SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE PURISM AMONG KURDISH SPEAKERS

by

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ABSTRACT

This work, SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE PURISM AMONG KURDISH SPEAKERS, deals with the process of the purification of the written language of the Kurdish minority in Iraq.

The study is the result of the investigation and analysis of written Kurdish records covering a period of half a century, from 1924 to 1973. Earlier records have also been examined and compared.

The Analysis has identified three different stages in the development of the written Kurdish language within this fifty years. They are:

1. The Early Period in which the written language relied heavily on Arabic loanwords. The mean percentage of loans in this period is 46.48%.
2. The Middle Period in which a sharp drop in the employment of Arabic loanwords is noticed. The mean percentage of loans in this period is 9.80%.
3. The Modern Period where the written language is almost completely purified. The percentage of loans in this period is 4.46%.

The purification process in the Kurdish written language, which is mainly the result of the reaction of the speakers of Kurdish against certain socio-economic pressures, has, in addition to purifying the language, resulted in:

a. the introduction of diglossia;

b. the introduction of changes in the lexicon which produced phonological and morphological changes in the written language;
c. the development of a standard literary language.

This study has also shown that language purism is of two kinds: one is motivated by language loyalty which seeks to preserve the language as it exists at a certain period of time and calls for refraining from further borrowing, the other is motivated by language nationalism and calls, in addition, for the elimination of earlier loanwords.
0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Field of Study

This study is an attempt to investigate, analyse and describe the Kurdish written language used in Iraq over a period of half a century, precisely from the time when the present state of Iraq was established as a political entity with defined geographical boundaries at the end of World War I to the early years of the seventies of this century.

The reason for limiting the study to this geographical area is that it is only in Iraq that the Kurdish language has been regularly used for writing. Furthermore, it is only in Iraq that Kurdish was made the official language of the administration, as it was in the predominantly Kurdish district in 1918 (Edmonds, 1957, p.11). This status was later confirmed by the Language Law of 1931 after the state of Iraq joined the League of Nations. According to this law, Kurdish began to be used (i) in primary schools as a medium of instruction, (ii) in local government offices and (iii) in law courts in the areas where Kurds form the majority of the population.

0.2 Purpose and Scope of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine and describe the stages of the development of the Kurdish written language from the time it was first used as a vehicle for writing and for instruction in schools until the early seventies of this century.

The study also aims to arrive at general conclusions regarding the development of a written standard language of a minority group in a political entity where the official language is different from it.

To achieve this aim, it is necessary to briefly survey the written Kurdish language of the period previous to the first World War and to describe the areas to which its use was limited.
The examination of the development of the Kurdish written language in the fifty years after the War attempts to discover the nature and extent of the changes that have occurred in written Kurdish as a result of its increasing use for instruction and for discussing a number of subjects for which the language was not formerly used. In other words, I will investigate the linguistic methods utilized for extending the potential of Kurdish and for making it capable of expressing the various topics and themes that were either not expressible in Kurdish or that were expressed with heavy reliance on borrowed items.

This thesis provides empirical evidence for the rise of a purified written standard in a language of a minority group, in this case Kurdish, despite the great cultural, sociological and administrational pressures it had to face from the firmly-established Arabic language which is the national language of the country, the language of religion and of the majority.

The success of the Kurds in maintaining and developing their native language in the face of the overwhelming pressures mentioned above is due to many extra-linguistic factors which have firmly strengthened language loyalty among the Kurds of Iraq. The causes fanning language loyalty and language nationalism will be examined and elaborated.

0.3 Data and Data Collection

For the purpose of this work, extensive study has been made of almost all the pertinent available written records in Kurdish. These include written material appearing before the beginning of this century as well as that which has appeared since then. The poetry of the earlier Kurdish poets has been studied and also all the Kurdish newspapers, magazines, periodicals and books published since the establishment of the modern state of Iraq.

In addition to the sources above, I succeeded in obtaining some old primary school-texts that were written in or translated into Kurdish from Arabic text-books. Some of these books were valuable for comparing the language in which they were written with the recent text-books published by the education authorities of the country.
In my search for data, I went through the collections of books and periodicals in the following places:

1. the main public library in Sulaimania;
2. the main public library in Arbil;
3. the library of the Kurdish Language Academy in Baghdad;
4. the library of the department of Kurdish at the College of Arts, University of Baghdad;
5. the collection of Kurdish books at the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies in Baghdad; and
6. the relevant books and unpublished theses at the Library of Higher Studies, College of Arts, University of Baghdad.

The data presented at the end of this work were selected at random, but cover a wide range of textual types (see chapter 2, p.17). The extracts are chosen from a wide variety of sources and cover a period of half a century, precisely from 1924 to 1973. The chronological order of the texts is used as a guide for their selection.

The samples selected deal with a wide variety of literary, scientific, educational, theological, historical, geographic, political, social, economic and linguistic subjects. They range in length from a short news item to a long article. The data, therefore, are stratified by different strata in time, space and subject matter. The stratification of the data in this manner is intended to increase "the representativeness of the ... samples and to increase the precision of the results of the study," (Moser, 1968, p.78). Where relevant, additional data are analyzed and compared in the body of the thesis.

The data are appended to the thesis. There are three appendices: appendix I contains the data for Chapter Two, appendix II contains the data for Chapter Three, and appendix III contains the data for Chapter Four.

The texts in each appendix are chronologically arranged starting from the earliest one, 1924 and ending with the latest, 1973. However, the last four selections in appendix I, which are samples taken from school-texts, published in 1928 and 1929, are grouped together and put after the other samples.
The source of each text and its date are given at the top of the phonemic transcription of the selection, and this is followed by its English translation. The phonemic transcription of the various texts examined in this thesis is mine. This was a difficult task owing to the absence of any kind of actual recorded material that could be resorted to or listened to for knowing the exact pronunciation of the Kurdish speakers in the early twentieth century or a little before that. Under these conditions, the only way out of this problem was to rely on the pronunciation of old Kurdish speakers, which would presumably reflect the Kurdish pronunciation of the borrowed items in those early days.

0.4 Description of Chapters

This work contains the following six chapters in addition to the introduction:

Chapter One, THE KURDS AND THEIR LANGUAGE - A HISTORICAL SURVEY, is a study of the origin of the Kurds and of their country and language. In this chapter an attempt is also made to examine the language situation of the Kurds and their attitudes towards their language and their origin before World War I.

Chapter Two, THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE KURDISH WRITTEN LANGUAGE, is a linguistic analysis and description of written records published from 1924 to 1939. The latter date represents the year in which the first literary Kurdish magazine /galawe3/ was published.

Chapter Three, THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF THE KURDISH WRITTEN LANGUAGE, is a linguistic study and description of Kurdish written records published from the date of the appearance of the periodical /galawe3/ in 1939 to the time when the monarchy in Iraq was overthrown on July 14, 1958; that is to say, until the establishment of the first republic. The year 1958 marks the beginning of great political, social and economic changes in the structure of the country as a whole.

Chapter Four, THE MODERN PERIOD OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE, is a study and analysis of the written records from 1958 to the early seventies. In this chapter an attempt is made to describe the KURDISH LITERARY STANDARD produced as a result of using Kurdish as a medium of instruction in all school levels. It is in this
chapter that a description is made of the effects of purism in producing a literary language capable of expressing the ideas and thoughts of the various disciplines and fields of knowledge. It is also in this chapter that the relationship and difference between the spoken language and the standard literary language is discussed.

Chapter Five, LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE NATIONALISM, deals with the causes of the linguistic phenomenon known as linguistic purism and its correlation with language identity, language maintenance, language separateness and language loyalty.

Chapter Six, CONCLUSIONS, attempts to arrive at some sociolinguistic universals regarding the correlation between language purism and language nationalism in the languages of minority groups.
CHAPTER ONE

1. THE KURDS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

A HISTORICAL SURVEY

1.1 The Kurds and Their Habitat

The Kurds are a sizeable group of people who live today as minority groups in several neighbouring countries of the Middle East, such as Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. There are also some Kurds who live in the State of Armenia in the Soviet Union.

The homeland of the Kurds is called Kurdistan which, geographically speaking, forms one continuous stretch of land (see map p.1) that is mainly mountainous. Politically, Kurdistan is divided into several parts each of which belongs to a state or political entity.

The origin of the Kurds is still a question that historians have not yet reached a general consensus about. Under the term "Kurd", the Encyclopedia of Islam, 1927, says that despite the existence of "a large number of important works dealing with the Kurds from linguistic, historical, ethnographical and political points of view, we still lack a general study devoted to the people". It then goes on to suggest that the land of the ancient Kardouchai is at present one of the principal centres of the Kurds. Speaking about the same theme, Edmonds (1957, p.7) claims that the Kurds of today represent the Medes of the Third Great Oriental Monarchy and that the name Kurd is probably "an echo of similar names used by the classical writers, such as ... the Kardouchai who attacked Xenophon and the Ten Thousand ... as they retreated through Zakho region in 400 B.C."

The Kurdish historian Zaki (1951, p.39) expresses the non-existence of authentic evidence about the origin of the Kurds more directly, saying "we cannot give a decisive opinion regarding the origin of the Kurds". Nevertheless, he gives the year 650 B.C. as the approximate date of their arrival in Kurdistan.
The Kurds of Iraq, whose written language is the subject of this study, live in the mountainous north part of Iraq in the area formerly known as the Mosul Wilayat at the time Iraq was under the control of the Ottoman Empire from 1514 to the end of World War I. The Mosul Wilayat included the counties (liwas) of Sulaimania, Arbil, Kirkuk and Mosul. The names of these counties were recently changed and Mosul was divided into two. Thus the former Mosul Wilayat include five Governates today which are: Sulaimania, Arbil, Ta'mim, Mosul and Duhok.

The modern state of Iraq was carved out of the possessions of the Ottoman Empire after the first World War. It was established as a monarchy under British mandate and remained so until 1932. From that date until 1958, Iraq was an independent monarchy. In July, 1958, it became a republic after a revolution.

The number of Kurds in Iraq is variously estimated owing to the lack of reliable statistical figures. However, educated Kurds put their number at about three million.

1.2 The Kurdish Language

Kurdish is one of the languages of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The Encyclopaedia of Islam (1927, p.27 ff) describes Kurdish as a western Iranian language but it says that its descent is different from that of Persian and it shows a character clearly distinct from that of Persian.

No ancient records of Kurdish exist. However, some Kurdish writers like Sujadi (1976, p.58) say that written Kurdish goes as far back as the 15th century A.D.; others claim that the poetry of the Kurdish poet, Mullah of Jezireh, who lived in 1429, represents the first example of written Kurdish literature. Western writers, for instance Bois (1966, p.122), believe that "the origins of Kurdish literature are obscure and uncertain and that historians cannot always agree on the dates of some poets and that Kurdish authors tend to date works far back into the past, a chronology which cannot always be proved".
Written records of Kurdish poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are plentiful. The works of famous Kurdish poets such as Nali (1797 - 1855), Salim (1800 - 1860), Haji Kadir Koyi (1815 - 1892), Sheikh Raza (1835 - 1909) and many others are fairly well recorded and are still popular. It might seem reasonable to suggest that any comprehensive historical study of the Kurdish language should not start with a date prior to the fifteenth century at the earliest for even the literature of that early period is not easily authenticated.

1.3 The Kurds and Religion

The majority of the Kurds are Moslems and their contact with Islamic religion began several years after the advent of Islam. The Encyclopaedia of Islam (1927, p.1136) gives the following account about the conversion of the Kurds and their earliest contact with the Arabs:

"the Moslem Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Tikrit and Hulpwan in 637. In Susiana in 639 the Arabs fought against the Kurds ... in 643 ... the Kurds forcibly converted to Islam, apostatized en masse".

The dates quoted above represent the beginning of direct contact between the Kurds of Iraq and the Arabs because the cities of Tikrit and Hulpwan are in Iraq. This means that the Kurds have been in constant contact with the Arabic language and with the Islamic religion for over thirteen centuries.

The conversion of the Kurds to Islam meant the introduction of a religion taught and practised in Arabic since Islam does not condone the translation of the Islamic religious texts into other languages. It also meant the introduction of Islamic philosophy, Islamic laws and Islamic ways of life and all of these were taught and presented in Arabic.
Furthermore, mosques were built in the Kurdish area where the regular five-times-a-day prayers were held and where the holy book, the Quran, was read and taught. It should be assumed that from the beginning Arabic as a language and grammar was also taught in these mosques in order to make people know and understand the new religion (see p. 110 of this work for the mosque schools).

The long intensive and extensive contact with a religion taught and practised in Arabic and with Arabic as a language in which new ideas and thoughts are introduced must have made a deep imprint on Kurdish, although no written records document that process until the present century.

The study of the influence of Arabic and other languages on the written Kurdish language is presented in the next chapters.

1.4 The Language Situation in Iraq until 1918

The geographical entity known as Iraq today was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from 1514 to 1918. During all these years the language of the government, the military, the law and education was Turkish. Arabic, however, was the language of religion while Persian was the language of literature.

When the first World War came to an end and Iraq was cut off from the Empire, Arabic was made the national language of the country. Obviously, the Kurds who went to school before 1918 learned Turkish, but they knew Arabic also simply because they were Moslems, i.e. they were expected to have read the Quran and practised their religious services in Arabic. Even the illiterate male Kurds who had to serve in the army of the Empire learnt Turkish. Nevertheless, the Turkish language of those days was replete with Arabic loan words since "for more than (1000) years the Turks had been a Moslem people sharing in the common Islamic civilization of the Middle East. Arabic and Persian had been their classical languages and had made a contribution to their vocabulary comparable in scale and content with the Greek, Latin and Romance
elements in English" (Lewis, 1968, p.434). The Kurds have been a Moslem people for over (1300) years and so their language was influenced by Arabic directly through their Islamic religion and indirectly through learning Turkish, the language of the government, the military, the law and education. The Kurdish language of the pre-war period is therefore expected to contain a large number of Arabic vocabulary items and expressions. Similarly, the written Kurdish language appearing after the first World War is expected to have been replete with Arabic borrowings. The study of the Kurdish language of this period is presented in Chapter Two of this work.

1.5 Attitude of the Kurds towards Arabic and towards Kurdish

The conversion of the Kurds of Iraq to Islam, the continuous practising of their religious services in Arabic and the fact that the holy book of Islam, the Quran, is in Arabic, has instilled into the Kurds a great reverence and veneration for the Arabic language. This feeling is reflected clearly in the works of the Kurdish poets in the period before World War I. The Encyclopaedia of Islam (1927, p.1154) says that "Kurdish writers preferred to write in Arabic, Persian or Turkish". This perhaps explains the reason why a large number of poems are written in Arabic by the early Kurdish poets like Mullah of Jezireh, Nali, Sheikh Raza, Haji Qadir Kayi and others.

It also seems to have been thought inelegant and ungraceful in those days to write in Kurdish. The Kurdish poet Nali (1797 – 1855) was derided for composing in Kurdish and in one of his poems he replied to those deriders saying "I deliberately compose in Kurdish because I want to show that I am a cavalier in the field of eloquence in all languages". By "all languages" the poet means Arabic, Persian and Kurdish because he composed in these

1 the Kurdish lines of the poem are these

/tabâ'-i ʃakir bâr-i min Kurdî agar ?inʃā akâ/ ?imtihān-i xoya maqsūdî la ʃamâda wâ akâ/ ʃâla la maydân-i fasâhatdâ ba misl-i ʃâhswâr/ be ta?amul hammû navâa zubâne wâ akâ/ kas ba ?alfâzim nale xo Kurdiya xo Kirdiya/
three languages. Apparently, the test of poetic excellence in those days was to write in Arabic, the language of the Quran, in Persian, the language of classical literature and in Turkish, the language of the government. For this reason we find that none of the Kurdish poets of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries composed in Kurdish alone. The poet Haji Qadir Koyi (1815 - 1897) was the only one who advocated the use of Kurdish and lamented the use of other languages by Kurdish writers. He said in one of his poems, "tell me what's wrong with Kurdish! it is also a language of God and has no blemish"\(^2\). In another poem he says, "If books, notebooks, history and letters had been written in Kurdish, the names and deeds of our mullas, elders, sheikhs and kings would have survived till doomsday. It is decreed against our elders and Kings, come! let's follow the road of wisdom"\(^3\). In the last line the poet prominently advocates the use of Kurdish in writing and describes it as the "road of wisdom". The last quotation distinctly proves that not only books but even personal letters were not written in Kurdish during the life-time of the poet, that is, until the close of the nineteenth century. This indicates that (i) Kurdish writers wrote in languages other than Kurdish, and (ii) Kurdish as a language was only used for speech. This is confirmed by Sujadi (1976, p.57) where he says that after the spread of Islam "Kurdish was neither the language of religion nor the language of literature to encourage Kurdish writers to write in their own language". Moslem religion and the fact that the prophet Mohammed

\(^2\) the poet's words are the following:

\[
\text{/
Kurdî \text{?axir bile t\text{i}iya \text{?ayb\text{\textbar}}} \\
\text{har Kalam-i haqa u niya \text{?ayb\text{\textbar}}}\
\]\n
\(^3\) the poem in Kurdish is the following:

\[
\text{/Kiteb u daftar u Kâgaz ba Kurdî gar binus\text{\textbar}iya zim\text{\textbar}nî \\
malz u pi\text{\textbar} u pâdi\text{\textbar}mân hatâ mah\text{\textbar}sar da m\text{\textbar} nâwunî\text{\textbar}nî \\
ba zidd-\text{\textbar} pi\text{\textbar} u pâ\text{\textbar}mân bi\text{\textbar}wawa wara ba beyna sar re-y mihrabânî/}
\]
was an Arab and that the Quran is in Arabic appears to have had such a firm grip on the feelings and minds of the Kurdish people that some of them even claimed Arabic descent. Soane (1912, p.178) says that "the Hamavand tribe near Sulaimania claim Arab origin, a pretension not unusual among some of the smaller Kurdish tribes, and unsupported by any evidence for, and contradicted by much against its possibility". Soane goes on to suggest that "religious fervour ... is inseparable from a great respect for Arabic language and lineage, with which the ... border Kurd almost invariably evinces a desire to identify himself" (Ibid. p.178).

If the attitude of the illiterate tribal Kurds towards Arabic and the Arabs is so reverential, the feeling of the literate Kurds who studied the Quran and the other religious books in Arabic must at least be identical to that of their uneducated fellow countrymen if not more ardent.

1.6 Kurdish Dialects

The Kurdish language has many local dialects, but the exact number of these dialects is still not agreed upon. The main cause of disagreement is probably the lack of comprehensive dialectal studies owing to the nature of the geographical distribution of the Kurds. However, the number of the main dialects generally given is four (Foad, 1971, p.16; Karadaki, 1971, p.40). These four dialects are:

(i) the western dialect known as "the upper Kurdish dialect" or Kirmāndžī ṣūrū,  
(ii) the southern Kurdish dialect known as "the lower Kurdish dialect" or Kirmāndžī xwarū,  
(iii) the Lur dialect or Luri, and  
(iv) the Zaza dialect or Zazāi.

The first two dialects are spoken in Iraq, while the third is spoken in the south-western part of Iran and the fourth is spoken in Turkey. Mackenzie (1961, p.xviii) who studied the Kurdish dialects of Iraq speaks of two main dialect groups, the Sulaimania
dialect group which contains seven sub-dialects and the Surci dialect group which contains five sub-dialects. There is a general tendency to divide the Kurdish language of Iraq into two main dialects:

1. the Sulaimania dialect better known as Sorani or Kirmändžî xwarû spoken in the area east and south of the Greater Zab River, and
2. the Bäđínänî dialect or Kirmändžî zürû spoken in the areas west and north of the Greater Zab River.

In this study the terms Sorani and Bäđínänî are used to refer to these dialects.

Both dialects are used for writing in Iraq. However, it is the Sorani dialect which is mainly used for writing in all fields of knowledge. Indeed, it is this dialect that was used for writing from the beginning of the establishment of the modern state of Iraq. Edmonds (1957, p.11) says in this connection that "it is the lively and elastic idiom of Sulaimaniya that has established itself as the standard vehicle of expression, not only in Iraq, but on the Persian side of the frontier also". Edmonds goes on to say that "in 1918 it was at Sulaimaniya that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration".

Today, Sorani is the dialect used for writing in almost all parts of the Kurdish area in Iraq. It is used for:

(i) writing newspapers, magazines and periodicals;
(ii) writing all text-books for all educational levels, i.e. for the primary, intermediate and secondary school levels;
(iii) teaching and lecturing at the departments of Kurdish studies in the Colleges of Arts at the Universities of Sulaimaniya and Baghdad.
(iv) teaching and lecturing at the sub-department of Kurdish at the College of Education, University of Baghdad.
(v) teaching Kurdish to non-Kurdish students in the final year of their secondary education, in the various teachers' preparatory institutes, in the military and police-officers' colleges, and
(vi) translating all the text-books that the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies prepares.
The Sorâni dialect is also used for writing almost all the studies and articles that the Kurdish Language Academy publish in their journal. Out of a total number of 3293 pages of the four volumes of the journal the Academy published from 1971 to 1975 only 395 pages are written in Bâdinânî while 2918 pages are in Sorâni, the number of articles published in Bâdinânî is 8 out of 79 articles. It is significant to mention that these 8 articles are written by only two writers while the articles in Sorâni are contributed by a large number of writers.

Sorâni is, therefore, the dialect used in Iraq for almost all Kurdish publications and for teaching in the various schools and colleges. As this study deals with the Kurdish written language and its development, the investigation, analysis and description presented in this work concentrate mainly on this dialect. Reference to Bâdinânî or to any other Kurdish dialect will be made only when it serves to clarify points raised in the body of this thesis.
2. THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE KURDISH WRITTEN LANGUAGE

2.1 The Beginning of the Kurdish Written Language

This period covers about twenty years. It starts from the end of the Ottoman Empire in Iraq and ends in 1939. The beginning of the period coincides with several changes. Firstly, the geographical region known today as Iraq came into existence and was put under the mandatory rule of Britain; secondly, Arabic was established as the national language of the country; thirdly, a number of modern schools were established under the advice and supervision of British political advisors; fourthly, Kurdish was made the official language in the Kurdish area; fifthly, newspapers began to appear in Arabic and also in Kurdish. The first Kurdish newspaper, the weekly Tegayshtini Rasti, was published by the British army in Baghdad on December 1, 1918 as a propaganda organ (Ahmed, 1978, p.111). Sixthly, British political advisors in the Kurdish area like E.B. Soane and C.J. Edmonds took great interest in Kurdish and they did their best to encourage the Kurds in Salaimania to write in Kurdish. Indeed, Soane was, perhaps, the first person ever to urge the Kurds to do this. When he became political officer in Sulaimania in 1919, "he made Kurdish a medium of instruction and of writing between the government offices in the district. He himself visited schools and warmly urged teachers and students to use Kurdish" (Ibid., p.105 ff).

Thus, from the very beginning and with the help of the British Political Officers, the Sorani dialect of Kurdish was encouraged as the principal medium for writing. The first indigenous Kurdish weekly newspaper, Pesh Kawtin was published in Sulaimania on April 29, 1920.
2.2 Kurdish Publications between 1920 - 1939

From 1920 to 1939 only 13 newspapers were published and all of them were short-lived. The table below gives the names of the papers, the dates of their first and last issues together with the number of issues published.

Table No. 1
Name of Kurdish Newspapers Issued from 1920 to 1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of paper or magazine</th>
<th>Type of Publication</th>
<th>Date of first publication</th>
<th>Date of Disappearance</th>
<th>Numbers of issues published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pefkawtin</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>April 29, 1920</td>
<td>July 27, 1922</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Roz-i Kurdustan</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Nov. 15, 1922</td>
<td>March 3, 1923</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bag-i Kurdustan</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Sept 2, 1922</td>
<td>Oct 27, 1922</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>bag-i haqq</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>April 12, 1922</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>umed-i Tistiglu</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Sept 20, 1923</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ziyâna wa</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Sept 18, 1924</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>dyari Kurdustan</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>March 11, 1925</td>
<td>May 11, 1926</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ziyân</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan 21, 1926</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Zâr-i Kirmândzî</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>payâa</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Yunâki</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Oct 24, 1935</td>
<td>May 16, 1936</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Zânistî</td>
<td>bi-monthly</td>
<td>Feb 25, 1938</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Zubân</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Sept 12, 1937</td>
<td>April 29, 1939</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of these newspapers lasted for only one issue. The weekly paper Ziyân was the only paper that lasted for a relatively long period of time.

The total number of actual issues of papers and periodicals in Kurdish between 1920 and 1939, that is, in 6935 days is 887 issues.
The number of Kurdish books\textsuperscript{1} published in Iraq during the same period is 85. The majority of these books deal with religion and poetry.

The bibliography of Kurdish books regards the year 1925 as the real beginning of Kurdish book publishing. From that year on Kurdish books were published regularly. It also considers Fayzi's book \textit{anđumann-i ṭadībān-i Kurd 'Society of Kurdish Writers'} published in Istanbul, 1920 as the first book that was entirely in Kurdish (Ahmed 1977, p.7).

\textbf{2.4 Data of the Early Period}

The data of this period consists of 26 items of texts chosen from the various newspapers and books published between the years 1924 and 1939. The selection of the texts is based on (i) stratification by subject matter, i.e. each selection deals with a certain subject; and (ii) stratification by time, that is, the selections spread over the entire period under discussion. Furthermore, the choice is also determined by the strangeness of the items in the vocabulary used and in the sentences formed, that is to say, by their remoteness and difference from the Kurdish language used today in similar publications. The data selected are, however, representative of the written Kurdish language of the period under discussion.

Each of the 26 texts is phonemically transcribed and translated into English. The source from which it is chosen and the date of its publication is given at the top. Each text is then examined linguistically, that is, the loanwords used in the text are isolated, phonemically glossed and their individual meanings are given.

\textsuperscript{1} The number of books published in this period is calculated from The Bibliography of Kurdish Books, Narimam Mustafa Sayid Ahmed, Kurdish Academy Press, 1977.
The total number of words used in the selection is given, and the number of loanwords together with its percentage is given. Where there are hybrid compound verbs (see p. 24) they are analysed. Detailed analysis of the whole data is made after each of the texts has been examined.

The basis for determining whether a word or a phrase is borrowed or is a native Kurdish word is the structure of the languages, especially Kurdish and Arabic. An item is regarded as Arabic if its phonological or morphological structure is Arabic. In case of doubt, Arabic dictionaries are consulted.

The isolation of the English, French and Turkish loanwords is made easy by the availability of various sources that could be consulted and because the words sound very different from both Arabic and Kurdish.

Since the majority of the loans are borrowed from Arabic, an attempt is made to give a brief description of the phonological and morphological systems of both Arabic and Kurdish below.

2.5 Brief Remarks on the Structure of Arabic and Kurdish

A. Arabic

Arabic is a Semitic language and its literary dialect, known as Classical Arabic, distinguishes 28 consonantal and 6 vowel phonemes.

The following are the Arabic consonants:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interdental</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are pharyngealized consonants or emphatic consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interdental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three of the six vowels of Arabic are short and three are long. The short vowels are i, ą and u and the long ones are ī, ā and ū (the long vowels are usually symbolized as ii, aa and uu). The /i/ vowel is a close front vowel; /u/ is a close back vowel and /a/ is an open central vowel.

Written Arabic has 28 letters and an additional symbol called 'hamza' which is equivalent to the glottal stop.
All the consonants except the dark lateral are represented in writing, while only one vowel out of the six vowels is represented and this is the long open central vowel.

Arabic is morphologically complex. Nouns distinguish three numbers - singular, dual and plural. Plural nouns are of three kinds:

1. sound feminine plural,
2. sound masculine plural, and
3. broken plural.

The sound feminine plural nouns are usually formed from the singular by the addition of the suffix -ät such as nabät "plant", nabätät "plants". However, when the singular noun ends with the feminine marker -a, the marker is syncopated when -ät is added, e.g. hukūmā "government", hukūmät "governments".

The sound masculine plural is formed from the singular by the addition of the suffix -ūn in the nominative and the suffix -īn in the accusative and genitive, e.g. mušallīm "teacher", mušallīmūn and mušallīmīn "teachers".

The broken plural is formed by changing the whole form of the singular noun, e.g. qanūn "law", qawānīn "laws". The majority of the broken plural nouns are regarded as feminine plural in Arabic.

---

2 The term 'sound' is the normal textbook term used; 'sound' suffixes do not change the form of the noun stem.
Broken plural nouns are formed by a large number of pluralizing patterns that differ with the different singular nouns, Wright (1964, p. 199) gives more than 20 different patterns depending on the shape of the singular noun, e.g. *qalam* "pencil", *?aq?alam* "pencils", but *kitāb* "book", *kutub* "books".

Nouns in Arabic have two genders, masculine and feminine. A noun is regarded as feminine either by natural gender, e.g. *bint* "girl" or by its form, the feminine ending being _-at_ or _-a_ (occasionally realized as _-ah_ for emphasis). The ending _-at_ is realized only when the feminine noun is inflected with the various case endings. When there is no case ending the feminine noun ends with _-a_.

The majority of Arabic verbs contain three consonants; however, four-consonant verbs are not rare (Ibid, p.29). From the first form of the three and four consonant verbs several other forms, usually ten are derived and these express modifications of the idea conveyed by the first form.

From the verb, a form is derived which Beeston (1970), calls "verbal abstract". This is a "substantive denoting in principle the concept common to all the morphological variations of a verb, abstracted from those elements in the verb which show how the concept is actualized in experience" (Beeston, 1970, p.35). Yashmanov (1963), calls such abstractions "verbal nouns". In this work the latter term is used to refer to such entities when they occur as loanwords.

3 Arabic nouns have various case endings, but as these endings do not appear in the loanwords, they are not discussed here.
Like the verbal noun, the participle in Arabic is a noun (substantive or adjective) which matches a verb. Both Yashmanov and Wright speak of two different forms of participles – one is a substantive or a noun agent (nomina agentis) derived from the active form of the verb, the other is adjective (nomina patientis) derived from the passive form of the verb. The term "participle" will be used for both in the initial stage here; later on, however, they will be discussed separately.

B. Kurdish

Kurdish belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Its Sorani dialect which is the literary variety has 31 consonant phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labio-dental</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar-palatal</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kurdish has 8 vowel phonemes: ɪ, i, e, a, u, ū, o. A comparison of the phonemes of the two languages shows that the main difference between the two sound systems is that there are certain sounds in one language that do not exist in the other language. For instance, the Arabic sounds _nullable_data__, ے, ٹ and ڈ are not found in Kurdish, while the Kurdish sounds ہ and ہ are not found in Arabic.
p, v, ț, ș, ș, ș, r, e and o do not exist in classical Arabic. Furthermore, the Kurdish ș and ș have a very low frequency; in fact (Mackenzie, 1961, p.7) claims that the Kurdish glottal stop occurs in Arabic loanwords only.

Kurdish has six parts of speech - nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Nouns distinguish two numbers, singular and plural and the plural is formed by the addition of the suffix -ın. Like Arabic, nouns and adjectives are distinguishable by function rather than form. There are no feminine endings and no feminine gender as there is in Arabic.

Verbs in Kurdish are derived from the infinitive by removing the infinitivizing marker -ın. Like Arabic, Kurdish has two tenses, present and past, but the past in Kurdish has four different forms, the past simple, the immediate past, the past continuous and the past perfect. The following is an example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurdish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xwārdin</td>
<td>&quot;to eat&quot;</td>
<td>is an infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwārd</td>
<td>&quot;ate&quot;</td>
<td>is the root of the past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo</td>
<td>&quot;eat&quot;</td>
<td>is the root of the present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axom</td>
<td>&quot;I eat&quot;</td>
<td>is the present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwārdim</td>
<td>&quot;I ate&quot;</td>
<td>is the past simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amxwārd</td>
<td>&quot;I was eating&quot;</td>
<td>is the past continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwārdibum</td>
<td>&quot;I had eaten&quot;</td>
<td>is the past perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwārduma</td>
<td>&quot;I ate or I have eaten&quot;</td>
<td>is the immediate past.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kurdish has two different kinds of verb, a simple verb which is usually one element like the examples above and a compound verb which has two independent elements. The first element can be a noun, an adverb or an adjective, while the second element is usually a verb. For instance, the noun ma:lä "swimming" or the adjective rûst "straight", "true" can be added as first elements to the infinitive kirdin "to make" to form ma:lä kirdin "to swim" and rûst kirdin "to straighten" or "to tell the truth".

Sometimes in such compounds one element is Kurdish and the other is a loanword. I refer to these as hybrid compounds. Hybrids that are not compounds, that is, those which are formed of a loanword and a Kurdish affix are referred to simply as hybrids.

2.6 Data Analysis

In this section each of the 26 texts of the data of this chapter will be individually examined in order to isolate the loanwords. Loans borrowed from languages other than Arabic will be identified. Each loanword is glossed and if it is used more than once, the number of its occurrence is indicated beside it.

The phonemic transcription of each loanword represents its pronunciation in the receiving language. Where this pronunciation differs from that of the source language the normal pronunciation is given in brackets immediately after the word glossed.

The texts analysed are numbered. These numbers refer to the numbers of the texts in the data appended to this work.

TEXT NO. 1, News item, 1924

This text contains 51 words; 18 are Arabic loanwords. The percentage of loans is 35.20%. The loanwords are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. masculine singular nouns, 1:</td>
<td>ɡaːrɑː [ ɡaːrɑː]</td>
<td>'decision'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. feminine singular nouns, 3:</td>
<td>wāsita [wāsita]</td>
<td>'means, mode'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɡaːtra [ ɡaːtra]</td>
<td>'drop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hayʔa</td>
<td>'committee, group'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. feminine plural nouns, 3:</td>
<td>ɡaːʃʔib</td>
<td>'wonders, strangenesses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔuʃʊl [ʔuʃʊl] (used twice)</td>
<td>'ways, procedures'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. verbal nouns, 5:</td>
<td>ʔohl</td>
<td>'citizens, people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taqdim</td>
<td>'offer, present'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wilaḍa</td>
<td>'birth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tɑhɪʔɪl</td>
<td>'analysis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʃahm</td>
<td>'womb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. adjectives, 4:</td>
<td>fanniyya</td>
<td>'artful, skilful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tubbi [tɪbbɪ] (used twice)</td>
<td>'medical'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mumkin</td>
<td>'possible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. participles, 1:</td>
<td>maʃlʊm</td>
<td>'known'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. non-Arabic loans, 1:</td>
<td>duqtaɭ</td>
<td>'doctor'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text. They are 
taqdim kirduwa 'he was offered'; ɡaːrɑːrɪdɑ̄ 'he decided' and hayʔatek dəbinline 'that a committee be formed'. The first compound is formed with a form of Kurdish verb kindin 'to make', the second with a form of the verb dɑn 'to give' and the third with a form of the verb dɑnɑn 'to put'.
TEXT NO. 2, Apology, 1924

This text contains 16 words, 8 are Arabic loans. The percentage of loans is 50%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 2:

?iʔiz? 'part'

b. verbal nouns, 4:

taʔixIr 'delay'
xus<sus> 'connection, association'
ʔiʔdzə [ʔiʔdzʔ] 'request'
taq̄Sr [taʔsr̄] 'fault, shortcoming'

c. prepositional phrase, 1:

maʔalʔasaf 'alas!, with regret'

d. non-Arabic word, 1:

maktna 'machine'

This Latin word is borrowed through Arabic since it has the feminine ending -a.

2 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text, they are:

ʔiʔdzə akayn 'we request'
taq̄Srmaʔn biboxʃfe 'that our fault be forgiven'

The two hybrid compounds have borrowed verbal nouns as their first elements: ʔiʔdzə and taq̄S̄r. The first is used with the present tense of the Kurdish verb kirdin "to make" for the first person plural. The second is used with the passive subjunctive form of the Kurdish verb boxʃIn "to grant, to give away".
The prepositional phrase *maṣ'āl?asaf* is formed of the preposition *maṣʿa* "with" -ā- "the" an allomorph of the Arabic definite article *ʔal-* and the noun *ʔasaf* "regret".

