ‘Nazi’ is *nâzi*, and Arab. equiv *nâz•* (cf. Cowan). [Nazi is originally German, by shortening and alternation, derived from German *nationalsozialist* (national + socialist), a member of the fascist German party led by Hitler.] Qani‘ uses *nazî* ‘Nazi’ as adj in *hizb-î nazî* ‘Nazi Party’ (1985:161). Asos Kemal uses *nazîst* ‘a Nazi’ (1977:212).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *Nazîzm*; Iraqi *nazîyet*.

**naqis**, ‘inadequate’, ‘imperfect’ (Hejar, 1991). He uses also the more Kurdified *naqîz* and *naqiz* as Kurd. variants of Arab.-Pers. *nâqeβ*. These variants are borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers., Arab. *nâqib* ‘incomplete’. They are seldom used in MSS. Sometimes Kurd. nationalists choose words from sp language in order to purify wr Sor. The purist choice *kem-û-kûrî* ‘shortcoming’ is now established in wr Sor. *Kem-û-kûrî* is equiv of Arab. *naqβ* ‘imperfection’, ‘shortcoming’ (Ismâ‘îl, 1974). *Kem-û-kûrî* is equiv of ‘shortcomings’ (W&E). Purist choices *kem-û-kûrî-dar* (*kem-û-kûrî* + *-dar* suff meaning ‘possessor of’), *be-kem-û-kûrî* (*be* prep ‘with’ + *kem-û-kûrî*) and *natewaw* (*na-* pref meaning ‘not’ + *tewaw* ‘complete’) as equivalents of Arab.-Pers. *nâqeβ*, are now established.

The whole word-family is borrowed or indirectly borrowed. Hêmin uses *newaqîsat* (*newaqis* + *-at* Arab. pl suff) ‘shortcomings’ (1946:4). Hêmin has considered *newaqis* singular and made a plural noun with *-at*. Persians use *navâqeβ* as pl of Arab. *naq•sa* ‘shortcoming’. *Newaqis* is not used in MSS any longer.

**nuxte**, n, ‘dot’ (W&E). Purists prefer Kurdified form *nuxte* to *nuqte*. *Nuqte* ‘dot’, ‘full stop’ is Kurd. variant of Arab. *nuqta* (cf. Mardux). *Xal* is equiv of Arab. *nuqta*. (W-ISA-KB, 1973; Ismâ‘îl, 1974). Kurd. *xal* means ‘mole’ and its meaning as ‘dot’ and ‘full stop’ is a loanshift extension. It is now established in MSS. **Niqat** ‘places’ (Hêmin, 1946h:3). *Niqat* is used by educated Kurds and borrowed from Arab. or indirectly borrowed from Pers. Arab. *nuqâta* and *niqâta* are pl of *nuqta*

‘point’, ‘location’; Pers. *neqâf* and *noqfeh* have the same meanings. *Niqat* is not used in MSS any longer. Kurd. *cêge* and *sôn* as equivalents of ‘place’ are established in standard Sor.

**nöner**, n, ‘representative’, ‘member of parliament’. *Nöner-î meclîs* ‘member of parliament’ (Hêmin, 1974:27). *Nöner* (*nön* pres st of *niwandin* ‘to show’ + *-er* Kurd. suff meaning ‘doer’) is apparently a loanshift creation of *namâyandeh* (*namâ* from *namâyidan* ‘to show’ + *-y* hiatus + *-andeh* Pers. suff meaning ‘doer’). *Namâyandeh* means ‘one who shows’, ‘showy’, ‘striking’ (Steingass). The Pers. purist suggestion *namâyandeh* ‘member of parliament’, ‘representative’ is a loanshift extension and is now established in Pers. *Nimayende* is also used by Iran. Sor.-speakers. Iraqi Kurds use *mendub*. Arab. *mandûb* means ‘deputy’ and ‘delegate’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds prefer *nöner* and *endam-î parlman* (*endam* ‘member’ + *-î* îdâfa + *parlman* ‘parliament’) ‘member of parliament’ to the Arab. alternative. Iraqi Kurd Qani‘ uses the latter (1985:57). *Nöner*, *nimayine* and *nimayene* are equivalents of Pers. *namâyandeh* (Baban, Ebrâhim. and Mardux). *Nöner* and *nimayende* are established in wr Sor.: *nöner-anî kongre* ‘representatives of the Congress (of the Party)’ (Hesenzade, 1995:38).

## O

**organ**, n, ‘organ of a political organisation or movement’ (Hêmin, 1983:83). *Organ* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *orgân*, which is a Fr. lw, *organe* (Moçiri). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *zibanî hal* (*ziban* ‘language’ + *-î* îdâfa + *hal*), which is a loanshift creation (cf. *Yekêtî têkosîn*, 1944, No. 2, p. 1). According to Cowan, Arab. equiv of ‘party organ’ is *lisân al-`âl* (*lisân* ‘language’). *Zibanî hal* is now seldom used by Iraqi Kurds, they prefer *organ* ‘party organ’. *Organ* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Kara, Hejar, W&E, Xal, or Zebîhî. *Ziwan komele* (*ziwan* Senedecî ‘language’ + *komele* ‘society’) is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *orgân* (Baban). This suggestion is not accepted. In Sor., *organ* is also used as equiv of ‘organ’, ‘authority’. *Organ* is established in Sor.: *organ-î hizib* ‘the organ of the Party’ (Mola Ezat, 1984:74); *hîç organêk-î dewletî* ‘no state organ’ (*Pêşrew*, 1996, No. 68, p. 5); *organêk-î taze-y rêberayetî* ‘a new organ for leadership’ (Hesenzade, 1995:62).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *organ*; Iraqi *zimanî hal*, *organ*.

**opera**, n, ‘opera’. Used by Hêmin as *opêra* (1974:45). *Opêra* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *operâ* which is a Fr. lw, *opéra* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *opera* from Arab. O. M. Mihemed has used *opera* as equiv of ‘opera’ (1992:43). *Øp#râ*, borrowed from Italian into Arab., is Arab. variant of ‘opera’ (Cowan). Zebîhî has defined *opêra* as ‘opera’ and ‘opera house’. *Opêra* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xal.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *opêra*; Iraqi *opira*.

## P

**panêranîst**, n&adj, ‘pan-Iranist’ (Hêmin, 1983:23). Used by Hêmin as *panîranîst* which is a printing mistake. The term is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *pân-irânist* ‘pan-Iranist’. Originally Greek pref *pan-* ‘all’, ‘every’ is borrowed from Fr. into Pers. (Moçiri). Iraçî Kurd Nebez uses also *panêranîst* ‘pan-Iranist’ (1984:140). The whole word-family is indirectly borrowed: *panêranîzm* ‘pan-Iranism’ (Ibid.). *Panêranîst* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Qani‘, W&E, or Xa1.

**panturkîzm**, n, ‘pan-Turkism’. Used by Hêmin as *pan-turkîsm* (1946h:1). Apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *pân-turkîsm* (*pân* + Turk + *-ism*) ‘pan-Turkism’. Iraçî Kurds use also the term. Nebez uses *pantukîzm* ‘pan-Turkism’ (1984:87). The whole word-family is borrowed. *Panturkîst* ‘pan-Turkist’ (Ibid.). *Panturkîsm* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Qani‘, W&E, or Xa1.

**partîzan**, n, ‘partisan’. *Serî partîzanî* (*ser* ‘war’ Sor. variant of Arab. *jarr* ‘evil’, ‘ill’ + *-î* iðâfa + *partîzan* ‘partisan’ + *-î* suff for making adj) ‘guerrilla warfare’ (Hêmin, 1983:93). *Partîzan* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *pârtizân*, which is a Fr. lw, *partisan* (Moçiri). Iraçî Kurds use also *partîzan* ‘partisan’. H. M. Kerîm uses *ceng-î partîzanî* (*ceng* Kurd. variant of Pers. *jang* ‘war’ + *-î* + *partîzan* + *-î*) ‘guerrilla warfare’ (1993:30). *Partîzan* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. *Pêş-merg-e* (*pêş* ‘front’, ‘in front’ + *merg* ‘death’ + *-e* suff for making n), *ser-ker* (+ *-ker* from *kirdin* ‘to do’ meaning ‘doer’) and *des-be-çek* (*des* ‘hand’ + *be* prep ‘with’ + *çek* ‘weapon’) are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *pârtizân* (Baban). Fighters of the Kurd. nationalist movement are called *pesmerge*, which is established in sp and MSS. *Ser-ker* is established as ‘warrior’ and *des-be-çek* is not accepted. Burhan Qani‘ defines *partîzan* as *layengir* ‘supporter’, *çete-y çek-dar* (*çete* + *-y* iðâfa + *çek* ‘weapon’ + *-dar* suff meaning ‘owner’) lit ‘armed robber’, *serbazî çiya* (*serbaz* Kurd variant of Pers. *sarbâz* ‘soldier’ + *-î* iðâfa + *çiya* ‘mountain’) lit ‘mountain soldier’. *Serbazî çiya* ‘partisan’ is not accepted. *Çete* is a Turk. lw in Kurd. and means ‘band of robbers’ (W&E). Some Kurd. purists have suggested *çete* as equiv of ‘partisan’, which is a loanshift extension. *Partîzan* is established in Sor.

**pas**, n, ‘bus’ (Hêmin, 1983:200). *Pas* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Arab. by Iraçî Kurds. Arab. *bâs* is an Eng. lw, ‘bus’ (Cowan). *Pas* is indirectly borrowed from Iraçî Sor. by Iran. Kurds. Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *utubus* from Pers. *otobus* which is a Fr. lw, *autobus* (Moçiri). *Pas* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *otobus* (cf. Kara). *Pas* is equiv of ‘bus’ and ‘omnibus’ (W&E). *Pas* is not registered by Ebrâhim, Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), or Xa1. *Otubus* and *pas* are established in Sor.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *otubus*; Iraçî: *pas*.

**pasaj**, n, 'shopping area', 'roofed passageway with shops' (Hêmin, 1983:163). *Pasaj* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *pâsâ* which is a Fr. lw, *passage* (Moĵiri). *Pasaj* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xal.

**pasewan** see **polîs**

**pasga**, see **polîs**

**patext**, n, 'capital city' (Hêmin, 1983:94). *Patext* is formed by *pa* 'foot' + *text* 'throne'. *Patext* is equiv of Arab. 'âßima 'capital city' (W-ISA-KB, 1973). The compilers of the list prefer *patext* to *paytext*: According to them, Persians use only *pâytext*. They maintain that in some parts of Kurdistan *patext* and some other districts *paytext* is used. They continue that because of this, it is more suitable to use *patext* in Kurd. In fact, Persians usually use *pâytext* (*pâ* or *pây* 'foot' + *text* 'throne') but *pâttext* is also used in Pers. (cf. Mo'in). *Pâytext* is equiv of 'the foot of the throne', 'the metropolis' (Steingass). *Pâytext* is equiv of 'capital city' (cf. Åĵuri). W&E have registered many compound nouns made by *pa-* 'foot', one of them is *pa-y-text* 'capital city'. In sp Iraqi Kurd, 'asime is used; borrowed from Arab. *Pêtext* (*pê* Kurd. 'foot') is equiv of Pers. *pâytext* (Kara). *Paytext* and *pêtext* are used in MSS.: *paytext* 'capital city' (Zekî, 1931b:97; Secadî, 1959:79); *pêtext* 'capital city' (Kurdistan, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No.15, p. 4).

**pêsnihad**, n, 'suggestion'. It is also used as *pêsniyar* (Hêmin, 1974:22). *Pêsniyar* is apparently borrowed from Pers. *piĵnehâd* (*piĵ* 'front', 'forward' + *nehâd* from *nehâdan* 'to put', 'to place') means 'what is placed before', 'custom', 'mode', 'intention' (cf. Steingass). *Piĵnehâd* 'proposal' is a loanshift extension. Farhangestân has suggested *piĵnehâd* as equiv of Arab.-Pers. 'arzeh 'proposal' and Fr. *offre* 'offer', 'proposal' (cf. VN). Baban and Kara have suggested *pêsniyar* as equiv of Pers. *piĵnehâd* and Ebrâhim. *pêsniha*. *Pêsniyar* is equiv of 'proposal' and 'suggestion' (W&E). *Pêsniyar* is equiv of Arab. *iqtirâ* 'proposal' (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Pêsniyar* is formed by [*pês* 'front', 'in front' + *-niyar* unknown Kurd. suff.]. This unknown suff. has made some writers of MSS reluctant to use the term. Some of them prefer Kurdified form *pêsnîhad*, and the others have suggested a new loanshift creation of Pers. *pishnehâd*. *Pêsniyaz* (+ *niyaz* 'intention', 'desire', 'request', 'need') is equiv of Arab. *iqtirâ* (Mukryanî, 1961). *Pêsniyaz* is equiv of Pers. *piĵnehâd* (Hejar). He has also registered Kurd. variant of *piĵnehâd* as *pêsnîhad*. *Pêsniyar*, *pêsnîhad* and *pêsniyaz* are used in MSS., but the last two are preferred.

(educated) Sp Sor.: Iran. *Pêsnihad*; Iraqi *pêsniyar*, *iqtirah*.

**pît**, n, 'letter of alphabet' (Hêmin, 1983:22). Kurd. *pît* is a metathesis of Eng. 'type' (Fexrî, 1985:263). *Pît* is borrowed by Iraqi Kurds and indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds. Iran. Kurds use also *herf* 'letter'; a borrowing from Arab. 'arf or indirect borrowing from Pers, 'arf. *Herf* is Kurd. variant of Arab. 'arf (cf. Mardux). Iraqi

Kurds use also *herf*. *Pît* and *herf* are established in MSS. but purists prefer the former. Hejar & Xa1 have registered *pît* and have given its Arab.-Kurd. equiv *herf*. *Pît* is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *ʿarf* (Kara). *Pît* is equiv of Arab. *ʿarf* (letter of alphabet) (W-ISA-KB, 1974; Ismâ‘î, 1978)

**polîs**, n, ‘police’ (Hêmin, 1974:19). *Polîs* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *polis*, which is a Fr. lw, *police* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *bolîs*, *polîs*. In wr Iraqi Sor., *polîs* is preferred. Arab. variant of ‘police’ is *bʿlîs* (Cowan). Baban, Hejar and W&E have registered the term as *polîs* and Ebrâhim. as *pilîs*. *Ajan* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *polis* (Mardux). *Ajan*, used in sp Iran. Sor., is indirectly borrowed from Pers. *âzân* which is a Fr. lw, *agent* (Moçiri). *Balbaz* is equiv of Arab. *jurfa* ‘police’ (Ismâ‘î, 1978:60). *Polîs* and *balbaz* are equivalents of Arab. *al-jurfa* (Secadî (1962:215). *Balbaz* or *balbaz* means ‘soldier’ (Hejar; W&; Xa1). *Balbaz* ‘police’ is not accepted. *Polîs* is established in Sor.: *polîs û jandarmirî* ‘police and gendarmerie’ (Hesenzade, 1995:140); *polîs-î Misir* ‘the Egyptian police’ (*Kurdistan-î nû*, PUK, 1994, No. 688, p. 1). **Pasewan**, n, ‘guard’ (Hêmin, 1975:50). *Pasewan* is formed by: *pas* ‘guarding’ + *-e* + *-wan* Kurd. suff. meaning ‘keeper of’. **Pasewanî** (*pasewan* + *-î* suff for making n), n, ‘guarding’. *Pasewan-î le... burc* (guarding ... castle) (Hêmin, Ibid.). Kurd. *pas* and Pers. *pâs* both meaning ‘guarding’ belong to the common Kurd.-Pers. vocabulary. Pahlavi *pâs* means ‘watch’, ‘guard’ (Nyberg, 1974). *Pas* and *pasewanî* mean ‘guarding’ (Mardux). *Pasewanî* is registered by Hejar, W&E and Xa1 and is defined by them as ‘guarding’. Pers. *pâsbân* (*-ban* Pers. suff meaning ‘one who guards’) is equiv of ‘a sentinel’, ‘guard’, ‘watchman’ (cf. Steingass). Different loanwords from different cultures have caused confusion in Kurd. The Farhangestân suggestion *pâsbân* as equiv of *agent de police* is now established in Pers., and is borrowed by Iran. Kurds. *Pasewan* and *paseban* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers *polis* according to Iran. Kurd Ebrâhim. In Iraqi Kurdistan, *pasewan* is usually used as equiv of ‘guard’. *Pasewan* is equiv of Arab. *ʿâris* ‘guard’, ‘watchman’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973; Mukryanî, 1961). Iran. Kurd Hejar uses also *paseban* and *pasewan* as equivalents of ‘guard’. Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *heres* from Arab., but they prefer Kurd. variants in MSS. Arab. *ʿaras* means ‘watch’, ‘guard’ (Cowan).

