

SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE PURISM
AMONG KURDISH SPEAKERS

by

JAMAL JALAL ABDULLA

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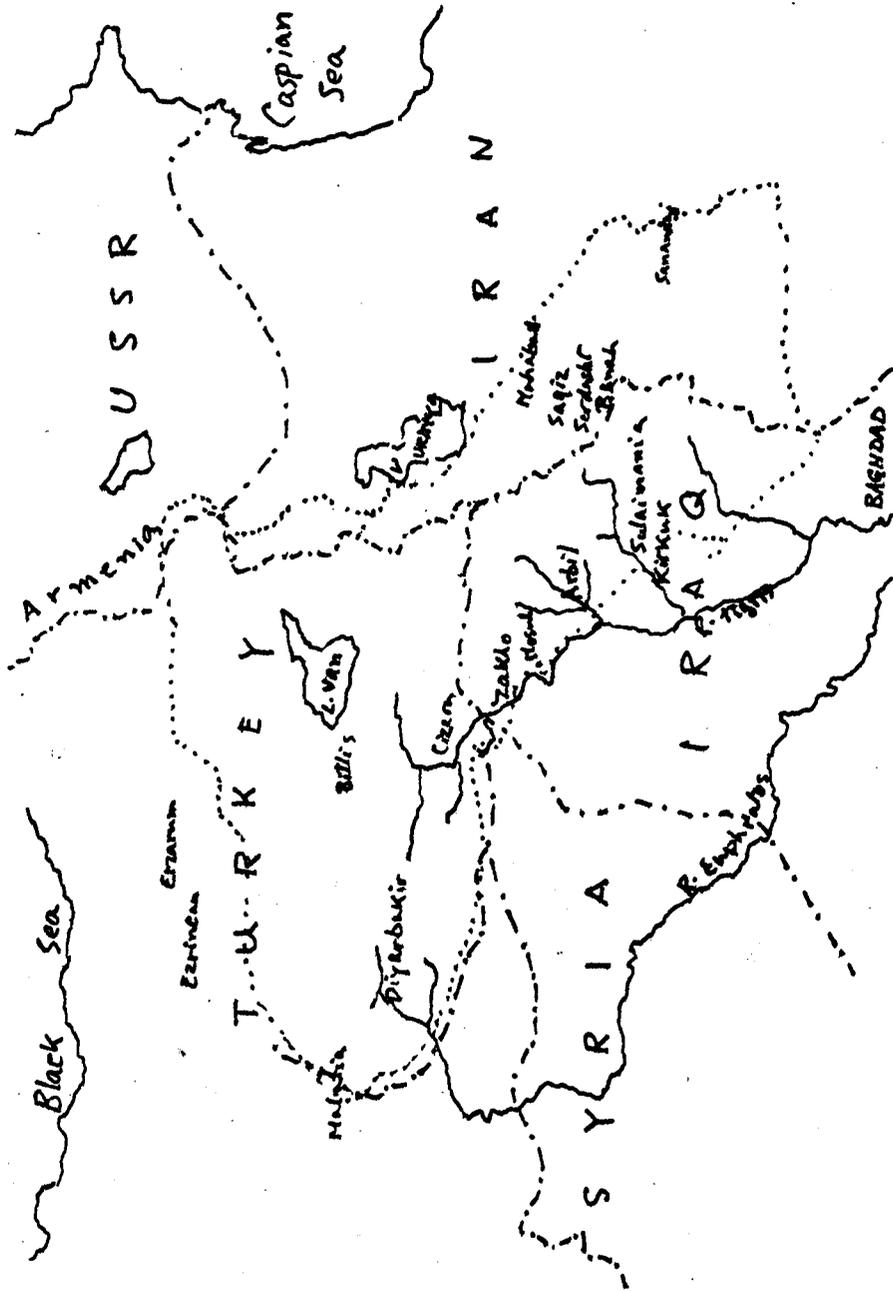
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MAP SHOWING KURDISH HABITAT



..... Area inhabited by Kurds.
----- Political boundaries.

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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 refrainment 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 administrative 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 /galāwez/ 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 /galāwez/ 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.

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. i) 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 (1931, 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 Hulwān 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 Hulwān 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"¹. By "all languages" the poet means Arabic, Persian and Kurdish because he composed in these

¹ the Kurdish lines of the poem are these

/tabʕ-i ʃakir bār-i min Kurdī agar ?inʃā akā/ ?imtihān-i xoya
 maqṣūdī la ʕamdā wā akā/ Yā la maydān-i fasāhatdā ba misl-i
 ʃāḥswār/ be taʕamul hammū nawʕa zubāne wā akā/ kas ba ʕalfāzim
 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:

/Kurdî ?axir bile tîiya ?aybî
har Kalām-i haqa u niya ?aybî/

3 the poem in Kurdish is the following:

/Kiteb u daftar u Kāgaz ba Kurdî gar binusŕāya zimānī
malā u pîŕ u pādīfāmān hatā mahŕar da mā nāwunīŕanī
ba zidd-ī pîŕ u pāfāmān biŕāwa wara ba beyna sar re-y mihrabānī/

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 Kirmāndžî zūrū,
- (ii) the southern Kurdish dialect known as "the lower Kurdish dialect" or Kirmāndžî xwārū,
- (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 Kirmāndzî xwārū spoken in the area east and south of the Greater Zab River, and
2. the Bādīnānī dialect or Kirmāndzî zūrū spoken in the areas west and north of the Greater Zab River.

In this study the terms Sorani and Bādīnānī 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 Sorāni 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 Bādinānī while 2918 pages are in Sorāni, the number of articles published in Bādinānī 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 Sorāni are contributed by a large number of writers.

Sorāni 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 Bādinānī or to any other Kurdish dialect will be made only when it serves to clarify points raised in the body of this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

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 Sulaimania 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 Sorāni 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

No.	Name of paper or magazine	Type of Publication	Date of first publication	Date of Disappearance	Numbers of issues published
1	peşkawtin	Weekly	April 29, 1920	July 27, 1922	118
2	řoz-i Kurdustān	Weekly	Nov. 15, 1922	March 3, 1923	15
3	bāng-i Kurdustān	Weekly	Sept 2, 1922	Oct 27, 1922	14
4	bāng-i haqq	Weekly	1922	April 12, 1922	3
5	umed-i řistiqlāl	Weekly	Sept 20, 1923	?	25
6	řiyānawa	Weekly	Sept 18, 1924	?	36
7	dyārī Kurdustān	Weekly	March 11, 1925	May 11, 1926	16
8	řiyān	Weekly	Jan 21, 1926	1938	553
9	Zār-i Kirmāndžī	Monthly	1926	1932	24
10	payza	?	1927	1927	1
11	řunākī	Weekly	Oct 24, 1935	May 16, 1936	11
12	zānistī	bi-monthly	Feb 25, 1938	?	1
13	zubān	Weekly	Sept 12, 1937	April 29, 1939	70

Two of these newspapers lasted for only one issue. The weekly paper řiyān 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 books¹ 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 andžuman-i ?adībān-i Kurd 'Society of Kurdish Writers' published in Istanbul, 1920 as the first book that was entirely in Kurdish (Ahmed 1977, p.7).