**TEXT NO. 3, News Item, 1924**

This text contains 59 words, 31 are loan words. All loan words are Arabic except 4. The percentage of loans is 52.5%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 3:

- *ʔayyūl*
- *wazīr*
- *ʔistīrām*

  'September'
  'minister'
  'respect'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

- *tayyāra [t̪aːyyaːra]*
- *qitāf [q̪iːt̪aːf]*
- *mamlaka*

  'plane'
  'company of soldiers'
  'country, kingdom'

c. masculine plural nouns, 4:

- *rūḥasā [ʁuːʔasāʔ]*
- *ʔāf[
- *maʔmūrīn*
- *tudzār [tudz̪aːz̪ar]*

  'heads, chiefs'
  'dignitaries'
  'employees'
  'merchants'

d. feminine plural nouns, 2:

- *ʔalʔiʃ*
- *zawāt [z̪aːw̪āt]*

  'tribes'
  'personalities, dignitaries'

e. adjectives, 2:

- *baḥāz [baḥ dh]*
- *ʔaskarīyya*

  'some'
  'pertaining to the military'
f. verbal nouns, 11:

- tayaf (used 3 times) 'arrival'
- faxana (used twice) 'highness, excellency'
- taya'ana [tayar] 'aviation, flight'
- qism
- saff [saff] 'line, line of soldiers'
- dajr [dajr] 'pleasantness'
- salam 'salute, greeting'
- xalq- [xalq] 'people'

g. participles, 2:

- muhtayam 'respectful'
- hadir [hadir] 'present'

h. phrase, 1:

mumayhim 'the above-mentioned'

i. non-Arabic words, 3:

- lord [used twice] 'lord'
- polTs 'police'

1 hybrid compound verb occurs in this text; it is salam kird "he saluted". It is formed from the borrowed Arabic verbal noun salam and the past tense of the Kurdish verb kirdin "to make".

The Arabic borrowed phrase mumayhim "the above-mentioned; literally, those who are pointed to" is formed from:

- mum "mentioned; pointed to"
- lay- "to" which is an allomorph of the Arabic preposition lay-
- -him "them"
TEXT NO. 4, Obituary, 1924

This text contains 26 words, 16 are loanwords and all are from Arabic. The percentage of loans is 61.53%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

?ayyûl

'September'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

wafât (used twice)
tâzziyât [tâzziyâ]

'death'

'condolence'

c. verbal nouns, 6:

?asaf
ba'yân
tamanâ [tamannâ]
rahmat [rahma]
gufân
hazrat [hadâfat]

'sorrow'

'announcement, making known'

'praying, hoping'

'mercy'

'forgiveness'

'greatness, highness'

d. participles, 3:

mu?isif
ma?ûd
ma?dûm

'sorrowful, regretful'

'promised, pre-determined'

'served; here: related'

e. phrases, 3:

?alâ?adzâl
mu?âkî?ilâyâ
bârîtâfâlâ

'at a pre-destined time'

'she who is pointed to'

'His Almighty; God'

3 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text, they are:

wafâtî kird
bayân akâyî

tamanâ akâyî

'she/he died'

'we declare'

'we pray, we wish to God'
All these compounds are formed with the Kurdish verb kirdin "to make" as a second element. The first elements are wafät, boyün and tamanā.

The three Arabic borrowed phrases are formed in the following way:

1. bi?adžal
   bi- "in" a bound preposition
   ?adžal "time; destiny" a masculine singular noun

2. mujāř?ǐlayhā
   mujāř "pointed to" participle
   ?ilay- "to" allomorph of the Arabic preposition ?i lá "to"
   -hā "her" bound pronoun

3. bāṛtafālā
   bāṛt [bāṛ?]"creator" participle
   tafālā "ascending" verbal noun

TEXT NO. 5, Editorial, 1925

This text contains 92 words; 42 are loanwords, all from Arabic except 2. The percentage of the loans is 45.65%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 5:

   lisān
   hāl [hāl] (used twice)
   ?imtiyāz
   maqṣad

   'tongue'
   'condition, situation'
   'concession, permit'
   'intention, place aimed for'
b. feminine singular nouns, 8:

- ḥuḳūmat [ḥuḳūma] (used twice) 'government'
- dźaṛida (used twice) 'newspaper'
- millāt [miIla] 'people, community'
- siyāsat [siyāsa] 'politics'
- sūṛat [sūṛa] 'picture'
- ṭaṛḍzuma 'translation'

c. masculine plural nouns

- mafāni' 'famous men'

d. feminine plural nouns, 5:

- taʔmīnāt 'guarantees, deposits'
- qowānīn 'laws'
- ṭawāmi'ř 'orders'
- diyāř 'countries'

e. verbal nouns, 10:

- ?istiḏdā [ʔistiḏḏa?] 'petition, application'
- muIk [muIk] 'property'
- naʃi 'publishing'
- talaš [talaš] 'thing demanded, request'
- tifI [tifI] 'child'
- fitrāt [fitrā] 'intuition, innate'
- daxI [daxI] 'connection, relation'
- ṭaqwīm 'calendar'
- ḥayāt 'life'
- bayān 'declaration, announcement'

f. adjectives, 8:

- siyāst (used 3 times) 'political'
- yawmī 'daily'
- tāziμ 'necessary'
- ?idzc̱timāsī 'social'
- ?iqtīgawī 'economic, economical'
- naqdí 'financial, cash payment'
3 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text; they are:

- ?ìstidîm dâ → "I applied"
- taqîb akîrd → "it required"
- bayân akâ → "it presents; it shows"

The second element of the first compound is the past form of the Kurdish verb dûn "to give", the second and third are the past forms of the Kurdish verb kîrdîn "to make".

The non-Arabic word fotogràf is borrowed via the Arabic language since the sound /g/ in the original language is changed into /g/. Had it been borrowed directly, the plosive would have been retained as Kurdish contains this phoneme.
a. masculine singular nouns, 11:

maṣṭṭīx  
ṣṣadī  
sayyār [sayyār] (used twice)  
sayb  
فار [فار]  
tasawwir  
nawṣ (used twice)  
xat [xat] (used twice)

'b. feminine singular nouns, 8:

ʔarz [ʔarz]  
daʃadza  
maḥāra [maḥāra]  
sanīa [sanīa]  
ḥaʃakat [ḥaʃakat] (used 3 times)  
tadʒrua

'e. feminine plural nouns, 12:

ʔafīk  
nudʒūm  
sayyart [sayyart] (used 3 times)  
hukūmat  
ʔaʃt  
ʔadawat  
ʔadʒrib  
ʔarwaʃ  
ḥaʃakat  
ʔadʒram [ʔadʒram] (used twice)  
sakanat

'f. verbal nouns, 35:

baḥs [baḥš] (used twice)  
ʔaqil [ʔaqil] (used twice)  
baʃar [baʃar] (used 3 times)

'Mars'  
'Jupiter'  
'planet'  
'shame'  
'disgrace, insult'  
'imagination'  
'kind, sort'  
'line; here: orbit'

'earth'  
'degree'  
'skill'  
'trade, work; here: strange creation'  
'movement'  
'experiment, experience'

'planets; stars'  
'star's  
'planets'  
'governments'  
'machines'  
'tools'  
'strange things'  
'kinds, sorts'  
'movements'  
'celestial bodies'  
'stoppings'

'discussing'  
'mind'  
'person, human being'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta'īf</td>
<td>'definition, description'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitāb</td>
<td>'book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>film</td>
<td>(used twice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hazrat [ḥaqrāt]</td>
<td>'title meaning highness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓibārāt [ẓibārā]</td>
<td>'amounting, consisting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kājīf</td>
<td>(used twice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓasād</td>
<td>(used twice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓamāl</td>
<td>(used twice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓadd</td>
<td>'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓikmat [ḥikma]</td>
<td>'observing, watching'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fikr</td>
<td>'finding, building'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xusūf</td>
<td>'support'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqīyīd</td>
<td>'happening by accident,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>incidenitality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqādūf</td>
<td>'book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitāb [kitāb]</td>
<td>'proof'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓisbāt [ẓisbāt]</td>
<td>'flame; light'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣufla</td>
<td>'eclipse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xusūf</td>
<td>'power, strength'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Adjectives, 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lāzīm</td>
<td>'necessary'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaqqTqT</td>
<td>'real'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥakīm</td>
<td>'legitimate, conforming to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>religious practices'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wihdāniyyat [wihdāniyya]</td>
<td>'pertaining to the oneness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of God'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāʔimī</td>
<td>'continuous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kullīT</td>
<td>'full, complete'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>džuzīʔT</td>
<td>'partial'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Participles, 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẓānīf</td>
<td>'creator, maker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓātīl [ẓātīl]</td>
<td>'idle; powerless'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qūṣīr [qūṣīr]</td>
<td>'short; incapable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xārīqa</td>
<td>(used twice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'extraordinary'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mu'ayyan
muqaddas

determined, fixed'
'hoLy'
g. adverbs, 2:
fa.wq
?sāsan
'above; higher in order'
'mainly, fundamentally'

h. phrases, 3:
sā?i?ihī
bīfāks
bīlā fāsil
'the rest of it; the others'
'on the contrary'
'without interruption'
i. prepositions, 1:
?asnā [?aθnā?]  
'during'
j. non-Arabic loanwords, 2:
?astarlāb
qozmogrāfyā
'astrolabe'
'cosmography'

9 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text; 8 of them have a form of the Kurdish verb kirdin as a second element. The ninth has a form of the Kurdish verb henōn "to bring" as a second element. The compounds are:

1. bobs kirdin  
   "to discuss"
2. tafrīf kirdin  
   "to define"
3. ?Təzōd kirduwa  
   "has made, has formed"
4. sad akre  
   "is regarded, is consulted"
5. kaʃf kirdin  
   "to discover, to study"
6. tagawwiʃ nākřet  
   "cannot be imagined"
7. naʃkat okan  
   "they move"
8. tasāduf okāt  
   "it happens by accident"
9. ba ?amal henřawa  
   "have been used"
The following three nouns occur in this text in the singular and in the plural forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>naw</code></td>
<td><code>?anwā</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>haʔakat</code></td>
<td><code>haʔakāt</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>sayyūr</code></td>
<td><code>sayyūrāt</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Arabic loanword for "book" is used twice; once it is written as `kitēb` which is the usual rendition of the word and once as `kitāb` which is the regular phonological shape of the word in Arabic.

The 3 borrowed phrases are formed as follows:

1. **biʔaks**
   - bi-             "in, on, at" bound preposition
   - ʔaks            "contrary" verbal noun

2. **bi}`ā fāṣīl**
   - bi-   "with" preposition
   - ʾā    "no" negative particle
   - fāṣīl "thing that separate" participle

3. **sāʔiʔihī**
   - sāʔir            "rest" participle
   - -i                genitive case ending
   - -hi               possessive pronoun of
                      the third person singular masculine.
This text contains 36 words, 14 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 38.88%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 2:
   - 'iːfiːrāf
     'recognition; confession'
   - waζiɾmuɾawaz [waziɾmuɾawad] 'minister plenipotentiary'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:
   - qaʔi lyrət [qaʔi lyrə]
     'finality'
   - ḥukūmat [ḥukūma]
     'government'

c. verbal nouns, 4:
   - tabliʃg
     'summon; telling'
   - ḥaʔTs
     'head; chief'
   - muwāfaqat [muwāfaqa]
     'agreement'
   - jikl [jikl]
     'shape; form'

d. adjectives, 1:
   - dɔʔimT
     'permanent, continuous'

e. participles, 1:
   - muwaqqata
     'provisional'

f. adverb, 1:
   - muwaqqataŋ
     'temporarily'

3 hybrid compound verbs occurred in this text. All of them have the Kurdish verb kirdin as a second element. The compound verbs are:

1. tabliʃg kird
   "he informed him"
2. muwāfaqaṭ̱ kird
   "he agreed"
3. 'ifiːrāf bikā
   "that he recognizes"
TEXT NO. 8, Local News, 1925

This text contains 20 words, 13 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 65%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 3:

\[ \text{madžlis} \quad \text{(used twice)} \quad \text{meeting place, here: parliament} \]
\[ \text{tażřīn} \quad \text{name of a month} \]

b. verbal nouns, 5:

\[ \text{taʔdżīl} \quad \text{(used twice)} \quad \text{postponement} \]
\[ \text{ʔiʔāda} \quad \text{decree} \]
\[ \text{muḍdaț [muḍda]} \quad \text{period, duration} \]
\[ \text{ʔiʔtibāʔan} \quad \text{as from} \]

c. adjectives, 2:

\[ \text{małikī} \quad \text{royal} \]
\[ \text{sānī [θānī]} \quad \text{second} \]

d. participles, 3:

\[ \text{maʔbūs [maʔbūθ]} \quad \text{(used twice)} \quad \text{representative, delegate} \]
\[ \text{ʔādīf} \quad \text{issued} \]

No hybrid compound verbs occurred in this text.

TEXT NO. 9, Editorial - philosophical, 1927

This text contains 105 words, 57 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 54.28%. The loanwords are:
**a. masculine singular nouns, 8**

- tatābbus
- qūnūn (used 5 times)
- bīr [bīr]  
- maqāl

'succession'
'law'
'well'
'article, essay'

**b. feminine singular nouns, 5:**

- silsila  
- millat [millā] (used 3 times)
- ?istiqāmat [?istiqāma]

'chain'
'nation; people'
'straightness; here: honesty'

**c. feminine plural nouns, 7:**

- ?adabiyyāt
- fuzwiyyāt [fuzwiyyāt]
- haywānāt
- nabātāt
- ?adznās
- ?anwār
- zawā?id

'literature; literary works'
'organisms'
'animals'
'plants'
'species, races'
'kinds, sorts'
'additions; extras'

**d. verbal nouns, 19:**

- dunyā
- tawqīq
- takāmul (used twice)
- ?inqlīrāz [?inqlīrād]
- sawq
- nawz
- dzins
- tawāfuq
- ?izmiḥāl [?idmiḥāl]
- mawt
- hay?at [hay?a]
- faqīr
- fatālāt [fatāla]

'world, universe'
'careful studying'
'integration'
'extinction'
'driving, compelling'
'kind, sort'
'species, race'
'harmony'
'degeneration'
'death'
'organization; committee'
'poverty'
'idleness'
e. adjectives, 6:

- ḥaywāniyya
- nabātiyya
- fitrī [fitrī]
- zaṭf [ḍaṭf]
- ?abādī
- ?aḍīmāniyya

'pertaining to animals'
'pertaining to plants'
'instinctive'
'weak'
'eternal'
'social'

f. participles, 8:

- tābi[f
- ṭāḥkūm
- mubtālā
- mustaḥa[q
- ṣāmi[l
- muʔassīr [muʔaθīr]
- munaqqah
- mudzāra[bad

'follower'
'controlled; imprisoned'
'plighted'
'deserving, worthy of'
'factor; worker'
'effective'
'emanded; revised'
'abstracted; free from additions'

g. adverbs, 2:

- ṭaynān
- dāʔimān

'in the same way'
'always'

h. phrases, 2:

- lā yatagayyaʔ
- bināʔan ẓalayhi

'not changing'
'on this basis; building on this'
4 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and all are with a form of the Kurdish verb kirdîn. They are:

1. tadâlq bûkîre’ 
   "that it be carefully studied'

2. tatâbu bûkîre
   "that it be traced"

3. sawaI akât
   "it compels him"

4. toawafuc nûkâ
   "it does not harmonize"

The text includes a hybrid compound adjective made by adding the loanword 'azm to the Kurdish noun kär "work". The compound adjective is 'azm-kâr "determined; one who has will-power".

The two borrowed phrases are formed as follows:

1. tâ yatagayař
   lâ "no"
   yatagayař "it changes"
   negative particle verb in the present tense with the masculine third person singular

2. biinâan ʕalâyhi
   biinâan "building on; consequently" adverb
   ʕalây- "on" allomorph of ʕalâ preposition
   -hi "him" bound pronoun

TEXT NO. 10, Commentary, 1928

This text contains 25 words, 12 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans in the text is 48%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 4:

mâqad 'purpose, aim'
乀oks [jâxs] (used twice) 'person'
?îrîtikâb 'committing'
b. verbal nouns, 4:

hāps [habs] 'prison, imprisonment'
dūrm 'crime'
ṭifdam 'execution, death penalty'
talaf 'destruction, ruin'

c. participle, 4:

mahbūs 'imprisoned'
mahkūm (used twice) 'convicted'

d. adverbs, 4:

mūdūm 'since, as long as'

3 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and all of them have a form of the Kurdish verb kirdin as their second element. They are:

1. mahkūm kirdin "to imprison; imprisonment"
2. ṭiftikob akat "he commits usually something wrong"
3. talaf bikret "that he be destroyed"

1 hybrid compound noun occurs in the text. It is hapisxana "prison". The word hapis- haps is a loanword and -xana "place, house" is a native bound morpheme.

TEXT NO. 11, Political Speech, 1930

The text contains 85 words, 41 are borrowed and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 48.23%. The loanwords are:
a. masculine singular nouns, 6:

- qarār ['decision']
- qānūn ['law']
- madzīlis ['meeting place; house for gathering']
- malik ['king']
- ḥiṣṭṭīf [recognition']
- ḥiṭṭīdžādž [protest']

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

- mādda (used 3 times) ['article in a treaty; clause']
- hukūmat ['government']

(c. feminine plural nouns, 3:

- huqūq (used twice) ['rights']
- maṭālīd [maṭālīd] ['demands']

d. verbal nouns, 15:

- nutq ['speech']
- taṣīr [arrival, visit']
- muṣāhārat [muṣāhaṛat] ['demonstration']
- qawm ['people; nation']
- ḥarb ['war']
- fiṣṣa ['opportunity']
- qitmat ['value']
- ḥiṣṭīfāda ['use; benefit']
- muṣāḥada ['treaty']
- taṣbīḥ [confirmation; establishment']
- taṣrīf ['side; party to']
- ḥiṣālīla ['majesty']
- ḥaṭīs ['head; chief']
- taqīyd ['approval; support']

e. adjectives, 4:

- ṣumūmī (used twice) ['general; public']
- fāli ['high, lofty']
- ṣasāsī ['essential, basic']
f. participles, 3:

muḫtaḏam
majḏūha
majḏūsa

'respected'
'explained'
'legitimate'

g. adverbs, 2:

ʔašna [ʔašna?]
ʔasman

'during, at a particular time'
'officially'

h. phrases, 3:

waštahd
maḏalʔaʃf
ʔussbatulʔuman

'crown prince'
'regretfully; alas!'
'league of nations'

4 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text. The first one has the Kurdish verb henān "to bring" as its second element, the other three have the verb kirdin "to make". They are:

taʃif henān
ʔištiḏamān naḵird
tašbīt kīrābu
ʔištiɾaf pe kīrāwa

"to arrive"
"we did not benefit"
"had been fixed"
"has been recognized"

The borrowed phrases are three, two of them are compound nouns and one is a prepositional phrase. The compound nouns are formed as follows:

1. waštahd
   wašt
   "successor, coming after" masculine singular noun
   ṭahd
   "time; era" masculine singular noun

2. ʔussbatulʔuman
   ʔussbat ʔusba
   "group, league" feminine singular noun
   Arabic nominative case ending
   -l-
   "the" definite article
   ʔumam
   "nations" masculine plural noun
The prepositional phrase ṭapāl?osaf is formed as follows:

\[
\text{masa} \quad \text{"with"} \\
-1- \quad \text{"the"} \\
\text{?asaf} \quad \text{"regret"}
\]

preposition
allomorph of the definite article ṭal-
verbal noun

TEXT NO. 12, Government Policy, 1930

This text contains 41 words, 18 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 43.90%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 4:
   ṭidžtimāf
   ṭīzāh [Ṭīzāḥ]
   ṭittibāb
   ṭuzū [Ṭuğū]

   'a meeting'
   'explanation'
   'following, pursuing'
   'organ; member'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:
   siyāsāt [siyāsā]
   ḥukūmat [ḥukūma]
   mamlakat [mamlaka]

   'policy'
   'government'
   'kingdom; country'

c. feminine plural nouns, 1:
   bayānāt

   'declarations; circulars'

d. verbal nouns, 7:
   faqāmat [faqāma]
   waqt
   waqt
   bayān
   nażar[nāžar]
   ważf
   ṭism

   'highness, eminence'
   'deputy'
   'time'
   'statement'
   'sight, seeing'
   'promise'
   'body'

e. adjectives, 1:
   muhīm

   'important'
f. participles, 1:

\[ \text{mujaaff} \quad \text{'honoured'} \]

g. phrases, 1:

\[ \text{ra?tsulwuzar} \text{[ra?tsulwuzar?] 'prime minister'} \]

2 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and both are formed with the Kurdish verb \( \text{kirdin} \). They are:

\[ \text{?iz?h kirdin} \quad \text{?ittib?h kirdin} \]

The phrase, a compound noun, is \( \text{ra?tsulwuzar} \) and it is formed as follows:

\[ \text{ra?tsu} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{za}.ra. \quad \text{"chief, head" masculine singular noun} \]

\[ \text{the Arabic nominative case ending} \]

\[ \text{\text{ra?}} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{za}.ra. \quad \text{"the" allomorph of the Arabic definite article \( \text{\text{ra}} \text{-} \text{za}.ra. \) "ministers" masculine plural noun} \]

**TEXT NO. 13, Law Bill, 1930**

This text contains 83 words, 45 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loanwords is 54.21%. The borrowed words are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 10:

\[ \text{qanun} \quad \text{(used 3 times)} \quad \text{'law'} \]

\[ \text{maqaf} \quad \text{(used 5 times)} \quad \text{'salary'} \]

\[ \text{taqf} \quad \text{In} \quad \text{'name of a month'} \]

\[ \text{taqa?ud} \quad \text{'retirement'} \]

b. feminine singular nouns, 7:

\[ \text{zarba} \quad \text{[dawda]} \quad \text{(used 3 times)} \quad \text{'tax'} \]

\[ \text{kafima} \quad \text{(used twice)} \quad \text{'word'} \]

\[ \text{mitzaniyya} \quad \text{'budget'} \]

\[ \text{\text{?ikf?miyya}} \quad \text{'bonus gratuity'} \]
c. feminine plural nouns, 10:

- ma'āṣāt (used twice) 'salaries'
- muxsasāt (used 6 times) 'allowances'
- wāridāt 'incomes'
- xadamāt 'services'

d. masculine plural nouns, 5:

- wuzarā [wuzarā?] 'ministers'
- muwazzaftān [muwaddafīn] 'officials'
- mustaxdamīn 'employees'
- ?ayyān 'members of the High House, equivalent to House of Lords'
- nuwwāb 'members of House of Commons'

e. verbal nouns, 4:

- jumūl (used 3 times) 'inclusiveness'
- qayd 'recording; debiting'

f. adjectives, 4:

- sānī [sannī] 'general; covering the whole'
- dā'imī 'second'
- xusūsiyya 'permanent'
- l'umumiyya 'having a special character'

g. participles, 4:

- mustahāq 'is due to be'
- rā?īha 'bill of law'
- muwaaqât 'temporary'
- zābit [dābīt] 'military officer'
- ḥamma 'governing all; general'

1 hybrid compound occurs in this text and it is formed with a form of the verb kirdin. The compound verb is qayd akfī "it will be recorded".

- 47 -
This text contains 132 words, 40 are loanwords and all are borrowed from Arabic. The percentage of loans is 30.3%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 4:

- ?iżhār [?īgār] (showing; exhibiting)
- maktab (school)
- suʔāl (question)
- ?iʔmā[ʔimāʔ] (dictation)

b. feminine singular nouns, 6:

- tāfīyaʔ [tāfiya] (nature)
- millat [milla] (nation, people)
- gayrīyyat [gāryīyā] (alienness; separateness)
- kalima (word)
- qawmiyya (nationality)
- darajża (degree)

c. masculine plural nouns, 2:

- ?aʔfād (individuals)
- ?aʔsāb (nerves)

d. feminine plural nouns, 2:

- kalimāt (used twice) (words)

e. verbal nouns, 20:

- xulāsa [xulāsa] (summary)
- ṭāʔrīx [tāʔrīx] (used twice) (history)
- kitēb [kitēb] (used twice) (book)
- tāʔbīr (expression)
- lāfz [lafz] (word; pronounced expression)
- hīss (feeling)
- guʔrūr (vanity)
f. adjectives, 2:

qawm
qumum "general, common" "national"

g. participles, 2:

madzbûr "obliged, forced"
džàmilà "rallying"

h. adverbs, 2:

?awwalan "firstly"
sâniyan [ðâniyan] "secondly"

4 hybrid compound verbs occur in the text and all have the Kurdish verb kirdîn as a second element. The compound verbs are:

hiss kird "felt"
madzbûr kird "obliged, forced"
?îzhár kird "showed"
su?âl kird "asked"

TEXT NO. 15, Protest, 1933

This text contains 33 words, 5 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 15.33%. The loanwords are:
a. feminine singular nouns, 1:
    millat [milla]  'nation, people'
b. masculine plural nouns, 1:
    zu'rān  'farmers'
c. feminine plural nouns, 1:
    muqaddasāt  'things holy'
d. verbal nouns, 2:
    watan [watan]  'homeland, one's country'
    tama'ī [tama']  'greed'

1 hybrid compound noun occurs in this text. It is formed by adding the Kurdish element kār 'the person who' to the borrowed tama', thus tama'ākār 'greedy person'.

TEXT NO. 16, Religion, 1933

This text contains 137 words, 35 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 25.54%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 5:
    'iṣṭi'fāf  'confession'
    din  'religion'
    mazhar [maḏha']  'appearance, semblance'
    'ālam  'world'
    'illāh  'God'

b. feminine singular nouns, 4:
    ṛūḥ [rūḥ] (used twice)  'soul, spirit'
    madda  'substance'
    za'fra [da'fra]  'atom'
c. masculine plural nouns, 1:

xalq [xalq]  
'people'

d. feminine plural noun, 1:

fadždžib [fadždžib]  
'astounding things'

e. verbal 'nouns, 22:

dawr [dawr] (used twice)  
'era, epoch'
sarūn [sarūn]  
'frankness'
bayān  
'declaration; statement'
fasr [fasr] (used twice)  
'century; time'
nisāmat [nisām]  
'blessing'
fayz [fayd]  
'bounty'
sināyat [sināya]  
'divine'
quwwat  
'power; strength'
binā [binā?]  
'building'
ʃaraf [ʃarf]  
'honour'
suḥ  
'peace, agreement'
salān  
'piety; righteousness'
xabar [xabar]  
'news, tidings'
taʃnim  
'singing'
ʃifa [ʃifa?] (used twice)  
'recovery'
dīsm  
'body'
wəxt [waqt]  
'time'
ʔibtidā [ʔibtidā?]  
'beginning; start'
xizmat [xidma]  
'service, help'

f. adjective, 1:

ʔawadt  
'eternal'

g. participle, 1:

ʃāiʃ  
'poet'

3 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text, two of them with kirdin and one with dān "to give". The compounds are:

ʔiʃtiʃāf kirduwa  
"he has confessed"
taʃnimyān kirduwa  
"they have sung them"
xabar yān dōwa  
"they have informed"
This text contains 57 words, 25 are borrowed words. All the borrowed words except two are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 43.5%. The borrowed words are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 3:
   - ِعَلَّامَة [عَلَّامَة] (used twice) 'professor'
   - ِعَلَّامَة [عَلَّامَة] 'dean'

b. feminine singular nouns, 4:
   - ِمَرْأَة [مَرْأَة] 'ministry'
   - ِمَرْأَة [مَرْأَة] 'college'
   - ِمَرْأَة [مَرْأَة] 'language'

c. masculine plural nouns, 1:
   - ِمَهْدَى [مَهْدَى] 'teachers of secondary schools'

d. feminine plural nouns, 7:
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'plural of knowledge'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'posts, jobs'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'women teachers for secondary schools'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'rights'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'mathematics'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'natural sciences'

e. verbal nouns, 2:
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'history'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'agriculture'

f. participles, 4:
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'headmistress of a school'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'woman teacher for a secondary school'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'man teacher for a secondary school'
   - ِمَالِكَة [مَالِكَة] 'intermediate school'
g. adjective, 1:

sənawī [θənawī]    'secondary'

h. phrase, 1:

dār-ul-mu'allimāt    'preparatory school for women teachers'

i. non-Arabic loans; 2:

dʒugəfiya    'geography'
bāyoloʒ    'biology'

The loanwords include the masculine word mudāfīs "man teacher" and the feminine mudāfiṣa "woman teacher". It also includes the feminine word mudīfa "woman director; headmistress".

The phrase dār-ul-mu'allimāt is formed in the following way:

dār                       "school, house" a feminine noun

-u-        the nominative case ending in Arabic

-l-        allomorph of the Arabic definite article

mu'allimāt        "women teachers" a feminine plural noun

TEXT NO. 18, Programme of Government, 1937

This text contains 246 words, 141 are loanwords and all are Arabic except 6. The percentage of the loanwords is 57.31%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 16:

qānūn    (used twice)    'law'
nifāq    'hypocrisy'
fasād    'corruption'
?ixtisās    'specialization'
?islih    (used twice)    'improvement, reform'

- 53 -
nazar [nada択] (used twice) 'sight; seeing'
?ittifāq 'agreement'
dīwān 'department'
?ihzār [?ihdā択] 'preparation'
dīfā抐 'defence'
mustawā 'level; standard'
?iqṭalād 'economics'
xāt [xatt] 'line'

b. feminine singular nouns, 21:

wazārat [wazā抏a] 'ministry'
siyāsat [siyāsa] (used 5 times) 'policy'
mamlakat [mamlaka] 'country; kingdom'
džiha[t [džiha] 'side'
wiḥdat [wiḥda] 'unity'
bilād 'country'
wazīfa [waḍīfa] 'job; occupation'
baladiyya 'municipality'
rafaḥiyyat [rafaḥiyya] 'prosperity'
māliyya 'finance'
mīzāniyya 'budget'
nađiyya 'pertaining to justice'
taqwiyya 'strengthening; making more powerful'
ruh [ruh] 'spirit; soul'
?amniyyat [?amniyya] 'security, public peace'
quḍā?iyya [quḍā?iyya] 'judiciary'
tarqīya

c. masculine plural nouns, 5:

?afba抐 'those who own or possess'
Tamalā 'workers – both plural & singular. Derived from Arabic word meaning work!'
muwazzafīn [muwaddafīn] 'officials'
ḥukkām 'judges'
quzdāt [qudāt] 'religious judges'
d. feminine plural nouns, 22:

l'umūr (used twice) 'affairs'
?ahkōm 'provisions of the law'
?āūlā 'morals'
mu?assāt 'establishments, institutions'
ta?mīnāt 'securities, means of protection'

?awwāl [?awwāl] 'conditions'
surta [ṣurṭa] 'police; policemen'
ta?[k]īlāt (used twice) 'organizations'
ḥuqqūq (used twice) 'rights'
?afyā [?afyā?] 'things; here: commodities'
?usūl [?usūl] 'procedures'
muḥākamāt 'court trials'
ṭuqqūt 'punishments'
ṛusūm 'duties'
?asliha 'weapons'
muwāsātīt 'communications'
labātāt 'plants'
ja?ūn 'affairs'
mawārīf 'plural of knowledge'

e. verbal nouns, 45:

?iḍāra [ʔiḍāra] (used twice) 'administration'
saṭāt (used twice) 'working hard'
tatbīq [tatbīq] 'implementation, putting into effect'
raff 'casting away, lifting'
sīḥhat [sīḥha] (used twice) 'health'
dżalb 'bringing; introduction'
jikl [jikl] (used twice) 'form, shape'
haps [ḥaps] 'prisoner'
quwwaṭ [quwwa] 'power'
zyād [ziyāda] 'addition'
wisṭāt [wisṭa] 'spaciousness'
?i?ūda (used twice) 'repetition'
dawlaṭ [dawla] (used twice) 'state'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qařz [qarţ]</td>
<td>loan, amount borrowed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqalud</td>
<td>'retirement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taďl</td>
<td>'amendment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waz [wadż]</td>
<td>'condition, situation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taşis</td>
<td>'setting up, establishing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zarāčat [zi'intara] (used twice)</td>
<td>'agriculture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạdālāt [ạdalā]</td>
<td>'justice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạsīs</td>
<td>'foundation, basis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafr[</td>
<td>'inspection'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḍwańn</td>
<td>'recording'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣulh [sulḥ]</td>
<td>'peaceful agreement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣadl</td>
<td>'justice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḍzärat [taḍzāra]</td>
<td>'commerce, trade'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tażyīd</td>
<td>'increasing, making greater'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kařā?at [kařa?]</td>
<td>'competence, ability'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạgāy[</td>
<td>'army'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣař</td>
<td>'raising, heightening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḥlīm (used 3 times)</td>
<td>'teaching; education'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḍzẖīţz</td>
<td>'supplying; equipping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatar [xatař]</td>
<td>'danger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fayazăn [fayāzan]</td>
<td>'flood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḥsīn</td>
<td>'improving'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḍyīb</td>
<td>'training'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. adjectives, 18:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xārīḍziyya</td>
<td>'external: ministry of foreign affairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạadrābāt</td>
<td>'foreign'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xārīḍzi</td>
<td>'external'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumūmī</td>
<td>'general'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumūmiyya</td>
<td>'widespread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạmma</td>
<td>'public'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madanī</td>
<td>'civil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaskařī</td>
<td>'pertaining to the military'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḍzẖāř [taḍzẖāra]</td>
<td>'commercial'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạdālī</td>
<td>'judicial'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
qānūnī (used twice) 'lawful, legal'
djarāzīyya 'pertaining to criminals'
ḥaqqīyya 'legal'
maddī 'material'
ma'nawī 'moral'
ṣadīyya 'judiciary; judicial'
g. participles, 6:

muḥāfaza [muḥāfaza] (used twice) 'protecting'
qālib [qālib] 'frame'
lā?iḥa 'bill of law'
kātib 'writer'
muṣallīm 'male teacher'
h. phrase, 1:

'Tusbaful?uman' 'League of Nations'
i. non-Arabic loanwords, 6:

p'rōg`ām (borrowed via Arabic from English) 'programme'
polīs (borrowed from English) 'police'
boddža (borrowed from English) 'budget'
odā (borrowed from Turkish) 'room'
tāpo (borrowed from Turkish) 'office of ownership records, deed office'
jamandafar (borrowed from French) 'train'

5 hybrid compound verbs and hybrid compound nouns occur in this text. The compound verbs are:

1. ḏalb kirdin "to bring"
2. žyād bikre "that it be increased"
3. wissātī bidrēte "that it be enlarged"
4. ṭāfāhiyyātī bidrēte "that it be made prosperous"
5. qa'rī bo nākre "that no borrowing be made for it"
Three of the above verbs, nos. 1, 2 and 5, are formed with kirdin. The other two are formed with dān "to give".

The hybrid compound nouns are:

kitēbxāna "library; bookshop" and yakdzihatī "oneliness". The former is made from the loanword kitēb "book" and the native word xāna "house". The latter is made of the Kurdish word yak "one" and the Arabic loanword dzihat "side" and the final -ī is the Kurdish nominal forming suffix.

The non-Arabic loanwords are English, Turkish and French. The English words are program which is borrowed via Arabic since the [g] which does not exist in Arabic is changed into [g]. The word bodd3a, English budget, is a phonological reinterpretation. The French word chemin de fer is rendered jomandafar in Kurdish.