**Pasga**, n, ‘gendarmerie or police station’. *Pasgakan-î Kurdistan* ‘gendarmerie stations of Kurdistan’ (Hêmin, 1983:86). *Pasga* (+ *-ga* ‘place’) ‘gendarmerie or police station’ is apparently borrowed from Pers. Farhangestân suggestion *pâsgâ* (*pâs* + *-gâ* ‘place’) as equiv of *post beh ma‘ni-ye qarâvoli* ‘station’, is now established in Pers. *Pasga* ‘gendarmerie or police station’ is established in Iran. wr Sor. *Pasga-yek-î jandarmirî* ‘a gendarmerie station’ (Hesenzade, 1995:134). At first, *pasga* or *pazge* meant ‘a place where one watches his/her *bêstan* (melon patch)’, in Kurd. (cf. Xa1). Later, *pasga* ‘gendarmerie or police station’ was borrowed from Pers.

Once more, confusion is created by borrowing from different cultures. Iran. Kurds use *sarewanî* (*sar* ‘city’ + *-e* + *-wan* ‘keeper of’) as equiv of ‘police headquarters’. *Sarewanî* is equiv of Pers. *jahrbâni* (Hejar). *Jahrbâni* ‘police headquarters’ is a Farhangestân suggestion and is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *naʿmiyyeh*. It is now



established in Pers. *Sarewanî* is equiv of Arab. *balad•ya* ‘municipality’ according to Iraqi Kurd Xal. *Sarewanî* is equiv of ‘municipality’ according to Iraqi Kurd Wahby (W&E). [*Saredarî* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *jahrdâri* ‘municipality’ according to Iran. Kurd Kara. *Saredarî* ‘municipality’, which is Kurdish variant of Pers. *jahrdâri*, is a Farhangestân suggestion and is equiv of Arab.-Pers. *baladiyyeh* (cf. VN). It is now established in Pers.]

**profesor**, n, ‘professor’ (a teacher of the highest rank in a university), used by Hêmin (1983:159). *Profesor* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *porofosor* which is a Fr. lw,

*professeur* (Moshiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *profisor* from Arab. *profesør* ‘professor’ (cf. Cowan). *Profisor* is indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Iraqi Kurds: **profisor**, n, ‘professor’ (Hêmin, 1983: 165). *Profesor* and *profisor* are established in MSS although they are not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961). Kurd. *pispor* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *porofosor* (Kara). *Pispor* ‘professor’ is not accepted. *Pispor* ‘expert’ is established in Sor.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *profesor*; Iraqi *profisor*.

**program**, n, ‘programme’. *Peyrew û program* ‘rules and programme’ used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:41). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *proxram* ‘programme’ (cf. *Jiyan*, 1937, quoted by Abdulla, 1980:247). This lw. is apparently an indirect borrowing from Turk. *Pro\ram* is Turk. variant of ‘programme’ (cf. Redhouse). *Brogrâm* is Arab. variant of ‘programme’ (Cowan). Now, Kurd. purists prefer more Euro. variant *program*. In Arab., *barnâmaj* means ‘programme’, but Iraqi Kurds have avoided using it and have preferred *program* to *barnâmaj*, not knowing that *barnâmaj* is originally Pers. *Program* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xal. *Program* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *porogrâm* (Secadî (1962:142). **Bername**, n, ‘programme’. *Bername-y komele* ‘programme of Komele’ (Hêmin, 1974:22). *Bername* ‘programme’ is apparently borrowed by Iran. Kurds from Pers. *Barnâmeh* is equiv of ‘a model’, ‘an exemplar’, ‘an account book’, ‘title’, ‘exordium of a book or letter’ (Steingass). *Barnâmeh* ‘programme’ is a Farhangestân suggestion and a loanshift extension (cf. VN). *Barnâmeh* ‘programme’ is now established in Pers. *Bername* is equiv of ‘programme’ and ‘plan of action’ (W&E). *Bername* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *barnâmeh* (Ebrâhim; Hejar; Kara; Secadî, 1962:142). Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *menhec* ‘programme’ from Arab. *manhaj* ‘programme’ (cf. Cowan). Iraqi Kurd Xal: *bername* is synonym of *program* and Arab.-Kurd. *menhec*. *Menhec* is seldom used in wr Iraqi Sor., *bername* and *program* are preferred. *Bername* is established in wr Sor.: *bername-w pêrew-î hizb* ‘the programme and rules of the Party’ (Hesenzade, 1995:67); *bername-y teblîxat-î* ‘a programme for propaganda’ (*Pêşrew*, 1995, No. 66, p. 9).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *bername*; Iraqi *program*, *menhec*.

**prupagende**, n, ‘propaganda’. Used by Hêmin as *prupaganda* (Hêmin, 1983:61). At first, Kurds indirectly borrowed *propaxanda* from Ottoman Turk. *propaganda* ‘propa\anda’ which is originally Fr. (cf. Redhouse). Now, in wr Iraqî Sor., using *prupagende* is more usual than *prupaxanda*. Emin uses *prupaxanda* ‘propaganda’ (1993:76). When Arab. became dominant in Iraq, Kurds borrowed *di‘aye*. Arab. equiv of ‘propaganda’ is *di‘âya* (Cowan). Iraqî Kurds prefer *prupagende* to *di‘aye* in MSS. *Prupaganda* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux and W&E. Kara has registered the term as *prûpagend*, and Qani‘ as *prupagende* (1985:60). Ismâ‘î has registered *propagende* as equiv of Arab. *di‘âya*. Hybrids: *prupagendeçî* (*prupagende* + originally Turk. suff. -çî meaning ‘agent’) ‘propagandist’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 2, p. 4); *prupagende kirdin* (+ Kurd. *kirdin* to do) ‘to propagandise’ (Secadî, 1959:277).

*Teblîxat* ‘propaganda’ is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *tabli\ât* means ‘propaganda’. Arab. *tabl\* means ‘conveyance’, ‘transmission’, ‘delivery’ (Cowan). Persians have borrowed this word and have given a new meaning to it and use it in pl *tabli\ât*. The whole word family is borrowed by Iran. Kurds: *teblîxat-î* (*teblîxat* + -î suff for making adj) ‘propagandistic’. Arab.-Pers. *tabli\âti* (*tabli\ât* + -i suff for making adj) has the same meaning. *Mubellîx* is Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *moballe\* ‘propagandist’: *Dezga-teblîxatîyekanî hukumet-î êran* ‘propaganda organisations of the Iranian government’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 2, p. 4, ); *teblîxat û nesrîyekanî komele* ‘propaganda and publications of Komala’ (*Pêşrew*, 1988, No. 25, p. 14). Iraqî Kurd Emîn has indirectly borrowed *mubellîx* from Iran. Kurds: *mubellîxekanî Hîtler* ‘propagandists of Hitler’ (1993:76)

Sp. Sor: Iran. *teblîxat*, Iraq. *prupagende*, *di‘aye*.

**psîkolojî**, see **rewansinasî**.

**pzisk**, see **duktur**

## Q

**qamûs**, see **ferheng**

**qutabxane**, n, ‘literary school’, ‘school’. *Qutabxane-y (edebî)* ‘(literary) school’ (Hêmin, 1983:42). The term is borrowed by Iraqî Kurds. *Qutabxane* is formed by *qutabî* ‘pupil’ which is originally an Arabic lw (W-ISA-KB, 1973). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *qutabxane* from Iraqî Kurds. *Qutabxane* ‘school’ is registered by Hejar, Secadî (1962:140) and W&E. Iran. Kurds use *medrese* ‘school’. *Medrese* ‘school’ is borrowed from Arab. and indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. and Iraqî Kurds: Arab. *maktab* and *madrassa*, Pers. *maktab* and *madreseh* mean ‘school’. Kurd. purist suggestion *fêrge* (*fêr* from *fêr kirdin* ‘to teach’ + -ge Kurd. suff meaning ‘place’) ‘school’ is accepted. *Fêrge* is equiv of Arab. *madrassa* (W-ISA-KB, 1973).

The whole word-family is borrowed. Qutabî ‘pupil’ is borrowed by Iraqi Kurds. Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *muhesil* ‘pupil’ from Pers., originally Arab., *mo`aββel*. Kurd. purists prefer *sagird* ‘pupil’ to *qutabî* and *muhesil*. *Sagird* is equiv of Arab. *talm•f* ‘pupil’ (W-ISA-KB,1973). Kurd. *sagird* and Pers. *jâgerd* both meaning ‘pupil’ belong to common Kurd.-Pers. vocabulary. *Fêrge*, *qutabxane* and *sagird* are used in wr Sor. *Qutabî* ‘pupil’ (*Pêşrew*, 1988, No. 25, p. 27); *qutabxane-y seretayî* ‘primary school’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 13, p. 4).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *medrese* Iraqi *qutabxane*.

## R

**radar**, n, ‘radar’ (Hêmin, 1974:34). It is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and Arab. Pers. *râdâr* is an Eng. abbr: RADAR ‘Radio Detecting and Ranging’ (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use also *radar*. Arab. equiv of ‘radar’ is *râdâr* (Cowan). *Radar* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, W&E, or Xa1.

**radyo**, n, ‘radio’ (Hêmin,1974:17). *Radyo* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and Arab. into Sor. Pers. *râdyo* is a Fr. lw, *radio* (Moçiri). Arab. equiv of ‘radio’ is *râdiyø* (Cowan). [‘Radio’ is a shortened form of ‘radiotelegraphy’.] The term is registered by Ebrâhim. and Xa1 as *radyo*, by Hejar as *radyo* and *radwê*. *Radyo* is not registered by Baban, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, or W&E. *Radyo* is established in Sor.: *be radyo* ‘by radio’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 1, p. 1); *radyo-y dengî emrîka* ‘Radio Voice of America’ (*Kurdistan-î nÛ*, PUK, 1994, No. 685, p. 1). Hybrids: *radyoyî* (*radyo* + -y hiatus + -î suff for making adj) ‘radio’. *Bernameyekî radyoyî* ‘a radio programme’ (Hesenzade, 1995:271). Pers. *râdyoyi* (*râdyo* + -y hiatus + -i suff for making adj) ‘radio’.

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi, *radyo*.

**ramûs**, ‘kiss’. The verb form *ramûsîn* ‘to kiss’ is used by Hêmin (1983:155). *Ramûs* is used in Mukri folklore but no longer in sp Mukri. In sp and wr Sor., in Iran &Iraq, *maç* ‘kiss’ is used. *Ramûs* is used in sp and wr Kirm. *Ramûs* is a Badînanî word (Xa1). Some Sor. nationalists use dialect loanwords in Sor. in order to create a common Kurdish vocabulary. *Ramûs* and *ramûz* are equivalents of Pers. *buseh* ‘kiss’ (Hejar). Baban, Kara, W&E have registered *maç* but not *ramûs*.

**raport**, n, ‘report’, ‘a political report’, ‘unfriendly and secret report’. *Raport* ‘an unfriendly report’ (Hêmin, 1983:4). *Raport* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and from Turk. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *râport* is a Fr. lw, *rapport* (Moçiri). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *rapor*. Turk. *rapor* is a Fr. lw (Redhouse). *Râbur* is Arab. equiv of ‘report’ (Cowan). *Rapor* ‘report’ is used by Kurd. Ottoman intellectual Zekî (1931a:260). Later, when Arabic became dominant, Iraqi Kurds borrowed *teqrîr* ‘report’. Arab. *taqr•r* is equiv of ‘report’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds prefer *rapor* or *raport* to *teqrîr* in MSS. *Raport* ‘secret report’ is registered by Iraqi Kurd Xa1. Iran. Kurds

have also borrowed *guzaris* ‘report’ from Pers. Pers. *gozârej* (*gozâr* pres st *gozârdan* ‘to do’, ‘to explain’ + *-ej* Pers. suff for making n) is equiv of ‘the interpretation of a dream’, ‘explanation’, ‘utterance’ (cf. Steingass). Pers. *gozârej* as equiv of Fr.-Pers. *raport* is a Farhangestân suggestion. *Gozârej* ‘report’ is now established in Pers. Kurd. purists prefer a more Kurdified form. *Guzarist* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *gozârej* (Hejar). Iran. Kurds usually avoid using *guzaris* in wr Sor, and prefer *raport*. *Raport* is registered as equiv of Pers. *gozârej* by Iran. Kurds (Kara; Ebrâhim). *Raport* and *guzaris* are both established in MSS: *be pê-y guzarisêk ke be destman geyis-tuwe* ‘according to a report which has received to us’ (*Pêşrew*, 1996, No. 69, p. 3); *raportekan-î cîhanî* ‘the world reports’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 7, p. 2.); *raport-î salane-y wezaret-î derewe-y emrîka* ‘yearly report of foreign ministry of America (U.S.A.)’ (*Kurdistan-î nö*, PUK, 1994, No. 677, p. 1).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *guzaris* and *raport*; Iraqi, *raport*, *teqrîr*.

**rêkorder**, n, ‘record player’, ‘cassette/tape/video recorder’. *Srît-î rêkorderekan* ‘the tape of the recorders’ (Hêmin, 1983: 89). *Rêkorder* is indirectly borrowed from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. It is indirectly borrowed from Iraqi Kurds by Iran. Kurds. *Rikordar* is Arab. variant of ‘tape recorder’ (Cowan). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *zebt-î sewt* (*zebt* Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *zab†* ‘recording’ + *-î idâfa* + *sewt* Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *βout* ‘sound’, ‘voice’) ‘tape recorder’ from Pers. (*dastgâh-e*) *zab†-e βout* (*dastgâh* ‘set’ + *-e idâfa*) ‘tape recorder’. Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *musacele* from Arab. *Musajjala* is equiv of ‘recorder’ (Ba‘albak•). In MSS., *rêkorder* is preferred to Arab. and Pers. equivalents. *Rêkorder* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *zebt* (*-î sewt*); Iraqi *musacele*, *rêkorder*.

**rijîm**, n ‘regime’. Used by Hêmin as *rêjîm*: *dezga-y teblîxat-î rêjîm* ‘the propaganda organisation of the regime’ (1974:27). *Rêjîm* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *re~im*, which is a Fr. lw, *régime* (Moçiri). *Rijîm* is registered as equiv of Euro.-Pers. *re~im* by Iran. Kurd Baban. Iraqi Kurds use *rijêm* ‘regime’. *Rêjîm* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, or W&E. Some Kurd. writers prefer *rêjîm* to *rijêm*. They maintain that the former is closer to the Euro. origin. *Rêjîm*, *rijîm* and *rijêm* are established in MSS: *rijêm-î Bexda* ‘the Iraqi regime’ (*Kurdistan-î nö*, PUK, 1994, No. 677, p. 1); *rijîmî islamî* ‘the Islamic regime’ (*Pêşrew*, 1989, No. 28, p. 17); *rêjîm-î pasayetî* ‘the Royal regime’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 2, p. 1).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *rêjîm*; Iraqi *rijêm*.