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.

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:

bilabial	b	m	w	f	
interdental	θ	ð			
dental	t	d		n	l
alveolar	s	z			ʃ
palatal	tʃ	ʃ	y		
velar	k				
uvular	q	x	g		
pharyngeal	ħ		ʕ		
glottal	ʔ		h		

The following are pharyngealized consonants or emphatic consonants:

dental	<u>t</u>	<u>l</u>
interdental	<u>d</u>	
alveolar	<u>s</u>	

Three of the six vowels of Arabic are short and three are long. The short vowels are i, a 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. sound² 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 -āt such as nabāt "plant", nabātāt "plants". However, when the singular noun ends with the feminine marker -a, the marker is syncopeated when -āt is added, e.g. hukūma "government", hukūmāt "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. muṣallim "teacher", muṣallimūn and muṣallimīn "teachers".

The broken plural is formed by changing the whole form of the singular noun, e.g. qānūn "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", ʔaqlām "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 endings³. 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 Sorānī dialect which is the literary variety has 31 consonant phonemes.

bilabial	p	b	m	w		
labio-dental	f	v				
dental	t	d			n	
alveolar	s̲	s	z	l̲	r	ʃ
alveolar-palatal	tʃ	dʒ	ʃ	ʒ	y	
velar	k	g	ŋ			
uvular	q	x	g̲			
pharyngeal	ħ	ʕ				
glottal	ʔ	h				

Kurdish has 8 vowel phonemes: ɪ, i, e, a, ā, 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 θ, ð, t̲ and d̲ are not found in Kurdish, while the Kurdish sounds

p, v, tʃ, ʒ, g, ŋ, r, e and o do not exist in classical Arabic. Furthermore, the Kurdish s and ʔ 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 -ān. 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 -in. 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:

<u>xwārdin</u>	"to eat"	is an infinitive
xwārd	"ate"	is the root of the past tense
xo	"eat"	is the root of the present tense
<u>oxom</u>	"I eat"	is the present tense
<u>xwārdim</u>	"I ate"	is the past simple
amxwārd	"I was eating"	is the past continuous
xwārdibum	"I had eaten"	is the past perfect
xwārduma	"I ate or I have eaten"	is the immediate past.

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|a "swimming" or the adjective řōst "straight", "true" can be added as first elements to the infinitive kirdin "to make" to form ma|a kirdin "to swim" and řōst 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 35.29%. The loanwords are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 1:

qarār [qaṛāṛ] 'decision'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

wāsita [wāsita] 'means, mode'

qatra [qaṭṭra] 'drop'

hayʔa 'committee, group'

c. feminine plural nouns, 3:

gaṛāʔib 'wonders, strangenesses'

ʔuṣūl [ʔuṣūl] (used twice) 'ways, procedures'

d. verbal nouns, 5:

ʔahl 'citizens, people'

taqdīm 'offer, present'

wilāda 'birth'

tahīl 'analysis'

ʔahm 'womb'

e. adjectives, 4:

fanniyya 'artful, skilful'

tubbī [ṭibbī] (used twice) 'medical'

mumkin 'possible'

f. participles, 1:

maʔlūm 'known'

g. non-Arabic loans, 1:

duqṭor 'doctor'

3 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text. They are taqdīm kirduwa 'he was offered'; qarārīdā 'he decided' and hayʔatek dābine '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 dān 'to give' and the third with a form of the verb dānān '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:

ʔiʔtizār [ʔiʔtiðāʔ]	'apology'
dʒuzʔ	'part'

b. verbal nouns, 4:

taʔxīʔ	'delay'
xusūs	'connection, association'
ʔidzā [ʔidzāʔ]	'request'
taqṣīr [taqṣīʔ]	'fault, shortcoming'

c. prepositional phrase, 1:

maʔalʔasaf	'alas! , with regret'
------------	-----------------------

d. non-Arabic word, 1:

makīna	'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:

ʔidzā akayn	'we request'
taqṣīrmān bibaxʔre	'that our fault be forgiven'

The two hybrid compounds have borrowed verbal nouns as their first elements: ʔidzā and taqṣīʔ. 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 baxʔin "to grant, to give away".

The prepositional phrase mafa|ʔasaf is formed of the preposition mafa "with" -| - "the" an allomorph of the Arabic definite article ʔa| - 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 52.54%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 3:

ʔaylūl	'September'
wazīʔ	'minister'
ʔih̄tiʔām	'respect'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

tayyāra [t̄ayyāʔa]	'plane'
qitṣa [qit̄ʔa]	'company of soldiers'
mamlaka	'country, kingdom'

c. masculine plural nouns, 4:

ʔuʔasā [ʔuʔasāʔ]	'heads, chiefs'
ʔaʔʔāf	'dignitaries'
maʔmūrīn	'employees'
tudʒār [tudʒāʔr̄]	'merchants'

d. feminine plural nouns, 2:

ʔaʔʔāʔiʔ	'tribes'
zawāt [ʔawāt]	'personalities, dignitaries'

e. adjectives, 2:

baʔz [baʔd]	'some'
ʔaskaʔiyya	'pertaining to the military'

f. verbal nouns, 11:

ta[řīf (used 3 times)	'arrival'
faxāma (used twice)	'highness, excellency'
tayařān [tayařān]	'aviation, flight'
qism	'part, division'
saff [saff]	'line, line of soldiers'
ba[ā]a	'pleasantness'
salām	'salute, greeting'
xa q- [xa q]	'people'

g. participles, 2:

muhtařam	'respectful'
hāzir [hādiř]	'present'

h. phrase, 1:

mūmā?i ayhim	'the above-mentioned'
--------------	-----------------------

i. non-Arabic words, 3:

lořd (used twice)	'lord'
polTs	'police'

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

The Arabic borrowed phrase mūmā?i|ayhim "the above-mentioned; literally, those who are pointed to" is formed from:

<u>mūmā</u>	"mentioned; pointed to"
<u>?i ay-</u>	"to" which is an allomorph of the Arabic preposition <u>?i ā</u>
<u>-him</u>	"them"

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:

ʔaylūl 'September'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

wafāt (used twice) 'death'

tafziyat [tafziya] 'condolence'

c. verbal nouns, 6:

ʔasaf 'sorrow'

bayān 'announcement, making known'

tamanā [tamannā] 'praying, hoping'

ʔahmat [ʔahma] 'mercy'

gufʔān 'forgiveness'

hazrat [hadʔat] 'greatness, highness'

d. participles, 3:

muʔsif 'sorrowful, regretful'

mawʔūd 'promised, pre-determined'

maxdūm 'served; here: related'

e. phrases, 3:

biʔadʔal 'at a pre-destined time'

muʔʔāʔi layhā 'she who is pointed to'

bārī taʔālā 'His Almighty; God'

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

wafātī kird 'she/he died'

bayān akayn 'we declare'

tamanā akayn '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 wafāt, bayān and tamanā.