TEXT NO. 19, News Item, 1937

This text contains 19 words, 8 are loanwords. The Arabic loans are 6. The percentage of loans is 42.1%. The borrowed words are:

a. feminine singular nouns, 2:

   džamḥūrīyyat [džamḥūrīyya] 'republic'
   dāxīliyya 'Home Office'

b. feminine plural nouns, 1:

   wilāyāt 'states; districts'
c. verbal nouns, 2:

؟عی؟ن 'head, chief'

wakīl 'deputy'

d. adjectives, 1:

ًfaqī 'eastern'

e. non-Arabic loanwords, 2:

ًستسیون (from French) 'station'

ًساماناداف (from French) 'train'

TEXT NO. 20, Social News, 1937

This text contains 31 words, 11 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 35.4%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

ًعیسیاًز [ًعیسیاًذ] 'professor'

b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

ًرًح [ًرًح] 'soul, spirit'

c. masculine plural nouns, 2:

ًعیعیذل 'citizens, inhabitants'

تلوابا [تلوابا] 'students'

d. feminine plural nouns, 2:

ًکایسیافا (used twice) 'scouts'
e. verbal nouns, 3:

farah [faˈɾaḥ] 'merriment, joy'
Jukur [juˈkr] 'thanking'
luf [luˈf] 'kindness'

f. participle, 1:

mudāffīs 'male teacher'

The borrowed phrase dārulmufallimīn is formed as follows:

dār
"house"
-u-
Arabic nominative case ending
-1-
allomorph of the Arabic definite article
muˈfallimīn "male teachers" a plural masculine noun

TEXT NO 21, Separation of Powers - Legal, 1938

This text contains 31 words, 19 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 61.2%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 2:

madžlis 'council'
?iqtiyāh 'proposal, suggestion'

b. feminine singular nouns, 6:

wazīf[a [wɒˈziːfa] 'job, occupation'
quwwat (used 4 times) 'power'
hukūmat [ˈhʊkʊmə] 'government'
c. masculine plural nouns, 1:

\[\text{wuzarā} \] (\[\text{wuzarā}\])

'ministers'

\[\text{d. feminine plural nouns, 3:}\]

\[\text{huqūq}\]

'rights'

\[\text{sālíhiyyāt}\]

'authorities'

\[\text{quwa}\]

'powers'

\[\text{e. adjectives, 3:}\]

\[\text{taʃʃiyya}\]

'legislative'

\[\text{ʔidʒʃʔiyya}\]

'executive'

\[\text{ʔadliyya}\]

'judicial'

\[\text{f. verbal nouns, 4:}\]

\[\text{fikl}\]

'science'

\[\text{ʔidgarā [ʔidgarā]}\]

'administration'

\[\text{ʃikl \[ʃakl\]}\]

'shape'

\[\text{taʃʃi}\]

'separation'

This text contains 13 words, 4 are borrowed from Arabic. The percentage of loans is 30.7%. The following are the loanwords:

\[\text{a. participles, 4:}\]

\[\text{mutawassita} \] (\[\text{mutawassita}\])

'intermediate school'

\[\text{muʃrafā}\]

'headmistress'

\[\text{musallima}\]

'woman teacher'

\[\text{masšum}\]

'known'

1 hybrid compound verb occurs in this text. It is

\[\text{masšum kifā} \] (\[\text{masšum kifā}\])

'was made known'. This compound has the
Kurdish verb \[\text{kirdin}\] as its second element.
This text contains 114 words, 49 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loanwords is 42.9%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 8:

- tuṛaqqaṭ [tuṛaqqaṭ] 'development'  
- ẓīlam 'world'  
- ʔiqtidār [ʔiqtidār] 'capability'  
- ʔasās 'foundation, founding'  
- taʕaddūd 'plurality'  
- ʔiqtīm 'district'  
- wātān [wātān] 'homeland'  
- xa[lT] 'gulf'

b. feminine singular nouns, 10:

- dawļat [dawļa] (used twice) 'country; state'  
- madaniyyat [madaniyya] (used twice) 'civilization'  
- ʔillat [ʔilla] 'people, nation'  
- ʔaʔifat [ʔaʔifa] (used twice) 'knowledge'  
- mamlakat [mamlakat] 'country, kingdom'  
- ʔaʔazīra 'island'  
- ʔarz [ʔaʔr] 'earth'

c. masculine plural noun, 2:

- ʔulomā [ʔulomāʔ] 'scientists'

d. feminine plural nouns, 5:

- ʔasār [ʔasār] 'ruins'  
- ʔatrāf [ʔatʕāf] 'sides'  
- ʔaʕīha 'Gods'  
- ʔaʃyā [ʔaʃyāʔ] 'things; goods'
e. verbal nouns, 18:

qism 'part'
fasi (fasi) 'chapter'
[a'aq (used 3 times) 'east'
taraf (taraf) 'side'
nohr 'river'
binā (binā) 'building'
qawm 'people'
bohr (used twice) 'sea'
gārb 'west'
dunūb 'south'
nihāya 'end'

f. adjectives, 4:

qaddiTm 'ancient, old'
qaddima 'ancient, old - used with feminine nouns'
haqīqī 'real'
?qahma 'red'

h. prepositions, 1:

bayn- 'between'

i. phrases, 1:

Subh-T dazīka 'peninsula'

1 hybrid compound verb occurs in this item. It is bina kirduwa "has been made". The Kurdish verbal element kirduwa is derived from kirdin.
This text contains 173 words, 94 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 54.34%. The borrowed words are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 16:

- maktab 'school'
- sobab 'reason'
- ?imā [?īmāʔ] 'dictation'
- mašnā 'meaning'
- nawf (used 4 times) 'kind, sort'
- zamāfr [ zamāfr] ''
- masdo'r 'infinitive'
- hāl [ hāl] 'present; now'
- ?istiqrā'ī 'future'
- wādā'ib 'duty'

b. feminine singular nouns, 9:

- millāt [ milλa] 'people, nation'
- kalima (used 5 times) 'word'
- qissa 'story'
- sifat [ sifā] 'adjective'
- ?adāt 'article'

c. feminine plural nouns, 7:

- qawā'id 'grammar; lit. rules'
- ma?āfif 'things known; education'
- tadhīsāt 'teachings, tutoring'
- makāṭib 'schools'
- makāṭib 'letters'
- ?aasām (used twice) 'parts'
d. verbal nouns, 36:

- āsr ['asr]  'era, epoch'
- ṣār [ṣār]  'studying; working hard'
- šaraf [šaraf]  'morphology'
- nhū  'syntax'
- wādī  'time'
- ṭāraf [ṭāraf]  'side; party to'
- bāyān  'discussion'
- ḥarf [ḥarf]  'letter'
- ḥādh [ḥādh]  'spelling'
- ṭafī  'pronunciation'
- ṭīm  'noun'
- bāhs [bāhs]  'discussion; subject'
- qīsm  'part; kind'
- ḍ̣amān  'adding; plurals'
- ṭaqāṣīm  'division'
- ṭāmin [ṭāmin]  'order, command'
- fil  'verb'

e. adjectives, 8:

- ẓāxt  'late, recent'
- lāzīm  'necessary'
- ṭawwal [ṭawwal]  'first'
- ṣām  'common, not special'
- ẓāq  'special, particular'
- bāsīt [bāsīt]  'simple'
- ẓāxsiyya [ẓāxsiyya]  'personal'

f. participles, 18:

- muqaddima  'one or thing introducing'
- muʃad  'singular'
- mu'akkab  'compound'
- muttaṣīl  'bound, not free'
- munfasīl  'free, not bound'
- māzīt [māzīt]  'past; lit. something or someone gone by'
mutakadd ת "transitive"
mutakallim "speaker"
muxātab [muxātab] "addressee"
gūrib "one who is absent, here: the third person"
lāzīm "intransitive"
mašīm "active voice in grammar"
maṣhūl "passive in grammar"

2 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and both have the native verb kirdin as their second element. They are:

sawāt nakāwa "no effort has been made"
bayān kirdin "to show; to clarify"

TEXT NO. 25, Arithmetic, 1928

This text contains 140 words, 69 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loanwords is 49.28%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 10:

hisāb (used twice) 'arithmetic'
yādād (used 5 times) 'number'
mīsāl 'example'
maxrādī (used twice) 'denominator'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:

muṭṭaba 'category'
qāʾida 'rule'
qisma 'division'
sūrat [ṣūra] (used twice) 'numerator'

- 66 -
c. feminine plural nouns, 11:

?axmās  
kusūr  
?alāmāl  
?ādād  
?alqahāt  
mī ?āt  
?alādād  

'fifths'
'fractions'
'skills in arithmetic'
'units in arithmetic'
'tens'
'hundreds'
'numbers'

d. verbal nouns, 16:

kāsīr [Kāsir]  
filim  
tālif  
qāmā  
.tar [tār]  
zārb [dārb]  
qāsīm  
mulāhāza [mulāhaza]  
mugā'ana  

'fraction'
'science'
'definition'
'addition'
'substraction'
'multiplication'
'dividing'
'notice'
'comparison'

e. adjectives, 14:

sumin [θumin]  
xumsān  
salāba [θalāba]  
?ārbāra  
?awf  
?iftiyādāt  
sahTh  
basīt [basīt]  

'one-eighth'
'two-fifths'
'three'
'four'
'decimal'
'common fraction'
'whole(number)'
'simple; here: lowest'

f. participles, 10:

muŷabbaς  
muțrām  
hasil [hasil]  

'square'
'subtracted'
'thing obtained'
maqsūm
xūṭid (used twice)
muzālaf [mugālaf](used twice)
muṣṭaraka
qābil

2 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and both are formed with a form of kirdin. They are:

taqsim kirdin "to divide"
zarb dokfa "it is multiplied"

The borrowed word xumsan is a dual form.

TEXT NO. 26, Natural Science, 1929

This text contains 45 words, 24 are loanwords: 6 are non-Arabic words and the rest are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 53.3%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 11:

hawā [hawāʔ] 'air'
?iʃtisal 'burning'
ḥūṣal [ḥōṣal] (used twice) 'product'
?imtizad (used twice) 'intermixing'
b. feminine plural nouns, 4:

du'yūs
?aqyā [?aqyāʔ]
tablīyyāt
?ad-gām

'lessons'
'things; materials'
'natural science'
'bodies'

c. verbal nouns, 3:

musā'ada
qaffarāt (used twice)

'help'
'consisting'

d. non-Arabic loans, 6:

?oksīdʒīn (used twice)
hidroядʒīn (used 3 times)
gāz

'oxygen'
'hydrogen'
'gas'

2 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and both have the Kurdish verb kirdin as their second element. They are:

?iʃtīsāl akā
'hāsāl akā

"it burns"
"it produces"

2.6.1 Statistical Results

Below is a list of the number of words of each of the texts analysed in the preceding section together with the number of loanwords and their percentages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of text</th>
<th>No. of words in the text</th>
<th>No. of loanwords</th>
<th>Percentage of loanwords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>48.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>54.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>57.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>54.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>49.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The total number of words of the texts is 1992 and the total number of loanwords is 926; the mean percentage of loanwords is 46.48%.

The loanwords used belong to various categories of words: the following list gives the number of loanwords belonging to each category and their percentages in relation to the total number of the loanwords and in relation to the total number of words in the data of this chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF WORD</th>
<th>NO. OF WORDS</th>
<th>1. LOANWORDS</th>
<th>2. TOTAL NO. OF WORDS IN DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Masculine Singular Nouns</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>14.68</td>
<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Feminine Singular Nouns</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td>6.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Masculine Plural Nouns</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Feminine Plural Nouns</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>5.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Verbal Nouns</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>32.61</td>
<td>15.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Adjectives</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9.82</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Participles</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>9.07</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Adverbs</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Conjunctions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Prepositions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Phrases</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Non-Arabic Words</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.7 Analysis of Loanwords

The words borrowed into the written Kurdish of the period under discussion are mainly Arabic in origin and they make 97.30% of the total loanwords, while the percentage of non-Arabic loanwords is 2.70%.

In this section each word class of the borrowed words is examined and discussed.

1. Nouns

The data include 390 nouns borrowed from Arabic; 256 of them are singular and 134 are plural nouns both masculine and feminine.

Among the borrowed feminine singular nouns, 39 occurred with a final -at which is a precase ending in Arabic while 37 occurred with the usual pre-pausal ending -a (see texts 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24 and 25 for examples of such usage). It is quite possible that the nouns with -at are earlier borrowings than the others and they reflect an imperfect knowledge of the grammar of Arabic derived only from school texts and incompletely since Arabs do not usually use the feminine singular nouns with -at unless the case demands it.

A number of the borrowed feminine singular nouns do not have any distinguishing feminine ending since they are feminine by signification only such as fān "soul" and bilād "country" in texts nos. 16 and 18 respectively.

The masculine singular nouns are 136 and they do not have any distinguishing gender ending, e.g. qarār "decision", ḫisān "tongue", ʔustāz "professor" in texts nos. 1, 4 and 20 respectively.
The borrowed Arabic plural nouns are 134 in number and can be divided into two main categories: (i) feminine plural nouns, and (ii) masculine plural nouns. Each category is then divided into two kinds: sound plural and broken plural as shown in the diagram below:

The different kinds of Arabic plural nouns occurring in the data are discussed below.

---

4 Arab Grammarians regard all broken plurals as feminine of which some can also be used as masculine. I have divided the broken plurals into feminine and masculine in accordance with their common usage in the Arabic language.
a. Sound Feminine Plural Nouns

These are the plural nouns that end with the Arabic plural morpheme -āt. The data include 31 such nouns. The following are examples of the Arabic sound feminine nouns used in text no. 6 only.

sayyārāt "planets"
ḥukūmāt "governments"
ʔālāt "machines"
ʔadawāt "equipments"
ḥārakāt "movements"

Sound feminine plural nouns occurred in texts nos. 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21 and 24.

b. Broken Feminine Plural Nouns

These nouns are formed from the singular by changing the stem of the singular nouns. More than sixty broken feminine plural nouns occur in the data of this chapter and the majority of them have the following four patterns:

1. CuCUC the singular is CuCC e.g.
   ?usūl. " ?asūl text no. 1
   huqūq " haqq text no. 17
   ʿusūm " ḡasem text no. 18
   ?umūt " ṭumāt text no. 18
   fūʔūn " ḥaqūn text no. 18
   duḥūs " ḍuḥūs text no. 26

2. ?aCCāC the singular is CuCC e.g.
   ʔadʒūm " ḍuḍūm text no. 5
   ʔahkūm " ḡukm text no. 18
   ʔaxmās " xums text no. 25
3. **CaCãCãC** the singular is **CaCTCa**
   e.g. wazãTìf " wazìTa
       ûajãTìy " ûajìTa
   text no. 17
   text no. 3

4. **MaCCâCâC** the singular is **MaCCâC**
   e.g. maTâlib " maTâb
       makTâlib " makTâb
   text no. 24
   text no. 24

**Borrowed Arabic broken feminine plural nouns**
occurred in texts nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 17, 18,
20, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 26 of the data analysed in
section 2.6.

c. **Sound Masculine Plural Nouns**

Only five Arabic sound masculine plural nouns
occurred in the data and they all ended with the
accusative/genitive bound pluralizing suffix -TN.
That is to say, none of them occurred with the
nominative pluralizing suffix -un. The following
are the words borrowed, their meanings and the
number of the text in which each occurred.

1. ma?mûyn "officials" text no. 1
2. muwazzafyn "public servants" text no. 13 and 18
3. mustaxdamyn "employees" text no. 13
4. muda?yisyn "men secondary school teachers" text no. 17
5. mu?allimyn "men primary school teachers" text no. 20

d. **Broken Masculine Plural Nouns**

Nineteen Arabic broken masculine plural nouns are
used in the data of this chapter as loanwords. Only
3 of them have the same pattern; the rest follow
different patterns. The 3 words are tujazâr "merchants",
zu?râs "farmers", hûkkân "judges"; they have the
pattern CuCCâC and its singular is CaCãCãC.
Borrowed broken masculine plurals nouns occurred in texts nos. 3, 5, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21 and 23.

It is significant to point out that a number of nouns are borrowed both in their singular and plural forms. The data include 18 such nouns. The following are the nouns used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular form</th>
<th>No. of text</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>No. of text</th>
<th>Meaning of singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wazīṯ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>wuzarā</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;minister&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥukūmat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ḥukūmat</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;government&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayyār</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>sayyārat</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;planet&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāwē</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>nāwē</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;kind, sort&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaḏraka</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ḥaḏrakāt</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;movement&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanāṯ</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>sanāṯi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;trade&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qānūn</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>qawānīn</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;law&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maḏāḏ</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>maḏāḏāt</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;salary&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalima</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>kalimāt</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>&quot;word&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maktab</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>makātib</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;school&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ilāḥ</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>?āliha</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;God&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudaḏrīs</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>mudaḏrīsīn</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;male secondary school teacher&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudaḏrīsa</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>mudaḏrīsāt</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;female school teacher&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muṭallima</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>muṭallimāt</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;woman primary school teacher&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDENTIAL</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cadastro</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;chief&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quwwat</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>quwā</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>&quot;power&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qism</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>qasām</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;division, part&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāṣīḵ</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>kusūḵ</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>&quot;fraction&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of these Arabic borrowed nouns in their singular and plural forms indicates that such words are fully assimilated into the Kurdish language since the Kurds can keep the different numbers apart and can pluralize them according to their various forms and kinds. The above list shows that 7 nouns are pluralized with –āṯ.
which means that they are sound feminine plurals, 1 is pluralized by the addition of the sound masculine plural ending -Tn while the rest are pluralized according to 9 different patterns of the broken plural nouns. In other words, it is not only the words that are assimilated into the Kurdish language, but the Arabic grammatical rules of forming the plural of these words have become 'institutionalized' in the language.

Several nouns are borrowed in their masculine as well as in their feminine genders, i.e. the Arabic feminine gender suffix -a is used as a differentiating grammatical feature in such nouns although Kurdish does not have any distinguishing gender morpheme. The following are the borrowed nouns used in this way:

1. mudarris (male secondary school teacher), but mudarrisa (female secondary school teacher), text 17
2. ma'alim (male primary school teacher), but mu'allima (female primary school teacher), text 17 and
3. mudir (headmistress, woman director), text 17 and this contrasts in gender with mudir.

It seems that Kurdish has, in this way, borrowed a gender distinguishing morpheme from Arabic which has become productive though its use is confined to borrowed nouns indicating professions and careers.
2. **Verbal Nouns**

The data include 302 verbal nouns which are "abstract substantives that express action, passion or state indicated by the corresponding verbs" (Wright, 1964, p.110). Wright gives more than 30 different forms of such substantives that may be derived from the ground form of the ordinary Arabic triliteral verb.

Like the nouns, the verbal nouns are borrowed without any case endings, and as substantives they are either feminine or masculine. The feminine have the ending -\(a\) of which 30 occurred in the data.

The majority of the masculine verbal nouns borrowed follow one of the following construction patterns:

a. **CaCC** e.g. ɓaḥs ʕaql Ɂaps ḥarb Ɂafz
   which occurred in texts nos. 6 and 10.

b. **CiCC** e.g. ʕikf ʃikl ʕilm
   in texts nos. 6, 7 and 21 respectively.

c. **CuCC** e.g. ʔuṭq ʕuḥh Ɂutf
   in texts nos. 11; 16 and 20 respectively.

d. **CiCAC** e.g. ʔid-ʔaʔ ʔitāb ʃimāl
   in texts nos. 2, 6 and 23 respectively.

e. **TaCCTC** e.g. ʔaddām ʔat-xīʃ Ɂabd g ʔadaqta
   in texts nos. 1, 2, 7 and 14 respectively.

The feminine verbal nouns borrowed are formed from the Arabic consonantal roots in accordance with the following patterns:

a. **CiCCa** e.g. ʃitra niʃma siʃha
   in texts nos. 5, 16 and 18 respectively.
b. CuCCa e.g. ʃuʃla quwwa
    in texts nos. 6 and 16 respectively.

c. CICōCa e.g. wilāda ʔiɾʔa ʔidāra
    in texts nos. 1, 8 and 18 respectively.

d. CoCCa e.g. ʃatāla faxāma sarāḥa
    in texts nos. 9, 12 and 16 respectively.

e. MuCōCaCo e.g. muwāfaqa muzāḥaṣa musāγada
    in texts nos. 7, 11 and 26 respectively.

The large number of verbal nouns borrowed into
Kurdish has certainly increased the vocabulary stock of
the language. They must also have helped the speakers
of Kurdish to express certain abstract notions. Further­
more, they have enormously increased the potential of
forming hybrid compound verbs for it is possible to
form such compounds by the addition of the Kurdish verbal
element kirdin "make" to any item of the verbal nouns
of pattern MuCōCaCo and ToCCTC and also to the majority
of pattern CoCC, CiCC, CuCC. Thus it is possible to say:

muzāḥaṣa kirdin  "to demonstrate"
taqājm kirdin   "to offer"
bahs kirdin     "to do research; to discuss"
fikṣ kirdin     "to think, to contemplate"
sulh kirdin     "to make peace"

3. Participles

The number of participles that occurred in the data
of this chapter is 84. The term participle here refers to:
(i) nomina agenti or agentive participles which are
actually agents or actors, and
(ii) adjective participles.

All participles are derived from the ground form of the Arabic triliteral verbs. Feminine participles have the feminizing suffixal morpheme -a.

The number of agentive participles is 31 and they are formed in the following patterns:

(i) \textit{CaCiC} as in hāzīr ʕātil ʕāmil ʃālīr kāṭīb in texts nos. 3, 6, 9, 16, 18 respectively.

(ii) \textit{MuCaCCiC} as in mudařīs, muṣallim in texts nos. 17 and 18 respectively.

The feminine of the above participles also occurred and the pattern is then \textit{CāCiCa} and \textit{MuCaCCiCa}, e.g. ʕāmīla and mudařīsa in texts nos. 14 and 17 respectively.

The adjective participles in the data are formed on the following patterns:

a. \textit{MaCCuC} as in mašūm mašūq māḏbūs madžhūl in texts nos. 1, 5, 10 and 24 respectively.

b. \textit{MuCCaCCaC} as in muqaddas muqaddas muʃaʃaf muʃabbas in texts 6, 9, 12 and 25.

c. \textit{MuCCaCaC} as in muʃtaʃar muʃtaʃar in texts nos. 3 and 25.

d. \textit{MuCCaCiC} as in muʃtaʃar muʃtaʃar in text no. 24.

e. \textit{MuTuCCaCCiC} as in muʃaʃal muʃaʃal in texts nos. 24 and 17.

The feminine of the adjective participle is formed by the addition of the feminine marker -a.
4. Adjectives

The number of loan adjectives used in the data is 91. Some of these are regular adjectives, i.e. adjectives by signification such as faxTm, zoUTF, muhim, bosTt, sahTh in texts nos. 5, 9, 12, and 25 respectively.

Others belong to the sub-class known as relative adjectives and are formed from nouns by the addition of the suffix -I or -TyYa. These adjectives can also function as abstract nouns (Wright, 1975, p.165). The following are examples of such adjectives that occurred in the data:

?id3timAN, qawmi, madanI (in texts nos. 5, 18, 18 respectively); and ?id3timANTyYa, xu3Tid3TyYa, huxuqTyYa (in texts nos. 9, 18, 18 respectively).

5. Adverbs

The adverbs that occurred in the data were 11. The following are examples of such adverbs:

These occurred in texts nos. 7, 9, 11 and 14.

6. Prepositions

Only 2 prepositions are used on their own in relation to Kurdish phrases in the data. They are: ?asna and boyn in texts nos. 6 and 23 respectively.

However, a further 6 prepositions in the borrowed Arabic phrases occurred. They are:
mala "with", nIa "to", bi- "in", biIa "without", 
EalO "on" and min "from".

These occurred in texts nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 25.

7. Phrases

The number of borrowed Arabic phrases that occurred in the data is 20, two of which are used twice. The borrowed phrases can be divided into:

(i) prepositional phrases, such as:
(a) maalaI?asaaf "with regret"
(b) bi?adzaal "at a pre-destined time"
(c) biIakas "on the contrary"
(d) biIafasiI "without interruption"

These prepositional phrases occurred in texts nos. 2, 4 and 6 respectively and each of them was analysed morphologically in section 2.6.

(ii) nominal phrases like:
(a) mumaI?Iayhim "the one pointed to"
(b) muJaIf?Iayhā "the one indicated"
(c) saI?IyhiTI "the rest of it"
(d) matTrühminhu "that deducted from it"

These occurred in texts no. 3, 4, 6 and 25 respectively.

(iii) phrases that are endocentrically constructed, i.e. noun phrases formed of two nouns, e.g.
(a) ?usbaI?umaram "League of Nations"
(b) waIiThdh "Crown Prince"
(c) daIfluIumallimIn "Male preparatory school"

9 phrases of this kind occur in the data.
The phrase Ia.ya.o.t~o.yyo.r "does not change" which occurred in text no. 9 is the only one where a verb is used. Morphologically, this phrase can be analysed as follows:

Ia.
yo.t~o.yyo.r

negative particle meaning "no"
"it changes" where yo. is the third person masculine singular subject pronoun.

However, the whole phrase is used in the data as one vocabulary item to which the Kurdish copular suffix -in of the third person plural is added. In fact the Arabic phrase is treated as an adjective and the meaning has come to be "they are unchangeable".

The borrowed phrases in (ii) above include 3 different Arabic pronominal suffixes of the accusative case. They are:

-him "them"
-hū "her"
-hū "him"
-hū "him"

The last two pronouns are allomorphs of the third person singular morpheme.

2.8 Phonological Modification of Loanwords

The phonological system of Kurdish differs from that of Arabic (see 2.5 p.221 of this work). Consequently, some
of the loanwords introduced from Arabic underwent certain sound changes to make them conform to the sound system of the receiving language, Kurdish. Sound modifications occurred either because Kurdish does not, in its phonological system, have particular sounds the loanwords contained or because of limitations in the sequential syntagmatic relations of sounds in the language.

The data investigated shows that the main modification in the sounds of the loans occurred in (i) the manner of articulation of some sounds, and (ii) the point of articulation of some others. In this section the actual instances of changes are discussed.

(i) Changes in Manner of Articulation:

(a) \( k > t \) The pharyngealized (emphatic) voiceless dental stop of Arabic became voiceless dental stop wherever it occurred in the loanwords.

Thus the Arabic words \( \text{tubd} \), \( \text{qitfa} \), \( \text{zobit} \) which occurred in texts nos. 1, 3 and 13 respectively were realized as \( \text{tubd} \), \( \text{qitfa} \) and \( \text{zobit} \).

The data contained 26 borrowed words where /t/ was changed into /t/.

(b) \( s > s \) The pharyngealized (emphatic) voiceless alveolar fricative became a voiceless alveolar fricative in the majority of the borrowed words containing this sound. In the other words, however, the velarized sound is retained. The data includes 24 loanwords that contained this sound; only 14 have changed into /s/.
The reason for the change is that the velarized variety occurs with a very low functional load in Kurdish; only 3 Kurdish words have this sound.

Some of the words in which this change occurred are:

\[
\text{sur}a, \text{fa}x\,\text{s}, \text{xul}\text{a}\,\text{s}, \text{si}h\text{a}, \text{sif}a
\]

which occurred in texts nos. 5, 10, 14, 18 and 24 and were changed into:

\[
\text{sur}\text{at}, \text{fa}x\,\text{s}, \text{xul}\text{a}\,\text{s}, \text{si}h\text{hat} \text{and sifat}.
\]

The following are examples of some of the words which retained the pharyngealized sounds:

\[
\text{taq}\text{si}\,\text{f}, \text{?iq}\text{ti}~\text{d}, \text{?a}~\text{f}, \text{fa}~\text{f} \quad \text{and these}
\]

occurred in texts nos. 2, 5, 14 and 23 respectively.

The borrowed word \text{qi}~\text{sa} in text no. 24 retained its double pharyngealized /\text{s}/ possibly because the change might produce homophony and therefore confusion with the native word \text{qi}~\text{sa} "talk, speak".

The retention of the /\text{s}/ sound in the borrowed words has greatly increased the functional load of this phoneme.

(c) \text{f} \rightarrow \text{r} The trilled Arabic /\text{f}/ was occasionally realized as a flap /\text{r}/ medially and finally. Kurdish has both a trilled and a flapped /\text{r}/. The flap never occurs initially nor does it occur next to backed and more open vowel allophones which, in Arabic, normally come next to
pharyngealized consonants. The following are examples of trilled Arabic r's realized as flaps:

\[ \text{qar\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}}, \text{i\textsuperscript{nti}g\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}}, \text{toyy\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}}, \text{hadr\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}}, \text{harb}, \text{waz\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}} \]

which occurred in texts nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 11 and 18 and were realized as qar\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}, i\textsuperscript{nti}z\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}, toyy\text{\textsuperscript{a}r}, hadrat, harb, wazarat.

(d) \[ \text{ } > \text{ } \]

The clear lateral sound /l/ in Arabic loanwords was occasionally realized as a velarized (dark) /\text{\textl}/. Both Kurdish and Arabic have clear and dark laterals as separate phonemes; however, the dark variety in classical Arabic occurs in only one word, namely \( \text{\textsuperscript{2}a\text{\textl}f} \) "God", whereas in Kurdish it occurs medially and finally and has a high functional load.

The following are examples in which the clear lateral is realized as a dark lateral in Arabic loans:

\[ \text{tolab} \text{ } \text{and} \text{ } \text{mul\text{\textk}}, \text{\textl\textm}, \text{\textl\texti\textk}, \text{\textl\textm\textl}, \text{\textl\textm\textl}, \]

which occurred in texts nos. 5, 6, 7, 14 and 23. It seems that the change from clear to dark lateral occurs when the lateral is preceded or followed by a sound which is velar, uvular or pharyngeal such as k, q, \( \text{\textl} \) or a sound which is pharyngealized as in tolab above.
(ii) Change in Point of Articulation

Under this heading, retraction to a Kurdish position is noticed in three sounds.

(a) $\theta > s$ The interdental voiceless fricative becomes voiceless alveolar fricative wherever it occurred in Arabic loans, e.g. $b\theta$, $\theta\ddot{a}t$, $\tau\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}r$, which occurred in texts nos. 6, 8 and 23 were realised as $b\ddot{a}hs$, $s\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}$ and $\tau\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}r$.

(b) $\delta > z$ Voiced interdental fricative became voiced alveolar fricative in the borrowed words, e.g. $\ddot{i}i\ddot{i}t\ddot{i}\ddot{d}\ddot{a}r$, $\delta\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}$ and $\ddot{u}st\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}$ in texts nos. 2, 10 and 17 became $\ddot{u}i\ddot{i}t\ddot{i}z\ddot{a}r$, $z\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}$ and $\ddot{u}st\ddot{a}z$.

(c) $d > z$ The pharyngealized voiced dental fricative became voiced alveolar fricative wherever it occurred in the borrowed words, e.g. $b\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}r$, $\ddot{g}\ddot{x}\ddot{i}b\ddot{a}$, $l\ddot{a}f\ddot{d}$ in texts nos. 3, 13 and 14 became $\ddot{h}\ddot{a}z\ddot{i}r$, $\ddot{z}a\ddot{r}\ddot{b}a$ and $\ddot{l}a\ddot{f}z$.

Other phonological changes that occurred were:

(a) Elision of word-final glottal stop. This change occurred only when the glottal stop was preceded by a long open front vowel /\acute{a}/. Twelve words with final $-\ddot{a}$ occurred in the data and all changed to $-\ddot{\ddot{a}}$, e.g. $\ddot{r}u\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}\ddot{n}$, $\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{t}\ddot{i}\ddot{d}\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{n}$, $\ddot{w}u\ddot{z}a\ddot{r}\ddot{a}$ and $\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{m}\ddot{l}\ddot{a}$ in texts nos. 3, 5, 13 and 15 became $\ddot{r}u\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}\ddot{n}$, $\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{t}\ddot{i}\ddot{d}\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{n}$, $\ddot{w}u\ddot{z}a\ddot{r}\ddot{a}$, $\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{m}\ddot{l}\ddot{a}$.

(b) Several phonological changes occurred within single words, e.g.
tudẕḏāk became tudẕr in text no. 3.
kitāb became kitēb (also kitāb) in text no. 6.
Fən and waqt became Fən and waqt in text no. 16.

All these words except the first are probably early borrowings; but the reduction of the geminate cluster ṯẕḏ in tudẕḏāk to one consonant could be explained by the fact that no such geminate cluster exists in Kurdish.

2.9 Effect of Loanwords on Kurdish

The extensive borrowings from Arabic tell a story of long contact between Arabs and Kurds and reflect the tremendous influence of Arabic culture on Kurdish culture and thought. Linguistically, the borrowed words affected the Kurdish language (a) phonologically, (b) morphologically and (c) lexically. Culturally, the loanwords reflect influence in the fields of religion, administration, law, education, economics, etc.

In this section an attempt will be made to examine and identify the cultural influences from Arabic that are reflected in the loanwords and the linguistic influence that follows.

2.9.1 Phonological Effect

The data investigated show the following influence on the phonological system of the Kurdish language:

(a) the loanwords have introduced the glottal stop in word medial and final positions, whereas this sound occurs only initially in Kurdish words (Mackenzie, 1961, p.4 and McCarus, 1957, p.139), e.g.
(b) the loanwords have introduced a change in the functional load of the velarized alveolar fricative /\~/ which occurs in only three words in Kurdish (Mackenzie, 1961, p.4; and McCarns, 1957, p.139).

(c) twelve consonant geminates are introduced with the loanwords of the data. In Kurdish only five geminates occur. They are: ll; \ll; mm; nn; and vv. Mackenzie (1961, p.16) gives only these five geminates, whereas McCarns says that "all types of consonant except affricates occur in geminate clusters" (1957, p.29). However, the examples he quotes to substantiate his claim are all loanwords of Arabic origin.

The following are the geminate groups introduced through Arabic loans and the number of the texts in which they occurred:

1. tt  as in  muttasim [text no. 24]
2. bb  as in  mu?abbasi [text no. 25]
3. dd  as in  muqaddas [text no. 5]
4. ss  as in  mu?assif [text no. 9]
5. ss  as in  qissa [text no. 24]
6. zz  as in  muwazzafim [text no. 13]
7. ww  as in  ?awwallan [text no. 5]
8. yy  as in  tayyara [text no. 3]
9. kk  as in  mu?akkab [text no. 24]
10. qq  as in  muwaqqata [text no. 7]
11. hh  as in  sihhat [text no. 18]
12. ff  as in  muda?ris [text no. 17]

The percentage of increase in the geminate groups under the influence of Arabic loans is 240% since only five geminate groups occur in native Kurdish words.
2.9.2. Morphological Effect

The extensive borrowings from Arabic have introduced certain changes in the morphological system of the Kurdish language. The changes are mainly limited to the introduction of some grammatical categories (affixes).

The data investigated show the following changes:

(a) Arabic pluralizing morphemes which can be divided as follows:
   (i) the Arabic sound masculine pluralizing morpheme -Tn as in məʔmūʔ + Tn "government officials" (see p.75 for more examples);
   (ii) the Arabic sound feminine plural morpheme -āt as in muqaddas + āt "holy things" (see p.74 for more examples); and
   (iii) nine different patterns of the broken plural, as in qawānīn "laws" (see p.74 for more information about this kind of plural).

(b) The Arabic feminizing morpheme -a. This is used in several words in the data to differentiate between male and female workers. The use of this morpheme in Kurdish is restricted to nouns denoting occupation, e.g. muʕalḷim + a "woman teacher" (see p.77 for more examples of the use of this morpheme).

(c) Various grammatical patterns of forming verbal nouns and participles from the base forms of Arabic verbs (see p.78 ff. for the various grammatical patterns introduced into Kurdish).
(d) The Arabic adjectival suffixes -j and -Tyya as in 
   huqauT and huqauTyya (see p. 81 for further examples).

(e) The adverb forming morpheme -wa‰, e.g. ?awwala‰n 
   "firstly", (see p. 81 for further examples).

2.9.3 Lexical Effect

The lists on pages 70 and 71 show that the percentage of loanwords used in the data is 46.48%. Loanwords from Arabic form the great majority (see list on p. 71 for more information).

An examination of the majority of the items borrowed from Arabic shows that they can be clustered into several groups each of which serves a certain socio-cultural aspect. This indicates that these items are not borrowed haphazardly, but are rather borrowed to fulfill some cultural functions which the Kurdish language had not until then had to fulfil. The concepts these lexical items introduced are new; the words came with people who introduced the concepts. However, there are many loanwords in the data that are common everyday words for which Kurdish words exist, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qatra</td>
<td>&quot;drop&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dźuz?</td>
<td>&quot;part&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba‰z</td>
<td>&quot;some&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašänTr&quot;famous men&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;firstly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?awwa‰an &quot;firstly&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;request&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nudźüm &quot;stars&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;counting&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwwat &quot;power&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;necessary&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kullT &quot;complete&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;maker&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sänT &quot;second&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;maker&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaxs &quot;person&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;high&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su?āl &quot;question&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;God&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dźalb &quot;bringing&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;flood&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arz &quot;earth&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;old&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iftisāl &quot;burning&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;burning; combustion&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is quite inconceivable that Kurdish did not contain words for 'birth' and 'death', or for 'one' and 'two', or for 'red', 'old', etc.

The reasons for borrowing such common words is perhaps the writers of these earliest days (i) desired to interlard their writings with as many Arabic words as possible to show that they are well-educated, (ii) believed that the Arabic words carried more meaning than their Kurdish equivalents, and (iii) thought that words like ḫaḵ, waft, moq, gānī, ʔilāh are more proper in talking about wombs, death, creator and God than the common Kurdish words.

The borrowed words that introduced new concepts can be grouped under the following socio-cultural areas of influence:

(i) religion,
(ii) government and administration,
(iii) law and its organization,
(iv) education, and
(v) army.

(i) Religion

The following words are borrowed from Arabic under the influence of the various concepts of Islam and its principles:

salām (3)⁵ 'peace'; ḫahma (4) 'mercy';
gufān (4) 'forgiveness'; bāỈ and bāỈtābālā (4) 'God Almighty'; mawūd (4) 'pre-destined, promised','

⁵ Numbers given next to the borrowed items refer to the number of the text in which the word appeared in appendix I.
(ii) Government and Administration.