**rewansinasî**, n, ‘psychology’ (Hêmin,1983:85). *Rewansinasî* is apparently borrowed from Per. by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *ravânjenâsi* (*ravân* ‘soul’, ‘spirit’ + *-jenâsi* suff as equiv of *-logy*) is a loanshift creation of Fr. *psychologie*. *Ravânjenâsi* is now established in Pers. At first, Persians borrowed *pesikolo~i* ‘psychology’ from Fr. (Moçiri). *Pesikolo~i* is now seldom used in Pers. **Psîkolojî**, n, ‘psychology’. Registered by Hêmin as *pîsîko lojî* (1975e:122). *Psîkolojî* is apparently indirectly

borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed the term from Arab. *Al-s•kulujiyâ* is equiv of ‘psychology’ (Ba‘albak•). *Saykoloci* ‘psychology’ (Mola Ezat, 1988:338). Arab. R. Sabir prefers the variant with /j/ *saykolojiya* (1995:13). *Psîkoloji* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, W&E and Xa1. Purist equivalents are accepted to a limited degree. *Zanist-î nefis* (*zanist* ‘science’ + -î *iðâfa* + *nefis* Kurd. variant of Arab. *nafs* ‘soul’, ‘spirit’) is a loanshift creation of Arab. *‘ilm ul-nafs* (*‘ilm* ‘science’ + *al-* Arab. def art + *nafs*) (cf. W-ISA-KB, 1976). *Derûn-nasî* (*derûn* ‘interior’, ‘inward parts and conscience’ + *-nas* pres st of *nasîn* ‘to know’ + -î suff for making n) and *zanistî derûn* are equivalents of ‘psychology’ (cf. Serîf, 1985). C. X. Jaleyî discusses different purist suggestions and prefers *derûn-zanî* (*derûn* (see above) + *zan* pres st of *zanîn* ‘to know’ + -î suff for making n) ‘psychology’ (1986:56).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *rewan-sinasî*; Iraqi, *‘ilm ul-nefs* and *saykolociya*.

**rîfrandom**, n, ‘referendum’ (Hêmin, 1974:40). Used also as *rêfrandom*. *Rifrandom* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *referândom*, which is a Fr. l.w., *référendum* (Moçiri). Qani‘ *rîfrandom* ‘referendum’ (1985). *Rifrandom* is not registered by Baban, Hejar, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *istifta* ‘am. Arab. equiv of ‘referendum’ is *istiftâ* ‘âm (Karmi). Kurd. purist suggestion *ra-wergitnî gistî* (*ra* Kurd. variant of Arab. *ra*’y ‘opinion’ + *wergirtin* ‘receive’ + *gist* ‘whole’ + -î suff for making adj) ‘referendum’ is accepted. It is apparently loanshift creation of *istifta* ‘âm. Iraqi Kurd Mola Ezat (1988:362): *ray gist wergirtin* is equiv of *istifta* ‘âm. Some purist suggestions are not accepted. Ebrâhim. has registered *hemedeng* (*heme* ‘all’ + *deng* ‘vote’) and Kara *hemedengî* (+ -î suff for making n) as equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *referândom*. *Hemedengî* ‘referendum’ is a loanshift creation of Pers. *hamehporsi*. Pers. purist suggestion ‘hameh-porsi’ (*hameh* ‘all’ + *pors* pres st of *porsidan* ‘to ask’ + -i suff for making n) as equiv of ‘referendum’ is now established in Pers. (cf. Åçuri). *Rîfrandom* is established in Sor.: *roj-î rîfrandom* ‘the day of referendum’ (Hesenzade, 1995:145).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *rêfrandom*; Iraqi *istifta* ‘am, *ra-wergirtin-î gistî*.

**rîportaj**, n, ‘newspaper report’ (Hêmin, 1983:11). *Rîportaj* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. Pers. *reportâ* is a Fr. lw, *reportage* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *rîportac*. Arab. *r•burtâj* is equiv of ‘news reporting’ (Cowan). *Rîportaj* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), Marduxh, W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *ripurtaj*; Iraqi *rîportac*.

**riyalîst**, adj, ‘realist’. Registered by Hêmin as *ri’alîst* (1983:85). *Ri’alîst* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *re’âlist* which is a Fr. lw, *réaliste* (Moçiri). *Ri’alîst* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961) W&E, or Xa1. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *waqi’î* ‘realist’. Arab. equiv of ‘realist’ is *wâqi’*• (Cowan). The whole word-family is borrowed. *Riyalîzm* is Sor. equiv of *al-wâqi’ya* ‘realism’ (W-ISA-KB, 1976). Qani‘, in his dictionary of

political terms, has registered *riyalîzm* as Sor. variant of ‘realism’ and antonym of *aydiyalîsm* ‘idealism’ (1985). Iraqi Kurds prefer *ryalîzm* and *ryalîst* to Arab. equivalents. Purist equiv *raskarî* ‘realism’ is not accepted. *Raskarî* ‘honesty’ is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *re’âlism*. (Kara). *Raskarî* ‘honesty’ is established.

**rojname**, n, ‘magazine’, ‘newspaper’. *Yekem rojname-y kurdî* ‘the first Kurd. magazine’ (Hêmin, 1983:24). *Rojname* (*roj* ‘day’ + *name* ‘letter’, ‘book’) is loanshift creation of Pers. *ruz-nâme* (*ruz* ‘day’ + *nâme* ‘letter’, ‘book’). At first, *ruz-nâme* was used as equiv of ‘a book of the day, i.e. an ephemeris, calendar, almanac’; ‘a journal of daily transactions or expense’; ‘a daily account-book or journal’ (Steingass). *Ruznâme* ‘newspaper’ or ‘magazine’ is a loanshift extension, which is now established in Pers. Kurd. and non-Kurd. dictionary-compilers have registered the term. *Rojname* is equiv of ‘daily newspaper’ (W&E). *Rojnama* is equiv of Arab. *al-jar•da* ‘newspaper’ (Mukryanî, 1961; Secadî, 1962:142). Registered by Ebrâhim., Kara and Xa1, as *rojname*; by Hejar and Mardux as *rojname* and *rozname*. *Rozname* and *rojname* are equivalents of Pers. *ruznâme* (Baban). *Rozname* is Kurdified form of Pers. *ruznâme* and is used in sp Iran. Sor. In MSS, *rojname* is preferred to *rozname*. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *cerîde* ‘newspaper’ from Arab. In MSS., Iraqi Kurds prefer *rojname*. *Rojname* is established in Sor.

The whole word-family is borrowed. *Rojnamenûs* (*rojname* + *nûs* pres st of *nûsîn* ‘to write’) is equiv of ‘newspaper-writer’ (Xa1). *Rojnamenûs* is a loanshift creation based on Pers. *ruznâme-nevis* (+ *nevis* pres st of *nevejtan* ‘to write’). **Rojnamenûsî**, n, ‘journalism’ (Hêmin, 1983: 24). *Rojnamenûsî* (+ *-î* suff. for forming abstract nouns) is apparently a loanshift creation of Pers. *ruznâme-nevisi* (+ *-i* suff for making n ) ‘journalism’. *Ruznâme-nevisi* is equiv of ‘journalism’ (Steingass, Bâṭeni). Less Pers. purist equiv *rojnamegerî* (*rojname* + *-ger* suff meaning ‘maker’, ‘worker’ + *-î* suff for making n) ‘journalism’ is preferred to *rojnamenûsî*, which is now established in Sor. *Rojnamegerî* is equiv of Arab. *βi`âfa* ‘journalism’(W-ISA-KB, 1973).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *rozname*; Iraqi *cerîde*.

**rol**, n, ‘role’ ( Hêmin, 1975:82). *Ro1* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and Arab. Pers. *rol* is a Fr. lw, *rôle* (Moḵiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *ro1* from Turk. or Arab. *Rol* is Turk. variant of ‘role’ (Redhouse). *Rø1* is Arab. variant of ‘role’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *dewr* from Arab. Arab. equiv of ‘role’ is *dawr* (Cowan). *Ro1* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Marduxh, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. Purist equiv *xul* ‘role’ is accepted. *Xul* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *rol* (Kara). *Xul* is equiv of Arab. *dawra* ‘turn’, ‘rotation’ (Ismâ‘ • 1, 1974; W-ISA-KB, 1973). Kurd. *xul* means ‘spin’, ‘rotate’. *Xul* as equiv of ‘role’ is a loanshift extension from Arab. *dawra*.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *ro1*; Iraqi *dewr* and *ro1*.

**roman**, n, ‘novel’ (Hêmin, 1974:10). *Roman* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *român*, which is a Fr. lw, *roman* (Moḵiri). *Roman* is not registered by

Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), or W&E. *Roman* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *român* (Kara). Iraqi Kurds have also indirectly borrowed *roman* ‘novel’. It is probably indirectly borrowed from Turk. *roman* ‘novel’ (cf. Redhouse). *Roman* is registered as equiv of ‘novel’ by Iraqi Kurd Xa1. Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *riwaye* ‘novel’ from Arab. *Riwâya* is equiv of ‘novel’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds prefer *roman* to *riwaye* in MSS. Some Kurd. writers use purist equivalents. *Çîrok-î gewre* (*çîrok* ‘story’ + *-î iðâfa* + *gewre* ‘big’) is equiv of ‘novel’ (cf. Xa1). **Çîrokî dirêj** (*çîrok* ‘story’ + *-î iðâfa* + *dirêj* ‘long’), n, ‘novel’ (Hêmin, 1983:91). Pers. *dâstân-e boland* (*dâstân* ‘story’ + *-e iðâfa* + *boland* ‘long’) means ‘novel’ (Bâfêni).

*Dastan* ‘novel’ is used in Sor. Kurd. *dastan* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *român* (Kara). The new meaning of the Kurd. word *dastan*, is borrowed from Pers. *Dâstân* ‘novel’ is also a loanshift extension in Pers. At first, *dâstân* was used as equiv of ‘history’, ‘a theme’, ‘fable’ and ‘tale’ (cf. Steingass). Later, *dâstân* was used as equiv of ‘novel’ (cf. Âjuri). Kurd. *dastan* and Pers. *dâstân* belong to the common Kurd.-Pers. vocabulary. At first, Kurd. *dastan* was used as equiv of ‘epic poetry’, ‘ode’ or ‘lay’ (cf. W&E Kurd. writers prefer *roman* and *çîrok* ‘story’ to *dastan* ‘story’: roman-î ‘bebada royist’ ‘the novel Gone with the Wind’ (*Birayetî*, 1993, No. 1994, p. 8). Sêzad Hesên in an interview with Hîwa Qadir (1998:241) uses *çîrok* ‘story’). *Dastan* has different meanings in Kurdish. **Dastan**, n, ‘story’. Used by Hêmin: *dastan-êk-m we-bîr-hatewe*. ‘I remember a story’ (1975:75).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *roman*; Iraqi *riwaye*, *roman*.

**romantîk**, adj, ‘romantic’. Used by Hêmin as *romantîkî: dîdar-î Mem û Zîn ... zor romantîkî û le waqî‘ dûr-e* ‘meeting between Mem and Zîn ... is very romantic and is far from reality’ (1975:80). *Romantîkî* is formed by *romantîk* ‘romantic’ + *-î* Kurd. suff for making adj. Hêmin has considered *romantîk* as a noun and made an adj by adding suff *-î*. *Romantîk* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *romântik*, which is a Fr. lw, *romantique* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use *romansî* ‘romantic’. *Rømans*• is Arab. equiv of ‘romantic’ (Cowan). *Romansî* ‘romantic’ is used by Sêzad Hesên in an interview with Hîwa Qadir (1998:243). *Romantîk* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

## S

**saldat**, see **serbaz**

**sano**, see **drama**

**sansor**, n, ‘censorship’ (Hêmin, 1983:78). *Sansor* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *sânsur* ‘censorship’ which is a Fre. lw, *censure* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have also indirectly borrowed *sansor*. Turk. *sansür* is equiv of ‘censorship’ (Redhouse). Iraqi Kurd Qani‘ has defined Kurd. *sansor* as ‘censorship’ (1985:107). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *reqabe* ‘censorship’. Arab. equiv of ‘censorship of the press’ is *raqâba* (Cowan). In MSS, Iraqi Kurds prefer *sanor* to *reqabe*. *Sansor*

and *ra-piskinîn* (originally Arab. *ra* ‘opinion’ + *piskinîn* ‘to search’, ‘to peer into’) are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *sânsur* (Kara). *Ra-piskinîn* ‘censorship’ is not accepted. *Sansor* is established in Sor. although it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. Hybrids: *sansor kirdin* ‘to censor’. *Rojnamekan sansor dekrên* ‘the newspapers are censored’ (*Pêşrew*, 1996, No. 68, p. 2).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *sansor*; Iraqi *reqabe*, *sansor*.

**semfonî**, n, ‘symphony’ (Hêmin, 1974:45). *Semfonî* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *samfoni*, which is a Fr. lw, *symphonie* (Moqiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *simfonya* from Arab. Arab. variant of ‘symphony’ is *simfon•ya* (Cowan). Iraqi Kurd O. M. Mihemed uses *simfoniya* ‘symphony’ (1992:79). *Semfonî* is established, though it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, W&E, or Xa1.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *semfonî*; Iraqi *semfonya*.

**senator**, n, ‘senator’ (Hêmin, 1983:3). *Senator* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. and Arab. Pers. *sanâtor* ‘senator’ is a Fr. lw, *sénateur* (Moshiri). *Senâtor* is Arab. variant of ‘senator’ (Cowan). *Senator* is equiv of ‘senator’ according to Iran. Kurd Baban and Iraqi Kurd Qani’ (1985:190). *Senator* is not registered by Ebrâhim.,



Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. (see also **nöner**).

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi, *senator*.

**serbaz**, n, 'soldier' (Hêmin, 1983:139). Kurd. *serbaz* is a Pers. lw, *sarbâz* (*sar* 'head'+ *-bâz* pres st of *bâxtan* 'to lose'). *Sarbâz* is equiv of 'brave', 'resolute', 'risking one's own life or head', 'a soldier' (Steingass). *Serbaz* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *sarbâz* (Baban and Kara). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *serbaz*. *Serbaz* is equiv of 'soldier' (W&E). Iraqi Kurds have borrowed '*esker* from Arab. '*askar* 'troops' (cf. Cowan). Iraqi Kurds prefer *serbaz* to '*esker*. **Saldat**, n, 'soldier'. *Saldat-î rûs* 'Russian soldier' (Hêmin, 1974:18). *Saldat* is a Russ. lw in Sor. **Serbaz-xane**, comp n, 'barracks' (Hêmin, 1974:19). *Serbaz-xane* is a Pers. lw in Kurd. Pers. *sarbâzxâneh* (*sarbâz* +*xâneh* 'house') is equiv of 'barracks' (Steingass). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *serbazxane*. *Serbazxane* is equiv of 'barracks' (W&E). Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *mu'esker* 'military encampment'. Arab. *mu'askar* is equiv of 'military encampment', 'army camp' (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds prefer *serbazxane* to *mu'esker*. Sor. writers use both *serbaz* and *esker*: '*esker, serbaz* both meaning 'soldier' (Secadî,1959:126, 285).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *serbaz* and *serbazxane*; Iraqi '*esker* and *mu'esker*.

**serdosî**, n, 'epaulette' (Hêmin, 1983:1). *Serdosî* is apparently borrowed from Pers. *sarduji* (*sar* 'head' + *duj* 'shoulder' + *-i* suff for making n). *Serdosî* is Kurd. variant of Pers. *sarduji* (Mardux). According to Mardux, *ser-sanî* (*ser* 'over' + *san* 'shoulder' + *-î* suff for making n) and *pagon* (originally Russ.) are synonyms of Pers.-Kurd. *serdosî*. *Ser-sanî* is a loanshift creation of Pers. *sarduji*. *Serdosî* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

**sermayedar**, see **borjwazî**

**sertîp**, n, 'brigadier general' (Hêmin, 1974:38). The meaning of *sertîp* 'brigadier general' is borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Kurd. *sertîp* (*ser* 'head' + *tîp* 'group', 'team' and 'regiment') is equiv of 'group leader' (W&E). Pers. *sartip* is equiv of 'brigadier general' (Å& Å).

**sînema**, n, 'cinema' (Hêmin, 1983:14). *Sînema* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *sinemâ* is a Fr. lw, *cinéma* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use *sînema*. Arab. variant of 'cinema' is *sinamâ* (Cowan). Registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar and Xa1 as *sînema* by Mardux as *sînoma*. *Sînema* is equiv of Arab. *al-s•namâ* (Secadî, 1962:174). *Nöndinxane* (*nöndin* 'to show' + *xane* 'house') is registered as equiv of Euro.-Arab. *sinamâ* by (Mukryanî, 1955:57). *Nöndinxane* 'cinema' is not accepted. Later, Mukryanî (1961) himself omitted *nöndinxane* 'cinema' in his Kurd.-Arab. dictionary, *Ferhengi Mehabad*.

Sp Sor: Iran. and Iraqi, *sînema*.