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

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|-----------------|--|
| 1. | biʔadʒal | | |
| | bi- | "in" | a bound preposition |
| | ʔadʒal | "time; destiny" | a masculine singular noun |
| 2. | mujāʔʔi layhā | | |
| | mujāʔ | "pointed to" | participle |
| | ʔi lay- | "to" | allomorph of the Arabic preposition ʔi lā "to" |
| | -hā | "her" | bound pronoun |
| 3. | bāʔʔtaʔā lā | | |
| | bāʔʔ [bāʔʔ?] | "creator" | participle |
| | taʔā lā | "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	'tongue'
hā [hā] (used twice)	'condition, situation'
ʔimtiyāʔ	'concession, permit'
maqṣad	'intention, place aimed for'

b. feminine singular nouns, 8:

hukūmat [hukūma] (used twice)	'government'
ǰzaʔīda (used twice)	'newspaper'
millāt [milla]	'people, community'
siyāsāt [siyāsa]	'politics'
sūʔat [sūʔa]	'picture'
taʔǰzuma	'translation'

c. masculine plural nouns

maǰāhīʔ	'famous men'
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d. feminine plural nouns, 5:

taʔmīnāt	'guarantees, deposits'
qawānīn	'laws'
ʔawāmiʔ	'orders'
diyāʔ	'countries'

e. verbal nouns, 10:

ʔistidʔā [ʔistidʔāʔ]	'petition, application'
muḷk [mulk]	'property'
naǰʔ	'publishing'
taḷab [ḷab]	'thing demanded, request'
tifl [ḷifl]	'child'
fitrat [fiḷʔa]	'intuition, innate'
daḷl [daḷl]	'connection, relation'
taqwīm	'calendar'
ḷayāt	'life'
bayān	'declaration, announcement'

f. adjectives, 8:

siyāsī (used 3 times)	'political'
yawmī	'daily'
lāzim	'necessary'
ʔiǰtimāʔī	'social'
ʔiqtisādī	'economic, economical'
naqḷī	'financial, cash payment'

g. participle, 1:

maſqūl' 'reasonable, respectable'

h. adverb, 1:

ʔawwalan [ʔawwalan] 'firstly, initially'

i. conjunction, 1:

lākin 'but'

j. non-Arabic words, 2:

dapozit 'deposit'

fotogʔāf 'photograph'

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

ʔistidfām dā "I applied"

tajab akird "it required"

bayān akā "it presents; it shows"

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

The non-Arabic word fotogʔāf is borrowed via the Arabic language since the sound /q/ in the original language is changed into /g/. Had it been borrowed directly, the plosive would have been retained as Kurdish contains this phoneme.

TEXT NO. 6, Scientific Information, 1925

This text contains 180 words, 88 are loanwords, all except two are Arabic. The percentage of loanwords is 48.88%. The loans are:

a. masculine singular nouns, 11:

mařŕŕx	'Mars'
dʒadŕ	'Jupiter'
sayyār [sayyāř] (used twice)	'planet'
řayb	'shame'
řār [řāř]	'disgrace, insult'
tařawwiř	'imagination'
nawř (used twice)	'kind, sort'
xat [xaŕŕ] (used twice)	'line; here: orbit'

b. feminine singular nouns, 8:

řarz [řařd]	'earth'
dařadʒa	'degree'
mahāřat [mahāřa]	'skill'
sanřat [řanřa]	'trade, work; here: strange creation'
hařakat [hařaka] (used 3 times)	'movement'
tađʒřuba	'experiment, experience'

c. feminine plural nouns, 12:

řafŕāk	'planets; stars'
nudʒūm	'stars'
sayyarāt [sayyāřāt] (used 3 times)	'planets'
hukūmāt	'governments'
řāŕāt	'machines'
řadawāt	'tools'
řadʒāřib	'strange things'
řanwāř	'kinds, sorts'
hařakāt	'movements'
řadʒrām [řadʒřām]. (used twice)	'celestial bodies'
sakanāt	'stoppings'

d. verbal nouns, 35:

bařs [bařθ] (used twice)	'discussing'
řaqŕ [řaqŕ] (used twice)	'mind'
bařar [bařar] (used 3 times)	'person, human being'

taʕʕīf		'definition, description'
kitāb		'book'
ʕilm	(used twice)	'science'
ḥazrat	[ḥadʕat]	'title meaning highness'
ʕibārat	[ʕibāʕa]	'amounting, consisting'
kaʕf	(used twice)	'discovering, understanding'
ʕasḍ	(used twice)	'observing, watching'
ʕidzād	(used twice)	'finding, building'
ʕamal		'work'
ʕadd		'counting'
ḥikmat	[ḥikma]	'wisdom'
fikʕ		'thought'
xuṣūṣ		'specialness'
taʕyīd		'support'
taṣāduf		'happening by accident, incidentalness'
kitāb	[kitāb]	'book'
ʕisbāt	[ʕiṭbāt]	'proof'
ʕuṣla		'flame; light'
xuṣūf		'eclipse'
quwwat	[quwwa]	'power, strength'

e. adjectives, 7:

lāzim		'necessary'
ḥaqīqī		'real'
ʕaʕīd		'legitimate, conforming to religious practices'
wiḥdāniyyat	[wiḥdāniyya]	'pertaining to the oneness of God'
dāʕīmī		'continuous'
kullī		'full, complete'
dʕuzʕī		'partial'

f. participles, 7:

ṣāniʕ		'creator, maker'
ʕātīl	[ʕāṭīl]	'idle; powerless'
qāsīr	[qāsīʕ]	'short; incapable'
xāʕīqā	(used twice)	'extraordinary'

	muḥayyan	'determined, fixed'
	muqaddas	'holy'
g.	adverbs, 2:	
	fawq	'above; higher in order'
	?sāsan	'mainly, fundamentally'
h.	phrases, 3:	
	sā?i?ihī	'the rest of it; the others'
	biḥsaks	'on the contrary'
	biḥā fasīl	'without interruption'
i.	prepositions, 1:	
	?asnā [?aθnā?]	'during'
j.	non-Arabic loanwords, 2:	
	?astarlāb	'astrolabe'
	qozmogʻrafya	'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 henān "to bring" as a second element. The compounds are:

1.	<u>baḥs kirdin</u>	"to discuss"
2.	<u>taḥḥīf kirdin</u>	"to define"
3.	?ḥḥād <u>kirduwa</u>	"has made, has formed"
4.	<u>ḥad akʻe</u>	"is regarded, is consulted"
5.	<u>kaḥf kirdin</u>	"to discover, to study"
6.	<u>taḥawwiʻ nākʻet</u>	"cannot be imagined"
7.	<u>ḥaʻakat akan</u>	"they move"
8.	<u>taḥāduf akāt</u>	"it happens by accident"
9.	<u>ba ḥamal henʻawa</u>	"have been used"

The following three nouns occur in this text in the singular and in the plural forms:

<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
naw?	ʔanwāʕ
ḥaʕakat	ḥaʕakāt
sayyār	sayyārāt

The Arabic loanword for "book" is used twice; once it is written as kiteb 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. bilʕaks

bi-	"in, on, at"	bound preposition
-l-	"the"	definite article
ʕaks	"contrary"	verbal noun

2. bilā fāsīl

bi-	"with"	preposition
lā	"no"	negative particle
fāsīl	"thing that separate"	participle

3. sōʔiʕiḥi

sōʔir	"rest"	participle
-i		genitive case ending
-ḥi	"his"	possessive pronoun of the third person singular masculine.

TEXT NO. 7, News Item - Diplomacy, 1925

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:

ʔiʕtiʔāf	'recognition; confession'
wazīʔmufawwaz [waziʔmufawwad]	'minister plenipotentiary'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:

qatʕiyyat [qatʕiyya]	'finality'
hukūmat [hukūma]	'government'

c. verbal nouns, 4:

tablīg	'summon; telling'
ʔaʔs	'head; chief'
muwāfaqat [muwāfaqa]	'agreement'
ʕikl [ʕikl]	'shape; form'

d. adjectives, 1:

dāʔimī	'permanent, continuous'
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e. participles, 1:

muwaqqata	'provisional'
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f. adverb, 1:

muwaqqatan	'temporarily'
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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. tablīgī kird "he informed him"
2. muwāfaqatī kird "he agreed"
3. ʔiʕtiʔāf 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:

madʒlis	(used twice)	'meeting place, here: parliament'
taʃʕīn		'name of a month'

b. verbal nouns, 5:

taʔdʒīl	(used twice)	'postponement'
ʔiʕāda		'decree'
muddat [mudda]		'period, duration'
ʔiʕtibāʕan		'as from'

c. adjectives, 2:

malikī		'royal'
sānī [θānī]		'second'

d. participles, 3:

mabʕūs [mabʕūθ]	(used twice)	'representative, delegate'
ṣādiʕ		'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

tatābbuṣ	'succession'
qānūn (used 5 times)	'law'
bīr [biʔʔ]	'well'
maqāl	'article, essay'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:

silsila	'chain'
millat [milla](used 3 times)	'nation; people'
ʔistiḳāmat [ʔistiḳāma	'straightness; here: honesty'

c. feminine plural nouns, 7:

ʔadabiyyāt	'literature; literary works'
ʔuzwiyyāt [ʔudwiyyāt]	'organisms'
ḥaywānāt	'animals'
nabātāt	'plants'
ʔadʒnās	'species, races'
ʔanwās	'kinds, sorts'
zawāʔid	'additions; extras'

d. verbal nouns, 19:

dunyā	'world, universe'
tadqīq	'careful studying'
takāmul (used twice)	'integration'
ʔinqirāz [ʔinqirād]	'extinction'
sawq	'driving, compelling'
nawʔ	'kind, sort'
dʒins	'species, race'
tawāfuq	'harmony'
ʔizmiḥlāl [ʔidmiḥlāl]	'degeneration'
mawt	'death'
ḥayʔat [ḥayʔa]	'organization; committee'
faqḥ	'poverty'
ʔatālat [ʔatāla]	'idleness'

taraf [taʔaf]	'side'
ʕazm	'determination'
saʕt	'diligence'
ʕzidd	'hard work'
ʕzuhd	'painstaking efforts'

e. adjectives, 6:

haywāniyya	'pertaining to animals'
nabātiyya	'pertaining to plants'
fitrī [fiʔrī]	'instinctive'
zaʕīf [daʕīf]	'weak'
ʔabadī	'eternal'
ʔiʕti māsiyya	'social'

f. participles, 8:

tābiʕ	'follower'
mahkūm	'controlled; imprisoned'
mubtālā	'plighted'
mustahiq	'deserving, worthy of'
ʕāmil	'factor; worker'
muʔassiʔ [muʔaʕʕiʔ]	'effective'
munaqqah	'emanded; revised'
mudzaʔʕad	'abstracted; free from additions'

g. adverbs, 2:

ʕaynān	'in the same way'
dāʕiman	'always'

h. phrases, 2:

lā yatagayyaʔ	'not changing'
bināʔan ʕalayhi	'on this basis; building on this'

4 hybrid compound verbs occur in this text and all are with a form of the Kurdish verb kirdin. They are:

1. tadqîq bikîre "that it be carefully studied"
2. tatabuî bikîre "that it be traced"
3. sawqî akât "it compels him"
4. tawâfuq nâkâ "it does not harmonize"

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

The two borrowed phrases are formed as follows:

1. lâ yatagaya

<u>lâ</u>	"no"	negative particle
<u>yatagaya</u>	"it changes"	verb in the present tense with the masculine third person singular

2. binâ?an îalayhi

<u>binâ?an</u>	"building on; consequently"	adverb
<u>îalay-</u>	"on"	allomorph of <u>îalâ</u> preposition
<u>-hi</u>	"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 loan-words are:

- a. masculine singular nouns, 4:

<u>maqîad</u>		'purpose, aim'
<u>îaxs</u> [<u>îaxs</u>]	(used twice)	'person'
<u>îîrtikâb</u>		'committing'

b. verbal nouns, 4:

<u>h</u> aps [habs]	'prison, imprisonment'
dzuřm	'crime'
ʔiřdām	'execution, death penalty'
talaf	'destruction, ruin'

c. participle, 4:

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

d. adverbs, 4:

mādām	'since, as long as'
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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. ʔiřtikab akat "he commits usually something wrong"
3. talaf bikřet "that he be destroyed"

1 hybrid compound noun occurs in the text. It is hapixāna "prison". The word hapis~ habs 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 [qaʔāʔ]	'decision'
qānūn	'law'
madʒlis	'meeting place; house for gathering'
malik	'king'
ʔiʔtiʔāf	'recognition'
ʔiʔtiʔʒādʒ	'protest'

b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

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

c. feminine plural nouns, 3:

huqūq (used twice)	'rights'
matālib [matālib]	'demands'

d. verbal nouns, 15:

nutq [nutq]	'speech'
taʔʔf	'arrival, visit'
muzāharat [muzāhaʔa] (used twice)	'demonstration'
qawm	'people; nation'
ḥarb [ḥaʔb]	'war'
fiʔḥat [fuʔsa]	'opportunity'
qīmat [qīma]	'value'
ʔistifāda	'use; benefit'
muʔāhada	'treaty'
tasbītt [taʔbtt]	'confirmation; establishment'
taraf [taʔaf]	'side; party to'
ʔzalālat [ʔzalāla]	'majesty'
ʔaʔs	'head; chief'
taʔyīd	'approval; support'

e. adjectives, 4:

ʔumūmī (used twice)	'general; public'
ʔāli	'high, lofty'
ʔasāsī	'essential, basic'

f. participles, 3:

muhtařam	'respected'
mař řūha	'explained'
mař řūřa	'legitimate'

g. adverbs, 2:

řasna [řaθna?]	'during, at a particular time'
řasman	'officially'

h. phrases, 3:

waliřahd	'crown prince'
mařa řsař	'regretfully; alas!'
řuřbatu řuman	'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:

tař řTř henān	"to arrive"
řistiřādāmān nakird	"we did not benefit"
tasbTř kiřābu	"had been fixed"
řiřtiřāřTř pe kiřāwa	"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. waliřahd

waliř	"successor, coming after"	masculine singular noun
řahd	"time; era"	masculine singular noun

2. řuřbatu|řuman

řuřbat~ řuřba	"group, league"	feminine singular noun
- -	"the"	Arabic nominative case ending
řuman	"nations"	definite article
		masculine plural noun

The prepositional phrase maʔa/ʔasaf is formed as follows:

maʔa	"with"	preposition
-l-	"the"	allomorph of the definite article <u>ʔal-</u>
ʔasaf	"regret"	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:
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| ʔiɖʒtimās | 'a meeting' |
| ʔīzāh [ʔīɖāh] | 'explanation' |
| ʔittibās | 'following, pursuing' |
| ʔuzū [ʔudū] | 'organ; member' |
- b. feminine singular nouns, 3:
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| siyāsāt [siyāsa] | 'policy' |
| hukūmat [hukūma] | 'government' |
| mamlakat [mamlaka] | 'kingdom; country' |
- c. feminine plural nouns, 1:
- | | |
|---------|---------------------------|
| bayānāt | 'declarations; circulars' |
|---------|---------------------------|
- d. verbal nouns, 7:
- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| faxāmat [faxāma] | 'highness, eminence' |
| wakīl | 'deputy' |
| waqt | 'time' |
| bayān | 'statement' |
| nazar [naɖaʔ] | 'sight, seeing' |
| wafɖ | 'promise' |
| ɖʒism | 'body' |
- e. adjectives, 1:
- | | |
|-------|-------------|
| muhim | 'important' |
|-------|-------------|

f. participles, 1:

mujarraf 'honoured'

g. phrases, 1:

Ya?Tsulwuzarā [Ya?Tsulwuzarā?] 'prime minister'

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

?Tzāh kirdin

?ittibās kirdin

The phrase, a compound noun, is Ya?Tsulwuzarā and it is formed as follows:

Ya?Ts	"chief, head" masculine singular noun
-u	the Arabic nominative case ending
-l-	"the" allomorph of the Arabic definite article ?al-
wuzarā [wuzarā?]	"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:

qānūn	(used 3 times)	'law'
maṣāʾ	(used 5 times)	'salary'
taʾrīn		'name of a month'
taqāʾud		'retirement'

b. feminine singular nouns, 7:

zarʿba [zarʿba]	(used 3 times)	'tax'
kafima	(used twice)	'word'
mīzaniyya		'budget'
?ikʿamiyya		'bonus gratuity'

c. feminine plural nouns, 10:

maṣṣāḥāt	(used twice)	'salaries'
muxaṣṣāt	(used 6 times)	'allowances'
wāʿidāt		'incomes'
xadamāt		'services'

d. masculine plural nouns, 5:

wuzarā	[wuzarāʾ?]	'ministers'
muwazzafīn	[muwaddafīn]	'officials'
mustaxdamīn		'employees'
ʔaṣyān		'members of the High House, equivalent to House of Lords'
nuwwāb		'members of House of Commons'

e. verbal nouns, 4:

ʃumūl	(used 3 times)	'inclusiveness'
qayd		'recording; debiting'

f. adjectives, 4:

ʃumūmiyya		'general; covering the whole'
sānī	[θānī]	'second'
dāʔimī		'permanent'
xuṣṣiyya		'having a special character'

g. participles, 4:

mustahḥaq		'is due to be'
lāʔiḥa		'bill of law'
muwaqqat		'temporary'
zābit	[dābit]	'military officer'
ʃamma		'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 akʔe "it will be recorded".

TEXT NO. 14, Introduction - history, 1931

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:

ʔi zhār [ʔi dhāʔ]	'showing; exhibiting'
maktab	'school'
suʔāl	'question'
ʔimlā [ʔimlāʔ]	'dictation'

b. feminine singular nouns, 6:

tabʔʔat [ʔabʔʔa]	'nature'
millat [milla]	'nation, people'
gayriyyat [gayʔiyya]	'alienness; separateness'
kalima	'word'
qawmiyya	'nationality'
daradʒa	'degree'

c. masculine plural nouns, 2:

ʔafʔād	'individuals'
ʔafʔāb	'nerves'

d. feminine plural nouns, 2:

kalimāt	(used twice)	'words'
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e. verbal nouns, 20:

xulāsa [xulāsa]	'summary'
tāʔʔx [tāʔʔx] (used twice)	'history'
kiteb [kitāb] (used twice)	'book'
taʔbʔʔ	'expression'
lafz [lafʔ]	'word; pronounced expression'
hiss	'feeling'
guʔūʔ	'vanity'

firsat [fuřsa]		'opportunity'
haqq	(used twice)	'right; justice'
?as! [?as!]		'origin'
qawm	(used twice)	'nation, people'
waqt		'time, period'
fikř		'mind'
zařũřat [dařũřa]		'necessity'
tadqĩq		'careful study; scrutiny'

f. adjectives, 2:

řumũmĩ		'general, common'
qawmĩ		'national'

g. participles, 2:

madźbũř		'obliged, forced'
dźãmifa		'rallying'

h. adverbs, 2:

?awwalan		'firstly'
sāniyan [θāniyan]		'secondly'

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

hiss kird	"felt"
madźbũř kird	"obliged, forced"
?izhār kird	"showed"
su?āl 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:

zur'āš 'farmers'

c. feminine plural nouns, 1:

muqaddasāt 'things holy'

d. verbal nouns, 2:

watan [waṭan] 'homeland, one's country'

tamāš [ṭamaš] 'greed'

1 hybrid compound noun occurs in this text. It is formed by adding the Kurdish element kār "the person who" to the borrowed tamāš, thus tamāškār "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:

ʔistiṣāf 'confession'

dīn 'religion'

mazhar [madḥar] 'appearance, semblance'

ʔālam 'world'

ʔilāh 'God'

b. feminine singular nouns, 4:

ʔoh [ʔūh] (used twice) 'soul, spirit'

mādda 'substance'

zaṣṣa [ḍaṣṣa] 'atom'

c. masculine plural nouns, 1:

xalq [xalq] 'people'

d. feminine plural noun, 1:

ʔadʒayib [ʔadʒāʔib] 'astounding things'

e. verbal nouns, 22:

dawʔ [dawʔ] (used twice) 'era, epoch'
sarāḥat [sarāḥa] 'frankness'
bayān 'declaration; statement'
ʔasr [ʔasʔ] (used twice) 'century; time'
niʔmat [niʔma] 'blessing'
fayz [fayd] 'bounty'
ʔināyat [ʔināya] 'divine'
quwwat 'power; strength'
binā [bināʔ] 'building'
ʔaraf [ʔaraf] 'honour'
sulḥ 'peace, agreement'
salōḥ 'piety; righteousness'
xabar [xabaʔ] 'news, tidings'
taʔnīm 'singing'
ʔifā [ʔifāʔ] (used twice) 'recovery'
dʒism 'body'
waqt [waqt] 'time'
ʔibtidā [ʔibtidāʔ] 'beginning; start'
xizmat [xidma] 'service, help'

f. adjective, 1:

ʔabadī 'eternal'

g. participle, 1:

ʔāʔiʔ 'poet'

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

ʔiʔtiʔāfī kirduwa "he has confessed"
taʔnīmyān kirduwa "they have sung them"
xabaryān dāwa "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:

ʔustāz [ʔustāḏ] (used twice)	'professor'
ʔamīd	'dean'

b. feminine singular nouns, 4:

wazārat [wazāʔa]	'ministry'
kullīyya	'college'
luḡat [luḡa] (used twice)	'language'

c. masculine plural nouns, 1:

mudaʔriṣīn	'teachers of secondary schools'
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d. feminine plural nouns, 7:

maʔāʔif	'plural of knowledge'
wazāʔif	'posts, jobs'
mudaʔriṣāt	'women teachers for secondary schools'
ḡuqūq	'rights'
ʔiyāziyyāt [ʔiyāḏiyyāt]	'mathematics'
tabʔiyyāt [tabʔiyyāt]	'natural sciences'

e. verbal nouns, 2:

tāʔīx [tāʔīx]	'history'
zarāʔat [ziʔāʔa]	'agriculture'

f. participles, 4:

mudʔīʔa	'headmistress of a school'
mudaʔriṣa	'woman teacher for a secondary school'
mudaʔriṣ	'man teacher for a secondary school'
mutawasīta [mutawasīta]	'intermediate school'

g. adjective, 1:

sānowī [θānowī] 'secondary'

h. phrase, 1:

dā'ru lmuṣaḥḥimāt 'preparatory school for women teachers'

i. non-Arabic loans; 2:

ḏzūg'āfiya 'geography'

bāyoloḏī 'biology'

The loanwords include the masculine word muda'ḥḥis "man teacher" and the feminine muda'ḥḥisa "woman teacher". It also includes the feminine word mudī'ra "woman director; headmistress".

The phrase dā'ru lmuṣaḥḥimāt is formed in the following way:

<u>dā'</u>	"school, house"	a feminine noun
<u>-u-</u>		the nominative case ending in Arabic
<u>-l-</u>		allomorph of the Arabic definite article
<u>muṣaḥḥimāt</u>	"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'
ḥixṭisās		'specialization'
ḥisḥāh	(used twice)	'improvement, reform'

nazar [nadaʔ] (used twice)	'sight; seeing'
ʔittifāq	'agreement'
dīwān	'department'
ʔihzār [ʔihdaʔ]	'preparation'
difāʔ	'defence'
mustawā	'level; standard'
ʔiqtiṣād	'economics'
xat [xatt]	'line'

b. feminine singular nouns, 21:

wazārat [wazāʔa]	'ministry'
siyāsāt [siyāsa] (used 5 times)	'policy'
mamlakat [mamlaka]	'country; kingdom'
dʒihat [dʒiha]	'side'
wihdat [wiḥda]	'unity'
bilād	'country'
wazīfa [wazīfa]	'job; occupation'
baladiyya	'municipality'
ʔafāhiyyat [ʔafāhiyya]	'prosperity'
māliyya	'finance'
mīzāniyya	'budget'
ʔadliyya	'pertaining to justice'
taqwiya	'strengthening; making more powerful'
ʔoh [ʔūh]	'spirit; soul'
ʔamniyyat [ʔamniyya]	'security, public peace'
qazāʔiyya [qadaʔiyya]	'judiciary'
taʔqiya	'promotion'

c. masculine plural nouns, 5:

ʔaʔbāb	'those who own or possess'
ʔamala	'workers - both plural & singular. Derived from Arabic word meaning work'
muwazzaʔīn [muwaddaʔīn]	'officials'
hukkām	'judges'
quzāt [quḍāt]	'religious judges'

d. feminine plural nouns, 22:

ʕumūr	(used twice)	'affairs'
ʔahkām		'provisions of the law'
ʔādāb		'morals'
muʔassasāt		'establishments, institutions'
taʔmīnāt		'securities, means of protection'
ʔahwāl [ʔahwāl]		'conditions'
ʃurta [ʃurʔa]		'police; policemen'
taʃkīlāt	(used twice)	'organizations'
ḥuqūq	(used twice)	'rights'
ʔaʃyā [ʔaʃyāʔ]		'things; here: commodities'
ʔuṣūl [ʔuṣūl]		'procedures'
muhākamāt		'court trials'
ʕuqūbāt		'punishments'
ʔusūm		'duties'
ʔasliha		'weapons'
muwāṣalaāt		'communications'
nabātāt		'plants'
ʃuʔūn		'affairs'
maʕāʔif		'plural of knowledge'

e. verbal nouns, 45:

ʔidāra [ʔidāʔa]	(used twice)	'administration'
saʕT	(used twice)	'working hard'
tatbīq [tatbīq]		'implementation, putting into effect'
ʔafʕ		'casting away, lifting'
sihḥat [sihḥa]	(used twice)	'health'
dʒalb		'bringing; introduction'
ʃikl [ʃikl]	(used twice)	'form, shape'
ḥaps [ḥaps]		'prisoner'
quwwat [quwwa]		'power'
zyād [ziyāda]		'addition'
wisʕat [wisʕa]		'spaciousness'
ʔiʔāda	(used twice)	'repetition'
dawlāt [dawlā]	(used twice)	'state'