The following words were borrowed into Kurdish in this particular area:

ma'talib (11) 'demands'; mu'āhada (11) 'treaty'; 
?id-dīnār (12) 'meeting'; ?uzū (12) 'member'; 
taxāma (12) 'highness, greatness'; mamlaka (12) 
'kingdom'; bayānāt (12) 'declarations'; ?īzāḥ 
(12) 'explanation'; mīzāniyya (13) 'budget'; 
ma'āl (13) 'salary'; ma'ājāt (13) 'salaries'; 
muxasasāt (13) 'allowances'; taqā'ud (13) 
'retirement'; xadāmāt (13) 'services'; wuzara 
'ministers'; muwazzafīn (13) 'officials'; 
mustaxdamīn (13) 'employees'; ?afyān (13) 'peers'; 
muwādub (13) 'members of parliament; delegates'; 
?affād (14) 'individuals'; wazara (17) 'ministry'; 
baladiyya (18) 'municipality'; dīwān (18) 'main 
office'; mu?assasāt (18) 'establishments'; 
xāriqiyya (18) 'ministry of external affairs'; 
madanī (18) 'modern, civil'; ṭudzārī (18) 
'commercial'; ūfīta (18) 'police'; bilād (18) 'country'.

(iii) Law and Legal Organization.

The following are the loans related to this aspect 
of life:

qarār (1) 'decision'; qawānīn (5) 'laws'; 
?imtiyāz (5) 'privilege'; ?istidār (5) 'summon'; 
tabīta (7) 'note of information from court'; 
gānūn (9) 'law'; mohābūs (10) 'imprisoned'; 
hāps (10) 'imprisonment'; džūrīm (10) 'crime';
A large number of words related to education and its organization, to school subjects and their terminology and to concepts related to schools have been borrowed from Arabic. The following occurred in the data:

- **nuḍẓūm** (6) 'stars'; **ṣayyār** (6) 'planet'; **ʔadʒyām** (6) 'celestial bodies'; **ʔaflikk** (6) 'orbits'; **mawṣīt** (6) 'Mars'; **dʒadī** (6) 'Jupiter'; **maqāl** (9) 'essay'; **ʔadʒnās** (9) 'species'; **ḥaywānāt** (9) 'animals'; **nabātāt** (9) 'plants'; **ʔuzwiyyāt** (9) 'organisms'; **ṭāʾīt** (14) 'history'; **maktab** (14) 'school'; **kullīyya** (17) 'college'; **mutawasīta** (17) 'intermediate school';

(iv) Education.
sānawī (17) 'secondary school'; mašārif (17) 'education'; ffaṭīd (17) 'dean of college';
mudaḥḥis (17) 'male secondary school teacher';
mudāḥḥissa (17) 'female secondary school teacher';
ṣustāz (17) 'lecturer, professor'; mudi(dy)a (17) 'headmistress, female director';
tabīṣīyyāt (17) 'natural sciences'; muṣallīmāt (17) 'women primary school teachers';
tasī'īm (18) 'teaching';
talābā (20) 'students'; maṣfīfat (23) 'knowledge';
tadīṣāt (24) 'teachings'; makātīb (24) 'letters';
ṣā'yā (26) 'preliminaries of science'.

The following words have been borrowed under the influence of language and grammar:
ṣimā (14) 'dictation'; lafız (14) 'word or item pronounced'; kalimāt (14) 'words'; luga (17) 'language'; tawjīhuma (18) 'translation';
qissā (24) 'story'; makānū (24) 'meaning';
qawāṣid (24) 'grammar'; nahū (24) 'syntax';
sarf (24) 'derivation, morphology'; ḥāṣm (24) 'noun'; fiṣl (24) 'verb'; harf (24) 'particle, letter'; ḥāl (24) 'present'; ḥastīqābāl (24) 'future'; ṭamīr (24) 'imperative'; maḥīmān (24) 'active'; maḏhūl (24) 'passive'; mutṣadīt (24) 'transitive'; lāzīm (24) 'intransitive';
mutakallīm (24) 'first person, addressee';
muxāṭab (24) 'addressed'; muḥfād (24) 'singular';
dʒamī (24) 'plural'; zammī (24) 'pronoun';
munfasil (24) 'not bound'; muttasil (24) 'bound';
misāl (25) 'example'.

The words below have been borrowed under the influence of the teaching of mathematic subjects:


maṭrūq (25) 'subtrahend'; zarb (25) 'multiplication';
taqāṣīm (25) 'dividing'; gisma (25) 'division';
magsūm (25) 'dividend'; kasiṭ (25) 'fraction';
surat (25) 'numerator'; maṣrāq (25) 'denominator';
ṣūfī (25) 'decimal'; ẓitiyādī (25) 'common';
muṣabbaṣ (25) 'square'; muṣāṣaf (25) 'coefficient'.

(v) Army.

The data include the following words which are related to the army and military matters:

qitṣa (3) 'company of soldiers'; ṭaskaṭīyya (3) 'military'; tavyāra (3) 'plane'; harb (11) 'war';
zabit (12) 'officer'; difāq (18) 'defense';
dʒayf (18) 'army'; ṭaslīna (18) 'weapons'.
The lists of words above show that the majority of the loanwords are borrowed to satisfy an immediate need in the language particularly those items that are related to matters of religion, law, mathematics and language. This suggests that Kurdish did not have exact equivalents for the description of these concepts introduced after the Kurds and Arabs came into intensive contact. However, common non-technical loanwords such as lugga 'language', fayazān 'flood', faqīr 'east', gafrī 'west', nuqūm 'stars', ḥarb 'war', ṭūsiha 'weapons', etc. are perhaps borrowed because of the prestige that the Arabic language enjoyed among the Kurds, (see section 1.5 for the attitude of the Kurds towards the Arabic language).

Exact dates of these Arabic loanwords are not possible to give since no early Kurdish records are available. However, it is certainly true to say that words related to religion and its services and those related to the organization of the law and civil life are borrowed earlier, while words related to government organization and education are later borrowing. Under later borrowing we probably find words like waṣīmufawwaz, ba'yānūt, ṭīzūn, mu'āṣirūt, muqasasūt, taqūsūd, xadāmūt, muwazzaḍūn, muṣtaṣābdūn, ṭa'yān, muwāb, baṣālīyya, muq̲aṣ̲as̲a̲t̲, muwāṣ̲a̲l̲ūt̲, d̲a̲m̲u̲r̲ūm̲a̲, saḥ̲i̲l̲i̲yyūt̲, faṣāna, sīyāsī, muṣānū, t̲a̲?m̲i̲n̲ūt̲, ṭī̲m̲t̲i̲y̲ā̲z̲, ku'lliyya, muṭawasīta, sānūwī, muḍ̲a̲r̲ī̲s̲a̲, muḍ̲ī̲t̲a, kaffāfīa, etc.

The term 'earlier' means here during the time of Ottoman's rule of Iraq. The words that have come into Kurdish since the establishment of modern Iraq are probably many; the following are examples:

- 98 -
The first two words were not used during the Ottoman rule, for they used *mabdūs* (see text no. 8) instead. The second two words are new because the words *homādiyyo* and *furdiyyo* were used before the end of the first World War. The words *mutawisita* 'intermediate' and *sānawī* 'secondary' are in fact Arabic loan-translations of the English 'intermediate' and 'secondary'.

The addition of the feminine marker *-a* to words like *mudāfīs* 'man teacher' and *mudīr* 'director, headmaster' is probably recent, since at the time of the Ottoman rule women did not hold such positions in Iraq. Hence *mudāfīsa* and *mudīra* are borrowed since the establishment of modern Iraq.

The word *kaʃfa* 'scouts' is also borrowed since the opening of modern schools in Iraq after the War as 'scouts' and 'scout activities' did not exist in the few Ottoman schools before the first World War.

It is quite possible that Arabic words borrowed into Kurdish could be divided into two groups: those borrowed before the first World War and those that came after the war. But the question of setting exact dates is quite difficult owing to the non-existence of early records. It is probably useful if future research is done in this field since this work is not mainly concerned with establishing actual dates for these borrowings.
2.10 Employment of Loanwords in the Receiving Language

Although the large number of borrowed words have introduced certain phonological and morphological changes in the Kurdish language (see sections 2.9.1 and 2.9.2 pages 88 ff. and 90 ff. for these changes), the majority of the loanwords were used in conformity with the morphological and syntactic system of Kurdish. In this section an investigation will be made of the ways in which the loanwords were used in Kurdish.

The data show that the following and various Kurdish inflectional affixes were used with the loanwords.

1. The Kurdish definite article -ak and -kn and the indefinite article -ek and -yek were used with the borrowed words, e.g.

   - ak and ek are used with words ending with consonants, e.g. kur 'boy', kurek and kuřek; -ka and -yek are used when the word ends with a vowel, e.g. de 'village' deka and deyek. When the plural marker -ən is added after -ka, the result is deka 'the villages'.

   - ak and ek are used with words ending with consonants, e.g. kur 'boy', kurek and kuřek; -ka and -yek are used when the word ends with a vowel, e.g. de 'village' deka and deyek. When the plural marker -ən is added after -ka, the result is deka 'the villages'.

   "Idžtimāş + ak (12) 'the meeting'
   muzāhara + ka (11) 'the demonstration'
   millat + ak + ān (14) 'the nations'
   qism + ek (3) 'a part'
   tiʃ + ek (5) 'a child'
   qatra + yek (1) 'a drop'
   hafta + yek (3) 'a week'
2. The Kurdish liaison morpheme, ʔizāfa (ـ with words ending with consonants and ـy with words ending with vowels) is employed to link words and form endocentric constructions, e.g.

\[\text{fəxəmat-} \text{ wəzəf-} \text{ təyaɾən (3)}\]

'his excellency, minister of aviation'

\[\text{wəfaɾ-} \text{ muʔsif (4)} \text{ 'sad death'}\]

\[\text{tə工委-} \text{ ɾəʔis-} \text{ həkəmat-} \text{ təzə-y erəɾ (7)} \text{ 'he informed the head of the new government of Iran'}\]

In the examples above, the ʔizāfa is used between loanwords; by this criterion the loans are treated like native words, an indication that they have been permanently assimilated into Kurdish.

3. Loanwords are used in Kurdish between the two parts of the discontinuous demonstrative morphemes of Kurdish and in this way the loans appear as a part of the whole unit. The discontinuous morphemes are:

\[\text{am} \cdots \text{ a} \text{ 'this'}\]

\[\text{aw} \cdots \text{ a} \text{ 'that'}\]

and the plurals \[\text{am} \cdots \text{ʔənə 'these'}\] and \[\text{aw} \cdots \text{ʔənə 'those'}\], e.g.

\[\text{am} + \?uɾəl + \text{ a} \text{ (1) 'this process'}\]

\[\text{am} + \text{fiɾm} + \text{ a} \text{ (6) 'this science'}\]

\[\text{aw} + \text{nawə} + \text{ a} \text{ (9) 'that kind'}\]

\[\text{aw} + \text{waɾd} + \text{ʔənə (12) 'those promises'}\]
4. Borrowed nouns are usually treated as singular and were pluralized by suffixing them with the Kurdish plural morpheme -ān. Such plurals were sometimes formed of the Arabic plurals also, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sāyyār} + \overline{ān} & \quad (6) \quad \text{'planets'} \\
\text{mobātūs} + \overline{ān} & \quad (8) \quad \text{'delegates'} \\
\text{fāsīf} + \overline{ān} & \quad (16) \quad \text{'ports'} \\
\text{hārf} + \overline{ān} & \quad (24) \quad \text{'letters'}
\end{align*}
\]

The Arabic sound plural mustaxdamīn and the broken plural tālāba were also pluralized as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mustaxdamīn} + \overline{ān} & \quad (13) \quad \text{'employees'} \\
\text{tālāba} + k + \overline{ān} & \quad (20) \quad \text{'the students'}
\end{align*}
\]

Such usage indicates that the sound masculine suffix of Arabic is not completely assimilated, and that the broken plural tālāba is regarded in the borrowing language as singular. In fact, the singular of this word is not borrowed.

5. The loan nouns were also used between the two parts of the native discontinuous prepositions like

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lā} & \ldots \text{dā} \quad \text{'in, at', and} \\
\text{ba} & \ldots \text{awa} \quad \text{'with'}
\end{align*}
\]

and so the nouns and the prepositions form a well-knit prepositional phrase, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lā} + \text{dunyā} + \text{dā} & \quad \text{'in the world'} \\
\text{lā} + \text{maktāb} + \text{'dā} & \quad \text{'at school'} \\
\text{ba} + \text{?asfa} + \text{awa} & \quad \text{'with regret'}
\end{align*}
\]
6. Loanwords have been used with the present, past and future of the Kurdish copula.

The present forms of this suffix are:

1st person singular: \( C^{-im}/V^{-m} \); plural: \( C^{-In}/V^{-yn} \)
2nd person singular: \( C^{-iT}/V^{-yt} \); plural: \( C^{-in}/V^{-n} \)
3rd person singular: \( C^{-a}/V^{-ya} \); plural: \( C^{-in}/V^{-n} \)

The past forms are:

1st person singular: + bu\( \mu \); plural: + bu\( \mu \)n
2nd person singular: + bu\( \mu t \); plural: + bu\( \mu \)n
3rd person singular: + bu; plural: + bu\( \mu \)n

The future forms are:

1st person singular: + ab\( im \); plural: + ab\( im \)n
2nd person singular: + ab\( iT \); plural: + ab\( im \)n
3rd person singular: + ab\( e \); plural: + ab\( im \)n

The following are examples of some loanwords that have been used with the present form of the copula:

\[
\begin{align*}
mumkin + a & \quad (1) \quad 'it is possible' \\
l\ddot{a}zim + a & \quad (6) \quad 'it is necessary' \\
d\ddot{a}m\ddot{a}nim + ya & \quad (6) \quad 'it is continuous' \\
muhim + in & \quad (12) \quad 'they are important' \\
muf\ddot{a}d + a & \quad (4) \quad 'it is singular'
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of the use of loanwords with the past form of the copula are:

\[
\begin{align*}
ta?x\ddot{a}f + bu & \quad (2) \quad 'he/it was delayed' \\
sadi\ddot{a}f + bu & \quad (8) \quad 'he/it was issued'
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of the use of loanwords with the future form of the copula are:

\[
\begin{align*}
m\ddot{a}li\ddot{u}m + ab\( e \) & \quad (1) \quad 'it will be known' \\
muf\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}f + ab\( im \) & \quad (12) \quad 'I will be honoured'
\end{align*}
\]
The use of the various forms of the native copula with the Arabic borrowed words has facilitated the assimilation of the loans and increased the frequency of using them actively for communication.

7. The assimilation of the loanwords to Kurdish is also reflected in the fact that they can all take Kurdish suffixes, examples are:

a. the nominalizing suffix \(-T\), e.g.
   \(\textit{mabhūs} 'imprisoned'; \textit{mabhūsT} (10) 'imprisonment'\)

b. the adjective suffix \(-dār\)
   \(\textit{safār} 'honour', \textit{safādar} (12) 'honourable'\)

c. the comparative and superlative adjective suffixes, \(-tīr\) and \(-tīrīn\), e.g.
   \(\textit{qadīm} 'old', \textit{qadīmtīr} \text{ and } \textit{qadīmtīrīn} (23)\)

d. In addition to the above, hybrid compound verbs are formed from loanwords by the addition of a verbal element after the loanword. 57 such compound verbs occurred in the data and the majority of them were formed with the productive Kurdish verb \(\textit{kirdin} 'to make'\).

The potentiality of forming such compound verbs is very high since it is possible to add \(\textit{kirdin}\) to almost all verbal nouns particularly those that have the patterns \(\textit{MuCCiC}\) and \(\textit{TaCCTC}\) (see p. 90 for these patterns).
2.11 Survival of the Kurdish Language

The data analysed showed that a large number of Arabic loanwords representing several word classes were in actual use in the Kurdish language in this period. This extensive borrowing brought with it a number of phonological and grammatical changes. However, despite these changes, the Kurdish language as a system did not change greatly. The analysis showed that the loanwords were borrowed in the form that could be easily adopted into the Kurdish structure. The fact that no item was borrowed with the various Arabic case endings is clear evidence in this direction. The plural nouns borrowed were always limited to a few forms and even these were, in some instances, treated as singular nouns in Kurdish. Similarly, the phrases that were borrowed were used as single words in Kurdish, that is, they were not analysable into their constituent elements.

The borrowed words were largely made to conform to the structure of the Kurdish language. As a result of this, Kurdish did not only survive the impact of this extensive borrowing from Arabic, but has also come out richer in vocabulary and more capable of expressing ideas and concepts that were not possible to express by means of the Kurdish lexicon available before.

The Kurdish written language of this period can be said to be characterized by:

1. having a large number of Arabic loanwords, i.e. almost 50% of its vocabulary is borrowed;

2. having a phonological system containing many phonemes and geminate consonantal groups that it did not have before. The functional load of some Kurdish phonemes is changed;
3. having a number of grammatical categories borrowed from Arabic such as the pluralizing morphemes, the grammatical pattern of forming participles and verbal nouns;

4. having a femininizing affix, though its use is limited to several loanwords;

5. having a large number of hybrid forms, i.e. linguistic forms made of borrowed items and Kurdish suffixes. It also contains a considerable number of hybrid compound verbs.
3. THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF THE WRITTEN KURDISH LANGUAGE

3.1 The Middle Period

This period extends from 1939 to 1958. The choice of these two dates to represent this period is determined by the following factors:

(i) In the year 1939 the first Kurdish monthly literary, social and educational magazine, /galawez/ was published. Exceptionally, this Kurdish periodical lasted without interruption for a little over ten years. During this comparatively long life 116 issues of the magazine appeared, and each issue had more than one hundred printed pages. /galawez/ covered a wide variety of subjects such as literature, literary criticism, language; also sociological, educational and scientific matters. Many of the articles were translated from other languages, mainly from Arabic and English.

Publishing this periodical every month required a great deal of written material to be prepared in Kurdish. The mere existence and continuation of this magazine created an active movement of writing in and translating into Kurdish. For the first time the Kurdish reading public had a periodical containing a number of articles which they could read every month.

(ii) It is in this period also, precisely in 1943, that another Kurdish monthly periodical was published. This was /doŋ-i gitt ꚰoza/ or The Voice of the New World which was published by the Public Relations
Committee of the British Embassy in Baghdad. This periodical continued to appear until April, 1947 and it published the news of the world and articles on democracy, liberty and freedom. In fact this magazine filled a gap in /go.lōwe3/, which did not publish anything on politics.

These two monthly periodicals provided reading material for the Kurds on all subjects at the end of every month.

The choice of 1958 as the end of this period is determined by the great social, economic, political and cultural changes that came on July 14, 1958 after the revolution which ended the monarchy and set up a republic.

The time separating the Early Period of the Written Kurdish Language from the Middle Period is almost 20 years, for the former period started in 1919 and the latter in 1939. During these twenty years great changes took place in the education of the country as a whole. Changes were both in quantity, that is to say, in the number of schools and students, and in quality, that is, in the subjects taught in schools. In the next section the system of education in Iraq is discussed, both in this period and in the periods before it in order that the changes in literacy and the modernization of schools and teaching material be clearly perceived.

3.2 Education in Iraq Before World War I

Formal education as it is known today barely existed in Iraq during the long period of Ottoman rule and until the end of World War I. The Turks paid little attention
to education in Iraq except towards the end of their rule. The number of students enrolled in the primary schools in 1915 was no more than 6656 (Al-Hiti, 1976, p.43). However, traditional religious education continued everywhere in Iraq. The religious schools were of two kinds, (i) the Kuttāb which is a private school of one teacher known as Mulla, i.e. a religious teacher, and (ii) the religious school which is attached to a mosque. By the end of World War I, the number of 'Kuttāb' in Iraq was 400 while there were only 149 mosque religious schools (Hashim, 1946, p.102). In these schools the main subject taught was the Quran. The teaching of reading and writing was intended to help the children to easily read and understand the Quranic text.

In 1914, the Ottoman Ministry of Education published a statistical report in which the following figures were given concerning the number of schools and students in Iraq:

- 160 primary schools
- 4 secondary schools
- 3 teachers' preparatory schools
- 1 college of Law.

The number of students in these schools was:

- 6656 students in primary schools;
- 818 students in secondary schools of whom 472 were in primary classes adjoined to these schools;
- 170 students in teachers' preparatory schools;
- 244 students in the law college.
The total number of schools was 168 while the number of students was 7988 (Hilali, 1955, p.244ff.).

The figures given above show that by the end of World War I, literacy in Iraq was very low. Hashim, 1946 says that the number of literates did not exceed 1% and this supports the view that an intelligentsia hardly existed in Iraq before the end of World War I. The medium of instruction in all these schools was Turkish and the subjects taught there were not religiously oriented and this probably accounts for the unwillingness of Iraqis to send their children to these formal Ottoman schools - their educational targets were essentially religious ones.

The education conditions in the Kurdish area were no better except that the number of religious schools there was proportionately larger than their number in the rest of Iraq. This is clear in the figures given by Hilali (Op.Cit., p.89) where he says that there were in the Kurdish area 64 religious schools joined to the mosques out of 133 such schools in the whole of Iraq, i.e. about 40%. If the same percentage is applied to the number of Kuttāb we get approximately 190.

In addition, there were 18 primary schools there in 1914 in which there were 833 children. There were also two secondary schools, one in Sulaimania with 163 students and the other in Kirkuk with 135 students.

It appears that education in the Kurdish area was mainly Quranic in the religious schools where the instruction was in Arabic, and formal in the Ottoman schools where the medium of instruction was Turkish.
Thus the Kurdish language was not used for instruction in any kind of school. Sujadi (1971, p.241) says that "in those days the highest level of education was the completion of Islamic sciences and the foundation of these was studying the Quran and some Persian books."

In fact a person who desired to complete his religious education and become a Mulla (religious teacher) had to study the following subjects in Arabic: (1) Arabic grammar, (2) morphology of Arabic, (3) Islamic laws, (4) the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed [hādīθ], (5) analysis of the sayings of the Prophet, (6) Interpretations of the Quran, (7) Logic, (8) Elocution, (9) Physiology of the human body, (10) Astronomy, (11) The Philosophy of Islam, and (12) Speech.

Hourani, (1961, p.50) says that "Turkish was the language of the Government and the army, Arabic was the language of knowledge and theology and Persian was the language of literature". And this supports what Sujādī says.

Although Kurdish was not used for education and it was not taught as a language, it was used for a number of centuries, for writing poetry. This is evident in the works of the many good poets who are still read and understood nowadays like Nali (1797-1855), Salim (1800-1866), Sheik Raza Tālabānī (1835-1909), Hājī Qadir Koyī (1820-1897), and many others. Most of these poets were educated in religious schools where they were taught in Arabic but they wrote in Kurdish. However, their poems contained a large number of loanwords of Arabic origin, especially when the poems were about religion or religious subjects.

Education at that time then meant studying the Quran and good education meant studying Islamic theology and Arabic language and grammar. For this reason, we
find that most of the 975 Kurdish writers whose short biographies are given in the two volumes of Famous Kurds and Kurdistan, Zaki (1945), wrote in Arabic except a few poets. The majority of those writers were Mallas and they wrote hundreds of books on various aspects of religion in Arabic.

This was the picture of the education in the Kurdish area until the end of the first World War. Naturally, these conditions did not change immediately but they persisted for some time after that. Thus, when the state of Iraq was established in 1919 and Kurdish was made the medium of instruction in the primary schools of the Kurdish area and was used for the press, the educated Kurds, especially the teachers, faced a new and difficult situation as they had to write and to teach in Kurdish. It seems that the text-writers and teachers had to rely on the example set by the Kurdish poets in writing the language and also on speech. The difficulties of preparing Kurdish texts is described on page 33 of the Year Book of the Ministry of Education of Iraq, The Progress of Education 1928 - 1929. The following is a translation of what is given in the report:

"The Ministry of Education faced great difficulties in providing the Kurdish schools with school text-books, and it was not easy to write the books in a short time and it was necessary to wait until the number of students and schools have increased and until the Kurdish teachers are prepared.

Some of the difficulties the teachers faced in writing Kurdish books was the Kurdish language itself, for as it is known Kurdish was not previously a language of knowledge but a language of speech and personal communication - nevertheless, the Kurdish teachers were able to write some books and translate some others."
The report then mentions 17 such books that were written in or translated into Kurdish. The report seems to sum up the situation of the Kurdish language at that time.

3.3 Education until 1939

The Treaty of Versailles which was signed on June 28th, 1919 placed Iraq under the mandate of Britain and it remained so until it became independent in 1930.

Major H.E. Bowman, who first founded the educational office in Iraq, succeeded, by the end of 1919, in opening 75 primary schools. Of these, 56 taught in Arabic, 11 taught in Turkish, 7 taught in Kurdish in the Kurdish area and 1 in Persian.

Thus from the beginning of the mandate, Kurdish was used as a medium of instruction in the primary schools. The Council of the League of Nations decided, in its 37th session on December 16, 1925 that the controversial and predominantly Kurdish Mosul Wilayat should go to Iraq rather than to Turkey and it also decided that the rights of the Kurds be guaranteed. The government of Iraq, in its turn and in its efforts to win over the Kurdish people repeatedly promised "that the rights of the Kurds would be respected, that their language would be taught in the schools and used in the courts and the administration, that the functionaries would be Kurds or at least able to speak the language, in the Kurdish area of the country" (Bois, 1966, p.144 ff.).

1 It was in 1919 that a printing press was brought to Salaimania and that for the first time the Kurdish language appeared in print in Iraq.
Soon after the Turks had left Iraq, the number of students in the primary schools of the country made an annual increase of 10.6% in the periods between 1921 - 1924 for their number rose from 15275 to 20645.

The following table shows the number of primary school students and their proportion to the population of Iraq for the year 1924/1925. The numbers are quoted from the Yearly Report of the Ministry of Education 1925 - 1926.

The table below shows that Mosul has the largest number of primary schools and students, while Sulaimania has the smallest number and the lowest proportion to the number of population (see table 2).

The main Kurdish districts are Kirkuk, Arbil and Sulaimania. Mosul has a majority of Kurds outside the central town, and as the number of schools in each section is not given, it is difficult to arrive at the accurate number of primary schools in the Kurdish townships and villages of Mosul. However, the total number of schools, teachers and students in Kirkuk, Arbil and Sulaimania are: 25 schools, 69 teachers and 1718 students. These numbers are comparatively low, yet if we compare the number of students given above with their number in 1914 (see p. 110) we find that it has more than doubled.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Administrative District</th>
<th>No. of schools For Boys</th>
<th>No. of schools For Girls</th>
<th>No. of Teachers Men</th>
<th>No. of Teachers Women</th>
<th>No. of Students Boys</th>
<th>No. of Students Girls</th>
<th>No. of students to every 10,000 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mosul</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>2327</td>
<td>1076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkuk</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbil</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyala</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1272</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilaym</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūt</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilla</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbala</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwaniya</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Muntafik</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šamara</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basra</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 2
Year after year, the number of schools, teachers, and students of all levels steadily increased. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education of Iraq gives the following table which is the beginning of the period under discussion:

Table No. 3

Table showing the number of primary schools, the number of teachers and of students for the year 1939/40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Administrative District</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mosul</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>15416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkuk</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>4962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbil</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>2703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>2854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>19316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyāla</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>2945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīlaym</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>3422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūt</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilla</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>4163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbala</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>2917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīwaniya</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>4026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Muntafik</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>4120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāmāra</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>4860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basra</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>8614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No. 3 shows that the number of primary schools in the three administrative districts, Sulaimania, Arbil and Kirkuk, is 124, that the number of teachers is 434, and the number of students is 10,519. Compared with table no. 2 for 1925 we find that schools have increased by 99, teachers by 365 and students by 8801.

In almost all these primary schools Kurdish was used as a medium of instruction and the students used Kurdish text-books and wrote in their own language.

The number of Kurdish students in intermediate, secondary and college levels had also increased, and although the medium of instruction in all these schools was Arabic, the subject matters taught at all these levels must have enlarged the linguistic ability of these students whose initial education was in their own native language.

It is necessary to mention that the schools opened after the year 1919 have introduced changes in the quality of the subjects taught, for whereas in the Kuttāb and religious schools students were taught religious subjects and Arabic in addition to the Quran, the modern schools offered subjects that were in keeping with the spirit of the modern age. The timetable of the primary schools contained the following subjects: religion and the Quran, Arabic, handwriting, arithmetic, science, geography, history, social sciences, English, drawing and physical education. In the intermediate and secondary schools subjects like geometry, physics, chemistry,
natural history, health, algebra, trigonometry, solid geometry, botany and zoology were taught. These subjects put the students in direct contact with the European scientific achievements and with the different aspects of European modern life. Learning English at school has also increased awareness about social and technological developments in the industrial countries. Thus, the new schools not only produced a larger number of literates, but also helped in equipping them with modern scientific knowledge.

The Kurdish students who attended primary schools in the Kurdish area after 1919 were taught in their own native language. They also studied the scientific and sociological subjects in Kurdish. Hence in 1939, that is to say, at the beginning of this Middle Period of the language, there appeared a generation of Kurdish young men who attended schools where Kurdish was the medium of instruction and who studied a variety of subjects and wrote about them in Kurdish. This in itself is a great change from the situation existing before 1919 where young people were taught in and wrote either in Turkish or in Arabic, or in both languages.

In order to find out how the Kurdish language changed after 20 years of its use for writing and/or translating text-books, books, articles, etc., a number of texts representing the Kurdish written language from 1939 to 1958 is selected from various sources. These selections are examined in the following section. After the analysis of the data is completed, the findings arrived at will be compared with those of the previous chapter in order to measure the changes in the written language that have occurred. The linguistic changes will be used to explore the correlations between literacy in the
mother tongue and the effect of the modernization of the educational system on the development of the native language.

3.4 Data and Data Analysis

The data on which this chapter is based include 20 different texts chosen from various products and books published in Iraq between 1939 and 1958. Choice of the texts was guided by the same principles followed in choosing the data for Chapter one (see 0.3 p. 2 ff. of this work).

The texts are numbered and chronologically arranged. The loanwords are isolated from each and classified according to the class of words to which each loanword belongs. The source language from which the loanwords are taken is indicated. In the other sections of this chapter, further study of the loanwords and their effect on the borrowing language, Kurdish, is attempted.

TEXT NO. 1, advertisement, 1939

This text contains 71 words; 30 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 42.25%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 3:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
maktab & 'school' 
\hline
\text{?i?tiyāt} & 'reserve' 
dafṭar & 'note-book'
\end{tabular}
b. feminine singular nouns, 7:

- wazārat [wazaʔar]  'ministry'
- ḏiʔinsiyyat [ɗiʔinsiyya]  'citizenship certificate'
- madaʔa  'school'
- ḏiʔināyat [ɗiʔināya]  'crime'
- fahādat [fahāda]  'certificate'

c. feminine plural nouns, 3:

- faʔāʔit [faʔāʔit]  'conditions'
- ?aʔiʔda  'manners; morals'
- niʔib  'population'

d. verbal nouns, 7:

- ḏiʔi  'defence'
- dawra  'course'
- dawām  'attendance'
- ḥusn  'excellence'
- suluk  'behaviour'
- šum  'age'
- dzayj  'army'

e. participles, 5:

- zābit [gābit]  'officer'
- muʔi dias  'equivalent'
- makīm  'imprisoned'
- muʔayyad  'supported'
- mulāzim  'lieutenant'

f. adjectives, 3:

- šānawī  [ʔānawī]  'secondary'
- šānī  [ʔānī]  'second'


g. phrases, 2:

- nāʔib zābit [nāʔib gābit]  'army quarter master'
- fadam maʔkūmiyyat
  [fadam maʔkūmiyya]  'non-conviction'
2 hybrid compounds occurred in the text; one is a verb with kirdin as its second element, e.g. dawān okan "they are attending". The other is a noun. Its second element is the Kurdish word nāma "record", e.g. fahādāt nāma "certificate".

TEXT NO. 2, editorial, 1939

This text contains 78 words, 7 are loanwords borrowed from Arabic. The percentage of loans is 8.97%. The loans are:

a. feminine singular nouns, 1:
   
   tārdzuma [tārdjama] 'translation'

b. feminine plural nouns, 3:
   
   ?adabiyyūt (used 3 times) 'literature'

c. verbal nouns, 1:
   
   kīteb [kitāb] 'book'

d. adjectives, 2:
   
   ?adābī 'literary'
   saqāfī [ṣaqāfī] 'educational'

1 hybrid compound verb occurred. The native second element is kirdin, e.g. tārdzuma kirdin "translating".
This text contains 157 words, 12 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 7.64%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 5:

- ṭābdīr (used twice) 'expression'
- ḥāl [ḥāl] 'condition'
- maṣnū 'meaning'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:

- kalima (used four times) 'word'
- ẓumāla 'sentence'

c. verbal nouns, 2:

- ḵazā [ḥidā?] 'satisfaction'
- ẓumīr 'age'

4 hybrid compounds occurred in this text, they are:

(a) ḵazāmandī This is a compound noun formed by adding the Kurdish nominalizing suffix -mandī to the borrowed word ḵazā and it means "satisfaction"

(b) nārḥazā A compound noun made of the Kurdish negative particle nā- "not", the borrowed word ḵazā and the nominalizing suffix -ī. The compound means "dissatisfaction".

(c) nārārḥazā A compound adjective formed by prefixing the negative particle nā- "not" to the borrowed word ḵazā. The compound means "dissatisfied".
(d) \(\text{bohāl} \) A compound adverb made of the borrowed word \(\text{hāl} [\text{ḥāl}] \) and the Kurdish prepositional prefix \(\text{ba-} \) "with". The compound means "hardly".

TEXT NO. 4, article on personal education, 1940

This text contains 45 words, 10 are loanwords, and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 22.22%.

The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:
   daṛs
   'lesson'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:
   wazta [wazta] -
   sanāṭ [sanāṭ]
   tādžūda
   'job, work'
   'craft, trade'
   'experiment; experience'

c. feminine plural nouns, 1:
   tādarāt
   'plural of advice'

d. verbal nouns, 4:
   fikf
   timtīn
   kiteb [kitāb] (used twice)
   'thought'
   'drill; practice'
   'book'

e. adjectives, 1:
   mumkin
   'possible'
6 hybrid compounds occurred in this text, 4 of them are verbs, 2 with a form of the verb kirdin, e.g.

fikri t kirdua  "you have thought"

timrin bika  "you should practice"

The other two are formed with the Kurdish verb wa'rgintin "to take", they are:

tadizuba wa'rbigra  "you should get experience"

?i'fidadat wa'rbigra  "you should get advice"

The remaining compounds are:

1. sanatkar  "craftsman". This is a noun compound formed by the loanword: sanat and the native bound morpheme -kar "worker, a person who does something".

2. kitebxana  "bookstore; library". kiteb is a borrowed word and -xana "place, house of" is a Kurdish bound form.

TEXT NO. 5, extract from article on literary records, 1940

This extract contains 20 words, 7 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 35%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

māl  [māl]  'wealth'

b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

qīmaṭ  [qīma]  'value'
c. feminine plural nouns, 2:

\[\text{?adəbiyyāt}\]  
\[\text{ʔāsār [ʔābār]}\]  
\'literature\'  
\'relics; past records\'

d. verbal nouns, 3:

\[\text{qāwām (used twice)}\]  
\[\text{tāfrīx [tāffrīx]}\]  
\'nation\'  
\'history\'

1 hybrid compound adjective occurs in this text, e.g. \[\text{qīmatdār} \] "valuable". It is formed by adding the Kurdish adjectivizing morpheme \(-dār\) "the one that has" to the borrowed word \[\text{qīmat}\].