**sîxar**, n, ‘cigarette’. *Sîxar* ‘cigarette’ (Hêmin, 1983:5). **Cigere**, n, ‘cigarette’ (Ibid., p. 75). *Sîxar* and *cigere* are indirectly borrowed from Turk., Arab. and Pers. by Iraqi and Iran. Kurds. Arab. *sigâr* and *sigâra* are equivalents of ‘cigar’ and ‘cigarette’, respectively (Cowan). Turk. equiv of ‘cigarette’ is *sigara* (Redhouse). Pers. *sigâret* ‘cigarette’ and *sigâr* ‘cigar’ are Fr. loanwords, ‘cigarette’ and ‘cigare’, respectively (Moçiri). *Cigere*, *sigar*, and *sîgar* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *sigâr* (Baba; Mardux). *Cixare* and *cigare* are equivalents of Euro.-Pers. *sigâr* (Ebrâhim.). *Sîxar* and *cigere* are established in Sor. Hybrids: *cigere-xor* (+ *xor* pres st of *xwardin* ‘eat’, ‘smoke’) and *cigere-kês* (+ *kês* pres st of *kêsan* ‘pull’, ‘smoke’) are equivalents of ‘smoker’(Xa1) .

Sp Sor.: Iran. and Iraqi *sîxar*, *cigere*.

**sikirtêr**, n, ‘secretary’. *Be sikirtêr he1-bijêrdan* ‘to be elected secretary’ (Hêmin, 1974:23). *Sikirtêr* or *sikritêr* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *sekreter* is a Fr. lw, *secrétaire* (Moçiri). Arab. *sekretΣr* is equiv of ‘secretary’ (Cowan). *Sikritêr* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1 although it is established in Sor.: *sikritêr-î komîte-y nawend-î* ‘secretary of the Central Committee ...’ (*Pêşrew*, 1988, No. 25, p. 5); *sikritêr-î gist-î hizib* ‘General Secretary of the Party’ (Hesenzade, 1995:269 )

Sp Sor.: Iran., *sikritêr*; Iraqi, *sikirtêr*.

**sitratîjîk**, adj, ‘strategic’. Registered by Hêmin, as *sitratîjîkî* (1983:2), which is formed by *sitratîjîk* ‘strategic’ + *-î* Kurd. suff for making adj. *Sitratîjîk* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *esterâte~ik* is a Fr. lw, *stratégique* (Moçiri). Hêmin has omitted the vowel at the beginning of the word /e-/, which is typical of the Pers. sound system. *Sitratîjîk* is an adj but Hêmin has considered it a noun and made a Kurd. adj. *Sitratîjîkî* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961) and W&E. The whole word-family is borrowed. Iraqi Kurd H. M. Kerîm uses *sitratîjî* ‘strategy’ (1993:263). Iraqi Kurd Qani‘ has indirectly borrowed *sitratîc* ‘strategy’ from Arab. (1985:10). Arab. equiv of ‘strategy’ is *istrât•jya* (Cowan). Sometimes, more Pers. variant beginning with /i/ is used. *Sitratiji* is also used as equiv of ‘strategic’: *dû pile-y istratijî w taktîkî* ‘two strategic and tactical stages’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1972, No. 12, p. 3). *Sitratîjî* and its derivations are established in Sor.

**sosyalîzm**, n, ‘socialism’ (Hêmin, 1983: 60). *Sosyalîzm* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *soyâlism* is a Fr. lw, *socialisme* (Moçiri). *Sosyalîzm* is indirectly borrowed by Iraqi Kurds from Iran. Kurds. Iraqi Kurd Asos Kemal uses *sosyalîzm* (1997:178). Iraqi Kurds use *sosyalîzm*, borrowed from Eng. ‘socialism’. Iraqi Kurd Qani‘ uses *sosyalîzm* (1985:191). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *istirakîyet* from Arab. *ijtirâk•ya* ‘socialism’ (cf. Cowan); in Kurd. variant, *t.m.* is pronounced. *Istirakîyet* ‘socialism’ (Mihemed, 1992:198). In MSS, *sosyalîzm* is preferred to *istirakîyet*. *Sosyalîzm* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Marduxh, W&E, or Xa1. Purist equivalents are not accepted: *kome1-parêzî* (kome1 ‘society’+ *parêz*

pres st of *parastin* ‘protect’ + *-î* suff for making n) is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *sosyâlism* (Kara); *haw-bes-ayetî* (*haw* ‘together’ + *bis* ‘share’, ‘part’ + *-ayetî* suff for making n) is equiv of Arab. *ijtirâk•ya* (W-ISA-KB, 1976). The whole word-family is borrowed. Qani‘ uses *sosyalîst* ‘socialist’ (1985:191). Hybrid: adjectives are made by Kurd. suffixes *-î* and *-ane*. *Sosyalîstî* (+ *-î*), adj, ‘socialist’: Asos Kemal uses *sorisî* *sosyalîstî* ‘socialist revolution’ (1997:188). He uses *bîr-û-ra-y sosyalîstane* (+ *-ane* suff for forming adj) ‘socialist ideas’ (Ibid., p. 178) (see also **komunîzm**).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *sosyalîzm*; Iraqi *sosyalîzm, istirakîyet*.

**standard**, n, ‘standard’. *Ziman-î standard-î kurdî* ‘standard Kurdish language’ (Hêmin, 1983:101). *Standard* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *estândârd* which is a Fr. lw, *standard* (Moçiri). Hêmin has Kurdified *estândârd* by omission of /e-/. Iraqi Kurd ‘I. M. Resûl has borrowed *standart* ‘standard’ (1991:26). *Standard* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xal. Kurd. writers, one of them ‘I. M. Resûl, usually use *ziman-î edebî yekgirtû* ‘unified literary language’ as equiv of ‘standard language’ (1971:8).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *istandard*, Iraqi *standart*.

**sunasname**, n, ‘identity certificate’ (Hêmin, 1974: 33). *Sunasname* is borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *jenâsnâme* (*jenâs* pres st of *jenâxtan* ‘to know’ + *nâme* ‘letter’, ‘book’) is a Farhangestân suggestion, as equiv of Arab.-Pers. *varaqeh-ye hoviyyat* ‘identity certificate’ (VN). *jenâsnâme* ‘identity certificate’ is established in Pers. At first, Iran. Kurds indirectly borrowed *sicil* ‘identity certificate’ from Pers. Arab-Pers. *sejel* means ‘identity card’. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *hewîye* ‘identity card’ from Arab. *biñâqa al-huw•ya* ‘identity card’ (cf. Cowan). Kurd. purist suggestions *pênas* (*pê* ‘with’, ‘by’ + *nas* pres st of *nasîn* ‘to know’) and *nasname* (*nas* pres st of *nasîn* ‘to know’ + *name* ‘letter’, ‘book’) are preferred to *sicil* and *sunasname*. *Nasname* is a loanshift creation of Pers. *jenâsnâme*. *Sicil* and *pê-nas* are equivalents of Pers. *jenâsnâme* (Baban). *Nasname* and *pênas* are equivalents of Arab. *huwîya* (Ismâ‘îl, 1974). *Pênas* is equiv of Arab. *huwîya* (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Nasname* is equiv of Arab. *daftar al-huwîya* (Mukryanî, 1961).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *sicil, sunasname*; Iraqi *hewîye, nasname*.

**supas**, n, ‘thanking’. Used by Hêmin in a comp v: *supas kirdin* ‘to thank’ (1983:163). Kurd. *supas* is borrowed from Pers. *sepâs* is equiv of ‘kindness’, ‘grace’, ‘praise’ (cf. Steingass). *Sepâs* is now seldom used in Pers. Iraqi purists avoid using Arab. words. Sometimes, they borrow old-fashioned Pers. words as equivalents of Arab. loanwords in Sor. Hybrid *memnûn bûn* (*memnûn* Kurd. variant of Arab. *mamnûn* ‘grateful’ + *bûn* ‘to be’) ‘to thank’ is quite established in sp Sor. but purists prefer Pers.-Kurd. *supas* to Arab. *memnûn*. *Sipas* is equiv of ‘thanks’ (W&E). *Sipas* is indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurds. Kurd. *supas* is equiv of Pers. *sepâs* (Baban). Moderate purists use also Arab. loanwords. Arab.-Kurd. *memnûn* means ‘grateful’ (Hejar).

## S

**sowinîst**, n.&adj , ‘chauvinist’. Registered by Hêmin as *sowînîst*(1983:28). *Sowînîst* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *jovinist*, which is a Fr. lw, *chauviniste* (Zomorrod.). Registered also as *suwênîst* ‘a chauvinist’ by Iran Kurd Hesenzade (1995:219). Iraqi Kurds use also Euro. variant: Qani‘ has registered: *suvînîst* ‘chauvinist’. They have also indirectly borrowed *sowinî* from Arab. *juf•n•* ‘chauvinist’ (cf. Ba‘albaki). *Sownîst* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. The whole word-family is indirectly borrowed. Asos Kemal *sovînîzm* ‘chauvinism’ (1997:295). Qani‘: *sovînî-yet* ‘chauvinism’. Arab. variant of ‘chauvinism’ is *juf•n•ya* (Ba‘albaki), in Kurd. variant, *t.m.* is pronounced. *Siyasetî suvînîstane* (*suvînîst* + *-ane* suff for making adj) ‘chauvinistic politics’ (Qani‘, 1985.119).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *sowênîst*; Iraqi *sowinî*.

## T

**tablo**, n , ‘painting’. Hêmin (1983:46) uses *tablo kêsan* ‘to paint’ figuratively meaning ‘to describe’, ‘to portray’. *Tablo* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *tâblo* ‘painting’ is a Fr. lw, *tableau* (Moçiri). Arab. *tabløh* is equiv of ‘painting’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurd Yusif Salih uses *tablo* as equiv of ‘painting’ (1991:176). *Tablo* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *tâblo* (Hejar and Kara). *Tablo* is established in Sor., although it is not registered by Ebrâhim, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

**taktîk**, n, ‘tactics’ (Hêmin, 1983:1). *Taktîk* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds. Pers. *tâktik* is a Fr. lw, *tactique* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *tektîk* from Arab *takt•k* ‘tactics’ (Cowan). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *taktîk* from Iran. Kurds: *taktîk* is equivalent of ‘tactics’ (cf. Qani‘, 1985). *Taktîk* is established in MSS although it is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. Hybrids: H. M. Kerîm uses *taktîkî* (+ *-î* suff for making adj) ‘tactical’ (1993:36).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *taktîk*; Iraqi *tektîk*.

**tank**, n, ‘tank’ (Hêmin, 1974:38). *Tank*, the name of a military vehicle, is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *tânk*, which is an Eng. lw, *tank* (Zomorrod.). Iraqi Kurds also use *tank*. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *debabe* from Arab. *dabbâba* ‘tank’ (cf. Cowan). *Tank* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *tânk* (Kara). *Tank* and *rewandiz* (*rewan* ‘moving’ + *diz* ‘castle’) are equivalents of Arab. *dabbâba* (Mardux). Purist suggestion *rewandiz* ‘tank’ is not accepted. *Tank* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim, Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. *Tank* and *debabe* are used in MSS, but the former is preferred: *debabe* ‘tank’ (Secadî, 1959:223); *tank* ‘tank’ (Mihemed, 1992:213).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *tank*; Iraqi *debabe*, *tank*.

**teknîk**, n, ‘technique’, ‘technology’. *Le dinya-y teknîk da* ‘in the world of technology’ (Hêmin, 1983:199). *Teknîk* is indirectly borrowed by Iraqi Kurds from Arab. Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed it from Iraqi Kurds. Arab. variant of ‘technique’ is *takn•k* (Cowan). Iraqi Kurd Qani‘ uses *teknîk* ‘technique’, ‘technology’ (1985:63). *Teknîk* is equiv of Arab. *fann* ‘technique’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *têknîk* from Pers. *teknik*, which is a Fr. lw, *technique* (Moçiri). *Teknîk* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryanî (1961), Mardux, W&E, or Xa1. The whole word-family is indirectly borrowed. *Têknokrat* ‘technocrat’; *teknokrasî* ‘technocracy’ (Qani‘, 1985:63). Hybrids: *teknîkî* (+ *-î* suff for making adj) is equiv of Arab. *fann•* ‘technical’ (W-ISA-KB, 1973).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *têknîk*; Iraqi, *teknîk*.

**têkst**, n, ‘text’ (Hêmin, 1975d:94). *Têkst* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *tekst*, which is an Eng. lw (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds use also *tekst* ‘text’. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *nes* ‘text’ from Arab. *naßß* or *matn* ‘text’ (cf. Cowan). *Têkst* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, W&E, or Xa1. Iran. Kurds have also indirectly borrowed *metn* from Pers. *Metn* is Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *matn* ‘text’ (Mardux). Compilers of W-ISA-KB (1973) have suggested *saye* as equiv of Arab. *matn* or *naßß*. The suggestion is based on an idiom used in *hucre: xöndnewe-y qur’an be saye* ‘reading Quran without analysis of the text’. *Saye* ‘text’ is not accepted. Some Iraqi Kurds use *deq* ‘text’. Compilers of W-ISA-KB maintain that *deq* means *çibq al-aßl* ‘corresponding to the original’ and is not suitable as equiv of Arab. *matn*.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *têkst*; Iraqi *nes*, *têkst*.

**telefon**, n, ‘telephone’. *Telefon* is indirectly borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds and from Arab. by Iraqi Kurds. Pers. *telefon* is a Fr. lw, *téléphone* (Moçiri). The term is registered by Hejar as *telefon* and *teleyfûn*. Iraqi Kurds use also: *telefon* ‘telephone’ (Mihemed, 1992:183). *Telefon* is equiv of Euro.-Arab. *al-tilfûn* (Secadî, 1962:180). Hêmin uses *tîlfûn* ‘telephone’ (1974:27). He also uses *telîfun* ‘telephone’ in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:37). Kurd. *tîlfûn* and *telîfun* are indirect borrowings from Arab. Arab. equivalents of ‘telephone’ are *telefôn*, *talifôn* or *tilifûn* (Cowan). Hybrids: Hesenzade uses *telefonî* ‘by telephone’: *pêwendîyekî dîke-y telefonî* ‘another contact by telephone’ (1995:199). Pers. *telefoni* means ‘by telephone’. Hesenzade uses also a Kurd. alternative: *be telefun* (*be* ‘by’ + *telefun* ‘telephone’) ‘by telephone’ (1995:105).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *teleyfûn*; Iraqi *telefon*.

**têlgraf**, n, ‘telegraph’ (Hêmin, 1983:11). *Têlgraf* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. *telegrâf*, which is a Fr. lw, *télégraphe* (Moçiri). At first, Iraqi Kurds used *telxraf*, *telxuraf* ‘telegraph’, which is indirectly borrowed from Turk. or Arab. Arab. equiv of ‘telegraph’ is *tali\raf*, *tili\raf* (Cowan). *Tel\raf* or *tele\raf* are Turk. variants of ‘telegraph’ (Redhouse). Now, more Euro. *telgraf* is used in Iraqi Sor. When Arabic

became dominant, Iraqi Kurds borrowed *berqîye* ‘telegram’ from Arab. *barq•ya* ‘telegram’ (cf. Cowan). *Têlgraf* ‘telegraph’ (Hejar). Iraqi Kurd R. M. Zuhdî *telxuraf* ‘telgraph’ (1990:59). *Têlgraf* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. Purist equiv *birûske* ‘telegraph’ is established. *Birûske* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *telegrâf* (Hejar). *Birûske* is equiv of Arab. *barq•ya* (W-ISA-KB, 1973). *Bruske* ‘telegraph’, ‘telegram’ is a loanshift extension of the word *birûske* ‘lightning’. *Têlgraf* and *telgraf* (sometimes used as equiv of ‘telegram’) are established in MSS. *Name ya têlgraf* ‘letter or telegram’ (*Kurdistan*, ODPK-Iran, 1971, No. 10, p. 3).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *têlgraf*; Iraqi *berqîye* and *telegraf*.

**temate**, n, ‘tomato’ (Hêmin, 1983:28). Kurd. *temate* is an indirect borrowing from Turk. or Arab. Turk. variant of ‘tomato’ is *domates* (Redhouse). Arab. variant of ‘tomato’ is *ṭumâṭa* (Cowan). Pers. *tomât* is a Fr. lw, *tomate* (Moḵiri). *Tomât* ‘tomato’ is seldom used in Pers. Pers. equiv of ‘tomato’, *goujeh farangi*, is established. Registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), W&E and Xa1 as *temate*; as *temate* and *tomatêz* by Baban and Secadî (1962:104). *Bayincanî sûr* (*bayncan* ‘egg-plant’ + -î iḍâfa + *sûr* ‘red’) ‘tomato’ (Hejar). *Temate* and *bayincanî sûr* are established in MSS.