qaʔz [qaʔd]	'loan, amount borrowed'
taqāʔud	'retirement'
taʔdʔl	'amendment'
wazʔ [wadʔ]	'condition, situation'
taʔsʔs	'setting up, establishing'
zarāʔat [ziʔāʔa] (used twice)	'agriculture'
ʔadālat [ʔadāla]	'justice'
ʔasās	'foundation, basis'
taʔtʔʃ	'inspection'
tadwʔn	'recording'
suʔh [suʔh]	'peaceful agreement'
ʔadl	'justice'
tudʔārat [tidʔāʔa]	'commerce, trade'
tazyʔd	'increasing, making greater'
kafāʔat [kafāʔa]	'competence, ability'
ʔʔayʃ	'army'
ʔafʔ	'raising, heightening'
taʔlʔm (used 3 times)	'teaching; education'
tadʔhʔz	'supplying; equipping'
xatar [xaʔaʔ]	'danger'
fayazān [fayadān]	'flood'
taʔsʔn	'improving'
tadʔʔb	'training'

f. adjectives, , 18:

xāʔiʔʔiyya	'external: ministry of foreign affairs'
ʔadʔnabʔ	'foreign'
xāʔiʔʔʔ	'external'
ʔumūmʔ	'general'
ʔumūmiyya	'widespread'
ʔamma	'public'
madanʔ	'civil'
ʔaskaʔʔ	'pertaining to the military'
tudʔārat [tidʔāʔʔ]	'commercial'
ʔadlʔ	'judicial'

qānūnī	(used twice)	'lawful, legal'
ḍazāʔiyya		'pertaining to criminals'
huqūqiyya		'legal'
māddī		'material'
maʔnawī		'moral'
ʔadliyya		'judiciary; judicial'

g. participles, 6:

	(used twice)	
muhāfaza [muhāfada]		'protecting'
qālib [qālib]		'frame'
lāʔiha		'bill of law'
kātib		'writer'
muʔallim		'male teacher'

h. phrase, 1:

ʔuṣbatulʔumam	'League of Nations'
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i. non-Arabic loanwords, 6:

pʔogʔām	(borrowed via Arabic from English)	'programme'
polīs	(borrowed from English)	'police'
bodḍza	(borrowed from English)	'budget'
oda	(borrowed from Turkish)	'room'
tāpo	(borrowed from Turkish)	'office of ownership records, deed office'
ʔamandafar	(borrowed from French)	'train'

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

1. ḍzalb kirdin "to bring"
2. zyād bikʔe "that it be increased"
3. wisʔatī bidʔete "that it be enlarged"
4. ʔafāhiyyati bidʔete "that it be made prosperous"
5. qaʔzī 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:

kitebxāna "library; bookshop" and yakd̥zihaṭī "one-sidedness". The former is made from the loanword kiteb "book" and the native word xāna "house". The latter is made of the Kurdish word yak "one" and the Arabic loanword d̥zihaṭ "side" and the final -ī is the Kurdish nominal forming suffix.

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

<u>d̥zamhūʔiyyat</u> [d̥zamhūʔiyya]	'republic'
<u>dāxi liyya</u>	'Home Office'

b. feminine plural nouns, 1:

<u>wilāyāt</u>	'states; districts'
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c. verbal nouns, 2:

ʔaʔTs		'head, chief'
wakTl		'deputy'

d. adjectives, 1:

ʃaʔqi		'eastern'
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e. non-Arabic loanwords, 2:

istāsyon	(from French)	'station'
ʃamandafar	(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:

ʔustāz	[ʔustāʔ]	'professor'
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b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

ʔoh	[ʔūh]	'soul, spirit'
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c. masculine plural nouns, 2:

ʔahāIT		'citizens, inhabitants'
talaba	[tālaba]	'students'

d. feminine plural nouns, 2:

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

farah [faʔah]	'merriment, joy'
[ʔukur] [ʔukʔ]	'thanking'
lutf [luʔf]	'kindness'

f. participle, 1:

mudaʔʔis	'male teacher'
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g. phrase, 1:

dāʔulmuʔallimīn	'institute for preparing male school teachers'
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The borrowed phrase dāʔulmuʔallimīn is formed as follows:

<u>dāʔ</u>	"house"
-u-	Arabic nominative case ending
-l-	allomorph of the Arabic definite article
<u>muʔallimīn</u>	"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:

madʔliʔ	'council'
ʔiqtiʔah	'proposal, suggestion'

b. feminine singular nouns, 6:

wazīfa [wadīfa]	'job, occupation'
quwwat (used 4 times)	'power'
hukūmat [hukūma]	'government'

c. masculine plural nouns, 1:

wuzarā [wuzarāʔ] 'ministers'

d. feminine plural nouns, 3:

huqūq 'rights'
 salāhiyyāt 'authorities'
 quwa 'powers'

e. adjectives, 3:

taʔṣṭiyya 'legislative'
 ʔidzʔāʔiyya 'executive'
 ʔadliyya 'judicial'

f. verbal nouns, 4:

ʔilm 'science'
 ʔidāra [ʔidāʔa] 'administration'
 ʔikl [ʔakl] 'shape'
 tafʔtq 'separation'

TEXT NO. 22

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

a. participles, 4:

mutawassita [mutawassita] 'intermediate school'
 mudʔra 'headmistress'
 muʔallima 'woman teacher'
 maʔlūm 'known'

1 hybrid compound verb occurs in this text. It is maʔlūm kiʔā "was made known". This compound has the Kurdish verb kirdin as its second element.

TEXT NO. 23, History, 1928

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:

tuʔaqqī [taʔaqqī]	'development'
ʔālam	'world'
ʔiqtidār [ʔiqtidār]	'capability'
ʔasās	'foundation, founding'
taʔaddud	'plurality'
ʔiqīm	'district'
watan [waʔan]	'homeland'
xalīd	'gulf'

b. feminine singular nouns, 10:

dawlat [dawla] (used twice)	'country; state'
madaniyyat [madaniyya] (used twice)	'civilization'
millat [milla]	'people, nation'
mafʔifat [mafʔifa] (used twice)	'knowledge'
mamlakat [mamlakat] (used twice)	'country, kingdom'
dzazīʔa	'island'
ʔarz [ʔaʔd]	'earth'

c. masculine plural noun, 2:

ʔulamā [ʔulamāʔ]	'scientists'
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d. feminine plural nouns, 5:

ʔāsār [ʔāṯār]	'ruins'
ʔatrāf [ʔatrāf]	'sides'
ʔāliha	'Gods'
ʔaʔyā [ʔaʔyāʔ]	'things; goods'

e. verbal nouns, 18:

qism		'part'
fas̄l [fas̄l]		'chapter'
ʃaʔq	(used 3 times)	'east'
tāʔT̄x [tāʔʔT̄x]		'history'
ʃimā		'north'
taraf [t̄aʔaf]		'side'
nahʔ		'river'
binā [bināʔ]		'building'
ʃibādat [ʃibāda]		'praying'
qawm		'people'
bahʔ	(used twice)	'sea'
gaʔb		'west'
d̄zunūb		'south'
nihāya		'end'
ʃubh		'semi; like'

f. adjectives, 4:

qad̄m		'ancient, old'
qad̄ma		'ancient, old - used with feminine nouns'
haq̄T̄q̄T̄		'real'
ʔah̄maʔ		'red'

g. prepositions, 1:

bayn		'between'
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h. phrases, 1:

ʃubh-T̄ d̄zaz̄T̄ʔa		'peninsula'
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1 hybrid compound verb occurs in this item. It is binā kirduwa "has been made". The Kurdish verbal element kirduwa is derived from kir̄d̄in.