TEXT NO. 6, article on language, 1940

This article contains 83 words, 3 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 3.61%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 2:

\[\text{fānā}\]  
\[\text{mānā [maːnā]}\]  
\'poetry\'  
\'meaning\'

b. verbal nouns, 1:

\[\text{xālq [xālq]}\]  
\'people\'

TEXT NO. 7, editorial, 1943:

This text contains 110 words, 4 are loanwords. Two of them are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 3.6%. The loans are:
a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

\textit{fِیَ} \hspace{1cm} 'poetry'

b. feminine plural nouns, 1:

\textit{؟ادَبِفضل} \hspace{1cm} 'literature'

c. adjectives, non-Arabic, 2:

\textit{تَمْکرَا} (used twice) \hspace{1cm} 'democratic'

\textbf{TEXT NO. 8}, remarks on suggested terms, 1943

This text contains 48 words, 3 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 6.25%.
The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

\textit{مَنا} \hspace{1cm} 'meaning'

b. verbal nouns, 2:

\textit{شَمْتَل} \hspace{1cm} 'north'

\textit{دُجِنَّد} \hspace{1cm} 'south'

\textbf{TEXT NO. 9}, A grammar of Kurdish, 1943

This text contains 31 words. No loanwords occur in this text. Nevertheless, several Kurdish words are used in this text and their meanings are given in Kurdish.
TEXT NO. 10, News item, 1943

This text contains 33 words of which 5 are loans. Four are Arabic in origin and one is Turkish. The percentage of loans in this extract is 15.15%. This text is extracted from a long article covering 5 pages. At the end of the article 17 Kurdish words are glossed and their meaning is given in Arabic. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:
   
   tajfin
   'name of a month'

b. adjectives, 3:
   
   siyasit
   'political'
   simuw
   'high'
   malikat
   'royal'

c. non-Arabic loan, Turkish 1:
   
   ?ayinda
   'next, coming'

TEXT NO. 11, caption under a picture, 1943

This text contains 16 words, 1 is a loanwords and it is of English origin. The percentage of loans is 6.25%. The loanword is:

ofisar
'officer'

TEXT NO. 12, article - descriptive, 1945

This text contains 64 words, 5 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 7.81%. They are:
a. masculine singular nouns, 3:

\[ \text{d}3\text{ins} \]  
\[ \text{manzar } \text{[manda\textsuperscript{r}]} \]  
\[ \text{\text{r}oh } \text{[\text{r}uh]} \]  

"sex"  
"scene, view"  
"spirit"

b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

\[ \text{mawd}3\text{udiyyat } \text{[mawd}3\text{udiyya]} \]  

"existence; presence"

c. adjectives, 1:

\[ \text{lat}1\text{f } \text{[lat}1\text{f]} \]  

"fair, beautiful"

TEXT NO. 13, public speech, 1945

This text contains 64 words, 6 are loanwords. Five of the loans are Arabic and 1 is Latin. The percentage of loans is 9.06%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

\[ \text{d}3\text{ins} \]  

"species"

b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

\[ \text{daw}1\text{lat } \text{[daw}1\text{a]} \]  

"state, country"

c. feminine plural nouns, 1:

\[ \text{\text{r}adabiyyat} \]  

"literature"

d. verbal nouns, 1:

\[ \text{xit}\text{db } \text{[xit}\text{db]} \]  

"speech"

e. adjectives, 1:

\[ \text{ma\text{\textsuperscript{\text{\text{r}}}}\text{\textsuperscript{\text{\text{r}}}}} \text{\textsuperscript{\text{\text{r}}}} \]  

"honourific term meaning highness"
f. non-Arabic words, 1:

dīmokrātī

'democracy'

TEXT NO. 14, editorial, 1949

This text contains 41 words, one is a loanword and it is Arabic. The percentage of loans is 2.4%. The loanword is the masculine singular noun
daṛs

'lesson'

TEXT NO. 15, comments, 1952

This text contains 43 words. No loanwords occur in this text.

TEXT NO. 16, remarks on education, 1952

This text contains 58 words, 9 are loanwords and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 15.5%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 2:

tikfār [tikfār]  
'maktab

'repetition'

'school'

b. feminine plural nouns, 1:

muṣallimāt

'women teachers'

c. verbal nouns, 4:

xīzmat [xīdma]  
ṣaks  
mīsāl [mīsāl]  
taqīyān

'service'  
'reverse, contrary'  
'example'  
'appointing'
d. participles, 1:

mu'allim

'male teacher'

e. adjectives, 1:

muhtādī

'needy'

3 hybrid compound verbs occurred in the text all with a form of kirdin as a second element. The compounds are:

xizmat bikāt

"that he serves"

tikrāt bikaynawā.

"that we repeat it"

tāyyīn nakrāwīn

"they have not been appointed".

TEXT NO. 17, article, 1954

This text contains 30 words. No loans occur in the text; however, the meaning of the native word parwaḍa kirdin, which is the title, is given in Arabic and is put in brackets immediately after it.

TEXT NO. 18, article - scientific, 1958

This text contains 59 words. No loanwords occur in the text.

TEXT NO. 19, extract - descriptive, 1958

This text contains 65 words, 1 is a loanword but repeated three times and it is Arabic.
The percentage of loans is 4.61%. The loanword is:

qa\l\a  [qa\l\a]  'fortress'

TEXT NO. 20, front pages of textbooks, 1949 - 1953

This text includes two items, A and B. They are the words written on the cover of textbooks.

Item A is written on the cover of two "Hygiene" textbooks for the Kurdish primary schools, one published in 1949 and the other in 1951.

Item B is written on the cover of two "Social Science" textbooks for the primary schools. One was published in 1951, the other in 1953.

The number of words in this text is 42 if personal names are not counted and the number of loanwords is 5. The percentage of loans is 11.90%.

The loanwords are:

a. feminine plural nouns, 1:
   wādʒibāt  'duties'

b. verbal nouns, 3:
   kīteb [kitāb] (used twice)  'book'
   sihha [sihha]  'health, hygiene'

c. participles, 1:
   mutārḍjim  'translator'
### 3.4.1 Statistical Results

The list below shows the number of words of each of the texts examined in section 3.4 together with the number of loanwords used in each text and its percentage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of text</th>
<th>No. of words</th>
<th>No. of loans</th>
<th>Percentage of loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of the words of the 20 texts is 1158 and the number of loanwords employed is 111, i.e. the mean percentage of loans is 9.58%.

The list shows that the number of loanwords and their percentages gradually decreased and despite the fluctuation in the percentages it is evident that the tendency is
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Text</th>
<th>EARLY PERIOD</th>
<th>1924 - 1939</th>
<th>No. of Text</th>
<th>MIDDLE PERIOD</th>
<th>1939 - 1958</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of words in the text</td>
<td>No. of loans</td>
<td>Percentage of loans</td>
<td>No. of words in the text</td>
<td>No. of loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>78</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52.71</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>157</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61.35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45.65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>48.88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38.88</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>54.28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48.23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>15.33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>137</td>
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<td>25.54</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
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<td>43.5</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>59</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
towards using fewer loanwords in this period. A comparison between these figures and those of the previous chapter shows the difference in the use of the loanwords and their percentages in the two periods.

A glance at the percentages of loanwords in the two periods (see table no. 4) shows that there is a great decrease in the use of loanwords in the Middle Period, an indication of a rapid change, the development of a negative attitude towards the employment of non-Kurdish words.

The loanwords of this chapter belong to various word-classes and categories. The following list gives the number of loans for each category together with their percentages in proportion to the total number of loans and to the total number of the words of the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF WORD</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE IN RELATION TO 1. LOANWORD</th>
<th>2. WORDS OF THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Masculine Singular Nouns</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.81</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Feminine Singular Nouns</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Feminine Plural Nouns</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Verbal Nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25.22</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Adjectives</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Participles</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Phrases</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Non-Arabic Words</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the list above with the list on page 71 which shows the categories of loanwords in Chapter Two, their numbers and percentages, we find (i) that the categories of borrowed words in this chapter are 8 while they are 12 in the previous chapter. This means that 4
categories of words did not occur in this chapter. They are:

(a) masculine plural nouns;
(b) adverbs;
(c) conjunctions; and
(d) prepositions

(ii) that the percentages of each of the categories in proportion to the total number of the data in Chapter Three are much lower than those in Chapter Two.

3.5 Analysis of Loanwords

In this section each of the categories of loanwords is discussed to discover the pattern of formation for each, and to study their cumulative effect on the receiving language, Kurdish.

a. Nouns

The data investigated show that 22 masculine singular nouns, 20 feminine singular nouns and 13 feminine plural nouns are borrowed. 10 of the feminine singular nouns have the Arabic pre-pausal ending -a, e.g. ʃahado, madrasa, kolima which occurred in texts nos. 1 and 4. The remaining 10 occurred with the pre-case ending -at, e.g. dәnisiyyat, qimmat, dәwlat which were used in texts nos. 1, 5 and 19.

Ten feminine plural nouns of Arabic origin occur in the data of this chapter; 6 of them are sound plurals and 4 are broken plurals.
The feminine sound plural are ri'adāt, ṭadabīyyāt (used three times), mufallimāt and wādīdāt used in texts nos. 4, 5, 7, 13, 16 and 20.

The broken plurals are ṣa'āt, ṭaxlāq, nufūs and ṭāsar in texts nos. 1 and 5. It is noticed from the phonological shapes of these plurals that they belong to the following four different pluralizing patterns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CūCūC} & \quad \text{e.g.} \quad \text{nufūs} \\
\text{CūCacc} & \quad \text{e.g.} \quad \text{ṭaxlāq} \\
\text{CaccCū} & \quad \text{e.g.} \quad \text{ṣa'āt} \quad [\text{ṣa'āti}] \\
\text{CāCāC} & \quad \text{e.g.} \quad \text{ṭāsar} \quad [\text{ṭāsār}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

All these patterns occurred in chapter two in addition to several others for which several examples existed while in this chapter there is only one example for each pattern. No examples of the masculine broken plural nouns are found in this chapter.

A comparison between the nouns borrowed in this chapter and chapter two shows the following changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Noun</th>
<th>Chapter two</th>
<th>Chapter three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine singular noun</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine singular noun</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound masculine plural</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound feminine plural</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine broken plural</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine broken plural</td>
<td>60+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The numbers given above show that in chapter three borrowed nouns were greatly decreased and that no sound masculine plural nouns and masculine broken plurals occurred in the data. Also, none of the nouns borrowed in the present chapter occurred in its singular and plural forms, whereas in chapter two 18 such instances occurred (see p. 76 of this work for examples of such usage).

No instance of a feminine noun occurred in the data of this chapter where the feminizing Arabic morpheme -ة is a distinguishing gender factor in the receiving language. However, in the weekly \( \text{١٣٧} \) of July 30, 1953 the borrowed word \textit{mumařiza} [mumařida] "woman nurse" is used.

b. Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns that are used in the data of this chapter are 28 and the majority of them have the following structural patterns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CaC} & \text{ as in qawm, foks} & \text{(texts nos. 5 and 16)} \\
\text{CiC} & \text{ as in fikr} & \text{(text no. 4)} \\
\text{CuC} & \text{ as in sumr, hwsn} & \text{(text no. 1)} \\
\text{TaCCTC} & \text{ as in tāmīr, tādīyīn} & \text{(texts nos. 4 and 16)}
\end{align*}
\]

No example of verbal noun occurred of the pattern \textit{MuCoCaCa}; only one verbal noun occurred with the feminine ending -ة, e.g. \textit{dawra} in text no. 1 and it has the pattern \textit{CoCa}.

c. Participles

Seven participles occurred in this data, 5 of them are agentive participles and two are adjectival.
The agentive participles have the following patterns:

(i) \( \text{COCiC} \) as in \( \text{z\ddot{a}bit} [\text{z\ddot{a}bit}] \) (text no. 1)
(ii) \( \text{MuCOciC} \) as in \( \text{mu\text{\text{"u}dil} and mu\text{\text{"u}dzim} } \) (text no. 1)
(iii) \( \text{MuCoCciC} \) as in \( \text{mu\text{\text{"u}zd}im and mu\text{\text{"u}allim} } \) (texts no. 16 and 20)

The adjectival participles have the following patterns:

(i) \( \text{MaCCUC} \) as in \( \text{mohk\text{"u}m} \) (text no. 1)
(ii) \( \text{MuCCacCac} \) as in \( \text{mu\text{\text{"u}yyad} } \) (text no. 1)

Far fewer participles occurred in this chapter than in the previous one (see list on p. 71). Furthermore, no feminine participles occur. In the previous chapter there are 9 different construction patterns for the participles (see p. 80 of this work) whereas only 5 such patterns occur in the data of this chapter.

d. Adjectives

The majority of the 12 adjectives occurring in this data have the Arabic adjectivizing suffix -\( \text{T} \), e.g. \( \text{\text{"u}dabi, saqa\text{"u}f } [\text{\text{"u}g\text{"u}f}], siy\ddot{a}st } \) (see texts nos. 2 and 10). The others are adjectives by signification, e.g. \( \text{mumkin, mu\text{\text{"u}dz} } \) in texts nos. 4 and 16. No adjective occurred with the ending -\( \text{Ty\text{"a} } \).

e. Phrases

Only two phrases occurred in this data and both are endocentrically constructed, e.g. \( \text{n\text{"a}\text{\text{"u}b\text{"u}b} and \text{\text{"a}dam\text{\text{"u}"\text{"u}kh\text{"u}miyya } (text no. 1) and both are noun phrases.} \)
In the previous chapter 20 phrases occurred of various kinds—there were prepositional phrases, nominal phrases, endocentrically constructed phrases and other phrases. Some of these phrases contained Arabic bound personal morphemes, prepositions and various allophones of the Arabic definite article (see p. 20 of this work). The borrowed phrases in this chapter did not contain such borrowed morphemes.

3.5.1 Phonological Modification of Loanwords

The number of loanwords that underwent phonological modification is 23. The following phonological changes occurred wherever a borrowed word contained them:

1. $\ddagger > \ddagger$, e.g. $\ddagger\text{htiyyât} > \ddagger\text{htiyyât}$ in text no. 1
2. $\Theta > s$, e.g. $\Theta\text{qâfî} > \Theta\text{qâfî}$ in text no. 2
3. $\ddagger > z$, e.g. $\ddagger\text{wadîfa} > \ddagger\text{wadîfa}$ in text no. 4
4. $s > s$, e.g. $\text{sîhba} > \text{sîhba}$ in text no. 20
5. $-\ddagger > -\ddagger$, e.g. $\ddagger\text{gâ} > \ddagger\text{ra}.$ in text no. 3

The reasons for the above-mentioned changes are that Kurdish does not have the phonemes /$\ddagger$/, /$\Theta$/ and /$\ddagger$/ and so these Arabic phonemes were modified by sometimes changing the manner of articulation as in $\ddagger > \ddagger$ and $s > s$ or place of articulation as in $\Theta > s$ and $\ddagger > z$. In the last example, however, the final glottal stop is dropped because glottal stops do not occur in word-final position in Kurdish.

The following phonological changes are also noticed in the data:
Phonological, Morphological and Lexical Effect of Loanwords

The sharp drop in the employment of Arabic loanwords in the written Kurdish language after 1939 is proportionately reflected in the size of their effect on the phonology and morphology of the Kurdish.

In phonology, for instance, the Kurdish sound system underwent the following changes

a. The introduction of the glottal stop in word-medial positions, e.g. **muʔayyad** (text no. 1).

b. The introduction of one geminatal consonant cluster, e.g. **-hh-** in **siḥḥa** (text no. 20).

As compared with the phonological effect in chapter two (see 2.9.1 p. 39 of this work) we find that the data of this chapter show very few phonological changes.
In the present chapter (i) the glottal stop in word-final position has disappeared, (ii) the voiceless velarized post alveolar /ʃ/ has also disappeared, thus restoring the low functional load of this sound to its former load, and (iii) eleven consonant geminates have disappeared.

In morphology the following endings and grammatical categories continued to be used:

1. the Arabic feminine ending of the sound plural -āt occurred in 4 borrowed words, e.g. muṣāallām + āt (text no. 16).
2. Arabic adjectives with adjectivizing suffix -ī occurred in the data.
3. four grammatical patterns of forming Arabic verbal nouns and five patterns of forming participles occurred in the data (see p. 78ff. for detailed analysis of the structural formation of such words).

As compared with the Early Period, the proportion of Arabic loans dropped from 46.48% to 9.83%. These losses from the lexicon represent the bulk of the losses in Kurdish in this period.

The loss of the large number of earlier borrowed words has not, however, been a handicap. Kurdish writers covered the loss by using a number of linguistic devices. In the following section I discuss the linguistic devices utilized.
3.6 Linguistic Devices Employed in Kurdish

The following are the linguistic devices employed for the introduction of words to replace the large number of the borrowed words eliminated.

a. using common everyday Kurdish words,

b. introducing words from the speech of the various Kurdish groups and dialects,

c. translating some loanwords for which no equivalents exist in the language,

d. extending the meaning of some Kurdish words to contain certain conceptions for which loanwords were used formerly,

e. employing the structural resources of the Kurdish language for the production of words and expressions that would replace loanwords, and

f. coining words to be used instead of loans.

Each of the devices enumerated above is examined below. The discussion and examples given are based on the data of both chapter two and chapter three.

a. Use of Common Everyday Words.

The words in column one of the list below are examples of common Kurdish words used in the data of chapter three replacing the words in column two which were used in the data of chapter two:

yakam and yakamín "first" (text no. 2) replaced ?owwól and ?owwól-an (texts nos. 24 and 5)

zimón "tongue; language" (text no. 2) replaced isón and lúgat (texts nos. 5 and 17)
The examples in the first column above are common Kurdish words, for it is inconceivable that Kurdish did not have words for numbers or for common concepts like old, child, language, etc. It seems that the writers of the Early Period chose to use their Arabic equivalents instead because of their religious education in the Kuttâb and mosque schools where they learned the Quran and other books of Moslem religion. In other words, Arabic words probably had certain sacredness to those early Kurdish writers, as contrasted with native language which was thought to be common and inadequate. The feeling about the use of Kurdish is well described in the poem of Hâji Qadir Koyi (see footnote 2 on p. II of this work).

In another verse Hâji says "bâлагاتکی هویا هیج زمینه نیگیتإ", i.e. Kurdish has eloquence no other language attains.

These quotations clearly indicate that only "The Language of Truth", i.e. the Quran has no fault and that all other languages have faults. In other words, Haji is criticizing those who claim that Kurdish is faulty and inadequate and that it does not deserve to be used for writing because, as he says, it is 'eloquent'.

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b. Using Words from the various Kurdish dialects

Kurdish writers searched for words in the speech of farmers and villagers whose language had not been greatly affected by other languages owing to their having very little contact with Arabic speakers or perhaps even with literates. Instances of the use of such words are evident in the monthly periodicals gälêwê and dong-ît gittê tāzə.

The following are examples of such words used in the data of this chapter which replaced earlier Arabic words used in the data of chapter two:

- **händê** "some, a part" (text no. 3) replaced ḏezûz (text no. 2)
- **t̄a?[n]dzor** "kind, sort" (texts nos. 3 and 13) replaced nowî (plural ?anwa) and ûlî (texts nos. 6, 7, 9, 24)
- **hamî[a]** "always" (text no. 15) replaced da?imn and da?imî (texts nos. 9 and 7)
- **kajk** "use, benefit" (text no. 7) replaced ?istifâda (text no. 11)
- **ki[tuk]a{l}** "agriculture" (text no. 7) replaced zarûfât (text no. 17)

The search for words in other dialects was mainly started and popularized by the well-known Kurdish language scholar Tawfiq Wahbi who supervised the publishing of the periodical dong-ît gittê tāzə. Wahbi introduced a large number of words from the Bahdinânî dialect. Some of these words immediately became popular such as mi?ov "human being", ûmändîc "aim, purpose", yāsîc "law". In fact, his periodical used to contain a glossary of the new words introduced. The meanings of these words surprisingly enough, were given in Arabic.
This again reflects the fact that the Kurdish reading public of that time was more familiar with Arabic than with the Kurdish words existing in the other dialects. Frequently, the new words used in the various articles of the periodicals were listed at the end of the articles and explained. In the data of this chapter a number of extracts which are taken from the periodical above contained such glosses. For instance, text no. 7 contained 3 words; text no. 9 contained 4 words and text no. 10 contained 17 words. However, at times, Wahbi went to extremes in his efforts to purify the language from loans by (i) extending the meaning of the words introduced too far; e.g. the word dęrek "old" was used to mean history, and (ii) coining certain words which he claimed to have been introduced from a Kurdish dialect; e.g. Obur "economics". This last word was claimed to be used in some dialects of Kurdish, in fact it was nothing but a coinage.

The words derived from the Bahdinānī dialect and used in the data of this chapter are:

- bākūr "north" (text no. 7)
- ḥawtīn "speech" (text no. 7)
- mį̄rov "human being" (text no. 7)
- dęrek "old" (text no. 7)
- stį̨n "song" (text no. 7)
- dastūr "grammar; method" (text no. 9)
- newijk "gist; summary" (text no. 10)
- hařem "district" (text no. 10)
c. Loan-translation.

Four loan-translations occurred in the data of this chapter; three were translated from Arabic and one from French and Italian. The following are the loans translated from Arabic:

\[ \text{tTp-T } \text{dangT} \]  "consonant letters"  Literally: "sounding letters". The Arabic item from which it was translated is \( \text{ha rf sa?it} \) where \( \text{ha rf} \) is "letter" and \( \text{sa?it} \) is "sounding or voiced".

\[ \text{tTp-T } \text{bizwen} \]  "vowel letters"  Literally: "sounds of movement". This is translated from the Arabic \( \text{ha rf ha?oka} \) where \( \text{ha rf} \) is "letter" and \( \text{ha?oka} \) is "movement".

\[ \text{mang-T } \text{dastkird} \]  "satellite"  Literally: "hand-made moon" which is a translation of "\( \text{gama? sin?i} \)" where \( \text{gama?} \) is "moon" and \( \text{sin?i} \) is "manufactured, made".

\[ \text{n?wa?o} \]  Literally: "midday" is a translation of the French \( \text{midi} \) or the Italian \( \text{med?o jorno} \).

d. Semantic extension

The semantic range of a number of native vocabulary items have been extended to include certain concepts and situations that were earlier conveyed by loanwords. The data of this chapter include the following examples:

\[ \text{bil?w kir?n?awa} \]  (text no. 7) which means "spreading" was semantically extended to mean "publishing";

\[ \text{?ga} \]  (text no. 7) which means "awareness" began to be used for "news" as well;

\[ \text{n?tawa} \]  (text no. 7) which means "sons, offerings" began to be used for "nation; people";
komālāyatī (text no. 7) which is derived from /komal/ meaning "heap" began to be used for "society; human community", hence "sociological";

fārstānetī (text no. 7) which is derived from /fār/ "city" began to be used for "civilization". In fact, this word could also be regarded as a loan-translation since in Arabic madaniyya is derived from the consonantal root mdn which conveys concepts related to "city or town";

bāzīrgāntī (text no. 7) which is derived from bāzīrgān "cloth merchant" began to be used for "commerce and trade";

wēna (text no. 8) which means "picture" began to be used for "example";

dānīṭwān (text no. 15) which means "the ones sitting" began to be used for "citizens";

pāya (text no. 16) meaning "step or rung" began to be used for "level, standard";

paḵwārdā kirdin (text no. 17) which means "bring up, grow" began to be used for "education";

Regā (text no. 17) which means "road" was semantically extended to mean "method, manner".

e. Employment of the structural resources of the native language

This period is marked by the internal expansion of the lexicon of Kurdish. The different individual writers started to actively utilize the stems and affixes of their language to produce lexical items with which they replaced some of the early loanwords. The following are some of the examples occurring in the data of this chapter:
zānyārī "knowledge, science" (text no. 7). This is formed by suffixing the past stem zān- of the verb zānīn "to know" with the agentive suffix -yār to produce zānyār "learned person, scientist". Then the nominalizing suffix -ī is added to form zānyārī.

bāzigānī "commerce" (text no. 7) is formed from the noun bāzigān "trader in cloth" and the nominalizing suffix -ī.

bo wena "for example" (text no. 8) is a phrase formed by adding the word wena "picture" to the preposition bo "for". The word wena itself is a semantic expansion.

ʃārstānetī "civilization" (text no. 7) is formed by suffixing the noun ʃār "city" with -stān "realm" to form ʃārstān. This last word is then suffixed with the nominalizer -etī to produce ʃāristānetī "civilization".

komalāyatī "society; sociological environment" (text no. 17). This is formed by suffixing the word komal "heap, mass" with the nominal suffix -āyatī.

pīʃasāzī "industry" (text no. 15) is formed by suffixing pīʃa "trade, profession" with -sāz "agentive suffix" and then the nominalizing suffix -ī is added.

xwendwārī "education" (text no. 7) is formed by suffixing the past stem xwend- of the verb xwendīn "reading" with the agentive suffix -wār to produce xwendwār "reader, literate". This last item is then suffixed with the nominalizer -ī, hence xwendwārī.
nûsyâr "writer" (text no. 4) is formed by adding the agentive suffix -yâr to the stem of nûs- of the verb nûstîn "to write".

nûsar "writer" (text no. 14) is formed by adding the agentive suffix -âr to the stem nûs- of the verb nûstîn "to write". It is noticed that two words are used for the same meaning: nûsyâr and nûsar.

xwenâr "reader" (text no. 18) is formed by adding the agentive suffix -âr to the present stem xwen- of the verb xwendîn "to read". Here also two items are noticed: xwendawâr and xwenâr "reader".

nami furnish "immortal" (text no. 10). This adjective is formed by prefixing the negativizing particle na- "not" to the modified present stem mír- of the verb mîrdîn "to die".

f. Coining

Words were often coined by the various writers and used in articles, stories etc. When such coined words were first used, their meanings were frequently given in Arabic either in footnotes (as in texts nos. 7, 9 and 10 of the data) or in brackets next to the newly coined word as can be seen in texts nos. 8 and 17. When the coined words were used without giving their meanings, confusion and misunderstanding usually ensued. Text no. 3 of the data of this chapter which is a letter to the editor of the monthly periodical gaâlîwâz, clearly illustrates this linguistic confusion. The correspondent says that in the articles of the periodical a number of newly-coined
words and expressions are used which at times made him abandon reading the article in order to search for the hidden meaning of the new words. To prove his point, he gives some examples saying that for the loanword ka'ima "word", four different words are used, e.g. wişa, wāta, quṭa and wīta.

The words wēṣa "literature", wēṣar "writer", sīrjīṯ "naturalness", honrāw "poetry" used in the monthly periodical ḥiwa of February, 1958 are examples of such coining.

In fact almost all the articles published in the periodicals of this period contained coined words whose meanings were given next to them in Arabic between brackets. This practice is in some way similar in usage but different in purpose to the practice followed by the writers during the Norman period in England. There too, the meaning of the French borrowed words was explained by their English equivalents to familiarize the readers with the French words (Jespersen, 1960, p.89f). In the case of Kurdish, however, the purpose of the writers is to popularize the use of Kurdish rather than the loanwords.

3.7 Effect of Reduction of Loanwords

The sharp reduction of the incidence of loanwords during this period clearly illustrates the efforts made by the Kurdish writers to purify their written language from the large number of Arabic loanwords that had penetrated the Kurdish lexicon over a period of more than a thousand years. It seems that the aim of the
Kurdish writers was to create a written standard which was Kurdish in its morphology, syntax and in lexicon and reflected the phonology of spoken Kurdish.

This aim is explicitly stated in the first issue of the monthly periodical *galîwez*, January 1939, where it said, "the aim of this periodical is to weed out the Kurdish language and to put life into Kurdish literature" (see text no. 2 of the data of this chapter for the rest of the editorial). Also in the October/November issue of 1940 the periodical says in an article that "we hope that *galîwez* ... revives our language and clears it from the foreign rocks, boulders and pits"; the editor then appeals to writers to avoid, as much as they can, using foreign words.

Towards the end of this period, i.e. in 1957, the monthly periodical *hiwa* published articles and short stories in "pure" Kurdish for the purpose of giving the readers living samples of the possibility of writing without resort to the use of loanwords. These samples of language are intended to convince readers and writers of the adequacy of Kurdish and of its capability to effectively express all meanings required.

However, the attempts to change the old traditions and conventions of writing Kurdish were neither carefully planned nor were they the result of the concerted efforts of a recognized body such as a language academy. In fact, the efforts were mainly individual and independent. Furthermore, the zeal for purification was so passionate that a great many new terms were introduced at the same time, that is to say, the new lexical items were not fed in in small doses to be easily digested and assimilated. Consequently, protests were soon raised
(see p. 149 f. for such protests). Protests against the incomprehensibility of the words used are understandable when, for example, new terms and unfamiliar terms such as \textit{bwez}, \textit{ha\textsuperscript{3}bosthon}, \textit{hajbostbe\textsuperscript{3}} in addition to the loanword \textit{fa\textsuperscript{3}i\textsuperscript{3}} are used in the issue of February 1958 of the periodical \textit{hiw\textsuperscript{2}a}. Also words like \textit{n\textsuperscript{u}s\textsuperscript{3}y\textsuperscript{3}r}, \textit{n\textsuperscript{u}s\textsuperscript{3}r} and \textit{we\textsuperscript{3}z\textsuperscript{r}} are all used to replace the Arabic loanword \textit{k\textsuperscript{a}tib}.

Despite this apparent difficulty and the multiplicity of terms for the same purpose, there was at the end of this period a variety of Kurdish written language quite different from the variety used until 1939. This new variety had become the standard written language and it had the following characteristics:

1. It contained a very small percentage of loanwords.

2. It was basically Kurdish in morphology although it still showed the influence of some borrowed phonological and morphological elements.

3. It contained no borrowed articles, prepositions or pronouns, unlike the written standard of the Early Period.

4. The lexicon of this period contained a large number of new native items that were either not in general use earlier or had been constructed from internal resources.

5. Those Arabic words which remained were spelled so as to reflect assimilation to Kurdish phonology, so concealing their origin, e.g. the Arabic word \textit{ma\textsuperscript{n}n\textsuperscript{3}a} "meaning" began to be rendered in the written language as \textit{m\textsuperscript{n}n\textsuperscript{3}a}. 

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4. THE MODERN PERIOD OF THE KURDISH WRITTEN LANGUAGE

4.1 Extent and Significance of this Period

The modern period of the Kurdish written language extends from the year 1958 to the early seventies and may continue with only slight changes in the years to come.

The year 1958 saw the beginning of great changes in Iraq for on July 14 of that year the monarchy was overthrown and was replaced by a republic, destroying the old and introducing new patterns and norms of social, political, economic and cultural ways of life.

The revolution brought an end to the traditions established since the new state of Iraq had been born after the first world war.

Administratively, the country began to be ruled by a military government headed by a staff brigadier, Abdul Karim Qasim. The constitution of the country was immediately abolished and a provisional constitution was soon declared.

Politically, the new government declared that it would soon withdraw from the Baghdad Pact (which it did on March 4, 1959) and from all treaties and agreements signed by the former regime.

Economically, Iraq withdrew from the Sterling Area and began to think of ways to abrogate the concessions previously granted to foreign oil companies and to start
oil exploration nationally. This was done in 1961 when law no. 80 was formulated whereby all the areas previously assigned to foreign oil companies for exploration were taken away from them and given to the National Oil Company which was established to run the oil industry of the country.

Socially, the well-established feudal system was abolished and the large agricultural estates were taken from the landowning gentry and distributed to the peasant families working on the land. Trade unions and associations were soon permitted to be formed and practise their activities. Political parties were also licensed and newspapers, several of them propaganda organs for the various parties, immediately set to work to express their beliefs and ideologies.

Culturally, the country saw a large increase in the number of students enrolled and also in the number of new schools opened (AL-Hurri, 1976, R/32).

4.2 The Kurds and their Language From 1958 to 1963

The provisional constitution declared on July 24, 1958 contained a clause whereby the rights of the Kurds were, for the first time in the history of the state of Iraq, clearly defined. Article No. 3 of the constitution stated that "the entity of Iraq rests on the co-operation of all its citizens and it (i.e. the constitution) guarantees their rights and protects their freedom and the Arabs and Kurds are hereby considered co-partners in this country and this constitution recognizes their rights within the unity of Iraq." Thus the provisional constitution implicitly recognized that the Kurds were ethnologically, culturally and linguistically different
from their partners, the Arabs, and it also gave them a distinct role in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country. Furthermore, the new constitution recognized the Kurds as a sizeable group of people and, more significantly, drew the attention of the Kurds to their importance in the country and to their distinctiveness as an ethnic and linguistic group.

The provisional constitution was soon followed by certain other steps that had great influence on the political, social and cultural life of the Kurds. These were:

1. On May 8, 1959 a directorate general for Kurdish education was established and joined to the Ministry of Education. This directorate was formed to supervise, translate and prepare the necessary Kurdish textbooks to be taught in the primary, intermediate and secondary schools in the predominantly Kurdish area.

2. A department of Kurdish studies was opened in the College of Arts, University of Baghdad wherein, for the first time in the history of the Kurds, Kurdish language and literature, history and geography were taught to Kurdish students. The aim was to prepare teachers of Kurdish for the various secondary schools and to help in writing and translating the necessary textbooks in Kurdish.

3. A Kurdish daily newspaper, *xabat* was licensed on April 4, 1959. This paper was devoted to defending the rights of the Kurds, and it published articles about the Kurdish people, culture and language. This daily was later made the organ of the Kurdish Democratic Party.
4. The Kurdish refugees who fled to Russia in 1947 after the Kurdish revolution of 1945 were invited back into the country. These several hundred Kurds and their leader Mustafa Barzani came back in 1959.

5. A Kurdish political party was established immediately after law No. 1 of 1960 was enacted allowing political parties and societies to be formed. Barzani became the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

6. The Kurdish language was introduced as a subject in the syllabus of the Teachers' Preparatory Institutes all over the country.

One of the immediate results of these changes was the appearance of a large number of Kurdish newspapers and periodicals. The following table gives the names of the papers issued together with the date of their first appearance, the place of publication and the language in which each was published (see table no. 5).

Table 5 shows that the majority of the periodicals were first published in 1959 and that most of them disappeared after a short time. Only 8 of them had more than ten issues and only 2 lasted for more than one year.

The large number of periodicals that appeared in this period shows that, in contrast with the previous state of affairs, the government did not disapprove of the publishing of Kurdish newspapers and magazines.

The new policies adopted by the government and the great social changes introduced encouraged the Kurds to demand more cultural rights. Thus in September, 1959 a conference of Kurdish teachers was held in a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Periodical</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Nos. of Issues</th>
<th>Date of Discontinuation</th>
<th>Place of Publication</th>
<th>Language(s) of Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fay gal (weekly)</td>
<td>Sept. 6 1959</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Kirkuk</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azadi (daily)</td>
<td>May 1 1959</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fizgur (weekly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang-T Qutabyan (weekly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Kirkuk</td>
<td>Kurdish, Turkish &amp; Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tjarasar kirdin-T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kistukal (monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish &amp; Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biesa (monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawroz (monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang-T Qutabyan (monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afratan (monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish &amp; Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunar, Magazine (seasonal)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nistimun (monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwah-y Kurdistan (bi-monthly)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roz-T Nwe (monthly)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birwa (weekly)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Sulaimania</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang-T Kurd (weekly)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish &amp; Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siraq-T Nwe (monthly)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish &amp; Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziyun (monthly)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Arbil</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdistan (daily)</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
little town in the north of Iraq, Shaqlawa, in which the various associations participated. A number of recommendations were agreed upon and submitted to the government regarding the use of Kurdish in schools and the development of teaching in the Kurdish area. One of the recommendations was the use of Kurdish as a medium of instruction in every part of the Kurdish area and for the purpose of implementing this step a number of Kurdish directorates of education were recommended to be established in Sulaimania, Kirkuk and Bāhdīnān. The other recommendations were:

(i) Kurdish language and literature be taught at secondary school level in Kurdish schools;
(ii) Kurdish be used as a medium of instruction in the secondary schools in the Kurdish area; and
(iii) a teachers' training college be established for the Kurds in which all subjects should be taught in Kurdish.

On December 9, 1959 xobāt, the Kurdish daily, published an article in which it demanded that Kurdish be made the official language in every part of Iraqi Kurdistan.

These changes of attitude towards the Kurdish language were reflected clearly in the number of textbooks prepared or translated under the supervision and direction of the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies and the number of copies of each printed and distributed to Kurdish primary schools. The table below gives the names and numbers of the primary textbooks published, printed and distributed between 1960 and 1963.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class taught in</th>
<th>Title of Book</th>
<th>Number of Copies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Kurdish Alphabet</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Useful Reading</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Mathematics</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td>Useful Reading</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Mathematics</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science &amp; Hygiene</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurdish Reader</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Year</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurdish Reader</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurdish Grammar</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Mathematics</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Education</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arab and Islamic History</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Year</td>
<td>Geography of Iraq</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurdish Reader</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurdish Grammar</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Education</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Year</td>
<td>Geography of the Arab World</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sciences &amp; Hygiene</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No. 6 shows that the number of books published are 28 and the number of copies printed and distributed in 1960-61 265,000, in 1961-62 314,000 and in 1962-63 771,500.

The table also reflects the fact that Kurdish grammar started to be taught in the primary schools from 1961 in the fifth and sixth years.

These steady cultural and social gains of the Kurds perturbed some Arab nationalists and provoked them to demand "melting all other nationalities in the Arab countries", i.e. Arabicizing the members of other nationalities. This demand came in a long article published in Al-Thawra daily no. 555 of February 17, 1961. Answering the question "Who is an Arab?", the writer claimed that anyone who lived in one of the countries of the Arab World was an Arab by virtue of belonging there of his free will. The writer then suggested that other nationalities ought to be melted in the crucible of the new nationality.

The article was immediately attacked by the Kurds in the daily xabāṭ of February 20, 1961. The paper said that the Kurds belonged, and would continue to belong to the Kurdish race and nationality. The paper went on to say, "we are a part of a nation that has all the characteristics of a distinct nation and our country of which a part is included within the republic of Iraq is only a part of our greater homeland, Kurdistan, and it is not a part of the Arab World."