**tezarîzm**, n, ‘czarism’. *Tezarîzm-î rûsya* ‘Russian czarism’ (Hêmin, 1983:61). *Tezarîzm* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *tezârisim* ‘czarism’ (cf. Åḵuri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *qeyserîyet* ‘czarism’ from Arab. *qayṣar•ya* ‘Caesarism’ (cf. Cowan); *t.m.* is pronounced in Kurd. variant. Iraqi Kurd Qani‘ uses *sizarîsm* ‘czarism’ (1985:190). *Tezarîzm* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, W&E, or Xa1.

**tiyatîr**, n, ‘theatre’. Used also as *tiy’atir* (Hêmin, 1974:21). *Tiy’atir* is apparently an indirect borrowing from Pers. *te’âtr*, which is a Fr. lw, *théâtre* (Moḵiri). Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed *tiyatiro* from Turk. or Arab. Turk. *tiyatiro* is equiv of ‘theatre’ (Redhouse). Arab. *tiyatir* ‘theatre’ is originally Italian *teatro* (Cowan) *Çûyn-e tiyatiro-yek* ‘we went to theatre’ (Mihemed, 1992:162). Indirectly borrowed by Iran. Kurd Hejar *tiyatiro* ‘theatre’. Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *mesreh*. Arab. equiv of ‘theatre’, ‘stage’ is *masra* (Cowan). *Tiy’atir* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Kara, Mukryanî (1961), or Xa1. *Twasaxane* and *temasaxane* (Senendecî *twasa*, and *temasa* ‘look’ + -*xane* ‘house’) are equivalents of Arab. *al-masra*. (Mardu; Mukryanî, 1961). These two suggestions are not accepted. Farhangestân suggestion *tamâjâxâneh* (*tamâjâ* ‘look’ + *xâneh* ‘house’)

as equiv of Euro.-Pers *te'âtr* is not accepted in Pers. either (cf. VN) (see also **drama**).

Sp Sor.: Iran. *Teyatir*; Iraqi *mesreh*, *tiyatro*.

**tiyorî**, n, 'theory' . Used also as *tiy'orî* (Hêmin, 1974:31). *Tiy'orî* is an indirect borrowing from Pers. *te'ori*, which is a Fr. lw, *théorie* (Moçiri). Iraqi Kurds have also borrowed *tiyorî* 'theory'. Some Iraqi Kurds use *tiyor* 'theory' (cf. *Rehend*, 1998, No. 2, p. 1). *Tiyor* is not accepted. In 1930s, Kurd. writers used *nezerîye* as equiv of 'theory' (cf. Zekî, 1931a:83). Arab. equiv of 'theory' is *naΩar•ya* (Cowan). *Nezerîye* is no longer used in MSS. Now, Euro. *tiyorî* is preferred. Iraqi Kurd Qani': *tiyorî* 'theory' (1985:61). *Tiyorî* is equiv of Arab. *naΩar•ya* (W-ISA-KB, 1974). Compilers of the wordlist prefer *tiyorî*, which is easier to pronounce, to *tiy'orî* used by Iran. Kurds. *Tiyorî* is not registered by Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mardux, Mukryanî (1961), W&E, or Xa1. Kurd. purist equivalents of 'theory' are not accepted. *Dîmane* is equiv of 'theory' (W-ISA-KB, 1976). Asos Kemal uses *dîmane* 'theory' (1997:294). *Dîmane* 'theory' is not accepted. *Dîmane* 'presence' is established. *Bîr-doze* (*bîr* 'idea', 'thinking' + *doz* pres st of *dozînewe* 'to find' + *-e* Kurd. suff for forming nouns) is equiv of Arab. *naΩar•ya* (Ismâ'•1, 1978). *Bîr-doze* 'theory' is not accepted. *Tiyorî* is established in MSS.

Sp Sor.: Iran. *têorî*; Iraqi *tiyorî*.

**tîraj**, n, 'circulation of a newspaper' (Hêmin, 1983:36). *Tîraj* is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *tirâz*, which is a Fr. lw, *tirage* (Moçiri). *Tîraj* is not registered by Baban, Ebrâhim., Hejar, Kara, Mukryani (1961), W&E, or Xa1.

## W

**Wirdeborjwazî**, see **borjwazî**

## Z

**zanistge**, n, 'university' (Hêmin, 1983:159). The term is also registered as *zanistga*. *Zanistga* (*zanist* 'knowledge' + *-ga* or *-ge* 'place') is a loanshift creation of Pers. *dânejgâh*. At first, *dânejgâh* (*dânej* 'knowledge'+ *-gâh* suff 'place') was used as equiv of 'place of learning, knowledge'. *Dânejgâh* 'university' is a loanshift extension and established in Pers. At first, Persians used *universite*, a Fr. lw, *université* (cf. Moçiri). It is no longer used. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *cami'e* from Arab. *jâmi'a* 'university' (cf. Cowan). Iraqi Kurds prefer *zanistga* to *cami'e* in MSS.

Different meanings of *zanistga* and *zanko* have created confusion in MSS. Ebrâhim., Hejar, Mukryanî (1961), and W&E use *zanistga* and *zanistge* as equivalents of Arab. *jâmi'a* and Pers. *dânejgâh*. Iran. Kurd Kara uses *zanko* as equiv of 'university'. *Zanko* is equiv of Arab. *jâmi'a* (W-ISA-KB, 1973). According to the compilers of the wordlist, *zanko* is abbreviated form of *kokerewe-y zanîn* (*kokerewe* derived from *kokirdnewe* 'to collect' + *zanîn* 'knowledge') and *zanist-ge* is more suitable as equiv of 'college'. *Zanînge* is equiv of Euro.-Pers. *kâlej* 'college' and

*zanko* is *cê kobûnewe-y zanayan* ‘a place for gathering of scientists’ (Hejar). *Xöndkar-xane* (*xöndkar* ‘student’ + *xane* ‘house’) is equiv of Pers. *dânejgâh* (Baban). This suggestion is not accepted. **Danisga**, n, ‘university’. *Danisga-y Taran* ‘University of Tehran’ (Hêmin, 1974:31). Used by Hêmin as Kurd. variant of *Dânejgâh-e Tehrân* ‘University of Tehran’. As it is name of a place, Hêmin has not translated it.

### 5.3.2. Exotica

According to Jazayery (1983:249), exotica include things as the words for foreign currencies, place names, names of the months. Exotica in Kurdsh:

#### 5.3.2.1. Names of the months (calendar systems)

Kurds live in four different countries and use different calendar systems. They are a stateless nation and have not created their own unified system. The choice of calendar is decided by the state, and the Kurds and other minorities have to use it in official texts. Hêmin also uses different calendar systems in his wrtings.

1. The names of Pers. months (the Iranian Solar year) such as */ahrivar*, the sixth month of Pers. calendar, are used by Iran. Kurds, e.g. *Sehrîwer* (Hêmin, 1983:1) in their daily contact with authorities. These names are official and are used in administration, education, and the media. Kurd. nationalists have introduced Kurdish names for the Iranian months, too. Hêmin uses also these names, e.g. *Rêbendan* as equiv of Pers. *Bahman*, eleventh month of Persian calendar (cf. Hêmin, 1974:44).

2. The majority of the Kurds are Muslims, and those who are not educated are more acquainted with Arab. months (of the lunar Islamic year). One of these months is *remezan* ‘Ramadan’ (Arab. *Ramaðân*), the ninth month of the Muslim calendar, also used by Hêmin (1975:42).

3. The names of European months are also used by Kurds. *Oktobir* ‘October’, *Janwîye* ‘January’ (Hêmin, 1974:18,44) are apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *ânviyeh* and *Oktobr* are Fr. loanwords, *Janvier*, *Octobre* (Moçiri).

4. Kurds of Iraq and Turkey have been in contact with Turks and Arabs and have borrowed their calendar system: months as *Temûz* ‘July’, used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî, (1987:63). Arab. *TammÛz* is equiv of ‘July’ (Cowan). Hêmin has been in contact with Iraqi Kurds and indirectly borrowed these words.

#### 5.3.2.2. Foreign proper and geographical names

1. Hêmin uses some proper names as pronounced by Iraqi Kurds, such as *Hîtler*, (Hêmin, 1974:14). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *Hîtlêr* from Pers. *Hitler*.

2. Names of Iran. cities are transcribed as pronounced by Kurds, Pers. *Tehrân* becomes *Taran* (Hêmin, 1983:94); *Tabriz* becomes *Tewrêz* (Hêmin, 1983:38); *Orumiyyeh* becomes *Wirmê* (Hêmin, 1983:38); Turk.-Pers. *Sâvojbolâ* becomes *Sab1ax* (Hêmin, 1983:110) and Pers. *Mahâbâd* becomes *Mehabad* (Hêmin, 1974:6).

3. Hêmin uses indirectly borrowed names of various countries. Hêmin (1974:17) has indirectly borrowed *Yekêti Sowêti* (the Soviet Union) from Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurds



have indirectly borrowed the term from Arab. with some phonetic changes and have translated the first part of the term. Arab. *al-itti`ād al-Sufyātî* is equiv of ‘the Soviet Union’ (Cowan). Iran. Kurds use *Itihad-î Surewî* (*itihad* Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *ette`ād* ‘union’ + *-î* iðâfa + *surewî* Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. */uravi* from Arab. *ÿrâ* ‘consultaion’) ‘the Soviet Union’. In Pers., *Ette`ād-e /uravi* is shortened to *juravi*, which is used also by Kurds after Kurdification. *Surewî* ‘the Soviet Union’ (Hêmin, 1974:17). *Urûpa* ‘Europe’ is used by Hêmin in a personal letter published by Hisamî (1987:51). It is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. *Orupâ* ‘Europe’. Iraqi Kurd. use *Ewrûpa* ‘Europe’. Hêmin uses *Turkya* ‘Turkey’ (Hêmin, 1983:22). *Rusya* ‘Russia’ (Hêmin, 1975a:11). These two names are indirectly borrowed from Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed them from Arab. Arab. *Turkiyâ* and Arab. *Rÿsiyâ* are equivalents of ‘Turkey’ and ‘Russia’, respectively (Cowan). Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *Turkîye* and *Rusîye* from Pers. Pers. *Torkiyeh* and *Rusiyeh*. *Ferengî* ‘European’ (Hêmin, 1983:23 is apparently indirectly borrowed from Pers. At first, Pers. *farangi* was used as equiv of ‘French’, ‘a European Christian’ (see Steingass). Today, *farangi* is used as equiv of ‘European’, ‘Westerner’ in Pers. (see A&A).

4. Historical events which happened in Iran are registered as conceptualised by the Persians with minor changes: as *waqî`e-y danisga* (*waqî`e* Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *vâqe`eh* ‘event’ + *-y* iðâfa + *danisga* Kurd. variant of Pers. *dânejgâh* ‘university’) used by Hêmin (1974:32) = Pers. *vâqe`eh-ye dânejgâh* (*vâqe`eh* + *-y* hiatus + *-e* iðâfa + *dânejgâh*).

5. Names of Iran. organisations and institutes are borrowed with minor changes : as *Sazimanî Emnîyet* ‘security organisation’ (Hêmin, 1974:42). Pers. *Sâzemân-e amniyyat va e`f`elâ`ât-e kejvar* ‘Security and Information Organisation of the Country’, shortened as *Sâzemân-e amniyat*. This organisation was established during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

6. Names of treaties are preserved as: *peymanî Se`dabad* ‘Sadabad Treaty’ (Hêmin, 1946h:3). Pers. *Peymân-e Sa`dâbâd* ‘Sadabad Treaty’, non-aggression treaty between Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Afganistan during the reign of Muhammad Reza Shah.

## 5.4. Modernisation and loanwords

Persian has been in intensive contact with French and English, the modern world’s prestigious languages of diplomacy, modern culture, literature, and science. These languages played a prominent role in the modernisation of Iranian society and culture, which followed the pattern of the Western experience. Modernisation was promoted by diverse forces, including the new middle classes, intellectuals, and the institution of the state, which was initially interested in reforming its military and administrative structure. Contacts between Iran and the West contributed to the modernisation of the Persian language, which was inundated by Western concepts and words.

Like other parts of Iran, the Kurdish areas experienced modernisation both from above, i.e., through the state, and from below, through trade with Azerbaijan, Russia, and the Ottoman empire. Although compared with the centre or the Caspian provinces, the pace of change was much slower in Kurdistan. Even so it did leave its impact on the language. By the 1880s, a telegraph line was connecting Sablax with the centre, and European currencies were exchanged in this small town. The Kurdish of the Mukri region borrowed many terms directly from Russian. The extension of state power to every part of Kurdistan after the establishment of the Pahlavi state brought Kurdish under the direct and intensive influence of the Persian language and, through it, the indirect influence of European languages. Under the British Mandate in Iraq, Kurdish came in direct contact with English and Arabic.

Colonialism, World War I, and the October Revolution in Russia influenced many nations, among them Persians and Kurds. These peoples became more acquainted with the Western democratic tradition and socialist ideas. During World War II, the struggle against Nazi Germany led to the occupation of Iran by Allied powers. Iran was occupied in 1941 by the Soviet Union (in the north) and Britain (in the south). Before World War II, French was the dominant foreign language in Iran. After the War, English became the main foreign language and was taught in the secondary schools, and the influence of this language on Persian became stronger.

Political terms are dominant in the texts written by Hêmin. Some of the European loanwords in Kurdish, belong to the sphere of modern political ideas and parties. The Middle Eastern peoples became familiar with modern political ideas in the 19th and the 20th centuries. One of the important changes in the life of the Kurds of Iran was the emergence of nationalist and communist movements and the creation of modern political parties in the 20th century. These developments produced numerous loanwords: European: *balswîk* 'Bolshevik'; *borjwazî* 'bourgeoisie'; *dîmokrat* 'democrat'; *dimukrasî* 'democracy'; *dimokratî* 'democracy'; *dîktator* 'dictator'; *dijî împiryalîstî* 'anti-imperialistic'; *fasîzm* 'fascism'; *împiratorî* 'empire'; *împiryalîzm* 'imperialism'; *kadir* 'cadre'; *kemalîst* 'Kemalist'; *komunîzm* 'communism'; *kongire* 'congress'; *kodeta* 'coup d'état'; *mîting* 'meeting'; *nazîzm* 'nazism'; *nasyonalîst* 'nationalist'; *panêranîst* 'pan-Iranist'; *panturkîzm* 'pan-Turkism'; *program* 'programme', *propagende* 'propaganda'; *rijîm* 'regime'; *rîfçandom* 'referendum'; *sikirtêr* 'secretary'; *sosyalîzm* 'socialism'; *sowinîst* 'chauvinist'. Persian: *bername* 'programme' and *sermayedar* 'capitalist'.

As noted earlier, the modern centralised states of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey were established in the 20th century, and modern 'national' armies and police and gendarmerie were gradually established in all parts of these countries including Kurdish districts. Many loanwords entered the Kurdish language in this period. The Kurds of Iran established their own army in the short-lived Kurdish Republic of 1946 and purified the military terminology borrowed from the Persian language. For instance, the Kurdish term *pesmarga* was adopted to replace Persian *sarbâz* 'soldier' or Arabic *askar*. Later, in the 1960s and 1980s, the nationalist parties in Iraq and Iran made their own guerilla armies and used Kurdish names for different ranks; I have not studied these words. European: *bomba* 'bomb'; *dîsplîn* 'discipline';

*jandermerî* ‘gendarmerie’; *jeneral* ‘general’; *kulunêl* ‘colonel’; *polîs* ‘police’; *sitratîjîk* ‘strategic’; *tank* ‘tank’ and *taktîk* ‘tactics’. Persian and Arabic-Persian: *dîjbân* ‘military policeman’; *emnîye* ‘gendarme’; *groban* ‘sergeant’; *serheng* ‘colonel’; *serdosî* ‘epaulette’; *serîp* ‘brigadier general’; *serbaz* ‘soldier’ and *serbaz-xane* ‘barrack’.