It seems that the writer of the article published in Al-Thawra newspaper did not differentiate between
immigrant groups and a nationality living in a multi-national state like Iraq. The former group may, with the passage of time, be absorbed into the new language and culture in which they happen to live, while the latter will not, as a rule, be assimilated, (Schuman, 1948, p.447 and Inglehart and Woodward, 1972, p.361).

The honeymoon between the Kurds and the government seemed to be drawing to an end, for in the summer of 1961 the leaders of the Kurdish Democratic Party took to the mountains in the north claiming that the government was not willing to grant the Kurds their legitimate national rights. Fighting soon started between the government forces and Kurdish armed men.

On February 8, 1963, the government of Bregadiere Qasim was overthrown and the Kurds, whose revolt was continuing, waited to know what the policy of the new regime would be towards their national aspirations.

4.3 The Kurds and their Language from 1963 to 1974

After the coup of February 8, 1963 the provisional constitution was replaced by another one. Article No.1 of the new constitution stated that "the people of Iraq are a part of the Arab people and complete Arab unity is their aim." Article No. 3 of the Constitution of 1958 (see 4.2 p. 154 of this work) was replaced by Article No. 19 in the new constitution and it stated that "Iraqis are equal and have equal rights and obligations without discrimination between them by reason of race, origin, language or religion and all citizens, including Arabs and Kurds, cooperate to safeguard the sovereignty of the country and the constitution guarantees their national rights within the unity of Iraq".

The two articles above clearly indicate the policy of the new government towards the Kurds and their
cultural rights. Article No. 1 regards the Kurds as Arabs and Article No. 19 does away with the notion of co-partnership between two national groups, Arabs and Kurds. Furthermore, the Kurds, according to the constitution, would not have any national or cultural rights of their own as a separate ethnic linguistic community, a situation almost the reverse of what they enjoyed after the revolution of 1958.

On March 5, 1963, Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party sent a memorandum to the government containing the demands of the Kurds whose revolt was still continuing. One of these demands was the use of Kurdish as an official language in the Kurdish area (Gharib, 1973, p.70).

On September 25, 1965, the civilian prime-minister, Abdul Rahman Al-Bazaz, changed Article No. 19 of the constitution to read, "the Iraqi citizens are equal in rights and obligations without discrimination on basis of race, origin, language or any other reason and this constitution confirms the national rights of the Kurds within the nation of Iraq in a fraternal unity".

Despite the above amendment, the article is still far less positive in ethnic assurances than Article 3 of the first provisional constitution of 1958.

Following the constitutional amendment, a twelve-point programme was declared by the government on June 29, 1965 for the settlement of the Kurdish question (Gharib, 1973, pp.92 ff). The following three points of the programme concerned the Kurdish language:
1. the Kurdish language would be the national language in the Kurdish area in addition to the Arabic language.

2. Kurdish students would be given study grants to study abroad, and the University of Baghdad is to pay special attention to the study of Kurdish language and literature.

3. Kurdish political activity and Kurdish political and literary journals would be permitted within the limits of the law.

However, the civilian government which announced the programme was replaced by a military one before it could implement any part of its programme for solving the Kurdish question.

On July 17, 1968, another coup took place and the president of the new government promised to solve the Kurdish question peacefully by implementing the twelve-point programme. Soon after that the government established a university in Sulaimania and it contained, among other colleges, a college of arts where Kurdish language and literature are taught.

These changes did not succeed in bringing peace to the area and fighting between the Kurds and government forces continued until an agreement was reached on March 11, 1970.

This last agreement put an end to the war and for four years it had far-reaching effects on the Kurds politically, culturally and linguistically. The following are some of the important clauses of the agreement:
1. It recognized the existence of a legitimate Kurdish nationality, this recognition to be included in the texts of both the provisional and permanent constitutions.

2. It decided that a Kurdish language academy be established.

3. It recognized the national, cultural and linguistic rights of the Kurds and ruled that the Kurdish language be taught in all schools, institutions, universities, military and police colleges.

4. It stated that Kurdish scientific, literary and political books that express the national aspirations of the Kurds should be distributed, that Kurdish writers and poets should be enabled to form a federation of their own and to print their books and provide all opportunities and means for them to develop their scientific and artistic abilities and talents, and that a weekly paper and a monthly magazine should be issued in the Kurdish language and that the duration of the Kurdish television programme should be increased until a special television station could be established that would transmit only in Kurdish.

5. It recognized the rights of the Kurds to revive their national traditions and to celebrate their national holidays which would be celebrated by the whole nation. As a result of this clause, Nawroz, a Kurdish national holiday celebrated on March 21, was declared a national holiday in the republic of Iraq.

6. The Kurdish language became, together with and in addition to Arabic, the official language in the predominantly Kurdish area, and it was made
the medium of instruction there. The Arabic language was to be taught as a subject in all the schools where Kurdish was the medium of instruction. In the same way, Kurdish was to be offered as a subject in the other parts of Iraq in accordance with certain rules and regulations.

Thus, the agreement gave the Kurdish language official status and it began to be used as a medium of instruction in all schools and for all educational levels in the Kurdish area, a situation that did not exist before that date. Similarly, on April 25, 1970 a directorate general of Kurdish culture was established within the Ministry of Information to help in and supervise the use of Kurdish in the mass media.

The use of Kurdish at all school levels in the predominantly Kurdish area necessitated the preparation of Kurdish books for all the subjects taught in the primary, intermediate and secondary schools and also for all the preparatory institutions. The changeover from the use of Arabic into Kurdish created an active movement for writing in and translating into Kurdish.

4.3.1 Kurdish Books and Periodicals During this Period

The number of Kurdish books published in Iraq between 1963 and 1975 is 534\(^1\). This number is more than half of the total number of Kurdish books published in Iraq from 1925 to 1962, for the total number of Kurdish books published from 1925 to 1977 is 1002.

\(^1\) Calculated from the Bibliography of Kurdish Books, Ahmed, 1977.
The list below gives the number of Kurdish books published every year from 1958 to 1975.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Books Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the period of hostilities after the 1963 coup is reflected in the greatly reduced level of publishing until the changes prior to and following the coup of 1968.

The change in the attitude of the central authority towards the Kurds and their language was to a great extent responsible for the increase in the number of books published, as is evident from the number of books, 73, published in 1970, which is the year the agreement was signed by the government and the Kurds.
The Directorate General of Kurdish studies has played a major role in preparing and translating textbooks for use in schools in the Kurdish area since its establishment in 1959. Until 1958, the Ministry of Education of Iraq published only 9 textbooks for use in the Kurdish primary schools, whereas the number of books published by the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies since 1958 is 116, a twelve-fold increase. The quarterly periodical the Directorate publishes, Paḵwada u Zōnist (Education and Science) no. 12, 1977 gives the following figures of Kurdish textbooks used in schools before and after 1958:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No. of Books Translated</th>
<th>No. of Books Written in Kurdish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1958</td>
<td>9 (primary textbooks)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 1958-1968</td>
<td>20 (primary textbooks)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 1968</td>
<td>27 (primary textbooks)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 (intermediate textbooks)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 (secondary textbooks)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 12 books that were directly written by Kurdish authors are readers and books of Kurdish grammar for the various school levels. The other books are all translated from Arabic textbooks that are usually prepared by the Ministry of Education of Iraq, as education in Iraq is both centralized and free, i.e. books are given to students free of charge.

Textbooks are usually translated by committees formed from among Kurdish teachers who actually teach the particular subject. Frequently, a teacher of Kurdish is added to the committee to help in the wording of the Kurdish translation.
The nine books available before 1958 were: an arithmetic text for the first year; an arithmetic book for the second year; a Kurdish reader and an arithmetic text for the third year; three religious textbooks for the fourth, fifth and sixth years and an arithmetic textbook for the sixth year. All the other subjects offered in the primary schools were taught through the use of Arabic texts. This reflects the fact that governments before 1958 were trying to force students to use Arabic textbooks as a step towards the unification of the medium of instruction in the whole of Iraq. However, the situation changed after 1958, reflecting a tremendous shift in the attitude of successive governments towards the use of Kurdish not only in the primary schools but also in the intermediate and secondary schools.

As a consequence of the resulting need for translation the Kurdish language began for the first time to be used for modern scientific subjects such as physics, optics, chemistry, trigonometry, geometry, solid geometry, algebra, botany, zoology, sociology, economics and for technology; the texts are taught to and studied by large numbers of students.

The extent of the effect that these translated textbooks would have on standardizing the Kurdish language at this period can be seen in the number of copies printed by the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies and distributed to the various intermediate and secondary schools in the Kurdish area. The files of the Directorate give the staggering figure of 1,913,000 copies of textbooks printed and distributed since 1970. This number is distributed in the following manner:
495,000 copies for the first year intermediate level
551,000 copies for the second year intermediate level
445,000 copies for the third year intermediate level

205,000 copies for the first year secondary level
124,000 copies for the second year secondary level
93,000 copies for the third year secondary level

1,913,000 Total

4.3.2 Kurdish Language Academy

The agreement of March 11, 1970 between the government of Iraq and the Kurds stated that a Kurdish language academy should be established. On August 20, 1970 the Revolutionary Command Council, the only legislative power since 1968, issued a law, No. 183, whereby the academy was established. The following is a translation of Article No. 3 of the law which set forth the aims of the academy as follows:

(i) To carry out studies and to do research in Iraq so as to maintain pace with the progress of science.

(ii) To protect the Kurdish language and to work towards developing it in order that it could meet the requirements of science, literature and art.

(iii) To revive Kurdish and Islamic culture in the fields of the sciences, literature and arts.

(iv) To publish original research works and to encourage translations and writing in the fields of science, literature and arts.
Article No. 4 of the law sets out the steps by which the above-mentioned goals could be achieved. These are:

1. compiling language and scientific dictionaries,
2. issuing a journal,
3. re-publishing old books, documents and manuscripts,
4. giving prizes to outstanding researchers, scientists and writers,
5. rewarding researchers, writers and translators,
6. establishing a library and a printing press for the academy, and
7. holding regular meetings.

However, the academy did not start operating until its constitution was finally approved by the government on August 9, 1972.

Since it has started its activity, the academy has been publishing a bi-yearly journal in which articles about Kurdish language, literature, culture, history and people have appeared. Each issue of the journal contains a long list of vocabulary items suggested by the academy for use by Kurdish writers instead of Arabic terms for which no Kurdish equivalents exist. The first issue of the journal contained a list of such words covering 102 pages, that is, from page 423 to page 525.

The academy succeeded in publishing and in translating 20 Kurdish books up to 1976. In addition, it subsidized the printing of 25 Kurdish books from 1972 to 1975.

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2 Information about the activities of the Kurdish Language Academy has been collected from the journals of the Academy, which contain a section at the end of each volume in which these activities are listed.
The enormous changes in the status of the Kurdish language since 1958 is expected to be reflected in the written language of this period. In order to assess these changes, a number of Kurdish texts published in this period are analysed in the following section.

4.4 Data Analysis of the Written Language After 1958

The data of this chapter are 20 texts selected from Kurdish newspapers, periodicals, books and textbooks published in this period. The texts are chronologically arranged, phonemicized, translated and then appended with the data for the previous two chapters at the end of this work.

An attempt will be made in this section to analyse each of the texts with the aim of identifying the loans used and the language(s) from which they are introduced in order to see the extent of purification processes utilized by the Kurdish writers in this period. The investigation will also help in identifying the written standard that has emerged and its characteristics.

The following is an examination of each of the texts of the data:

TEXT No. 1, Article - Kurdish population, 1958

This text contains 36 words, 1 of which is a borrowed word. The loanword is of Latin origin but borrowed through Arabic.

The percentage of loans is 2.77%. The loanword is:

\[\text{\'geography'}\]
TEXT NO. 2, title of a political article, 1959

This text contains 13 words. The loans are 3, of which 1 is Arabic.

The percentage of loans is 23.07%. The loanwords are:

a. feminine singular noun, 1:
   džamhū'riyya 'republic'

b. non-Arabic words, 2:
   dīmukrātī 'democratic'
   imīryālistī 'imperialistic'

TEXT NO. 3, news item, 1959

This text contains 17 words, the loanwords are 3 and all are Arabic.

The percentage of loanwords is 17.64%. The loans are:

a. feminine singular nouns, 2:
   mudīfiyyat [mudīfiyya] 'directorate'
   wazārat [wazārat] 'ministry'

b. masculine singular nouns, 1:
   dīwān 'administration section'

TEXT NO. 4, title of a socio-political article, 1959

This text contains 23 words, the loanwords are 4 and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 17.39%. The loanwords are:
a. feminine singular nouns, 2:

\[ \text{džãmãhúriyyat} \] \[ \text{džãmãhúriyya} \]

'government'

\[ \text{naqãwa} \]

'trade union'

\[ ?\text{idžãza} \]

'permit'

b. adjectives, 1:

\[ \text{naqãbí} \]

'belonging to the union'

1 hybrid compound occurs in this text. It is

\[ ?\text{idžãza dãn} \]

'permit'

The native verb used is \[ dãn \] 'to give'.

TEXT NO. 5, political speech, 'extract', 1959

This text contains 37 words, the loanwords are 2 and they are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 5.4%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular noun, 1:

\[ ?\text{istlãmãr} \]

'colonization'

b. verbal nouns, 1:

\[ ?\text{razã [?iãdã?]} \]

'satisfaction'

TEXT NO. 6, news about trade unions, 1960

This text contains 48 words, the loanwords are 4 and all are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 8.33%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

\[ \text{naqãwa} \]

(used twice) 'trade union'

b. masculine singular nouns, 1:

\[ \text{dãn} \]

'religion'

c. adjectives, 1:

\[ \text{naqãbí} \]

'belonging to a trade union'
TEXT No. 7, news about students' association, 1960

This text contains 20 words, 1 of which is a loanword and it is Arabic. The percentage of loans is 5%.

The borrowed word is a masculine singular noun:

\textit{kuttāb} \\
'religious school'

This borrowed word is treated as a bound morpheme.

TEXT NO. 8, meeting of peace-partisans, 1960

This text contains 42 words, the loanwords are 4, 2 are Arabic and 2 are non-Arabic. The percentage of loans is 9.75%. The loanwords are:

a. feminine singular noun, 1:

\textit{nuqta} [nuqṭa] \\
'point, period'

b. verbal nouns, 1:

\textit{taṣyīd} \\
'support'

c. non-Arabic words, 2:

\textit{impiρyālizm} \\
'imperialism'

\textit{atomī} \\
'atomic'

TEXT NO. 9, news item, 1960

This text contains 32 words. No loanwords occur in the text.

TEXT NO. 10, call for writers, 1961

This text contains 49 words of which 4 are loanwords, 3 are Arabic and 1 is non-Arabic. The percentage of loans is 8.16%. The loanwords are:
a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

؟اداب (used three times) 'literature'

b. non-Arabic loan, 1:

folklor 'folklore'

TEXT NO. 11, a word of thanks, 1961

This text contains 45 words, the loanwords are 3, 2 are Arabic and 1 is non-Arabic. The percentage of loans is 6.6%. The loanwords are:

a. feminine singular nouns, 1:

ماشيئ 'question'

b. participles, 1:

'Elah 'one who is just'

c. non-Arabic loans, 1:

'imperialism'

TEXT NO. 12, introductory note to 'national education', 1962

This text contains 58 words of which 2 are loans and they are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 3.44%. The loanwords are:

a. feminine singular nouns, 1:

dawlat [dowlat] 'state'

b. adjectives, 1:

siyāsāt 'political'

1 hybrid compound noun occurs in this text. It is
qutādxana 'school' in which qutāb- [kuttāb] 'religious school' is an originally Arabic word, and -x̌äna 'house' is a Kurdish bound morpheme.

TEXT NO. 13, correct discipline, educational, 1964

This text contains 57 words. No loanwords occurred.

TEXT NO. 14, article on national unity, 1967

This text contains 37 words of which 2 are loans and they are Arabic. The percentage of loans is 5.40%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:
   ?adāb 'literature'

b. sound feminine plural nouns, 1:
   ?adābiyyāt 'literatures'

TEXT NO. 15, geography, 1968

This text contains 53 words. No loans occurred.

TEXT NO. 16, science, 1969

This text contains 50 words. No loans occurred.

TEXT NO. 17, article - objectives of the science magazine, 1970

This text contains 117 words. No loans occurred.
TEXT NO. 18, extract from a literary book, 1971

This text contains 61 words of which 5 are loanwords. 1 is Arabic and 4 are non-Arabic. The percentage of loans is 8.19%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:
   7adab 'literature'

b. non-Arabic loans are:
   akūdtmyā 'academy'
diyālēkt 'dialect'
tiyōrt 'theory'
praktīk 'practice'

TEXT NO. 19, description of the solar system, 1971

This text contains 69 words of which 1 is a loanword and it is Arabic. The percentage of loans is 1.45%. The loanword is the verbal noun dowōm 'continuity'

TEXT NO. 20, article - the literary heritage, 1973

This text contains 77 words, 1 is a loanword which occurs twice in the text. The loanword is Arabic. The percentage of loans is 2.79%. The loanword is the masculine singular noun 7adab 'literature'.

4.4.1 Statistical Results

Table 7 gives the number of words of each of the texts analysed in section 4.4 together with the number of loans in each and their percentages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of text</th>
<th>No. of words used in the text</th>
<th>No. of loanwords</th>
<th>Percentage of Loanwords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

941 total number of words
42 total number of loanwords
4.46% mean percentage of loanwords
The loanwords belong to the following classes of words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>No. of words</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage in relation to the words of the data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminine singular noun</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.19</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine singular noun</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound feminine plural</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal noun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Arabic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.19</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42 total

There are also two hybrid compounds.

However, the figures above do not represent the number of the actual words borrowed, because several of them are used more than once. For instance, the masculine singular noun ٌداب 'literature' is used 7 times; each of the feminine singular nouns ٌدوب 'trade union' and ٌذامحٌرٌي 'republic' are used twice and the adjective ٌدوبٌ 'unionist' is used twice; this means that 4 of the loanwords are used 13 times. If these are considered as only 4 words then the number of actual loanwords will be 33 rather than 42 and this will reduce their percentage from 4.46% to 3.50%.

4.5 Comparison between Statistical Results of Chapters Two, Three and Four

A comparison between the figures of the loanwords and their classes obtained from the data of chapters two, three and four clearly illustrates the sharp drop in the loanwords of Arabic origin in the written Kurdish language. Table 8 shows the purification trend and the results achieved in a chronological order.
| No. of Text | No. of Words | No. of Loans | % of Loans | No. of Text | No. of Words | No. of Loans | % of Loans | No. of Text | No. of Words | No. of Loans | % of Loans |
|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1          | 51          | 18           | 36.29      | 1          | 71          | 30           | 42.25      | 1          | 36          | 1            | 2.77       |
| 2          | 16          | 8            | 50.0       | 2          | 78          | 7            | 8.97       | 2          | 13          | 3            | 23.07      |
| 3          | 59          | 31           | 52.54      | 3          | 157         | 12           | 7.64       | 3          | 17          | 3            | 17.64      |
| 4          | 26          | 16           | 61.31      | 4          | 45          | 10           | 22.22      | 4          | 23          | 4            | 17.39      |
| 5          | 92          | 42           | 45.65      | 5          | 20          | 7            | 35.0       | 5          | 37          | 2            | 5.4        |
| 6          | 180         | 88           | 48.88      | 6          | 83          | 3            | 3.71       | 6          | 48          | 4            | 8.33       |
| 7          | 36          | 14           | 38.38      | 7          | 110         | 4            | 3.6        | 7          | 20          | 1            | 5.0        |
| 8          | 20          | 13           | 65.0       | 8          | 48          | 3            | 6.25       | 8          | 42          | 4            | 9.59       |
| 9          | 105         | 57           | 54.28      | 9          | 31          | 0            | 0          | 9          | 32          | 0            | 0          |
| 10         | 25          | 12           | 42.0       | 10         | 33          | 5            | 15.15      | 10         | 49          | 4            | 8.16       |
| 11         | 85          | 41           | 48.23      | 11         | 16          | 1            | 6.25       | 11         | 45          | 3            | 6.6        |
| 12         | 41          | 18           | 43.91      | 12         | 64          | 5            | 7.81       | 12         | 58          | 2            | 3.44       |
| 13         | 83          | 45           | 52.21      | 13         | 64          | 6            | 9.37       | 13         | 57          | 0            | 0          |
| 14         | 132         | 40           | 30.3       | 14         | 41          | 1            | 2.4        | 14         | 37          | 2            | 5.40       |
| 15         | 33          | 5            | 15.33      | 15         | 43          | 0            | 0          | 15         | 53          | 0            | 0          |
| 16         | 137         | 35           | 25.54      | 16         | 58          | 9            | 15.5       | 16         | 50          | 0            | 0          |
| 17         | 57          | 25           | 43.5       | 17         | 30          | 0            | 0          | 17         | 117         | 0            | 0          |
| 18         | 264         | 141          | 57.31      | 18         | 59          | 0            | 0          | 18         | 61          | 5            | 8.19       |
| 19         | 19          | 8            | 42.1       | 19         | 65          | 3            | 4.58       | 19         | 69          | 2            | 1.45       |
| 20         | 31          | 11           | 35.4       | 20         | 42          | 5            | 11.90      | 20         | 77          | 2            | 2.79       |
| 21         | 31          | 19           | 61.2       | 22         | 13          | 4            | 30.7       | 23         | 49          | 2.40        |
| 23         | 114         | 49           | 42.9       | 24         | 173         | 94           | 54.34      | 25         | 69          | 49.28       |
| 26         | 45          | 24           | 53.3       |            |             |              |            |            |             |              |
The total number of words of the texts, the number of loanwords and the mean percentage in each chapter are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter two</th>
<th>Chapter three</th>
<th>Chapter four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of words</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of loanwords</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean percentage of loanwords</td>
<td>46.48%</td>
<td>9.58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus there has been a very sharp reduction of loanwords from the early period, i.e. from 1924 - 1939 to the modern period, i.e. from 1958 to the early seventies. There has also been a great reduction in the type of words, i.e. in the word classes and their categories over these three periods. The table below illustrates this point (see table 9).

Table 9 shows that there has been a continuous decrease in the number of words borrowed in each category and that some categories ceased to contain loans in the later periods. For instance, loans of singular nouns, both masculine and feminine, plural nouns and verbal nouns were greatly reduced. The data for chapter four contained no borrowed masculine plural nouns, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and phrases; while feminine plural nouns, which were borrowed in large numbers in the second and, to some extent, in the third chapter, appeared only once in chapter four. The same is true of borrowed particles.

The only kinds of loan that have become more common are the non-Arabic words. Their percentage in chapter four is second only to borrowed masculine singular nouns while in chapters two and three their percentage is smaller than the majority of the other borrowed words. The increase in the percentage of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Loanwords</th>
<th>CHAPTER TWO</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHAPTER THREE</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHAPTER FOUR</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Words</td>
<td>% in relation</td>
<td>No. of Words</td>
<td>% in relation</td>
<td>No. of Words</td>
<td>% in relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to loan-words</td>
<td></td>
<td>to loan-words</td>
<td></td>
<td>to loan-words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>% in</td>
<td></td>
<td>% in</td>
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<td>% in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>relation</td>
<td></td>
<td>relation</td>
<td></td>
<td>relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to total</td>
<td></td>
<td>to total</td>
<td></td>
<td>to total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no. of words</td>
<td></td>
<td>no. of words</td>
<td></td>
<td>no. of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of data</td>
<td></td>
<td>of data</td>
<td></td>
<td>of data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine singular nouns</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>14.48</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.81</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine singular nouns</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine plural nouns</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine plural nouns</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal nouns</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>32.61</td>
<td>15.16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25.22</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9.82</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participles</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>9.07</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Arabic words</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table no. 9
non-Arabic loans indicates that while loanwords of Arabic origin are purposely eliminated from the written language, borrowing from European languages is condoned. This change of attitude will be further discussed in the next chapter.

4.5.1 **Comparability of the Samples**

The figures obtained by the analysis of the various texts represent the actual situation obtaining in the Kurdish language since the Early Period, 1924. The samples examined and the data incorporated in the later sections of this chapter cover a wide range of publications, e.g. 

a. newspapers,  
b. magazines,  
c. books  
d. textbooks, and  
e. dictionaries.

The samples were also diversified in type, that is, they contain news items, comments, articles, editorials, stories, historical accounts and science. They are also diversified in subject matter for they deal with all subjects ranging from local news to geographic, historical, religious, social, educational, legal, economic and scientific subjects.

The samples analysed are directed to all sorts of readers ranging from ordinary literate individuals to professionals, students and writers.

Each appendix includes samples diversified in the way described above and covers relatively comparable themes and ideas. The textbooks examined are almost
identical both in subject matter and in the audience for which they are intended. Hence the figures obtained reflect the actual picture of the changes that have taken place in the Kurdish language over a period of half a century.

4.6 **Purism and its Effect on the Structure of the Written Kurdish Language**

Tables nos. 7 and 8 show that the Kurdish written language was to a large extent purged of the early borrowings and particularly of the words of Arabic origin. The elimination from the Kurdish written language of the large number of Arabic plural nouns, adjectives, participles - both agentive and adjectival, verbal nouns and phrases has had the effect of removing the confusion that used to exist in the grammatical system of Kurdish. The "pure" written language uses a grammatical structure of fairly consistently Kurdish provenance while the earlier written records utilized the structure of both the Kurdish and the Arabic languages.

In this section the effect of language purism on the structure of the written Kurdish language will be discussed.

(a) **Nouns**

The number of Arabic nouns borrowed in chapter four is 24. The 23 singular forms, whether masculine or feminine, do not constitute any grammatical problem since they are treated like any Kurdish lexical item. The only plural form that occurred in the data is a sound feminine plural
?adabIyyāt in text no. 14, where the Arabic pluralizing suffix -āt is used. No sound masculine plural occurred in this chapter nor any broken plurals, whereas a comparatively large number of such plurals occurred in chapter two and to a smaller degree in chapter three. The following list illustrates this point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chapter two</th>
<th>Chapter three</th>
<th>Chapter four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sound feminine plural</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound masculine plural</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken plurals (feminine)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(masculine)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pluralizing morpheme -In of the Arabic sound plural and the pluralizing patterns of both feminine and masculine Arabic broken nouns are absent in the data of this chapter (see p. 136 for the use of such plural nouns in chapters two and three).

(b) Verbal Nouns

Only 3 verbal nouns occurred in chapter four and they have the patterns CİCİC, T rundown and C rundown. These occurred in texts nos. 5, 8, and 19. However, in chapter two 302 verbal nouns occurred and they had ten patterns (see p. 78f. for the patterns), while in chapter three 28 verbal nouns occurred and they had four patterns (see p. 173 for the patterns). This means that the structural patterns for the formation of verbal nouns have been reduced to a large extent in the texts in which they occurred while in the majority of the texts of the data such words were completely eliminated.
(c) **Participles**

Only one participle occurred in the data of this chapter and it is an agentive participle while in chapter two 84 occurred, 31 agentive participles and the rest adjectival. They were formed according to 9 different structural patterns (see p. 80f.). Chapter three contained 8 participles, 5 agentive and 3 adjectival, and these were formed in accordance with 4 structural formation patterns.

The one participle is used only once in all the 20 selections of this chapter - in text 11.

(d) **Adjectives**

Three borrowed adjectives occurred in chapter four with the Arabic adjectival ending -٢٤. In chapter two 84 adjectives occurred, some with the ending -٢٤ and others with the ending -٢٥٢٤; while in chapter three 12 borrowed adjectives occurred. The earlier ending -٢٥٢٤ has thus disappeared from the Kurdish written language. Moreover, the ending -٢٤ in Kurdish is an adjective-forming suffix as well, so that it is homophonous with the Arabic ending (Mackenzie, 1961, p.148)

Thus, not only have a large number of loan-words of Arabic origin been eliminated from the written Kurdish language, but the grammatical endings and grammatical patterns of Arabic origin have been greatly reduced. The vast majority of words used in written Kurdish now are formed with native endings and consequently the duality that existed in the formation of words in the second chapter was eliminated. The Kurdish written language of this period relies mainly on vocabulary and morphology of Kurdish provenance.
4.6.1 Effect of Purism on the Sound System of Written Kurdish

The enormous reduction of the loanwords of Arabic origin and the elimination of the majority of the grammatical categories of Arabic introduced through the loanwords have resulted in the reduction of the earlier phonological influence from the Arabic sound system on that of Kurdish.

Analysis of the data of this chapter shows that the only borrowed sound that continued to appear is the glottal stop in initial and medial positions. Initially, the glottal stop appeared in two borrowed words, e.g.

?!stîmâr "colonization" (used in text no. 5) and
?adob "literature" (used in texts nos. 10, 14, 18 and 20).

Medially, it occurred in two words also, e.g.

mas?ala "question" (used in text no. 11) and
ta?ytd "support" (used in text no. 8)

The table below illustrates the progressive change in the sounds borrowed into the phonological system of written Kurdish over the three periods discussed.
### Table No. 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER TWO</th>
<th>CHAPTER THREE</th>
<th>CHAPTER FOUR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lone Sounds</td>
<td>Geminate Clusters</td>
<td>Lone Sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ? -</td>
<td>tt</td>
<td>- ? -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ?</td>
<td>bb</td>
<td>- ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss</td>
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<tr>
<td>ðð</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.7 Effects of Language Purification

The discussion above has focused on the description of the Kurdish written language in the Modern Period and it was shown that the majority of the early borrowings, which were large in number, have gradually disappeared over a period of less than fifty years. Consequently, the Kurdish written language that has emerged is mainly native in its phonology, grammar and, to a large extent, in lexicon.
Kurdish, however, was hardly a written language until the end of the first World War. As a result it was not codified, that is to say, there were no Kurdish grammar books available nor dictionaries to preserve the vocabulary of the language. Thus, the language was written as it was spoken in the early years of this century.

When the Kurdish language was first used as a medium of instruction in schools after the first world war, the need for codification appeared. Thus, grammar books began to be written and dictionaries compiled.

From 1928 to 1975, eleven books of grammar appeared. The first was *muxtasar sărf u nohû-y Kurdi* by Saftalīd, 1928 and it was printed by Najah Press, Baghdad. This pioneer book was very valuable although it was based mainly on Arabic grammar. The same can be said of the other three books of grammar that appeared before 1958.

In 1960, a grammar book entitled *lezimûn-î kurdî* appeared. This was written by Nouri Ali Amin and published in Sulaimania. The same writer had earlier written two books of Kurdish grammar in 1956 and 1958. This last one is not only an improvement on all the other books of grammar written, but it differs from them in that it is not based on Arabic grammar either in its analysis or in the terminology used.

The terminology used in the previous works was mainly Arabic. The following are examples of the use of Arabic terms in each.
a. Said Sidqi's "muxtasar sarf u nabû-y kurdî"


The names of the parts of speech are all borrowed from Arabic, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ism</td>
<td>'noun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sifât [sifa]</td>
<td>'adjective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamîf [damîf]</td>
<td>'pronoun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi'il</td>
<td>'verb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?adât</td>
<td>'article'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mufrad</td>
<td>'singular'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzamîf</td>
<td>'plural'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'âl</td>
<td>'subject'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maf'ûl bihi</td>
<td>'object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazî</td>
<td>'past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâl</td>
<td>'present'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?istiqbâl</td>
<td>'future'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maf lûm</td>
<td>'active'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhûl</td>
<td>'passive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mсудdar [mosdâf]</td>
<td>'infinitive'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even the terms kalima "word" and sarf [sar] "letter" are borrowed from Arabic.

b. Nouri Ali Amin's "qawûsîd-î zîman-î kurdî la sarf u nabû dâ ", 1956 and 1958 contains a large number of Arabic grammatical terms. For example, in the title the words qawûsid "grammar", sarf [sar] "morphology" and nabû "syntax" are borrowed from Arabic. The only Kurdish word in the title is zîman "language".
In his grammar book of 1956, Amin introduced a number of Kurdish terms to replace the Arabic grammatical terms, but he followed the Kurdish terms by their Arabic translations put in brackets, e.g.

- **Oxawtin**: (kalām) 'speech'
- **Rīst**: (džumla) 'sentence'
- **Farmān**: (fiṣl) 'verb'
- **Nāw**: (?ism) 'noun'
- **Tūk**: (mufrad) 'singular'
- **Gal**: (džamā) 'plural'
- **Tdōwq**: (masdař) 'infinitive'
- **Tanōw**: (damiṭ) 'pronoun'
- **Pīt**: (ḥaṭf) 'letter'

However, the terms for subject, object, predicate, article, etc. remained Arabic.

Amin's grammar of 1958 has the same title, but in this book, the writer introduced some more new terms, i.e. he did away with a number of Arabic words by coining or translation. In this book, also, the writer explained the grammatical terms by their English equivalents which he put in brackets. Footnotes were used to give their Arabic equivalents. The following are examples:

- **Pīt**
- **Pīt-i dōngdār**
- **Pīt-i bedong**
- **Wāza**
- **Dast wāza**

(letter) (vowel letter) (consonant letter) (word) (phrase)
Even the Arabic terms used were followed by their English translations, e.g.

qawāsid (grammar)
musnad 'ilayh (subject)
musnad (predicate)

However, the newly formed or coined Kurdish terms are followed by their Arabic translations and not by the English ones, i.e.

bkar (fā'il) 'subject'
lā bir-i bkar (nā?ib fā'il) 'subject of the passive sentence'
tawāwkar-i ḥast (mafṣūl) 'object'

In 1960 Amin published another Kurdish grammar which is different from the previous ones in its analysis. The grammatical terms used are mainly Kurdish, translated or coined. The title of the book is ūrezimān-i kurd "Kurdish Grammar" where the word ūrezimān, literally meaning "language route or way", is formed by adding the word ūre "road, route" to zīmān "language". Thus, for the first time a
Kurdish word is used for the concept "grammar". The grammatical analysis is based on some modern linguistic trends. The writer speaks of two kinds of verbs, "strong" - bo hez - by which he means regular verbs and "weak" - be hez - which refers to copular verbs. He also speaks of various kinds of phrases and clauses. None of these is treated in the same way in the previous books.

A number of new terms are used in this book, e.g.

- **pit-T bizwen** "vowel letters", bizwen means 'movement'
- **āwāl kar** "adverb", literally: companion of verbs,
- **āwāl nāw** "adjective", literally: companion of nouns,
- **raq** "root"
- **pāj gir** "suffix", literally: 'end-catcher'
- **pej gir** "prefix", literally: 'beginning-catcher'

Two important points are discerned in the development of Kurdish grammar. Firstly, the majority of Arabic grammatical terminology is eliminated and replaced by loan-translations, word-formation from Kurdish elements, semantic extension and coining. Secondly, the Arabic words placed next to the Kurdish words for interpretation were gradually replaced by English terms. This trend signifies a desire to identify the Kurdish language with the European languages and not with Arabic which belongs to the Semitic family of languages. This explains the shift from the use of Arabic by way of grammatical analysis to that of the English.
Since 1960 five other Kurdish grammar books have appeared in addition to several articles on Kurdish grammar published in the journal of the Kurdish Language Academy.

Dictionaries were also compiled and published. Fourteen Kurdish dictionaries have been published since 1954 although some were no more than glossaries.

The following are some of the dictionaries published:

a. farhang-i xāl, by Sheik M. Xāl, 1960
b. farhang-i mahābād, by Giw Mukiryanī, 1961
d. farhang-i kifātukāl, by M.K. Mardouki, 1972

The last dictionary is an Arabic-Kurdish science dictionary while the one before it (d) is an agricultural dictionary.

In addition to these dictionaries, the Kurdish Language Academy publishes annually in the journal of the Academy long lists of suggested 'pure' Kurdish words to replace Arabic ones. These words are the result of frequent meetings of the various members of the academy. The Arabic words for which equivalents are proposed are alphabetically arranged. In the first three volumes of the journal, i.e. volumes of 1973, 1974 and 1975, the lists of the suggested Kurdish words covered 186 pages.

The other institution which indirectly is busy with the task of finding Kurdish words to substitute for the Arabic words is the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies which is responsible for preparing or supervising the preparation of Kurdish school-texts for all educational levels. This Directorate commissions various committees
to either write in or translate into Kurdish the required texts. As a result, a large number of new terms began to be used in the Kurdish texts. In fact, every Kurdish textbook contains a glossary at the end of the book which gives the meaning of the new Kurdish terms in Arabic.

In 1974, the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies set up various committees to collect the new words and arrange them alphabetically according to the subjects in which they are used. The result is a book of 291 pages of words. The book is called *zārōwa zānyōrekān-I kīteba qutbāxānayekekān* "the Words of the Scientific Subjects of the Schooltexts". No exact number of the Kurdish words contained is given, but I have found that each page contained an average of 20 terms, thus, the number of new terms that this book contained is 5820.

It is unfortunate, however, that these two institutions, the Kurdish Language Academy and the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies, do not work together as a team. Each is independent of the other and each works without consulting or even informing the other of the results they arrive at in matters of language. Consequently, many of the words suggested by the Academy for certain concepts are different from those used in the textbooks. The following are only a few examples of different words suggested for the same items by the two institutions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Academy</th>
<th>Directorate</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peʃter</td>
<td>tawmla</td>
<td>stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tozʃnawa</td>
<td>le kolinawa</td>
<td>study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziyąga</td>
<td>jwenawār</td>
<td>environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamlandin</td>
<td>xaml kirdin</td>
<td>assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanārdin</td>
<td>nārdnadarawa</td>
<td>export</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsāndīn</td>
<td>definition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birīn kār</td>
<td>surgeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūștā</td>
<td>organ of the body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barābād</td>
<td>generation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naẓād</td>
<td>race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampar</td>
<td>barrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārist</td>
<td>volume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziyār</td>
<td>civilization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dād kār</td>
<td>judge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xīzmat</td>
<td>service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daṛs</td>
<td>lesson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiḳdak</td>
<td>minute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>safīt</td>
<td>hour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kīʃwar</td>
<td>state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maydān</td>
<td>yard, space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word of the 1st column are taken from the first several pages of the first volume of the Kurdish Language Academy and are matched with the words used for the same concepts in the school-texts.

The apparent lexical confusion that the examples above indicate is the result of the lack of concerted linguistic efforts. Nevertheless, it is probable that the words used in the school-texts will prove to be more viable than those suggested by the Language Academy. The reason is that the words used in the textbooks are going to be read, written and used by thousands of students whereas the ones suggested by the Academy are,
at best, going to be included in a future dictionary. Charles Ferguson expresses a similar idea in his paper Language Development, (1968, p.33).

4.7.1 The Purified Language of School Texts

The textbooks of the Modern Period and the books of literature are all "purified". A brief look at the earlier school texts and the modern ones shows that the language used today is very different from the old one. On page no./90ff. of this chapter the changes that occurred in the terminology of grammar books were shown. In this section an attempt will be made to examine the terminology of the new textbooks of arithmetics, geography and the social sciences in order to discover how the terminology used in the new books has been formed.

a. The arithmetic textbook for the sixth year primary school, ٣٥م٥رٰا و ٥٥٥٥ "numbers and measures", 2nd edition, translated by Rashid Najib, 1968 is printed by As'ad Press, Baghdad. The book contains an alphabetically arranged glossary which runs from page 215 to page 219. The number of new terms used is 145. The meaning of each of these items is given in Arabic, an indication that the Arabic words are more familiar to, at least, the teachers of the subject than the new words.

The new terms used are (i) loan-translations, (ii) semantic extension, (iii) coining or (iv) formed by appeal to the structure of the language.

The following are examples of the new terms replacing the Arabic words given next to them in the glossary.
(i) Loan-translations.

\textit{su\textsuperscript{a}ra} "numerator", literally: the thing above.
This is translated from the Arabic word \textit{su\textsuperscript{a}ra}.

\textit{ze\textsuperscript{a}ra} "denominator", literally: the thing below.
It is translated from the Arabic \textit{maq\textsuperscript{a}m}.

\textit{kart} "fraction", literally: part. It is a translation from the Arabic \textit{kas\textsuperscript{a}r}.

\textit{kart-t da\textsuperscript{a}f} "decimal number", literally: fraction of tens. It is translated from the Arabic \textit{kas\textsuperscript{a}r}\textsuperscript{f} \textit{su\textsuperscript{a}f}.

(ii) Semantic Extensions

\textit{go\textsuperscript{a}ra} "angle", originally it means corner.

\textit{kokir\textsuperscript{a}naya} "addition", originally it means gathering.

\textit{pa\textsuperscript{i}l} "side", originally it means limb of the body.

\textit{t\textsuperscript{a}ra} "diameter", originally it means the leather strip that pulls the other parts of the shoe together.

(iii) Coining

\textit{\textsuperscript{\textaerie}ra\textsuperscript{a}} "ratio"

\textit{\textsuperscript{\textaerie}ran\textsuperscript{u}s} "number"

\textit{pa\textsuperscript{\textaerie}kt\textsuperscript{u}k} "book"

\textit{\textsuperscript{\textaerie}resa} "rule"

(iv) Utilization of the Structure of the Kurdish Language

\textit{pen\textsuperscript{u}s} "pencil", literally: the thing to write with.
This is formed by adding \textit{pa} "with" to \textit{\textsuperscript{\textaerie}n\textsuperscript{u}s}, the present tense root of the verb \textit{n\textsuperscript{u}s\textsuperscript{f}n} "to write".
"measure", literally: the thing to measure with. This is formed by adding -pew-, the present tense root of the verb pewān "to measure", to the agentive suffix -aʔ.

dzihānagār "tourist", literally: the person who roams about the world. This is formed by adding dzihān "world" and the nominal suffix form of the verb gaʔān "to roam about, to travel about".


The following are examples of the items introduced and the methods used in producing them so as to replace the Arabic words given next to them in the glossary.

(i) Loan-translation

piʔnijtan "density of population", literally: fullness of staying. It is a translation of the Arabic phrase kaʔāfatʔaʔṣukkān where kaʔāfa is "density" and ʔaʔṣukkān "the population".

fārə "principal method", literally: the main road. It is translated from the Arabic phrase ṭaʔtqa ʔaʔʔas.

kāʔdastān "labourers", literally: working hands. It is a translation of the Arabic phrase ʔaʔaʔy̱dt ʔaʔtāmila which means "the hands working".

(ii) Semantic extensions

bêbat "subject", originally it means "item"
ban "plateau", originally it means "roof"
destgà "establishment", originally it means "tool"
karta "continent", originally it means "a part".

(iii) Coining

doşgà "island"
wöna "lesson"
towar "pole"

(iv) Utilization of the Structure of the Kurdish Language

zänistgà "university", formed by suffixing zänist "learned, educated" with the suffix -gà "place".

kelgà "farm", formed from the present verb root -kel- of the verb kelan "to plough" and the suffix -gà "place".

götyär "tourist", formed by adding gömt "picnic, journey" and the agentive suffix -yär.

kaštwän "navigation", formed by adding kašt "ship" and the agentive suffix -wän and the nominalizing suffix -a.

Several words occur in the glossary which are taken from other dialects, e.g.

havêke "race, competition"
fox "bank of river; coast"
peşwàz "receiving somebody; reception"
The Social Science textbook for the fifth primary school is *paḵwāḏa-y nīśtimānī u komālāyatTI* translated by Majīd Asingar, et.al., Al-Irshad Press, Baghdad, 1971. The glossary at the end of the book contains 114 words. The following are examples of the items introduced and the methods used in producing them to replace the Arabic words given next to them in the glossary.

(i) Loan-translations

*Kār-T sarbost* "free enterprise", literally "free work", translated from the Arabic phrase *ṭaḵwīma-ka.ʿār*

*dīdawānT* "scouting", literally: the activity of finding. It is translated from the Arabic *kaʃšāfa.*

(ii) Semantic extensions

*BālāT* "advancement, improvement". Originally: "loftiness, length".

*MārdT* "expenses". Originally: "pocket-money".

*Wizo* "energy". Originally: "ability".

(iii) Coining

*Doḵar* "characteristics"

*ɒŋket* "form"  

*payk* "post"
(iv) Structural utilization

pTja.garT "trade". Formed by adding pTja "work" and -garT "the activity of usually a trade".

jTramanT "dairy products". Formed by adding jTr "milk" and the suffix -manT "things of".

far.mängä "office". Formed by adding far mân "work" and the suffix -gä "place".

näs.näma "identification card". Formed by adding -näs-, the present root of the verb näsín "to know" and näma "certificate".

(v) Items derived from other dialects

rūva "explanation"
komakT "collaboration"
havâl "colleague"
härTkärT "co-operation, helping"

(vi) Items borrowed from European languages:

atom "atom"
bânganot "banknote"
propâganda "propaganda"
píroža "project"
řol "role"
řištîm "regime"
zâyónism "zionism"
Employment of the methods explained above has produced a written language that only rarely includes an Arabic borrowed word. It is therefore not surprising to find that the preface of the last textbook, which has 242 words, does not contain a word of Arabic origin.

The purification trend is not limited to textbooks, it is also seen in all books, articles and essays; also in the media, i.e. in the newspapers and in news and speeches over radio and television.

4.8 Characteristics of the Modern Kurdish Written Language

The use of the Kurdish language as a medium of instruction in all school levels, the translation of the many school texts and the establishment of the Kurdish Language Academy which has encouraged writers and translators, have created a continuous movement of language codification and language purification. Certainly the Kurdish language has been developed to a point where it can, without much reliance on Arabic, express various scientific and social subjects taught in schools and even at college level where Kurdish is studied.

The written language which came about after 1958 is no longer limited in its use to the few professional writers, but it is being read and reproduced by all those who attend schools and by all those who read Kurdish newspapers and books.

This modern Kurdish written language can be described as:

1. "pure" in the sense that it does not have a large number of recently borrowed linguistic items,
2. phonologically homogeneous in that it does not contain foreign sounds except one geminated consonant cluster and glottal stops used initially and medially. Even these sounds, however, do not have high frequency,

3. grammatically homogeneous in that the structure of the modern written language is mainly based on the native structure.

4. Kurdish is still suffering from lack of coordination and uniformity. That is, the various bodies dealing with matters concerning language do not work together and the result, therefore, is frequent differences in the terms used, (see p. 195 for examples of such differences). Even within the work of one establishment, differences in terminology and meaning are found. In the textbooks published and supervised by the Directorate General of Kurdish Studies we find many examples of such differences. The following are a few:

\[ \text{ni Tngō and bārogō are both used to mean "central office, base";} \]
\[ \text{dōsgō is used in one place to mean "organ" and in another to mean "establishment";} \]
\[ \text{t̥ərowō and gyānowar are both used to mean "animals";} \]
\[ \text{kelgo and t̥landingō are both used to mean "farm";} \]

5. The "purified" language nevertheless contains loanwords from European languages (see p. 179 for the percentage of the non-Arabic loans and also p. 202 of this work). Examples of this
trend are numerous. In the glossary of a book published by the Kurdish Language Academy in 1975 and entitled wiʃa-y zimān-T kurd— "the Words of the Kurdish Language" by A. Haji Marif, there are 7 European words out of 21 entries in the glossary. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Kurdish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etimolo3T</td>
<td>&quot;etymology&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sintoks</td>
<td>&quot;syntax&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f'r ez</td>
<td>&quot;phrase&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fonatTk</td>
<td>&quot;phonetics&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leksikolo3T</td>
<td>&quot;lexicology&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morfolo3T</td>
<td>&quot;morphology&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morfim</td>
<td>&quot;morpheme&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meanings of these terms are given in Arabic in the glossary.

European terms have even come to be used in the titles of books. For example, all the school texts of mathematics become matimāTt after 1970.

In the Science Dictionary of Kamal Gharib, 1974 which is an Arabic-Kurdish dictionary, instances of the use of European terms for the Arabic ones are frequent. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Kurdish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ixa?</td>
<td>ferto1T Açezīn</td>
<td>&quot;fertilization&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?axtabūt</td>
<td>oktopas</td>
<td>&quot;octopus&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃia sāliba</td>
<td>tTʃk-T nagatTv</td>
<td>&quot;negative rays&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃia mudji?ba</td>
<td>tTʃk-T pozitTv</td>
<td>&quot;positive rays&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃia kowniyya</td>
<td>kozmik rays</td>
<td>&quot;cosmic rays&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taʃaddud</td>
<td>frTkwansT</td>
<td>&quot;frequency&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The entries above show that the lexicographer does not hesitate to give a word from a European language in the Kurdish column to explain an Arabic word, although, most probably, the European word is less known to the users of the dictionary than the Arabic one.

6. The modern written Kurdish language includes a considerable number of coined words and loan-translations which are usually interpreted by their Arabic equivalents.
5. LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE NATIONALISM

5.1 Language as Speech and Writing

Language which is a communicative system is primarily speech. This is a well-established fact and it is based on the knowledge that human beings have used speech in face-to-face communication long before they invented or used writing to record their ideas, thoughts and emotions.

Writing is a different activity. It is 'a different representation or realisation of language' (Stubbs, 1980, p.34), and it is acquired through training in formal institutions of education or through special deliberate teaching. Speech, however, is acquired through the socialization activity, that is, through living in the society where a certain native language is used.

Ideally, the written forms are relatable to the spoken ones, that is, there exists a certain degree of relationship between the spoken and written forms. However, such relationship hardly exists in languages, particularly in the languages that have a long history of writing and literacy. Indeed, there are languages in which the written forms are widely divergent from the spoken forms. Such languages are known as diglossic languages in which the written language, which is based on a rich classical literature, enjoys a prestige the spoken language does not have. Furthermore, the written variety is highly codified, i.e. there are books of grammar written about the rules that govern the use of this variety and lexicons that contain its vocabulary items. The spoken variety of such languages is not usually used for writing, except perhaps for some sort of popular poetry and songs, and its grammar is not written down nor is its vocabulary compiled in lexicon.

The situation of the Kurdish language at the time of the establishment of the modern state of Iraq immediately after the First World War was exactly similar to that of the spoken varieties of the diglossic languages. In other words, it did not have:

(i) a classical literary language;
(ii) a long history of literary achievement;
(iii) written grammars in which the rules of the language are explained; and
(iv) lexicons in which the Kurdish vocabulary items are compiled and their meanings given.
When a spoken language like Kurdish is to be adopted for literacy the question arises, which of its forms should the written language make use of?

In the absence of books of grammar and lexicons the writers and translators of the new texts and articles would naturally turn to:

a. the available literature which, in the case of Kurdish, is only poetry and religious treatise;

b. the language they use for daily communication, i.e. the spoken language, and

c. several conventions of literacy transferred from other cultures, e.g. writing systems, international terminology, etc.

It seems quite possible that the early Kurdish writers and translators of textbooks and other publications had no other alternative but to follow the two points (a) and (b) above. It is also likely that the first point was not of much help in the translation of scientific subjects and arithmetic, and so help was sought from their own educational background in the Turkish and Mulla schools. Indeed, the pioneer writers of Kurdish must have had a great difficulty in translating subjects like grammar, social sciences, sciences, etc. since Kurdish did not have the required vocabulary items to express the new concepts. This is why the author of the first Kurdish grammar, Sal'id Sidqi (1928) apologises in his preface for the shortcomings of his book "owing to the fact that Kurdish was not used for reading and writing before". What Sidqi did was to rely heavily on Arabic grammatical terminology (see p. 190 for the terminology Sidqi used). The other writers and translators did the same thing.

It appears that the Arabic borrowed words used in the early textbooks and other publications were easily understood, since no attempt is made in any of the old texts to explain their meanings in Kurdish nor were there glossaries at the end of the books. It can therefore be assumed that the majority of the terms used, with perhaps the exception of the highly technical ones, were quite regularly used for communication in ordinary everyday speech.

The discussion above indicates that the written language of the Early Period was for all intents and purposes almost similar to the spoken variety of the literate Kurds if not the majority of the Kurds.
5.2 "Purification" and the Rise of Diglossia in Kurdish

The steady elimination of the Arabic loanwords from the 46.48% of the Early Period to 4.46% in the Modern Period and the replacement of the eliminated 42.02% of the words by new terms has succeeded in producing a written Kurdish language very different from the written and spoken variety of the Early Period.

Indeed, the spoken variety of the Early Period has continued to be used by the Kurds for personal communication. Sujadi (1975, p.94) says "there are among us those who are aware of the present-day variety of speech and use it, but this does not show that they know the old literature because its concepts are not known to him." This statement implies that the Kurdish people still use a variety which is similar to that used by the writers of the Early Period, i.e. a variety which contains a large number of loanwords. In the unpublished M.Phil. thesis of Abdulla (1969, p.236) the same opinion is expressed.

The "purification" of the Kurdish written language has then created a variety which differs to a considerable extent from the spoken variety in phonology, grammar and lexicon. A brief glance at Sec. 4.6 and 4.6.1 particularly the list on p.184 and 187 and the table No. 9 p. 182 gives convincing evidence of the changes that occurred to the phonology and grammar of the Early Period (Chapter Two) and that of the Modern Period (Chapter Four). Assuming that at present the Kurds use a variety of speech similar to that of Chapter Two, it becomes evident that the Kurdish language of today has two distinct varieties - one used for speech, the other for writing. In other words, the Kurdish language community has become diglossic with a High variety, used for all sorts of publications and textbooks, for lecturing, for broadcasting and for public speeches, and a Low variety used for inter-personal communication, fireside stories and folk literature.

The factors that have given rise to diglossia in Kurdish are certainly not those enumerated by Ferguson (1972, p.247). He stated three factors: (i) a sizeable body of literature in a language, (ii) literacy in the community limited to a small elite, and (iii) a suitable period of time, of the order of several centuries. Indeed, conditions (i) and (ii) did not exist in Kurdish and condition (iii) is not fulfilled because Kurdish became diglossic within half a century. Ferguson based his study of 'diglossia'
mainly on certain old language communities like the Arabic, the Greek and the German. He failed to take into account many social, political, cultural and economic conditions that might be responsible for creating diglossia in other communities.

However, the diglossia in the Kurdish language community is not yet stable, but the trend followed and the wide use of the Kurdish written language in schools especially after the introduction of the mandatory education for children in Iraq indicate that before long stability will obtain.

5.2.1 Causes of the Rise of Diglossia in Kurdish

The diglossia that has arisen in the Kurdish language is the result of several non-linguistic factors, these are socio-cultural, educational, economic and political factors. In this section each of these factors is discussed in detail.

1. The Socio-cultural Factor:

Before the First World War national feelings amongst the peoples under Ottoman rule was almost non-existent. Al-Tawil (1966, p. 289) says "the Islamic emotion, until the beginning of the twentieth century, was overpowering racial, national and patriotic zeal, and for this reason, the Islamic peoples welcomed the rule of the Turkish Caliph, the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire and the control of the Sublime Porte. The Kurds were Moslems and they identified themselves with the huge Islamic Empire of the Ottomans, that is to say, they regarded themselves as a part of Islam in which the language of the government was Turkish and that of religion was Arabic. With the beginning of the twentieth century the Turkish people of the Ottoman Empire began to use the term 'Turkish' rather than Ottoman in referring to themselves and their country and this created a feeling among the peoples of the other nations that they were distinct. In this connection Zaki, the first Kurdish historian says in the preface to his book Summary of the History of Kurds and Kurdistan, 1931, that when the general term 'Ottoman' gave way to that of 'Turk' I began to sense that I was different and that my national vanity urged me to show this feeling at every opportunity".

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, there began to appear among the Kurds the feeling that they belonged to a specific group of people who had a definite language and culture of their own.

The Treaty of Sevres signed on 10 August 1920 between the Allies and Turkey founded an independent Kurdistan, but this Treaty was rendered null and void by the Treaty of Lousianne on 24 June 1923 after the Turks succeeded
in driving the Greeks out of Asia Minor and playing off the imperial ambitions of Great Britain and France against each other. On 16 December 1925 the League of Nations, in its 37th session decided that the predominantly Kurdish Wilayat of Mosul should go to Iraq. This decision was a great disappointment to the Kurds for in this new state of Iraq the number of the Kurds "amounted to one-sixth of the total population with whom they had scarcely anything in common save for religious bonds. Their deep attachment to their language and culture made it more natural for them to look to reunion with their fellow Kurds in Turkey and Persia than to a minority state in an Arab Country" (Antonius, 1969, p.365).

The reduction of the Kurds to a minority group in Iraq has had several consequences

a. the Kurds began to search for their historical ancestry which they found in the Medes of the Third Great Oriental Monarchy (Edmonds, 1957, p.7). This meant they took pride in their history and culture and in their belonging to the Indo-Europeans. Thus, the old Persian holiday, Nawroz, began to be celebrated as a Kurdish national day.

b. the separateness of the Kurds is stressed through the increasing use of Kurdish personal names instead of the Arabic and Islamic names that were in use before (Abdulla, 1969, P.UIFF.).

c. language as a tool of culture began to be put into a certain shape in order that the Kurds could claim a national language completely independent of Arabic and different from it.

2. The Education Factor

With the establishment of the modern state of Iraq after the First World War, Arabic became the language of the government, military and education. Under the Ottoman rule, social mobility for both the Arabs and Kurds depended on knowing Turkish which was the language of the government and education. Both groups were then competing on equal levels, but when Arabic replaced Turkish, social mobility for the Kurds in Iraq became more difficult since they had to learn a foreign language, Arabic, and compete for government positions and influence with people whose native language is Arabic.
The effect of using Arabic as a medium of education was soon felt for the number of literates gradually increased. However, this increase was proportionately very low in the north of Iraq. Al-Hiti, in his doctoral thesis The Geography of Primary Education in Iraq, 1976, p. 126 divides Iraq into four educational regions: very backward, backward, advanced and medium. He then defines the backward region as the one occupying the north-east and north-west of the country (Ibid., p. 129). In other words, the educationally backward region is the one which is predominantly Kurdish. According to the writer the percentage of pupils in this region is less than 32% of the children of school age. The reason for this backwardness is explained by the lack of paved roads and the vast distances separating this frontier region from the main centres of civilisation (Ibid., p. 130).

The number of secondary school students also increased. The Year Book of the Ministry of Education for 1942-1943 gives the following figures:

1. in Kirkuk 59 students
2. in Arbil 53 students
3. in Sulaimania 43 students
4. in Mosul 470 students

while the total number of secondary school students in Iraq is given as 2258. The first three districts are mainly settled by Kurds whilst the fourth, Mosul, is settled by Arabs, Assyrians and Kurds. The total number of secondary school students in the above four districts is 625, i.e. 23.2% of the number of the secondary school students of Iraq, while the percentage of the students in the first three districts is only 6.86%.

The discussion and the percentages above show that Kurdish students were educationally at a disadvantage in relation to students in other districts of Iraq.

One main reason for this disadvantage is the use of Arabic as the medium of instruction in the secondary schools. The educational disadvantage of the Kurds means lower social mobility, smaller social influence and prestige. Naturally, this situation will be resented and one of the outlets for this resentment is stressing their separateness by shedding the influence of Arabic in their language.
3. The Economic Factor

The economic factor is firmly embedded in the previous two factors since it has been shown that social mobility was very slow among the Kurds and consequently high government positions were only obtained by very few individuals.

The northern part of the country was not developed since there were very few roads in it and this has had "a great effect on limiting the commercial activity in addition to the fact that roads are important means of social and educational development for the population and through them the various social services are provided" (Sayhi, 1978, p. 86). In a footnote on the same page the writer says that most of the roads of the northern area were not paved. Most of the central townships were not reached regularly by cars and the only means of communication between the majority of the villages was on foot or by riding-animal.

Al-Hiti (1976, p. 130) expresses the same thing, however, he adds that the valleys between the high mountains of the region are very narrow and of very little use for agriculture (Ibid. p. 136).

The lack of good roads, the difficulty of providing social services for the population in the north and the mountainous nature of the country have not only restricted the commercial, agricultural and industrial activities of the people, but have also imposed some degree of isolation on the majority of the village dwellers and on some of the inhabitants of the small towns. Consequently, the majority of the people remained poor and played no role in the economic life of the country as a whole.

The analysis of the three factors above shows that until the middle of this century the Kurds did not have a significant social, education and economic role in Iraq. As a result of this their political importance has also been very limited.

5.3 Language Change and Linguistic Nationalism

The great change in the Kurdish written language since the Early Period cannot be explained by Weinreich's concept of language loyalty (Weinreich, 1974, p. 99) nor by that of Høsbacher and Fishman (1965, p. 163), since they equate language loyalty with the preservation, maintenance and protection of a language by its users. In other words, the adoption of a linguistic attitude which resists any external influence on the language already in active use. If the Kurds had not deliberately "purified" their
own language and had they protected it from further borrowings from Arabic after it was first used as a medium of instruction, it would have been possible to speak of language loyalty in Kurdish. The change that occurred in the Kurdish written language can be described by the term "Linguistic Nationalism" for lack of a better term. In the following an attempt is made to describe the features that characterise this concept.

Language is universally regarded as the most important single criterion of national sentiment and allegiance (Schuman, 1948, p.441), and it is a clear element that divides national communities in the multilingual states. It is also true that people cling doggedly to their language and culture (Ibid., P.447), however, when a national community in a multilingual or bilingual state starts to purify its language from the linguistic influence of the language of another national community of that state, it suggests that that national community desires to isolate itself further and further from the other national community. In other words, if A, B, C and D are supposed to be languages spoken by certain national communities in a multilingual state and if it is assumed that throughout a long historical and cultural contact, languages B, C and D have been influenced by language A, in such a way that each of them contains some elements of language A, then it is possible to state these languages as A, Ba, Ca and Da where the letter (a) represents the elements contained in these languages. If, later on, the speakers of one of these languages, let us say Da, embarks on an active "purification" of their language and on the elimination of (a) elements, then it is possible to assume that this language group works for widening and deepening the already existing cultural difference between them and their fellow countrymen, the speakers of language A.

Linguistic separatist tendencies are at times enhanced by stressing racial, religious and cultural differences. One of the characteristics of stressing these differences is pride in the racial descent of the national community and in their history and culture. This pride can be displayed by indulgence in borrowing from languages related to their own or by celebrating certain historical and national occasions even if these occasions are only imagined to be real. All this is done in order to widen the gap between the national communities of the bi- or multi-lingual community.
Linguistic nationalism in a minority language group or in a language group whose language is not the national language of the country can be defined as that psychological state of mind that operates on the language, culture, history, race and religion of the group in such a way as to ensure greater differences and thicker barriers between the minority language group and the other language group whose language is the official national language of the country.

It seems that the situation obtaining to the Kurdish written language and in the Kurdish attitude towards their own race and culture has reached the stage of linguistic nationalism for:

1. the Kurdish written language has been purified of nearly all the Arabic loanwords, i.e. of 42.02% of its early vocabulary
2. the Kurds are proud of their being Indo-Europeans and for this reason they tolerate borrowing from Indo-European languages, but not from Arabic which is a Semitic language, (see p. 214 for such borrowings).
3. the Kurds take pride in their claimed descent from the Medes, an indication they "seek ego support by identifying themselves with a powerful volk" (Inglehart and Woodward, 1972, p. 373).
4. the Kurds celebrate Nawroz, 21st of March, claiming that it is their national day. In fact there are certain legends associated with this day. One of these legends is that the Kurds arose under the leadership of a blacksmith named Kawa and killed their alien despotic ruler and were thus liberated.
5. Kurds, both men and women, still wear their national dresses especially on certain occasions and at parties. They also take pride in their national dances which everyone learns.

The points above indicate beyond any doubt that the Kurds not only desire to, but they insist on being identified with a certain language, race, culture and history. The reason for linguistic nationalism among the Kurds is not only the language element. It is at the same time a symptom of economic, social and educational questions as described in Section 5.2.1 above
Linguistic nationalism occurs among a minority group only when the minority group is numerous and geographically concentrated, but when it is numerically small and dispersed it is usually overwhelmed both numerically and psychologically by the dominant group in which case assimilation may occur (Inglehart and Woodward, 1972, p.360f).

The Kurds have not been assimilated, because they are numerous and concentrated in a specific mountainous area in the north of Iraq, whereas non-English-speaking immigrants in the United States were assimilated since they were geographically dispersed among the English-speaking population (Ibid., 361).

5.3.1 Consequences of Linguistic Nationalism

In the Middle East and in some parts of Africa and Asia, peoples differing in language and culture were, until the beginning of the twentieth century, content to live under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Something similar was true of Europe under Roman rule, (Schuman, 1948 p.441). In the modern era this attitude has changed. In Europe of the mid-nineteenth century, for example, language became accepted as the most important single defining characteristic of nationality. The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 showed an unprecedented respect for the rights of linguistic minorities (Inglehart and Woodward, 1972, p.358). However, multilingual states are always concerned with the minority populations within their political boundaries. Indeed, some patriots, in the name of national unity and political solidarity, adopt policies compelling minority groups "to learn the prevailing language, adopt the prevailing customs and make themselves one with their fellow citizens" (Schuman, 1948, p.447). Such policies are usually resisted and demands by minority groups for equal linguistic rights and status are frequently heard. Naturally, equal linguistic rights mean also equal social, economic, and educational opportunities which in turn signify equal social mobility.

Multilingual states have one of the following two policies to choose from for solving the problems of their language minorities:

a. coercion, and
b. peaceful solution
The adoption of coercive measures to silence linguistic minorities is frequently resisted. Historical instances of violent reaction against coercion are quite numerous in several parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Croatia in the late nineteenth century and eventually led to the disintegration of the Monarchy and the establishment of several independent political entities (Inglehart and Woodward, 1972, p. 366ff). Rioting and disturbances have repeatedly flared up in Canada, Belgium and India in the second half of this century. The French Canadians, the Flemish of Belgium and the non-Hindi in India have all demanded the equality of their languages with the national language of the respective countries since they feel that the use of the national language blocks the social mobility of their own speakers.

The adoption of a peaceful solution requires careful and judicious planning by the state since it requires that the minority population should not, at any time, feel that their social mobility is blocked because of their having a different language. Granting the right for the use of the language of the minority group in education, in the mass media, in the courts, in the army, etc. would in theory help national unity since the minority population would not have any cause for complaint. Switzerland offers an excellent example of the use of this sort of peaceful solution since the German, French, Italian and Romanish languages are accorded the same rights and facilities. However, this peaceful solution should come before political conflicts enlarge as a result of the language problem since the wounds that a long conflict cause cannot be easily healed. Besides, prolonged conflicts pave the way for political factions to stir up the ambitions of their minority groups by making them conscious of their separate identity. This situation may be aggravated further by the loss of confidence between the state and the minority group since the state would start to fear that the ultimate intentions of the minority group was to form a state of their own.

It is quite probable that the Kurds in Iraq have reached this stage of loss of confidence as they have been fighting against the government authority since 1961. It was only in 1970 that they obtained some of their rights (see page 164f. for a detailed discussion of the agreement between the government and the Kurds in 1970). However, peace lasted for only four years as fighting was resumed again in 1974.
The introduction by the Government of the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction for the social science subjects in all the school levels in 1977 worsened the situation and increased the fear of the Kurds. The use of force by the government is met by greater resistance and by the deterioration of the economic growth of the country. In this impaired situation, it is likely that the demands of the Kurds increase. What the outcome of this struggle will be is open to conjecture.
6.1 Language Purism

The study has shown that the Kurds have successfully eliminated from their written language the linguistic items that have been borrowed from Arabic over a long period of time. This process was not accidental, it was, as it seemed intentional and caused by certain socio-economic factors (see p. 210 ff.).

Language purism can in this case be defined as the deliberate attempt by speakers of a language to purge it of linguistic items borrowed from another or other language(s) under socio-cultural influences.

Two kinds of language purism must be distinguished: one seeks simply to avoid further importation of foreign words, the other, to replace all that have been imported in the past as well. In Renaissance England, people objected to 'the wholesale borrowing of words from other languages' (Baugh and Cable, 1978, p.216) and the 'strongest objection ... was on the score of their obscurity' (Ibid., p.217). Purism signifies, in addition to refraining from further borrowings, purging the language from earlier loans that have, for the most part, become institutionalised in the receiving language inssofaras these can be identified.¹ Kurdish seems to furnish an example of this latter purism and it is in this sense that the term is employed in this work.

¹The identification of completely assimilated items is not easy particularly when the lending and the borrowing languages are related (Le Page, 1968, p.193). The movement known as "Chaucerism" in Renaissance England furnishes an example of this difficulty. Advocates of this movement such as Edmond Spenser and others who were protesting against borrowing from French, Italian and Latin did not know that the Middle English language of Chaucer which they regarded as pure English contained a considerable number of assimilated French loanwords, (Baugh and Cable, 1978, p.167).
Language purism is different from language loyalty, although the impulse and motivation is likely to be similar - a feeling of being threatened culturally. Language loyalty in Fishman's terms (1959, p.163) refers to refusing to abandon one's native language in favour of the language of the host community; purism depends upon language loyalty, of course, but in addition seeks to redefine 'the language'.

Language minorities differ in their attitude towards their language. Some, like the Kurds, purify it, others do not purify it but cling to it like the Welsh; others again are indifferent to the fate of their ancestral language as Kloss (1967, p.44f) put it. Kloss calls the minorities who are anxious to retain their language 'national minorities'. However, he does not specify any factors that urge this kind of minorities to retain their language. Hertz (1944, p.18) suggests that 'traditions', 'interests' and 'ideals' bind human groups together and that 'a nation clings to its language even if it would have more economic and cultural stimulation by adopting another language'. In speaking about "language in the age of nationalism", Hertz says that 'nationalists ... wish to purify their language from all foreign admixtures' (Ibid., p.87), because it is the traditional bond of their community and the means for educating the people to solidarity.

The linguistic purism of the Kurdish people which I have discussed is attributable, among other factors, to language nationalism and to nationalist sentiment.

6.2 Purism and Language Change

The purification of the Kurdish language, the result of socio-cultural pressures, have resulted in lexical changes which have had phonological and morphological consequences (see Sec. 4.6 p.184 and table 9 p.182). We thus illustrate Labov's dictum that it is not possible to "understand the development of language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs ... social pressures are continually operating on language" (Labov, 1963, p.275). Gumperz (1966, p.27) expresses similar views regarding language change and adds that there is a need for the development of a theory of language and society that would explain how linguistic factors in the social system lead to linguistic change. Similarly, Dittmar (1976, p.124f) voices the same need and calls for empirical
analysis to be made "to show the various stages of linguistic developments and to satisfy the social and sociolinguistic pressure situations that caused them". He then specifies the following four problems to be investigated in relation to language change:

1. the problem of the pressure situation (social and political pressures on linguistic structures to change);
2. the transition problems (the transition from one linguistic stage to another);
3. the problem of how linguistic changes are embedded in the matrix of linguistic and extralinguistic accompanying factors;
4. the problem of assessment (the assessment of linguistic variants, which in the social usage, can become either prestige forms or stigmatized expressions).

In this study I have tried to provide answers to all these questions based on empirical evidence. Language purism must be taken into account as a factor affecting language change in any integrated theory developed on this subject in future. As a measure of the extent to which written Kurdish has changed since my own childhood, it must be acknowledged that I find many of today's Kurdish textbooks difficult to follow without frequent reference to the glossary.

6.3 Purism and the Formation of a Standard Language

The purification of the Kurdish language has resulted in the development and formation of a Kurdish literary standard that is needed for writing literary as well as scientific subjects. This standard language is used, without much reliance on Arabic, to express concepts that were formerly not expressed nor explicable through the use of the Kurdish lexic on alone.

The Kurdish standard is now used as a vehicle for translating into Kurdish all the required scientific and literary textbooks needed for use in the secondary schools and in colleges of language and literature. The standard developed is acceptable by the community since it is used as a medium of instruction at all school levels, in the mass media and for lecturing at colleges. It is codified since a number of books of grammar
and dictionaries for the language are available. It seems that this standard satisfies Garvin's definition (1959, p.29) that it is a 'codified form of a language, accepted by, and serving as a model to a larger community'. It also satisfies the criteria for a standard language set by Ferguson (1968, p.31).

My case study of the development of a standard language could be employed for the development of 'some testable hypothesis that could be advanced on the subject of 'standardisation' (Ibid., p.32).

6.4 Purism and Diglossia

This study has shown that the purification of the Kurdish language has resulted in the creation of diglossia in Kurdish (see p.204f). The purified language is regarded as the High variety while the spoken is considered as the Low variety.

The rise of diglossia in Kurdish, a minority language that does not have a long literary tradition, under the influence of purism in a relatively short time should be taken into consideration in any future re-definition of the concept of diglossia earlier defined by Ferguson (1972, p.244f).

6.5 Purism - A Marker of Cultural and National Identity

In speaking about language, 'Bedouri (1960, p.62) says that 'language is the means through which a man becomes conscious of his personality. Language is not only a vehicle for rational propositions, it is the outer expression of an inner experience, the outcome of a particular history, the legacy of a distinctive tradition.'

If language is the product of a particular history and the legacy of a distinct tradition then it is an essential part of the culture of a speech community which identifies the members of that community and with which they may wish to identify themselves.