Until the 20th century, the only educational institutions in Kurdistan were the *hucres* or *madrasas*. The modernisation of the educational system gained momentum in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria in the 20th century. The earliest state-sponsored projects of modernisation in Iran were in the area of military training and organisation. Modern schools were started in order to establish a new army and train an adequate staff for the military and civilian administrations. Iranian students were sent to Europe to study military sciences, medicine, and engineering. French, British, Russian, Polish, and [Swedish] advisors came to Iran, and European arms and equipment were imported (Tabatabai, 1982:27).

The first modern institute of higher education, *Dâr ol-fonun* ‘Polytechnic Institution’, was established in Persia in 1851. In this school, instruction was in French and lectures were translated into Persian by translators. During the rule of Reza Shah, a public school system was established throughout the country. The school and university curricula were based on French traditions and textbooks. Many French loanwords, which are indirectly borrowed by Iranian Kurds, entered into Persian during this period. Although British trade with Iran was significant, especially in the Persian Gulf area, as early as the eighteenth century, English was not in a position to replace French as the most important international language.

The British were very influential in Iran, more than the French. They were in firm control of the south, and divided Iran with Russia in spheres of influence. The reason the English language was not as influential as the French was that French continued to be the prestigious language of diplomacy and culture, and the Iranian political and intellectual elite looked down on English. With the gradual supremacy of English as the dominant international language and the increasing presence of the United States in Iran, especially after the 1953 U.S.-sponsored coup d’etat in Iran, English replaced French as the main Western language taught in secondary schools. Modern educational terms in Kurdish include *dîkte* ‘dictation’; *kilas* ‘class’; *profesor* ‘professor’, and Persian loans *danisga*, ‘university’ and *debîristan* ‘secondary school’.

Cinema was introduced into the Kurdish society during the 1920s. The first time a movie was shown in a Kurdish town was in Iraq in Silemanî in 1925 (*Jiyanewe*, 1926, Vol. 1, No. 31, pp. 2-3, quoted by Hassanpour, 1992:343). In Iranian Kurdistan, the first theatrical performance in Mehabad was in 1945 (Blurian, 1997:38). Kurdish nationalists have used theatre for purposes of political agitation and propagation of their ideology. According to Hassanpour (1992:346), the Kurds of Iraq became acquainted with gramophones in 1908, and Kurdish music was available on phonograph records in Iran and Iraq in the 1930s. The first fictional work in Sorani was published serially in Kurdish magazines in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1925-26.

During the 1940s, Iranian Kurds published magazines in Sorani. Nationalist intellectuals were interested in using the modern technologies of communication especially printing, and writing down Kurdish oral literature by the mid-twentieth century. Kurdish periodical publishing experienced much diversification in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Journals specialising in theatre, cartoons, diplomacy, and other topics appeared in Iraq and the European diaspora. Some of these developments are recorded in the lexical repertoire of the language: European: *balêt* ‘ballet’; *drama* ‘drama’; *form* ‘form’; *folklor* ‘folklore’; *karîkator* ‘caricature’; *karîkatorîst* ‘caricaturist’; *musîqa* ‘music’; *muzîk* ‘music’; *opîra* ‘opera’; *riyalîst* ‘realist’; *roman* ‘novel’; *romantîk* ‘romantic’; *rol* ‘role’; *sînema* ‘cinema’; *sano* ‘stage’ (for playing theatre); *semfonî* ‘symphony’; *tiyatir* ‘theatre’ and *tablo* ‘picture’.

The first Kurdish paper was published by the Kurds of the Ottoman empire in 1898, and the first in Iranian Kurdistan appeared in 1921. Publishing in print has given Kurdish many modern terms: European: *abûne* ‘subscription’; *arsîw* ‘archives’; *dosîye* ‘dossier’; *kiîise* ‘stereotype plate’; *organ* ‘organ’ (publication of an organisation); *rîportaj* ‘newspaper report’; *sansor* ‘censorship’ and *tîraj* ‘circulation’ (number of copies of a newspaper or book). Persian: *jimare* ‘number’ and *rojname* ‘journal’, ‘newspaper’.

Radio broadcasting had an early start. It began first in the Kurdish autonomous region in Armenia in the 1920s. Later, in 1932, the owner of a tea-house brought the first radio set to Silêmanî (Secadî, quoted by Hassanpour, 1992:282). A radio station was set up in the Kurdish Republic of 1946 in Mehabad. In Iraqi Kurdistan broadcasting in Kurdish began also in 1940s (Edmonds, 1971:94). By 1984, Radio Baghdad’s Kurdish section was on the air for no less than 17 hours daily. During the 1960s and 1980s, political organisations set up their clandestine radio stations. The modern post and telegraph services were established in Iran in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Automobiles were introduced after World War I, and telephone was available in many cities by the 1940s and 1950s. The terminology of modern communications include: European: *adrês* ‘address’; *gram* ‘gramophone’; *kart* ‘(postal) card’; *masên* ‘car’; *pas* ‘bus’; *rêkorder* ‘record player’; *radio* ‘radio’; *radar* ‘radar’; *telefon* ‘telephone’ and *têlgraf* ‘telegraph’. Persian: *duçerxe* ‘bicycle’.

Terms related to the modernisation, i.e., standardisation of language were borrowed from European languages and Arabic and Persian: European: *pît* ‘letter of alphabet’ and *standard* ‘standard’. Persian: *ferheng* ‘dictionary’, ‘culture’. Arabic: *qamûs* ‘dictionary’.

Arabic and Persian borrowed many European terms as a result of the introduction of the Western sciences into the educational systems of Iran and the adoption of Western technology. Kurdish has indirectly borrowed these loanwords: European: *duktor* ‘physician’, ‘doctor’; *mîkrob* ‘microbe’; *milyon* ‘million’; *mêtir* ‘metre’; *teknîk* ‘technique’ and ‘technology’. Persian: *pzişkyar* ‘medical assistant’.

## 5.5. Classification of loans in Sorani according to Haugen's division of loans

In the above-mentioned wordlists, I showed that most of the loans used by Hêmin are established in Sor. writings. In this part, I use Haugen's division of loans and theories of purism and standard languages for analysing and classifying the Euro. loans in Sor. Haugen (1972:88-94) divides loans into loanwords, loanblends, and loanshifts. Haugen includes in his division also the term creations which denotes those words in different languages which are created by the speakers of the language in the process of contact with a second language and culture without being loans (see chapter 1). Jazayery (1983) and Tabataba'i (1982) also use Haugen's division of loans in their analyses of English and French loans in Persian.

### 5.5.1. Loanwords in Sorani

Most of the borrowings used by Hêmin are loanwords used with little phonological change. He has indirectly borrowed them from Pers., Arab. or Iraqi Sor. and other Kurd. dialects. They are mostly nouns, although some are adjectives. While Euro. loanwords in Pers. have undergone phonological Persianisation, the Euro.-Pers. and Pers. loans in Kurd. have not experienced much change. This is apparently due to the close genetic relation between Modern Kurdish and New Persian. The phonological compatibility of the two languages, at least in the area of borrowing, is obvious. The following are examples from the vowel systems: Pers. /e/ > Sor. /i/ (Euro.-Pers. *melyun* > Euro.-Sor. *milyon*); Pers. /o/ > Sor. /u/ (Euro.-Pers. *demokrâsi* > Euro.-Sor. *dêmkurasî*). Pers. /ø/ > Sor. /i/ (Euro.-Pers. *kâdr* > Euro.-Sor. *kadir*). Pers. /u/ > Sor. /o/ (Euro.-Pers. *kudetâ* > Sor. *kodeta*). However, /e'/ changes into Sor. /iy/ (Euro.-Pers. *re'âlîst* > Sor. *riyalîst*). The latter is a Kurd. purist variant. In Kurd., unpurified pronunciation is also possible: *ri'alîst*, although glottal stop /'/ is not, according to some phonological descriptions, a phoneme in Kurd. and exists mostly in unassimilated loanwords. In Kurd., as in many languages, the glottal stop appears in all words beginning with a vowel; this explains why in the standard Kurdish alphabet based on the Arabic-Persian alphabet, all these initial vowels are represented by an initial hemze. However, many Kurd. purists avoid using /'/, which they consider an Arabic incursion into the language. Pers. /h/ > Sor. /ø/ (Pers. *dânejgâh* > Sor. *danisga*). Pers. /s/ > Sor. /z/ (Euro.-Pers. *fâjîsm* > Sor. *fasîzm*). Sometimes: Pers. /l/ > Sor. /l/ (Euro.-Pers. *ânerâl* > Euro.-Sor. *jenerâl*). Pers. /v/ > Sor. /w/ (Euro.-Pers. *ârjiv* > Sor. *arsîw*). In s-clusters, normally the vowel /e/ is added before /s/, although in Sor., s-clusters are possible. For example, 'Spartacus' is Persianised as *Espârtâkus*, and although CCV occurs frequently in Kurdish words (McCarus, 1958, pp. 25-27), Kurdish borrows the Persianised form *Îspartakos*, e.g., Hêmin (1975:139). Until quite recently, the Kurdish literati did not take into consideration the Persianisation of the initial CC cluster in such loanwords. Later, Hêmin became conscious of the difference between the syllabic structures of the two languages and tried to Kurdify borrowings from Euro. languages which use word-initial CC

structures. For instance, he has used Euro.-Kurd. *standard* instead of Euro.-Pers. *estândârd*.

Kurdish and Arabic belong to different language families, and frequently occurring Kurdish phonemes such as /ç/, /g/, /j/, /p/ and /v/ do not exist in Arabic. At first, Iraqi Kurds borrowed Euro. words from Arab. without adapting them to the Kurd. phonological system. In Arab., for instance, Euro. /v/ changes to /f/ as in *arj•f*. Iraqi Kurds borrowed *ersîf*, but later preferred the Kurdified and more Euro. *ersîv*. In Sor., /v/ is seldom used and has almost disappeared, but in Kirm. it is used frequently. Sor. nationalists try to revive this consonant, and prefer *ersîv* to *ersîw*. In Arab., /≈/ changes to /j/ as in *burjwâz•ya*. Iraqi Kurds used *borcwazî*, but are gradually replacing it with the Euro.-Kurd. *borjwazî*. Sometimes /b/ changes to /p/ and vice versa in Sor., as in *biçûk* 'little', also *piçûk*. Arab. *bâs* 'bus', is indirectly borrowed by Iraqi Kurds and is changed to *pas*. In most cases, the differences between indirect borrowings in Iraqi and Iran. Sor. are minimal and mutually intelligible, as, for example, in Iraqi Sor. *teknîk* and Iran. Sor. *têknîk*. In the early period of indirect borrowings into Sor., metathesis was usual, for instance *yo* has changed to *wê*: *radio* to *radwê*; *milyon* to *milwên*. In standard Sor., *radio* and *milyon* are used. *Tayp* 'type' is changed to *pît* 'alphabetic letter' (the original meaning is also changed), which is often used in standard Sor.

Kurdish students of *hucre* learn Pers. through reading books and without knowing how native speakers of Persian pronounce the words. They usually pronounce Pers. *jonbej* as *cunbus*, Pers. *ârâmej* as *aramûs* and Pers. *serejt* as *sirust*. However, the pronunciation of the students in the modern secular schools is much closer to Persian.

#### 5.5.1.1. Indirect borrowings are dominant in Sorani

Most of the Euro. loanwords in Sor. are indirect borrowings from Pers., Arab., and Turk. In many cases, these loanwords have not been changed semantically. Hêmin's borrowings are mainly and indirectly from Pers.: *abûne*, *adrês*, *apartman*, *arsîw*, *bale*, *burjwazî*, *wirdeburjwazî*, *dêmkrasî*, *dêmkrat*, *dîktator*, *dîkte*, *dîsplîn*, *dram*, *etom*, *fasîzm*, *gram*, *împiratorî*, *împiryalîzm*, *jandarmerî*, *kadir*, *karîkator*, *karîkatorîst*, *Kemalîst*, *kilas*, *komîte*, *komunîzm*, *kudêta*, *kumîsyon*, *masên*, *mîting*, *mûzîk*, *nasyonalîst*, *nazîsm*, *opêra*, *pan-êranîst*, *pan-turkîst*, *partîzan*, *pasaj*, *ajan*, *profesor*, *rêjîm*, *rê'alîst*, *roman*, *romantîkî*, *semfonî*, *standard*, *sowinîst*, *taktîk*, *tank*, *têkst*, *têlgraf*, *tezarîzm*, *tiy'orî*, and *tîraj*. One form of change in the loanwords is clipping, i.e., the shortening of a word through the loss of one or more morphemes. The Euro.-Pers. *gerâmâfon* is shortened to *gerâm* > Sor. *gram*. Other transformations of loanwords are of a grammatical nature. For instance, some adjectives are treated as nouns by some Kurd. writers, e.g. *romantîk* is considered as a noun, and an adj is made by adding the *-î* suff to form *romantîkî* 'romantic'. Some Euro. suffixes are included into Kurd., for instance Euro. *-ic* > Sor. *-îk*; Euro *-ism* > Sor. *-îzm*; Euro *-ist* > Sor. *-îst*; Eng. *-ing* > Sor. *-îng*; Euro. *-ion* > Sor. *-yon*. These suffixes do not exist in Kurd., and Kurds easily treat as nouns all words ending in these suffixes.

Iran. Kurds have been in contact with Persians for many centuries and indirectly borrowed words from Pers. before the formation of the Iranian nation-state, for example, *kaxez* ‘paper’, ‘letter’ and *çap* ‘printing’, are indirectly borrowed from Pers.; Chinese-Pers. *kâ\az*; Hindustani-Pers. *çâp*. Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed many Arab. words from Pers. Sometimes, this kind of loanwords causes confusion. Iraqi Kurds have borrowed *zebt* ‘discipline’ from Arab. whereas Iran. Kurds have indirectly borrowed *zebt* ‘recording’ from Pers., e.g. in Arab.-Pers. *zab\’-e bout* ‘tape recorder’; shortened as *zab\’*. Examples of Arab.-Pers. loanwords in Sor. are *teblîxat* ‘propaganda’, and *mubelix* ‘propagandist’.

Iraqi Kurds indirectly borrow Euro. words from Arab., for example *balê*, *balîye*, *bulsefik*, *dêmuokratî*, *drama*, *duktor*, *impiryalî*, *kadîr*, *karîkatîr*, *otomobêl*, *nazîyet*, *opera*, *pas*, *profîsor*, *sosyolocî*, *saykolocî*, *rêkorder*, *rîportac*, *romansî*, *simfoniya*, *sovînîyet*, *teknîk*, *tektîk*, *telegraf* and *telefon*. At first, Iraqi Kurds borrowed Euro. words from Turkish. Later, after the establishment of the Iraqi state, they borrowed Euro. words from Arab. Some indirect borrowings from Turk. by Iraqi Kurds are *duqtur*, *m•qrob*, *pro\ram*, *prupa\anda*, *qum•te*, *qongre*, *qum•syon* and *jano*. Initially, Iraqi Kurds used the loanwords without changing /q/ and /ʎ/, but later, purists changed /q/ to /k/ and /ʎ/ to /g/. (In Ottoman Turkish /ʎ/ and /q/ existed, but Modern Turkish is purified from these phonemes).

In Iran and Iraq, Kurd. students who study in *hucre* are instructed in both Pers. and Arab. In secular schools of Iran. Kurdistan, students are instructed in Pers., and in secular schools of Iraq, in Arab. Under these conditions, Iraqi and Iran. Kurds have borrowed some old Euro.-Arab. loanwords from Arab. or Pers. Some of them are *cuxrafiya*, *felsefe* and *musîqa*. Some Arab. loanwords are directly borrowed from Arab. into Kurd. or are indirectly borrowed from Pers.: *metb’e* ‘publishing-house’, *dinya* ‘world’, *’adil* ‘just’, *imla* ‘dictation’, *’isq* ‘love’, *tecrebe* ‘test’, *hewadis* ‘events’, *medrese* ‘school’, *mekteb* ‘school’ and *weten* ‘motherland’. The loan *milet* is the Kurd. variant of Arab.-Pers. *mellat*, Arab. *milla* (in Pers. and Kurd. variants *t.m* is pronounced).

In some cases, especially early indirect borrowings, it is difficult to determine the source language. Loanwords such as *dosîye*, *kart*, *milyon*, *polîs*, *radyo*, *senator*, and *telefon* are used in the three official languages, Turk. Arab. and Pers. Iraqi Kurds have indirectly borrowed some loanwords from Arab. and Turk.: *ceneral* ‘general’, *mekîne* ‘machine’, *rapor* ‘report’, *teknîk* and *temate* ‘tomato’.

Occasionally, the whole word-family is indirectly borrowed: *abûne*, *abunman*; *borjwazî*, *borjwa*; *dimukrasî*, *dimokratîk*, *dîmuokrat*; *felsefe*, *feylesuf*; *komunîzm*, *komunîst*; *mîkroskop*, *mîkrob*; *nasyonalîst*, *nasyonalîzm*; *impiryalîst*, and *impiryalîzm*.

Under conditions of the division of Kurdistan among several states, a single European word is at times borrowed from diverse languages; this process produces many variants of one loanword in wr Sor.: *drama*, *dram*; *edres*, *edrês*, *adrês*; *bale*, *balê*, *balîye*, *balêt*; *borjwazî*, *borcwazî*; *dêmuokrat*, *dîmuokrat*, *dêmuokrat*; *gramefon*, *gram*, *gramafon*, *gramofon* and *kodeta*, *kodîta*, *kudêta*. Among these variants, more Kurdified ones are sometimes preferred, e.g., *kodeta* is preferred to closer-to-Pers.

*kudêta*. Sometimes, closer-to-Euro. variants are preferred, e.g., *kultur* rather than *keltur* and *kiltur*.

Some indirectly borrowed Euro. loans used by Iraqi Kurds are borrowed by Iran. Kurds, e.g., *program*, *rêkorder*, and *prupaganda*. Purist Iran. Kurds prefer these loans to the loanwords borrowed from Pers. by Iran. Kurds, e.g., they prefer *prupagende* to Arab.-Pers. *teblîxat* ‘propaganda’.

Some indirect borrowings have elements from both Iraqi and Iranian Sorani variants as in *edrês* ‘address’: /e-/ is taken from Iraqi Sorani *edres* ‘address’ and /-ê-/ from Iranian Sorani *adrês*.

#### 5.5.1.2. Direct loans into Sorani

Direct loans from Euro. languages are few: Sor. *Platon* ‘Platon’ < Swed. *Platon*; *komyunîzm* ‘communism’ from English. They are borrowed by Kurd. intellectuals who are familiar with Euro. languages. Most of the direct loans are borrowed by bilingual Kurds from the official languages, i.e., Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Another group of direct loans come from Kurdish dialects. Sor. purists are interested in this type of borrowing as a means of unifying the mutli-dialectal language. To give an example, Sor. *ewîn* ‘love’ is borrowed from Kirm. *evîn*; other loans from Kirm. are *axaftin* ‘to talk’, ‘to converse’; *arîkarî* ‘help’; *hêja* ‘dear’, ‘precious’; *peyvîn* ‘to speak’; and *xebat* ‘struggle’.

Direct loanwords from Pers. consist of simple and compound nouns. Some Farhangestân words, already established in Pers., are borrowed and Kurdified: *azmayîs* ‘test’, *bayganî* ‘archives’, *bername* ‘programme’, *guzaris* ‘report’, *name* ‘letter’, *nimayende* ‘representative’, *paseban* ‘police’, *perwende* ‘file’, *sehrebanî* ‘police’, *sumare* ‘number’ and *sunasname* ‘identity certificate’. Other Kurdified Pers. and Pers. purist suggestions which are established in Farsi include *cîhan* ‘world’, *dadperwer* ‘just’, *danisga* ‘university’, *debîristan* ‘high school’, *duçerxe* ‘bicycle’, *ferheng* ‘dictionary’, *nisanî* ‘address’, *rewansinasî* ‘psychology’, *serbaz* ‘soldier’, *serbazxane* ‘barracks’, *serdosî* ‘epaulette’ and *sermayedar* ‘capitalist’. Persian words, not actively used in the spoken language, are also borrowed into Sor.: *gêti* ‘world’, *gîhan* ‘world’ and *supas* ‘thanking’. Sometimes, the whole word-family is borrowed: *çap* ‘printing’, *çapxane* ‘printing-house’; *sermaye* ‘capital’, *sermayedar* ‘capitalist’, *sermayedarî* ‘capitalism’.

Semantic change is not unusual in the process of borrowing. The meanings of some Pers. loanwords have changed in Sor. For example, Pers.-Kurd. *sirust* has acquired the meaning of ‘nature’, whereas in Pers. dictionaries, Arab.-Pers *ḫabi’at* ‘temperament’ is given as equiv of Pers. *serejt* ‘temperament’. Arab.-Pers *ḫabi’at* means also ‘nature’, in this meaning, it is not equiv of Pers. *serejt*. But, Iraqi Kurds use *sirust* as equiv of ‘nature’. In the past, Iraqi Kurds studied Pers. only in the *hucre* and learned Pers. through reading books and using dictionaries rather than through direct contact with native speakers of the language. Sometimes, they looked for words in Pers. texts or dictionaries, and used them wrongly in Sor. as equiv of Arab. loans.



Iraqi Kurds have borrowed many words directly from Arab.: *camî'e* 'university', *cerîde* 'newspaper', *debabe* 'tank', 'esker' 'soldier', *inqilab* 'coup', *istirakîyet* 'socialism', *izbare* 'file', *kemalî* 'Kemalist', *mendub* 'representative', *mu'esker* 'army camp', *mu'temer* 'congress', *qunbule* 'bomb', *qamûs* 'dictionary', *qutabî* 'student', *riwaye* 'novel', *seyare* 'car', *siyu'îyet* 'communism', *suqe* 'apartment', *teqrîr* 'report' and *zebt* 'discipline'. These loanwords are used in spoken Sor., too. The nationalists have purged most of them through purist coinages or borrowing from Euro. languages.

Some Arab. loanwords are fully established in Sor. and are not recognisable as foreignism: *dawa* 'demand', Arab. *da'wâ*; *taqî kirdnewe* (*taqî* Kurd. variant of Arab. *ta'qîq* 'realisation', 'achievement' + *kirdnewe* Kurd. v) 'to test'. Purists usually tolerate such loans, which are already part of the spoken language of the non-literate Kurds. Some loanwords are clearly borrowed by Kurd. intellectuals and probably through the written medium, e.g., *hewadis* 'events', and *ictima'at* 'meetings'. Some Arab. loanword groups in Kurd. are: Arab. verbal nouns: 'unwan' 'address', *istirak* 'subscription'; Arab. place nouns: *metbe'e* 'printing-house' *medrese* 'school'. Active participle: 'adil' 'just'.

### 5.5.2. Loanblends in Sorani

In loanblends, the meaning is borrowed. They consist partly of foreign morphemes and partly of native elements that correspond to foreign morphemes. Nationalists use loanblends actively as a means of Kurdification of borrowings. For instance, suffixes *-ayetî*, *-etî* or *-êtî* are used for making abstract nouns in Sor., as in *xizmayetî* 'degree of relationship', *pyawetî* 'manhood', and *kiçêtî* 'girlhood'. Pers. *-i* > Sor. *-ayetî* (Pers. *diktâtori* 'dictatorship' > Sor. *dîktator-ayetî* 'dictatorship'). Kurd. purists prefer *-ayetî* to Arab.-Kurd. *-et*. They prefer *dîktatorayetî* to Arab.-Sor. *dîktatorîyet* Suffixes *-etî* or *-êtî* are used as equiv of Pers. suff *-i*). Pers. *sarmâyehdâri* 'capitalism' > Sor. *sermayedarêtî* or *sermayedareîî*. In some cases, the Euro. variants are preferred, *fasîzm* 'fascism', not *fasîstayetî*.

### 5.5.3. Loanshifts in Sorani

The term 'loanshift' refers to changes that are not strictly phonological and grammatical. A loanshift consists entirely of native morphemes, but it is given a new meaning on the basis of a foreign model. Loanshifts may be classified into two main groups: loanshift extensions and loanshift creations (these terms are also used by Jazayery, 1983), traditionally called semantic extensions and loan translations (calque). In one kind of loanshift extensions, native terms are applied to novel cultural phenomena that are roughly similar to something in the old culture. For instance, Kurd. *pol* 'modern secular school class' originally meant 'flock', 'group'. Loanshift creations are formed by complete native substitution: Pers. *sangnevejteh* 'stone-inscription' > Sor. *berdenusraw*; Pers. *jomâreh* 'number' > Sor. *jimare*; Pers.

*namâyandeh* ‘representative’ > Sor. *nöner*; Pers. *dânejgâh* > Sor. *zanistge*; Pers. *jahângard* ‘tourist’ > Sor. *jîhanger*; Pers. *sarmâyeh-dâr* ‘capitalist’ > Sor. *destmayedar*. Suffixes *-dâr*, *-dar* are used in Pers. and Kurd., respectively. Kurd. *-dar* means ‘possessor of’ as in *agadar* (*aga* ‘information’+ *-dar*) adj ‘aware’. Pers. *-dâr* means also ‘possessor of’. Arab. *al-bÿrjwâz•ya al-βa\•ra* ‘petty bourgeoisie’ > Kurd. *borcwazî biçuk*.

## 5.6. Creations in Sorani

Creations are not imitations of a foreign model, and, as such, they are different from borrowing. They are secondarily created within the borrowing language. While some creations consist entirely of native material, hybrid creations are partly foreign. They are made on the basis of reverse substitution, in which loan morphemes are filled into native models. This kind of creation shows that loans have been well integrated into the borrowing language. In Kurd., both groups exist. An example of a native creation is *esp-e-darîne* (*esp* ‘horse’ + *-e* iðâfa + *dar* ‘tree’ + *-îne* suff for making nouns) ‘bicycle’. Hybrid creations include: 1. Suff *-ok* is used for making diminutives in Sor. *ferheng-ok* (*ferheng* Sor. variant of Pers. *farhang* ‘dictionary’ + *-ok*) ‘wordlist’; 2. Determinative dependent compounds: a verbal stem, present or past, restricted by a preceding object, or complement: as in *pyaw-kuj* ‘man-killer’, ‘murderer’. Based on the rule: *bomba-hawêj* (*bomba* Kurd. variant of Euro.-Turk. *bomba* + *hawêj* pres st of *hawîstin*) ‘bomber’.

## 5.7. Kurdish purists and loans

As mentioned earlier, Kurdish purists avoid borrowing and, in the absence of native alternatives, prefer Kurdified loanwords and loanshift creations to loanwords. The purists in Iraq prefer Pers. to Arab. loanwords: *ferheng* to *qamûs* and *supas* to *memnûn*. Sor. is now extensively purified from Arab. loanwords such as *hewadis*, *huquq*, *ictima‘at*, *ihsasat*, *mehbûb* and *menatiq*. It has even purged some old Arab. loanwords which were fully nativised in wr and sp Sor., for instance, *dadperwer* ‘just’ is used instead of ‘*adil*’; *ewîn* and *xosewîstî* ‘love’ instead of ‘*isq*’.

Many purist suggestions are regularly adopted in the standard language: *amadeyî* ‘high school’, *berêweber* ‘director’, *birûske* ‘telegraf’, *gel* ‘nation’, *gerîde* ‘tourist’, *kem-û-kurî* ‘shortcoming’, *kobûnewe* ‘meeting’, *lîjne* ‘committee’, *maf* ‘right’, *nawnîsan* ‘address’, *nawçe* ‘district’, *netewe* ‘nation’, *nawerok* ‘content’, *pêsmerge* ‘peshmarga’, *pol* ‘class’ *rojnamegerî* ‘journalism’, *wit-û-wêj* ‘negotiation’, *xal* ‘dot’ *xosewîstî* ‘love’. Some purist suggestions are not accepted, however: *gerdîle* ‘atom’, *nöndinxane* ‘cinema’, *temasa-xane* ‘theatre’, *rewandiz* ‘tank’, *xuloke* ‘car’ and *pîtolî* ‘philosophy’. Confusion is created when Iraqi Kurds use pure Kurd. words which have a different meaning in Iran. Kurd.: *pasewan* means ‘guard’ in Iraqi Kurdistan

whereas *pasewan* or *paseban*, borrowed from Pers., means ‘police’ in Iran. Kurdistan.

## 5.8. Establishment of loans, morphological adaptation of loans

Kurish dictionaries usually register those European words that are completely integrated into Sorani, such as *cigere*, *bomb*, *masên*, *mekîne*, and *telefon*. Most of the loanwords in Sor. are inflected as native words, have undergone derivational processes (see loanblends), and are used for forming compound words. Most of the Euro. nouns borrowed into Kurd. are Kurdified by adding suffixes. Borrowed nouns, for example, take the indefinite article *-êk*, definite article *-ke*, *-eke*, and plural ending *-an*: *roman-êk* ‘a novel’; *roman-eke* ‘the novel’, *roman-ek-an* ‘the novels’. Some languages form mixed compounds by “borrowing verbs in an infinitive or other relatively simple form and adding a native verb like ‘be’ or ‘do’ in auxiliary function” (Heath, 1994:387). Pers., Kurd., Turk., and Arab. belong to such languages and use the auxiliary structure. Compound infinitives are made by loans plus Sor. *kirdin* ‘to do’: *çap kirdin* (*çap* Kurd. variant of Indian-Pers. *çâp*), *teclîd kirdin* (*teclîd* Kurd. variant of Arab. *tajl•d*) ‘to bind a book’. The latter term is used by Hêmin in a personal letter (Hisamî, 1987:42). Sometimes, verbs other than *kirdin* are used: Euro. lw + Sor. inf: *bomba hawîstin* (*bomba* + *hawîstin* to throw) ‘to bomb’.

Loanwords may be classified into three groups based on purist consideration. First, the majority of loanwords have no purist alternatives or their purist equivalents are not accepted. In the second group, both purist suggestions and loanwords are used. The third group belongs to loanblends, loanshifts, and loanshift creations which were discussed above. Euro. loanwords established in wr Sor. are : *bomba*, *bale*, *cigere*, *cuxrafya*, *dêmuokrat*, *dêmukrasî*, *eflatûnî*, *etom*, *fasîzm*, *felsefe*, *gramafon*, *kongire*, *dîktator*, *impîryalîzm*, *kadir*, *kart*, *folklore*, *karîkator*, *ki lîse*, *katolîk*, *masên*, *mîkrob*, *milyon*, *mîtr*, *musîqa*, *nazîzm*, *organ*, *opîra*, *pan-êranîzm*, *pan-turkîzm*, *partîzan*, *pas*, *pasaj*, *pît*, *profesor*, *radar*, *radio*, *rijîm*, *rîfrandom*, *rîportaj*, *riyalîst*, *sansor*, *semfonî*, *sikirtêr*, *sînema*, *sîtratîjîk*, *sowinîst*, *tablo*, *taktîk*, *têkst*, *telefon*, *tiyatr*, and *tiyorî*. Both loanwords and purist equivalents are used in the following cases: *abûne*, *besdarî*; *adrês*, *nawnisan*; *kilas*, *pol*; *komîte*, *komîsyon*, *kor*, *lîjne*; *mîtîng*, *kobûnewe*; *psîkolojî*, *derûn-nasî*; *raport*, *guzarîst*; *tank*, *debabe*; *têlgraf*, *brûske*; *temate*, *bayincanî sûr*. As a result of borrowing from different cultures, there are many lexical synonyms in Kurd.: ‘dictation’: *dîkte*, *imla*; ‘gendarmeri’: *jandarmerî*, *emniye*; ‘soldier’: *serbaz*, *esker*; ‘dictionary’: *ferheng*, *qamûs*; ‘bicycle’: *duçerxe*, *paskîl*.

## 5.9. Standard spoken Sorani

Many Kurd. purist suggestions and Euro. equivalents are established in both wr and sp Sor. Standard spoken Sorani is used in radio and television broadcasts, teaching, official speeches and other formal contexts. Moreover, many Iraqi Kurds are educated in Kurd., and they use standard Kurd. when they speak. Peshmargas and intellectuals also use standard Kurd. in the areas under their control in Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan. Thus, there is a spoken standard Sor. already in use in diverse contexts. It is possible, therefore, to claim that the spoken Sorani standard is the language used in radio and television newscasts and other information programming, and in official contexts such as speeches in the parliament. No doubt, this type of spoken language use is closely related to the written standard. The news and some speeches are based on written texts.