Minority groups in new bi- or multi-lingual states very rarely work together as co-partners. More often the minority group is regarded both by the majority and by itself as a subject people (Rundle, 1944, p.60). The fact that the constitutional co-partnership of 1958 between the Kurds and Arabs in Iraq was short lived illustrates Rundle's thesis. The call for the assimilation of the Iraqi Kurds into Iraq (see p.160 of this work) shows that the majority are prepared to treat the minority as a subject group.
It seems quite logical to assume that minority groups, at least in the new states, are constantly under threat of losing their chief symbol of identity, language, owing to the great social, economic and political pressures that they are likely to be exposed to. It is this threat that rallies the larger part of the community round their national symbol, their badge of identity. To counter this threat, some national minorities start to purify their language from the loaned items of the language of the majority in an effort to bring into sharp focus the difference between the two groups and to widen the gap between them. This is a protective measure pursued by the minority. It is, however, not only a protective measure. As communication between the two groups becomes gradually more and more difficult, the minority group starts, and very justifiably, to demand from the central authority special treatment towards their own language and culture. Indeed, demands for equal economic and education opportunities would also be raised owing to the fact that social mobility is blocked before the members of the minority group because of the language barrier. In other words, the minority group demands the democratization of all the institutions of the state in such a way that would ensure complete equality between citizens regardless of language or national problems.

Failure to respond favourably to these demands may result in considerable human hardship with subsequent unrest and disturbances, (Rundle, 1944, p.60). Hostilities between the two groups, once they flare up, might continue for a long time and what was only language nationalisation might very well develop into a call for complete political independence, (Doob, 1964, p.6).

In so far as language provides an efficient way to create awareness within people of their own distinctive attributes, (Doob, 1964, p.230) language purism in the languages of the minority groups in bi- and multi-lingual national states may prove to be a strong factor for stressing separateness in these states in future. However, further empirical studies on purism in minority languages are needed before a generalised and testable sociolinguistic hypothesis can be developed on this subject. Such studies should not be limited to languages of minority groups in the new states. Minority languages in the old as well as in the
new states of Asia and Africa should be studied in order that a clearer vision can be obtained of the actual situation obtaining among such language communities.
Appendix I

DATA OF CHAPTER II
Strange Techniques

Dr. ... from ... presented a method to the medical organisation by means of which it becomes possible to know, four months before delivery, whether the baby which is in the womb of the mother is a boy or a girl.

This is done by examining one drop of the blood of the mother. The medical organisation of France decided to form a committee for investigating this method.
TEXT No. 2

Source: ẓilyānawa
Date: September 15, 1924

/ ʿiftīzar/
labar dżuz?e saqatika tuj-i makīnakānmān būbū ma?al?asaf zimāra
4 haftayek ta?xribū/ lam xusūgawa ṭidžā akayn taqsīrmān bibaxjīfe/

Translation

Apology

Because of a trifle fault which had happened to our machines, we regret (alas!) that issue number 4 was delayed one week. In this connection, we request that our shortcoming be forgiven.
Arrival

On September 29, his excellency, the British Minister of Aviation, Lord Thomson, together with some respectful personalities arrived by plane. Before the arrive of those mentioned, all the chiefs of the tribes, dignitaries, officials and tradesmen of the country on one side, and on another side some horse-riding policemen and an infantry company of the army lined up for salutation and for offering respect. His excellency the Lord with a great deal of pleasantness greeted the people.
TEXT No. 4

Source: 3iyānawa
Date: October 3, 1924

/ wafāt-ī mu?ṣif/
/ ōz-ī 28 ?aylūl bi?adzal mawlid ... wafātī kird/ zor ba ?asafawa
bayān-ī tażziyat la maxdūmān-ī muṣār?illayḥā ḥakayn/ tamanā-y ṭəḥmat
u gufrān la ḥazrat-ī bāṭitaazālā ḥakayn/

Translation

Sad Death

On the day of September 28 ... died on her pre-decided day. Very
sadly, we announce our condolences to the relatives of the above-
mentioned. We pray for mercy and forgiveness from the Almighty God.
In the capital of the great government of Iraq a daily political newspaper would have been necessary to be a mouth-piece of the Kurdish people. Firstly, I applied for a licence (authorisation) to publish a political, social and economic newspaper. As a guarantee, I offered to place property, but the laws and orders of the government stipulated a cash deposit of 2000 rupee for publishing a political paper.
Dyari Kurdustan roams in different countries, searches the flowers and rose-gardens and whatever it finds ties together in bunches and presents like rose-strings to its readers and friends.

Dyari Kurdustan is a little child, its intuition is clean, its intention is good, it does not have anything to do with politics. It presents the pictures of worthy men and the photographs of the famous men of the world, writes their biographies and chronicles.
Lunar Eclipse and Sulaimania

Before discussing lunar eclipse, it is necessary to know that the power and greatness of the real Maker is such that human mind is helpless and incapable of defining it. In the science of astronomy, astrolabe and cosmography the venerable Ali was skilful. This science is only about the planets. The planets are the moon, the sun, the earth, Mars, Jupiter and the others. To study these planets, observatories have been built in all the capital cities of the European countries. In these observatories strange tools and machines are employed and used. Different kinds of telescopes are found that are considered to be above the power of man. Those scientists have concentrated their mind and thought on knowing these planets especially the moon in order to know what these planets are and in what manner they move.

No blemish or irregular action can be imagined to be in knowing these planets and these extraordinary bodies. On the contrary, for a person to know about such an extraordinary power is a support for the loneness of God. Each celestial body moves in a certain orbit of its own. This movement is uninterrupted and constant. During this movement it so happens that the sun, the earth and the moon come on a straight line. In fact, it has been proved for us by experience and in the holy books that the moon receives light from the sun. The eclipse of the sun is of two kinds, complete eclipse and partial eclipse.
Translation

British recognition of the provisional government of Iran.

The British minister plenipotentiary in Tehran informed the head of the new government of Iran that the British government has agreed to temporarily recognise the new government of Iran until Iran takes a permanently established form.
Adjournment of the House of Delegates.

A royal decree was issued for the adjournment of the House of Delegates for a period of forty-five days starting from the fifth day of November, 1925.
If the chain of organisms in the world are carefully studied and traced, it will be seen that all animals and plants are governed by an unchanging law and it is by this law that they grow or face extinction. Animal and plant species live by this instinctive law and it is only this law that urges them to grow. The species that do not live in harmony with this law falls in an abyss of degeneration ... and when it becomes very weak it will be in the grip of eternal death.
The life of a social organisation of a nation is the same. The nation which is inflicted with the disease of poverty and unemployment is always crushed by a determined and wealthy nation. Therefore, in order that we be worthy of life, honesty, studying and hard work are effective factors.

This article is emandated and free from additions.
TEXT No. 10

Source: ziyan
Date: April 12, 1928

/ňapisxanə u maňbūst/ maqsad la maňkūm kirdin-ı faxsek ka dzurmek
faxsa talaf bikret/

Translation

The purpose of convicting a person who commits a crime is not to
destroy that person as long as he is not sentenced to death.
Speech of the respectable Ramzi on the occasion of the visit of the Crown Prince, and a general demonstration of the Kurds.

We all know that the Kurdish people obtained many valuable opportunities whether during the World War or afterwards. Unfortunately, we did not benefit from any of them. Our rights were fixed in articles three and four of the decision of the High Commission of the League of Nations and in article three of the Treaty of 1922 and in articles 109 and 110 of the Constitutional Assembly of the Government of Iraq and were formally confirmed and recognised by Britain and by his Majesty the King and the head of the government of Iraq ... For this reason, the demonstration is a protest for our demands and our explicit and lawful rights.
Statements of His Excellency the Deputy Prime Minister which he read in Sulaimania during the meeting.

I have the honour to explain the friendly policy that the government of Iraq is going to adopt in accordance with the promises that were given to our Kurdish compatriots. The Kurds, who are an important part in the body of the Kingdom of Iraq.
Bill of the Law of taxes on salaries and allowances for the Year 1930

This law is to be called the law of taxes on salaries and allowances. Taxes are to be levied on these salaries and allowances that are paid from the general revenue and are to be payable from the 1st of October, 1930. The word salary includes the salaries of ministers, permanent and temporary officials and army officers and employees whose salaries are debited to the general budget. It also includes the retirement salaries and bonuses. The word allowances includes the allowances of the ?a'īyān (member of the Higher House) and of the members of the House of Commons. It includes the special allowances and services as well.
How I wrote this Book

When in the place of the general term 'Ottoman' the terms 'Turk' and 'Torani' came into wide use in Turkey, naturally, like the members of other national groups, I also, among that crowd, began to feel my alienness, and my national pride forced me to show that feeling in all opportunities. However, I knew nothing regarding the origin and
history of my own people because until that time neither at school were we given such an idea nor later on did we find a necessity for carefully studying the Kurdish history; besides, the uniting word 'Ottoman' had, to a certain degree, weakened our national feeling. Repeatedly, I asked myself this question: "What is the origin of the Kurdish people and what events have they passed through?"

I write this book in Kurdish, but ... I write the Kurdish words as they are said; nevertheless, I did not change the spelling of the Arabic and Persian words because firstly I had no right to do so and secondly it might confuse the readers.

Summary of the History of Kurds and Kurdistan
by Mohammed Amin Zaki
Darussalam Press, Baghdad, 1931

Extract taken from the 1st Volume.
Let's not prolong it much lest it would not be read. Firstly in the name of the country's love and the people's love, secondly in the name of God, the prophet and all things holy rescue the unfortunate farmers from the blood-sucking of the wealthy and greedy.
Translation

Bahaullah and the New Era

p. 10-11 Very frankly and clearly Bahaullah stated and admitted that he is the teacher and guide of the world who has been awaited for centuries. He is the road that leads to such a wonderful blessing.
that is greater than all past bounties. Like all rivers and tributaries that mix in the sea, all other religions in order to join together and unite should mingle in this Holy Appearance. Bahaullah has established a firm foundation for the Unity of the World. He erected the edifice of this era of integrity, this century of peace on earth and of understanding and goodness among people which long ago prophets had talked about and poets had sung.

p. 124 Medicine and Cure

Facing the realm of God is cure of the body, mind and soul. The body does not have the ability to be eternal because it is made of different substances and groups of atoms. Doubtless there will come a time when these substances separate into the elements of which the body was initially made. For this reason the body should serve the soul.

The Ministry of Education of Iraq wrote to the Ministry of Education of Egypt regarding the positions mentioned below to send professors, men teachers and women teachers to Iraq.

Dean for the Law College of Iraq, professor of Arabic language; headmistress for women preparatory institute, a woman teacher of mathematics, natural sciences, English language, history, and geography. Also three men teachers for biology and agriculture for secondary and intermediate schools for boys and girls.
/program-I wazarat-I madfa'īt/

/siyāsat-I xāridziyya/


/siyāsat-I dāxīlt/


/bandīxāna bixrēta sīkēkawā ka ṭislāh-I ṭāhwa-lī hapsakān-I pe bīkēr/

/ ūrta/ polīs/ quwwatI zyād bīkēr/ baladiyya wissatI bidrēte/ ōw-I pāk bo ḥārān u dehāt paydākā/ šamala ṭafahiliyyatI bidrēte/

/siyāsat-I māliyya/

Translation
Programme of Madfai's Ministry
Foreign Policy

To pursue the policy of co-operation with the League of Nations and with those countries that are our friends and with which we have alliances, of solidarity and undividedness, of brotherliness and Arab unity, of association with foreign countries and of selecting competent officials for the offices of the foreign affairs.
Internal Policy

Public administration: to endeavour to enforce the provisions of the law; to eliminate hypocrisy and corruption, to safeguard public manners. Health and hale: to increase their establishments to guard public health and to introduce specialists. To change prisons in such a way that would help to reform the prisoners, to extend the power of the police. To extend municipalities, to provide clean water to cities and villages, to improve the conditions of the workers.

Financial Policy

To reconsider the administration of the Kingdom; the budget should be put in such a way that loans for financing it would not be required; to re-examine the civil and military retirement law and to amend it in a way compatible with the rights of the officials and the financial conditions of the country. To establish a Chamber of Agriculture. To make agreements with other countries for the exchange of commercial goods.

Justice

To strengthen the spirit of security by law, that is security with justice whose bases are the legal establishments; the judicial inspection and the protection of the rights of judges and religious judges for promotion. To have the legal codification department prepare the 'bills' for trial procedures in criminal, common, district and peace courts; and procedures for notary publics, for commerce and for duties on ownership deeds.

Defence

To increase the competence of the army; to improve its material and moral standards and to work hard for training the army and for providing it with new weapons.
Economics and Communications

We should endeavour to eliminate the danger of floods and to improve agriculture and to protect plants and to build railroads.

Education Policy

To reform the administrative affairs of education, to prepare good teachers; to spread teaching in villages and to spread technical education, to open libraries and to encourage translation and writing.
The president of the republic of Turkey and the deputy for the interior went for a tour of the eastern Wilayat. In Diyarbakir he laid the foundation stone for the Diyarbakir railway station.
TRANSLATION

Baghdad Boy Scouts

A team of boy scouts and teachers from the preparatory institute for men teachers are pleased and are grateful to the people, teachers and students of Sulaimania for the kindness, hospitality and friendliness they, in good spirit, showed to us.
The Council of Ministers has very much changed in function and authorities. Now is the time for the separation of powers. The power of the government is tripartite: the legislative power, the executive power and the legal power, and this was suggested by Montesquieu.
The intermediate school for girls has become real. A separate place was assigned for it and a headmistress and women teachers were nominated for it.
TEXT No. 23

Source: History Textbook for the Fifth Year Primary School
"Ta'rīx" by Al-Faḍlī translated by M. Z. Amin, Furat Press, Baghdad.

Date: 1928

Extracts

p. 17 / qism-i yakam/ fasıl-i yakam/ dawлатakan-I sārqa/ dawlat-I misr/ 

/ misrekān la madaniyyat u tūraqTDā qadīmtirTN millatakan-I 

fālam būn/ fīlamā-y sāsār-1 qadīma u fīlamā-y ta'rīx la 

sātraf-I nīlawa gale sāsāryān darhenawa ka ?iqṭīdār u 

mafrifat u madaniyyat-I misrekan-ān ba tawwā pe źanīwa/

p. 18 / misrekān mamlokat-I gawrayān la仿真-I sārqa-I 

zāfrīqāda wa la ḥardū taraf-I mahīr-1 nīldā binākirdowa/ 

misrekān ṣibādayyān la sar ṣasās-I taṣadud-I źāliha 

dūmarandībū/

p. 45 / qawm-I fīnigI ṣaŷā-y drūstkiṟraw-I xoyān ba źegā-y bafrā 

bo ṣiqlimakān-I sārqa u ṣarb danārd/

p. 64 / fasıl-I pendʒam/

/ yoṅānekān la dzunub-I awrupādā la nihayat-I subh-I 

dżaziṟa-y baļa-rândā dānīṣtibūn/
Part One: Chapter One, The Countries of the East,
The State of Egypt

The Egyptians were the oldest of the world's peoples in civilisation and development. From the sides of the River Nile, archaeologists and historians have dug out many ruins which made them know well the ability, knowledge and civilisation of the Egyptians.

The Egyptians built a great kingdom in north-east Africa and on both sides of the River Nile.

The Egyptians had established their religion on the basis of the plurality of Gods.

The Phoenicians people sent the goods they made by way of the sea to countries in the east and the west.

The Greeks were living in South Europe at the end of the Balkan Peninsula.

The Arab island (i.e. the Arabian Peninsula) is the real homeland of the Arabs. Its mainland is situated between the Red Sea, the Kingdoms of Syria and Iraq and the Persian Gulf.
TEXT No. 24
Source: Morphology and Syntax of Kurdish /muxtasar-ı surf u noh-ı kurdî/ by Sâíd Sîdqi;
Date: 1928

p. 2
/hatı am fasra ?axı’e xwendîmän la maktabû u nusînmên ba kurdî nabû/ baw sababa saft u kojiş nakrawa ka gawëšîdek-ı surf u nahu bo zubăn-ı kurdî ŋekbîxâe/ waqte la taraf mañerif u millat parwaşnawa taadîsât-ı makâtîb u nusîn-ı makâtîb kirân ba kurdî lajîm balku wâdîlî bû ka gawëšîle bo zubân/ bo nusîn-ı kurdî dâbîmazre/

p. 3
/muqaddima/
/lâ bayân kirîn-ı harfîn-ı hidzû u ?imî-ê kurdî hammûnmên zanîzwêna u dayzânîm ka kalîmân la harfîn-ı hidzû u qissa-ê tawâw la kalîmân ŋekdaxîrên/

p. 6
/kalîmîa u ?aqsâmî/

p. 7

p. 10
/?îsm du nawîa/ basît/ tanyû/ muîakkab/ tekal/

p. 17
/masdar/

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Up until this century our studies at schools and our writings were not in Kurdish. For this reason no work nor effort was made to write a grammar book for Kurdish morphology and syntax. When through the education authority and the patriots Kurdish was made the medium of teaching in schools and of writing letters, it became necessary, perhaps a duty, that a grammar for the Kurdish language and writing be written.

Introduction

In explaining the letters of the alphabet and the dictation of Kurdish, we all knew and we know that words are formed of the letters of the alphabet and that a complete story is made of words.
The Word and its Division

A word is an enunciation that has meaning. Kurdish writing and speaking is formed of five kinds of words - noun, adjective, pronoun, verb and article.

The first topic is about nouns and the divisions of nouns. Nouns are two kinds. Common nouns and proper nouns. Also, nouns are either singular or plural.

Nouns are of two sorts; simple - alone and compound - mixed.

Infinitive.

Pronouns are of two kinds: bound and free.

The personal pronouns of the past transitives are these: for the singular speaker, for the addressee singular, for the non-present singular, for the plural speakers ... the personal pronouns for intransitive past are these ...

The Division of the Verb

Verbs are four divisions: past verbs; present verbs, future verbs and imperative verbs.

Verbs are of two kinds: active; passive.
TEXT No. 25

Source: Arithmetic for the Fourth Year Primary School

Date: 1928

Extracts

p. 5 / kart// kasiř/
/ šilm-ī zīmāra// ḥisāb/

p. 7 / tegayīṭīn-ī kart// taʾrīf-ī kasiř/

p. 8 / hāfṭ yak// sumīn/
/ dū lā pendʒ/ xumsān/
/ se lā pendʒ/ sālāsāt ?aḥmās/

p. 9 / kāgazek-ī ṭawār suṭṭ/ mūrabbāț/
/ lekdānawā-y kasiř// muqārrana bāyna_ kusūr/

p. 15 / ?aḥmāl-ī tarrāba-y kartān// ?aḥmāl_ ḱkusūr/
/ kokirdnawā// dzemfi/ darkirdīn// tarh/


p. 23 zīmāra-ī ye kartī// ṣadād saḥīh/

260
p. 31 / matrūh / le darhenraw/
  / matrūh minhu / darhātū/
  / ḥāṣiljīttarh / pāsma-y darhenān

p. 34 / zarb / lek dān/

p. 40 / taqsim / baṣkirdīn/

p. 43 / dabe mulāḥaza bikayn la misāl-1 yakamīndā tṣungka la maqsūmdā fasadek-1 saḥīh niya xāridī-1 qismatakay kasīr darfadū/
  / qā'idā / bo taqsim kirdin-1 fasad-1 saḥīh ba sar kāsī-1 fuṣrītdā har wak fasad-1 saḥīh taqsim dakhīrī/

p. 75 / muẕāf-1 muṣṭarak / muẕāf-1 basīt/

p. 78 / ṭattāfīq ṭillā / sawāmil jīlīμawaliyya/

p. 141 / ṭagār sūrat-1 kasra ka ba sar fasad-1 saḥīhakadā qabil-1 taqsim nabe aw fasada saḥīha la maṣraḍ-1 aw kasra zarb akre wa dast nādīr le zīmāra-y sūratakay/

Translation

p. 5 Fraction
  The science of numbers - arithmetic.

p. 7 Knowing the fractions - defining the fraction.
Thinking about fractions - comparison between fractions.

The four skills of fractions - the working of fractions.
putting together - summing.
taking out - subtraction.

Decimal fractions
special fractions - common fractions.

Category of the units - units, and tens; and hundreds.

Numbers without fractions - whole numbers.

Subtrahend = taking out.
Minuend = coming out.
Difference = remainder of the taking out.

Multiplying = hitting, beating.

Dividing = Dividing

We must note that in the first example because the dividend is not a whole number its quotient is a fraction.
Rule: Dividing a whole number on a decimal fraction is similar to dividing whole numbers.
p. 75  Common denominator. Lowest common denominator.

p. 78  Factoring.

p. 141 If the numerator of a fraction is not divisible on the whole number, that whole number is multiplied by the denominator of that fraction and the number of its numerator will be left alone.

Note 1. Double slanted lines are used to separate the first element, the Kurdish translation, from the second element which is Arabic.

2. An equal sign is used when the first item is Arabic and the second item is the Kurdish translation.
The oxygen is heavier than the air. It doesn't burn but it helps in burning and the burning of bodies in the air is because of the existence of the oxygen. The burning of the hydrogen produces water. This burning is but the intermixing of hydrogen with the oxygen of the air. From this we learn that water is nothing but hydrogen and oxygen. The burning of coal produces coal gas.
Appendix II

DATA OF CHAPTER III
A school is opened at the Ministry of Defence for reserve officers' courses. Those who have finished the secondary school are trained there for six months and the ones who finish the course directly and well become second lieutenants. Others who are slow in the army will become uncommissioned officers.

Conditions: Iraqi citizenship, good conduct and character and non-conviction for a crime. These should be supported by a census book and certificate of non-conviction. Candidate must have finished the secondary school or a school equivalent to it and he should not be less than nineteen.
I consider myself very lucky that with the help of the great, the friends and brethren, I have been able to offer you the first issue of galawez, and I have great hopes that each one of you, within your ability and within the field of your competence, help me in its spread, continuation and development.

/galawez/ is a literary educational magazine. Its prime aim is the purification of the Kurdish language and the survival of the Kurdish literature by protecting the old literature and by providing the opportunity for publishing new literature and for translating the beautiful works and good foreign books.
TEXT No. 3

Source: galawez No. 3 Editorial.
Date: February 1940.

p. 1

/galawez/1m tʃon awe/ nusInek-1 ŋawān u be qoršim ley awet/ la xwendawārāna wa gale nusrawmān bo hāt la bābat rāzāmand ṭ u hande-1tirān nārasingalīn pījan dābū kawā la tʃand bāseki ba girān te agan/ am nusrawa-1 y la xwarawa ayxwennawa hī yakek la nārasingāna/ hammā maqalākan-1 galawez yakayaka zor ba wīrdī xwendawa/ awa-1 y la hammū jīte zīyātir kawta peʃ tʃawim hande kalima-y tāzadārēzőraw u tāza dāḥatū u hande dʒumla u taːbṭī-1 nabistraw u pe rānahātū bū ka la zar ħwendā wāy la pyaw akīrd wāz la bāsaka bihene u bigāret bo malnā-y ṭārrawa-y am kalima u taːbṭīna/ 1 am wāya hammūtān pe lawa anen ka zīmān-1 kurdī waku zīmānek pey bīnūsret zar sāwa-y/ ba. ḥāl Sumīt la 20/30 sāl tepār akāt/ nimūnayek-1 am sařīeʃewān u har kas bo xoylywa kalima-y kallmaya ka yake wīʃa u awiṭir wāta u seyam-ğuta u tʃwāram wīta-y pe alet/ ama har aw kasānā-y min ʃītim xwendūnatawa ġindā xwā ayyān xoʃk-ṭtir tʃīy bo dānawa/

Translation

How do I want galawez? Easy and bumpless writing is what I want from it. We have received many letters from the readers about the way of writing in galawez. Some of them expressed satisfaction,
some others expressed dissatisfaction saying that they had difficulty in understanding some of its articles. The letter that you read below is from one of those dissatisfied.

I have read all the articles of qatāwez one by one very carefully. The things that caught my eye more than anything else are newly coined words and newly fashioned sentences and expressions which have not been heard before nor been used and which, in many places, forced the individual to abandon the article in order to search for the hidden meanings of these words and expressions. I feel that you all agree that Kurdish as a written language is very young. Its age hardly exceeds 20/30 years.

An example of this confusion and this everyone-for-himself is the word 'word' for which one uses wile, another wīta, a third guta, and a fourth wīta. This is only in the writings of those I have read, thus, God knows what other persons have for it.
Translation

Life tells us that any work we do well becomes a step for another lesson. You may be a writer or a craftsman, but have you one day thought to find out a new way for your work? Go to libraries, buy new books, learn new things, make new experiments and obtain new training and new instructions.
Every nation has a history of its own literature; the Kurds have been so dispersed that they have not pieced together their valuable relics and (so) they became the property of other nations.
We hope that the light of gâlîwez dispels the darkness lurking on the chest of our country, lights up our way, revives our language and clears it up from the foreign rocks, boulders and pits. We hope that it publishes our lofty and beautiful poetry which depicts the sweet views of the picturesque mountains of Kurdistan. My request is that our writers avoid, as much as they can, using foreign words and that whenever a newly-used pure Kurdish word comes in the way its meaning be explained below in order that people understand it and gain currency.
Introduction: The aims of dang-i gitti tāza is to publish true news concerning all the actions and events of this world involving war. This magazine publishes information of the warring struggle of the democratic nations, and of the great and honest objectives for which...
the democratic nations strive such as the freedom, prosperity and education of human beings.

This magazine has devoted some of its pages for the old sciences, for law and for poetry and literature such as epic stories, ballads, stories and songs which can raise the standard of education. In addition to this, it strives to raise the standard of the social and cultural life. It also cultivates scientific awareness for the improvement of health, agriculture, economics and trade.
(The writer suggests the use of /bākūr/ instead of the Arabic word /šimāl/ for 'north' and /nīwaño/ instead of /džūnūb/ for 'south', and he writes):

Some years ago when I started to use the two words above, there was a great hubbub. I told many persons that bākūr in the meaning of 'north' is found to be used by the northern Kurds. The word nīwaño is very appropriate for 'south' because many nations in their own language call it noon, for example in French, 'midi' and in Italian 'medzo jorno'.
For speaking and writing a language with no mistakes and well, knowledge of the principles of the grammar of that language is necessary. Therefore, from this time on and for the benefit of everyone, I will publish the grammar in parts.

The text has four words that are glossed at the bottom of the page.
Summary of the political and military events of November, 1943. Visit of His Majesty the King to Great Britain. A solid base is laid for co-operation between the allied countries like many other firm bases for building future peace.

NOTE: This article has seventeen words that are glossed. The Kurdish is given first and its meaning is given in Arabic. At the top of the list the phrase "pure Kurdish words" is given.
Translation

In this picture we see some German officers and soldiers who have surrendered themselves in Russia.
The Nawroz picnic. Yesterday, which was Wednesday, and the picnic day, twelve tents were pitched early in the morning and picnickers were coming. That area was full of multicolours, the gathering space of the fair sex was the ground before Mama Yara Hill. Whilst that area was made beautiful with flowers and poppies, it was also becoming an exhibition of living. Then such a scene and image of a Kurdish spirit was shown that it truly represented the perfect life and the real existence of all Kurdistan.
Speech of His Excellency Tawfiq Wahbi. Today our country is happy for the visit of the Ambassador of Britain, a great representative of democracy, herald of freedom, richness, health, fearlessness, education and prosperity for mankind.

Your coming to this country was the cause of protection, of the beginning of the revival, survival of the Kurdish nation. Peace was established, roads were built, commerce was activated, agriculture was reformed, education in Kurdish was re-established, and the Kurdish language and literature were encouraged and improved.
It is ten years now that *galîwez* has been a field in which Kurdish writers have exercised and published the language that their forefathers used for speaking for thousands of years.

It is ten years that *galîwez* has been a school where the speaker of Kurdish has received Kurdish language lessons and in which he corrected the defects of his language.
Text No. 15

Source: 3In

Date: May 29, 1952

In Iraq, contrary to all other places, the affairs and interests of the citizens have always been carried out in such a way to make everyone head for the capital and find a place in it. Efforts have always been made to develop that city and to make it the centre of all kinds of business and industry.
Translation

Everyone works hard in life and studies in order to get to a stage where he can live comfortably and offer a service. But now it is completely the opposite. One little example for this is the women and men teachers who graduated this year. It is not necessary to state again how much we need schools because we all know how low the standard of our education is. But we find that many of those who graduated have not been appointed.
Translation

Education. Education is the best method that must be followed for bringing up the child and for guiding him on a definite and straight manner which makes him obtain joy and happiness in the social life.
Man Made Moon

Nearly two months before the end of 1957, an important scientific news appeared. It was such a news that it became a conversation subject for every human being and it covered every corner of the world. It surprised many, but many others became happy in the stride made by this scientific achievement. Here, I want to put before the Kurdish reader a summary of this news and achievement in order that we become aware of all scientific events and development.
The City of Sulaimania

A beautiful and lady-like city that looks like an arranged bunch of flowers or like a glimmering shooting star. It is generous, hospitable, friendly and smiling. It is near the immortal/mountain.

Several miles from it is /qala tjawalon/ which almost two centuries ago ... was the centre of pride and respect of the Kurds, and was the strong fort and place of residence of the Baban princes. It was the clear source of knowledge and the centre of learning.
TEXT No. 20

Source: Front pages of four text books, the first and the second are the same text, and the third and fourth are the same too.

Dates: 1949, 1951
       1951, 1953

1. /kiteb-1 taqdrustī bo minājān/
   /nūsar doktor salmān/ la layān ūabdulqādīr
   qazāzawa kirāwa ba kurdī/
   /ṭfāpxāna-y mašārīf/ bagdad/ 1949/

2. /kiteb-1 sihha bo minājān/
   /dānar doktor salmān/ mutārđizim ṯayn waw nūrī/
   /ṭfāpxāna-y mašārīf/ bagdad/ 1951/

3. /wādżībātī ṯawlīf u xū-y niṣṭimānī/
   /danar hāṣim ?al?alūfī/ fuʔād ṭajīfī kirduyatī ba kurdī/
   /ṭfāpxāna-y mašārīf/ bagdad/ 1951/

4. /fārmānī niṣṭimānī u ṯawlīf/
   /nūsyaʔ āhmad ūabdulqādir/ la ṯāyan
   ūabdulqādir qazāzawa kirāwa ba kurdī/
   /ṭfāpxāna-y maḥfūz/ bagdad/ 1953/

Translation

1. Hygiene text for children

   Author: Dr. Salman
2. **Hygiene text for Children**  
Author: Dr. Salman  
Translator: ㏐ｙｗ ｙｗ ｎｕｒ⁻¹

3. **Duty of National Conduct and Manner**  
Writer: Hashim Al-Alusi  
Fu'ad Rashid translated it into Kurdish  
Maṣarif Press, 1951.

4. **Task of Nationism and Behaviourism**  
Writer: Ahmad Abdul-Qadir  
Made into Kurdish by Abul-Qadir Qazaz  
Appendix III

DATA OF CHAPTER IV
Kurds in the World

Some people who know nothing about the history and geography of Kurdistān and who are not aware of the complex question of the Kurds, do not believe us that the Kurds in the world, especially in the Middle East, are about 15-20 million.
The decision of the Son-of-the-Nation for the withdrawal of the democratic republic of Iraq from the imperialistic and belligerent Baghdad pact.
It was decided in principle that a directorate general be established in the administration headquarters of the ministry for the educational affairs of Kurdistan.
The leader says that the working class is a vanguard for the protection of our republic ... in a meeting between the leader of the Country and the heads of the trade unions on the occasion of licensing the formation of the federation of trade unions.
The beloved leader said: "Do you know who was behind the events in Kirkuk?" We have proof that they prepared the plan on the other side of the borders in order to spread the spirit of dissatisfaction, set the fire ablaze and pave the way for imperialism.
TEXT No. 6
Source: 3In
Date: February 11, 1960

/ kongra-y yaketT giśT naqābakān-1 kirekārān-1 šīrāq sarkawtīnek-
itir-1 țIn-1 kirekārāna/ jāyan-1 fānāziya bo țIn-1 kirekārān-1 šīrāq
u naqāba

tekofarākānyān ka la hamū xāk-1 xofāwist-1 šīrāqā u ba hamū natawā
u bīrfubāwr u dīnekawa yak

yaketlyān haya u nizike-y 275 hazār kirekār u mūtṣaxor-1 naqābī
yak sarkīrdā-y pitaw u nabāzyān haya/

Translation

The congress of the federation of the Workers' Unions of Iraq is
another victory for the working class. It is prideworthy for
the working class of Iraq and for their militant unions that in all
the beloved land of Iraq and for all its national, ideological and
religious groups they have one federation, and that newly 275
thousand workers and employees have a solid and undefeatable
leadership.
The plenary meeting of the committee of the Union. The members of the Cities Administration Committees of the general union of students arrived and they held a meeting on that same day.
Meeting of the members of the peace partisans. The important points of the meeting were: the support of the forces of the peoples of Africa and Asia for liberation from the shackles and chains of imperialism; protest against foiling the meeting of the heads of the great powers; struggle for disarmament in the world and for banning atomic weapons.
In one of the issues of /birwa/ paper in the section of the news of the city, I saw something about the establishment of a cigarette factory. Furthermore, the formation of its administrative set up was discussed in that news item.
Translation

The literary section with its prose, poetry, fiction, criticism, literary history, folklore and epic is for you, for the Kurdish nation and for the general progress of civilization.

Our literature is in need of revitalization, purification, recording and development. While there is still time grab your pen and this is a newspaper.
The Kurdish nation in all the parts of Kurdistan very much thank the members of the Kurdistan World Organisation and its leader. Making themselves and their Kurdistan known to other nations; uncovering the bright face of their legitimate cause as a nation that loves peace and adores freedom is recognised as a great victory in their unabated struggle against imperialism, colonizers and usurpers of its rights.
We have great hopes in the teaching of the text of National Education in schools. We also have strong beliefs in that much of the political, scientific and educational progress comes through this route that teaches everybody his rights and his duties as a member of the society and a citizen in a country. We endeavoured in such a way as to make this book the first step on this way.
Scouts Movement has a lofty and blessed purpose, and intention since it becomes a cause for developing and strengthening the character of our youths.
In a discussion it so happens that you do not agree with the ideas of the one older than you are. Even then, a clever child, in a good style and gently answers the old one respectfully and talks with him in a beautiful manner. For instance ....
On the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of our paper, the chief editor is to meet the president of the republic.

Let the banner of brotherhood flutter to bring about equality, unity and peace in all Iraq.

Literature, art and science is the new horizon of our literary achievements.
Part Six

The Arab Peninsula

The Arab peninsula extends from Iraq and Syria southwards until it ends in the Arab Sea in the furthest south. This peninsula is large and it is surrounded by seas from many parts. In its west is the Red Sea, in its south is the Arab Sea and in its east is the Arab Gulf.
The things that exist in nature are divided into two parts. The animates and the inanimates. The animates are differentiated from the inanimates by means of moving, eating, breathing, feeling and multiplying. Animates are divided into two parts: animals and plants. In nature plants are found in plenty and they are of many kinds.
Aims and objectives of Zanyari periodical. Facilitating writing and reading the sciences in the Kurdish language. Arriving at this aim is a necessary step in order that the Kurdish nation could use their own as a medium of instruction in all the levels of education. Our hope is that this periodical becomes a means for urging Kurdish writers and readers to work hard in this direction. When scientific material comes into the hands of the Kurdish reader, his writing and reading
ability gradually develops. Similarly, writing sciences in Kurdish encourages us to look for and to form the necessary scientific terms. In this way our language develops and grows. We intend, as much as possible, to use pure Kurdish words, however, those scientific terms that are firmly established in many foreign languages will be used by us in the same way.
On the occasion of the legislation of the law of the Kurdish Academy, the subject of Kurdish language, Kurdish dialects, Kurdish standard and Kurdish literary standard is being discussed and even written about in many places these days. This study is the result and product of searching for the truth and knowledge in this field. Any knowledge that has the advantages of the life of the people in view is essentially based on two foundations; theory and practice.
The Solar System

Scientists have realised that there are several planets which move around the sun. The earth is one of these planets. These planets move around the sun and when the sun rays beat on them they reflect them. For this reason we see them glittering in the sky and we think they are stars.
Until now there are many things about the sky space which we do not know yet and are not clarified to us, but human beings are constantly striving to discover these mysteries by means of the all-finding sciences.
The saving of the old relics of our nation, the majority of which have, regretfully, been lost, is very significant. For this reason the Kurdish Science Academy will, as much as possible, try to save the important parts of our national intellectual heritage. For this purpose, it started to collect those studies devoted to the literature and history of the Kurdish nation, but also those studies which are written or re-written by educated Kurds and deal with the history, language and literature of other nations and those that deal with the other fields of knowledge. Undoubtedly, this work has a clear cultural importance.
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1. Titles of Arabic and Kurdish sources are transcribed and translated into English. The English translation is put in parenthesis following the transcription.

b. Translated Kurdish books whose authors are not known are entered under translator's name followed by the abbreviation 'trans.'


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<td>1938</td>
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