The close relationship between the spoken and written variants of the Sorani standard may be discerned in the extensive use of the loans discussed in this study. These loans, collected from written texts, are widely used in the spoken standard: *amadeyî* ‘secondary school’, *berêweber* ‘director’, *birûske* ‘telegraph’, *gel* ‘nation’, *ewîn* ‘love’, *jimare* ‘number’, *kem-û-kurî* ‘shortcoming’, *kobûnewe* ‘meeting’, *lijne* ‘committee’, *maf* ‘right’, *nawerok* ‘content’, *nawnisan* ‘address’, *netewe* ‘nation’, *nöner* ‘representative’, *rojname* ‘newspaper’, *rudaw* ‘accident’, *wit-û-wêj* ‘negotiation’ and *xosewîstî* ‘love’. Loanwords and loanshift creations are also used in spoken Sorani: *çapxane* ‘publishing-house’, *zanistga* ‘university’. Many Euro. loanwords are also used in spoken Sor.: *cigere*, *dîktator*, *duktor*, *etom*, *felsefe*, *folklor*, *kumîte*, *musîqa*, *pas*, *polîs*, *program*, *prupagende*, *radyo*, *raport*, *senator*, *sikirtêr*, *telefon*, *têlgraf*, and *temate*. However, a group of loanwords are used mainly by educated Kurds; they are terms of the social sciences and the humanities, e.g., *arsîw*, *borjwazî*, *împiryalîzm*, *drama*, *opîra*, and *semfonî*.

## Chapter 6 Conclusions

This study has examined aspects of language contact by focusing on the dynamics of lexical borrowing in the process of the standardisation of Sorani Kurdish. Although language contact is of ancient origin, its scope, pace, and intensity increased unprecedentedly with the rise of modernity, nation-states, and the formation of an international world order. In pre-modern times, language contact was limited by technological and economic constraints on the movement of populations, trade, and travel. However, the rise of modern industrial societies in Western Europe introduced extensive contact between the languages of the continent and the rest of the world. In spite of their uniquely rich literary traditions, the classical languages of the East were influenced strongly by the European languages, which combined the simplicity of writing style with the enormous lexical resources of modern culture and society. By the end of the nineteenth century, Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish were forced into radical reforms along the pattern of European languages, i.e. standardisation. The strictly codified writing styles were discarded, vocabularies were modernised with borrowings and coinages, and punctuation, paragraphing, pagination, indexing, and other European codes of language use were adopted in books and the new medium of journalism.

Responses to the Western challenge were obviously diverse, depending on the political and cultural status of each language. This was in part because the process of contact was and, still remains, uneven. Arabs, Turks, and Persians were more directly and intensively confronted with European powers, their trade, religion, wars, languages, and culture. Kurdish contact was initially indirect and less intensive. Toward the turn of the twentieth century, however, most written languages in the non-Western world, including Kurdish, had already been reformed, to varying degrees, according to the pattern of Western standard languages. While the European languages borrowed words and concepts from the rest of the world, borrowing was mainly a one way process in which the East was the borrower and the West was in the position of the lender.

Borrowing occurs on all levels of language structure, including phonology, morphology, semantic system, and syntax, and all aspects of language use, in both writing and speaking. In Kurdish, too, borrowing has taken place on all these levels, although especially lexical borrowing and the nationalist response to it, i.e. purification, constitute ongoing and powerful trends of standardisation. Lexical borrowing, however, does not take place in a social and linguistic vacuum. Linguistically, it reshapes the phonological and semantic structures of the language.

Politically, in cases such as Kurdish, it is a site of struggle between various forces such as the Kurds and the states that rule over them as well as among the conflicting tendencies in the Kurdish nationalist movement. Borrowing is, at the same time, the linguistic component of social and cultural modernisation.

Although borrowing and purification constitute important trends in the standardisation of Kurdish, and its modernisation and lexical development, there is an obvious dearth of research on the subject. One of the goals of this study was to generate data on borrowing and purism, and to analyse them within a sociolinguistic framework that accounts for the non-linguistic contexts of language contact. In order to explain the dynamics of lexical borrowing more adequately, I focused on the lived experience of borrowing in the writings of a major literary figure, Hêmin, who was a poet, essayist, and political activist. I have collected nearly all the European loanwords in his prose works, and examined the ways in which these words have been reconstructed, accepted, rejected, or purified in the literate uses of Sorani Kurdish in both Iran and Iraq.

Borrowings in English, a dominant world language, rarely raise political or linguistic controversies, although another important international language, French, is quite adversarial to 'foreignisms'. In Kurdish, borrowing is by no means a purely linguistic event. The political dimension of this aspect of language contact quite often overshadows the linguistic dimension. Any borrowing, old and new, from Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, the official languages of the states that rule over the Kurds, is treated by most nationalists as fetters that help the assimilation of the Kurds into the dominant culture and language.

Borrowing and the purist reaction to it clearly distinguish the pre-standard Kurdish literary languages from the standard language. Three classical literary languages (Hewrami, Kirmanci, and Sorani) emerged during the flourishing of the emirate system in Kurdistan. Under conditions of the domination of the two most prestigious and powerful languages of the Islamic world, Arabic and Persian, reducing Kurdish to writing and creating literary works in it was clearly an expression of ethnic identity. However, these literary languages were open to borrowing the forms of literary expression, mostly poetic, and much of their diction from the dominant languages. Indeed, the Persian and Arabic literary traditions were seen as the ideal, the standard, the model, and the supreme achievement of any language. Some Kurdish poets of the classical period, e.g. Melay Cizîrî and Ahmed-î Xanî, compared Kurdish with Persian, and hoped that their language would attain a similar position.

While Kurdish intellectuals of the classical period competed with Persian and Arabic by creating a literary tradition as similar as possible to the two dominant literatures, the reformists of the modern period try to construct a standard language that is as different as possible from the official languages of the state, i.e., Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. It is obvious that in both periods, pre-standard and standard, the Kurdish literati wanted to construct a distinct written language. However, in sharp contrast to the literary activists of the classical period, the modernists equate distinctness with difference, and try to avoid borrowing or, to be more exact, Kurdify or purify every borrowed element. Extremist nationalists construct borrowing and

purification into antagonistic contradictions, which can be resolved only by eliminating the 'foreign' element. This approach is not unique to the Kurdish case; indeed, a body of theory and empirical studies has already emphasised the existence of close ties that bind purism to nationalism. My research confirms this body of theory, and offers fresh evidence on the complex relationships between borrowing, modernisation, standardisation, and nationalism.

The dynamics of language contact and borrowing in Kurdish is distinguished from other cases by various extra-linguistic factors. Kurdish is (1) forcibly divided among several nation-states, (2) subjected to linguistic repression, which denies its speakers the freedom to reform it, and (3) split into dialects with significant structural cleavages, and (4) used by Kurdish nationalist movements as a major tool of nation-building.

The division of Kurdistan in 1918 was, therefore, markedly different from its partition by the Ottoman-Iranian border treaty of 1639. The loosely organised pre-modern Ottoman and Iranian states were not in a position to dictate linguistic policies over their Kurdish subjects, which were under the direct rule of their emirates. By contrast, the 1918 boundary lines constituted the borders of centralising nation-states, which penetrated the social, cultural, economic and linguistic life of Kurdistan. In addition to coercive measures taken against the written and spoken use of Kurdish, Turkey and Iran used the official state language and the educational system and the media in order to linguistically assimilate the Kurds. However, while the social and economic modernisation projects of these states brought to the Kurds domination, the reaction to this policy was equally transformative. The Kurdish nationalist movements were able to respond to Turkification, Persianisation, and Arabisation by engaging in various survival strategies including, first and foremost, the construction of a 'national language' standardising their native tongue.

Kurdish nationalists in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey began to construct and standardise Kirmanci, Sorani, and Dimli as national dialects or languages as a means of forming a unified Kurdish nation (recently, Dimli has also been standardised by Dimli nationalists). A group of nationalists consider language a symbol of identity and do not distinguish between linguistic and social and political factors. For others, a standard language is a means of creating a modern multilingual democratic society equipped with a public educational system and freedom of the press. In this kind of society, language rights are recognised. A modern written standard language is easy to learn and creates a standard spoken variety in its process of development. The Kurdish nationalist movements have developed in different places and in different periods. There are three main nationalist movements in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. In these movements, Kirmanci and Sorani have become standardised to a limited degree.

The main sources of borrowing in the pre-standard literary languages was the small group of the predominantly male literati, which consisted of the clergy and some members of the landed aristocracy. Their literacy was always in Arabic, Persian, and, under Ottoman rule, occasionally in Turkish. The site of borrowings was as limited as the social bases of the borrowers – literature was the main source of

borrowing since the literary dialects were used primarily in poetry and only to a limited extent in religious instruction. The Kurdish literati voluntarily and freely borrowed from the culturally and religiously dominant languages. By contrast, the integration of the Kurds into the nation-states expanded both the sources and the conduits of borrowing, and introduced the element of compulsion or coercion into the process. If the borrowers and the users of loanwords were the same small literate minority in the pre-standard period, their social bases gradually expanded to millions under the rule of the nation-states. Borrowers now included the majority of the population, ranging from primary school students who received their education mostly in Arabic in Iraq and only in Persian in Iran to the illiterates who were exposed to official languages through cinema, radio, television, and the administrative system.

The standardisation effort was most productive in Iraq where, in spite of Arabisation, the language was used in the small print media and, since 1939, in the state-run radio broadcasts. Although the Kurds were not allowed to have a daily newspaper, the limited pages of the few weekly or monthly publications were free to discuss questions of language reform including borrowing and purism. Purification began as soon as the Iraqi state was established. Individual writers practised purification under conditions of the absence of literary clubs, linguistic circles, or institutional support. By the 1940s, however, these individual efforts turned into a movement in the sense that the widest range of language users from journalists to poets to radio broadcasters could not avoid using 'pure Kurdish' (*kurdi petî*).

The Sorani standard today is as distinct as possible from both the genetically related Persian and the distant Arabic languages. Although its alphabet is borrowed from Arabic, Kurdish has introduced a sweeping reform with the introduction of diacritical marks, which has allowed it to be, unlike Persian and Arabic, an almost phonemic script. In terms of terminological creation, it has already met the challenge of secondary school education and modern mass media uses of language. The grammar has been codified for primary and secondary school teaching. While these and other advances are remarkable, borrowing continues to be the main challenge to the language.

The status of Kurdish as a subordinate, non-state, and non-official language continues to limit its scope of use, especially in the areas of science and technology, and restricts its use in post-secondary education. While progress has been made in the use of the standard in the media and college-level education in the Regional Government of Iraqi Kurdistan in the 1990s, a major challenge remains to be lexical development. It is still difficult to compile or translate college-level (social) science texts in the standard. There are few reference sources such as encyclopaedias, dictionaries of synonyms, dialect dictionaries, or even comprehensive monolingual dictionaries. Most Kurdish dialects have never been recorded or studied.

Borrowing and purification continue to act as the main trends of standardisation in both standard varieties, Kirmanci and Sorani. The research presented in this dissertation reveals that, in spite of the ubiquity of the purist movement, responses to the challenge of borrowing are diverse. The first divide is between nationalists and



Marxists. Most of the latter view language as a means of political mobilisation and ideological struggle, which should not be constrained by purist considerations. The political divide among nationalists is equally prominent. Hêmin, whose approach to borrowing has been assessed as ‘moderate’ in this study is in sharp contrast with extremist purists. The moderate and extremist approaches to borrowing are based primarily on political rather than linguistic considerations. Indeed, it is often difficult to separate the political from the linguistic. The extremist purists are generally against all borrowing, and try to replace loans by coinages, dialect borrowings, or loanshift creations and extensions. Faced with the formidable task of coining thousands of words, however, they often compromise their principles. The extremist nationalists in Iraq are more hospitable to loans from Persian and Western languages, which are treated as members of the same language family, the Indo-European. They are, however, against all borrowings from Arabic and Turkish. Some even try to purify old nativised loans such as *kitêb* ‘book’, *kaxaz* ‘paper’, and *qelem* ‘pen’ and replace them with purisms such as *pertûk*, *lênûs*, and *pênûs*, respectively. Extremists even try to purge the phonemes, that they regard as Arabic or Turkish loans, i.e., /q/, /‘/ and /h/.

Textual studies of loanwords provide valuable insight into the process of language contact. I have chosen, however, the living experience of one language user, the poet and essayist Hêmin, to demonstrate the struggle over loanwords and purification. Like most nationalist intellectuals, he was a moderate purist.

Language, both its structure and use, constitutes a complex system of sub-systems, and individual speakers/writers do not take a fixed, monolithic approach to loanwords and purisms. There is, for instance, a clear difference between Hêmin’s ‘formal’ texts, such as essays, and more informal texts, such as speeches, personal letters, and interviews. The former are more purified, while the latter are more tolerant of loanwords. Flexibility is also evident in Hêmin and other language reformers who weigh different alternatives, and rather conveniently discard words they have used and replace them with new ones. When they find a more suitable variant, they avoid using the words which they have used before and apply the new choices. This political struggle over loanwords is clearly recorded in the rather extensive annotations I have provided for the loanwords used in Hêmin’s work. The list includes European loans adopted into the Sorani standard between 1930 and 1998.

Today, moderate purists are dominant; they borrow from other languages when it is needed and when a Kurdish alternative is not readily available. They have adopted various strategies such as loanblending, loanshifting, coining, and dialect borrowing in order to modernise the vocabulary. Some of their alternatives are now widely accepted, for instance, *pol* ‘class’, *lijne* ‘committee’, and loanshift creations of Persian words such as *zanistga* ‘university’ and *berdenûsraw* ‘stone inscription’. Purist suggestions have led to lexical synonymy as in the case of *klas* and *pol*, both meaning ‘a group of students taught together’. Some purists have coined words without taking into consideration the grammatical structure of the language or without knowledge of the source languages. These coinages are sometimes accepted,

since Kurdish like other languages is flexible in adopting loans and even ungrammatical coinages, and integrating them into its open lexical system.

The loanwords examined in this study demonstrate the complexity of the linguistic life of a people divided by international borders, dialects, nation-states, and political movements, but at the same time subjected to the pressures of the dominant languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. However, it is possible to claim, on the strength of the evidence presented in this study, that the complex and contradictory trends of borrowing and purism, and internationalisation and nationalism allow the Kurdish language to survive and flourish, even when linguistic repression continues to prevail in one or another state.

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## Abbreviations

BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , London
I.E.L.	<i>International Encyclopedia of Linguistics</i> , ed by William Bright, Oxford, 1992.
E.I.	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , ed by E Bosworth, et al., Leiden – London.
E.L.L.	<i>The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics</i> , ed. by R.E. Asher, Oxford, 1994.
E.Ir.	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , ed by Ehsan Yarshater, ort
H. j.	<i>Hejri jamsi</i>
JRAS	<i>The Journal of the Royal Asian Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , ort
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , ort
Ph.D. diss	Ph.D. dissertation
T.M.Z.K.	<i>To fehye MoQaffariyeh dar Zabân-e Kordi, Die Mundat der Mukri Kurden</i> , Part One, Berlin, transcribed into Sorani alphabet by Hêmin, Vols. I&II, Mehabad (1st Sorani impr 1975).

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## 2. List of those who answered questionnaire

The Kurdish writers, poets and essayists who have answered the questionnaire about loanwords in Kurdish, in 1996, about the treatment of loans in Sorani. Handren Mahdi Ahmad, Khabat Aref, Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Sherko Bekas, Solaiman Chireh, Kerim Danisyar, Mahmud Mola Ezat, 'Umer Farûqî, Hamed Gohary, Nasir Hafid, Farok Hafid, Amir Hassanpour, Gaafar Hosainpour, Abdulkerim Hussami, Goran Karadaghi, Hossein Khalighi, Soleiman Kaveh, Kamal Maarof, Abdollah Mardukh, Ali Nanavazadeh, Taymour Patai, Mahabad Qaradaghi, Rafik Kadir, Ehmed Serîfî,

Anwar Soltani, Fateh Shaikholeslami, Omar Sheikhmous, Siamand Shikhagaie, Aziz Zhyan and Kakaways.

### 3. Magazines

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