TEXT NO. 24, Language and Grammar, 1928

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:

maktāb		'school'
sobāb		'reason'
?imlā [?imlā?]		'dictation'
maʿnā		'meaning'
nawʿ	(used 4 times)	'kind, sort'
zamīr [zamīr]	"	'pronoun'
masdāʾ		'infinitive'
hāl [hāl]		'present; now'
?istiqbāl		'future'
wādʿib		'duty'

b. feminine singular nouns, 9:

millat [milla]		'people, nation'
kalima	(used 5 times)	'word'
qissa		'story'
sifat [sifa]		'adjective'
?adāt		'article'

c. feminine plural nouns, 7:

qawāʿid		'grammar; lit. rules'
mafāʿif		'things known; education'
tadʾīsāt		'teachings, tutoring'
makātib		'schools'
makātīb		'letters'
?aqsām	(used twice)	'parts'

d. verbal nouns, 36:

ʔasr [ʔasʔ]		'era, epoch'
saʔT		'studying; working hard'
sarf [sarf]		'morphology'
nahū		'syntax'
waqt		'time'
tāraf [tāraf]		'side; party to'
bayān	(used twice)	'discussion'
ḥarf [ḥarf]	(used twice)	'letter'
hid-ā [hid-ā]	(used twice)	'spelling'
lafz [lafz]		'pronunciation'
ʔism	(used 8 times)	'noun'
bahs [bahs]		'discussion; subject'
qism	(used twice)	'part; kind'
d-ām	(used twice)	'adding; plurals'
taqṣīm		'division'
ʔamiʔ [ʔamiʔ]		'order, command'
fiʔl	(used 8 times)	'verb'

e. adjectives, 8:

ʔaxTʔ		'late, recent'
lāzim		'necessary'
ʔawwal [ʔawwal]		'first'
ʔām		'common, not special'
xās		'special, particular'
basīt [basīt]		'simple'
ʔaxsiyya [ʔaxsiyya]	(used twice)	'personal'

f. participles, 18:

muqaddima		'one or thing introducing'
mufʔad	(used 4 times)	'singular'
muʔakkab		'compound'
muttasil		'bound, not free'
munfasil		'free, not bound'
māzT [māzT]	(used 3 times)	'past; lit. something or someone gone by'

mutaṣaddī	'transitive'
mutakallim	'speaker'
muxāṭab [muxāṭab]	'addressee'
gāʾib	'one who is absent, here: the third person'
lāzim	'intransitive'
maṣlūm	'active voice in grammar'
maḍhūl	'passive in grammar'

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

<u>saṭī nakʾāwa</u>	"no effort has been made"
<u>bayān kirdin</u>	"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:

ḥisāb	(used twice)	'arithmetic'
ʿadad	(used 5 times)	'number'
miṣāl		'example'
maxʾad ₃	(used twice)	'denominator'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:

maʾṭaba		'category'
qāʿida		'rule'
qisma		'division'
sūrat [sūʾa]	(used twice)	'numerator'

c. feminine plural nouns, 11:

ʔaxmās		'fifths'
kusūʔ	(used 4 times)	'fractions'
ʔaʕmā		'skills in arithmetic'
ʔāhād		'units in arithmetic'
ʕaʕaʔāt		'tens'
miʔāt		'hundreds'
ʔaʕdād	(used twice)	'numbers'

d. verbal nouns, 16:

kasiʔ [kasʔ]	(used 5 times)	'fraction'
ʕilm		'science'
taʕʔʔf		'definition'
d-ʔamʕ		'addition'
tarh [taʔh]	(used twice)	'subtraction'
zarb [daʔb]		'multiplication'
taqʕm	(used 3 times)	'dividing'
mulāhaza [mulāhāda]		'notice'
muqāʔana		'comparison'

e. adjectives, 14:

sumin [θumin]		'one-eighth'
xumsān		'two-fifths'
saʕsa [θaʕsa]		'three'
ʔaʔbaʕa		'four'
ʕuʕʔ		'decimal'
ʔiʕtiyādʔ		'common fraction'
ʕahʔh	(used 7 times)	'whole(number)'
baʕʔʔ [baʕʔʔ]		'simple; here: lowest'

f. participles, 10:

muʔabbas		'square'
matʔūh		'subtracted'
hāsīl [hāsīl]		'thing obtained'

maqṣūm		'dividend'
xā'īdž	(used twice)	'coming out'
muzāṣaf	[muzāṣaf](used twice)	'doubled'
muj'ta'ak		'shared'
qābil		'capable'

g. preposition, 1:

bayn		'between'
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h. phrase, 2:

mat'ūh minhu		'minuend'
ʔattaf'ṭq ʔilā'ṣawāmi l-		
il'awwaliyya		'factoring'

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

<u>ṭaqṣīm</u> kirdin	"to divide"
<u>zarb</u> dak'ṣe	"it is multiplied"

The borrowed word xumsān 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'
ʔiʃtiṣā		'burning'
		'combustion'
ḥās	[ḥās] (used twice)	'product'
ʔimtizādž		'intermixing'

b. feminine plural nouns, 4:

duřūs		'lessons'
?ařyā [?ařyā?]		'things; materials'
tabīfiyyāt		'natural science'
?ad ₃ sām		'bodies'

c. verbal nouns, 3:

musāfada		'help'
řibārat	(used twice)	'consisting'

d. non-Arabic loans, 6:

?oksid ₃ īn	(used twice)	'oxygen'
hidrod ₃ īn	(used 3 times)	'hydrogen'
gāz		'gas'

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

?iřtiřā akā	"it burns"
hās akā	"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.

<u>No. of</u> <u>text</u>	<u>No. of words in</u> <u>the text</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>loanwords</u>	<u>Percentage of</u> <u>loanwords</u>
1	51	18	35.29
2	16	8	50%
3	59	31	52.54%
4	26	16	61.35%
5	92	42	45.65%
6	180	88	48.88%
7	36	14	38.88%
8	20	13	65%
9	105	57	54.28%
10	25	12	48%
11	85	41	48.23%
12	41	18	43.91%
13	83	45	52.21%
14	132	40	30.3%
15	33	5	15.33%
16	137	35	25.54%
17	57	25	43.5%
18	246	141	57.31%
19	19	8	42.1%
20	31	11	35.4%
21	31	19	61.2%
22	13	4	30.7%
23	114	49	42.9%
24	173	94	54.34%
25	140	69	49.28%
26	45	24	53.3%

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.

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

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

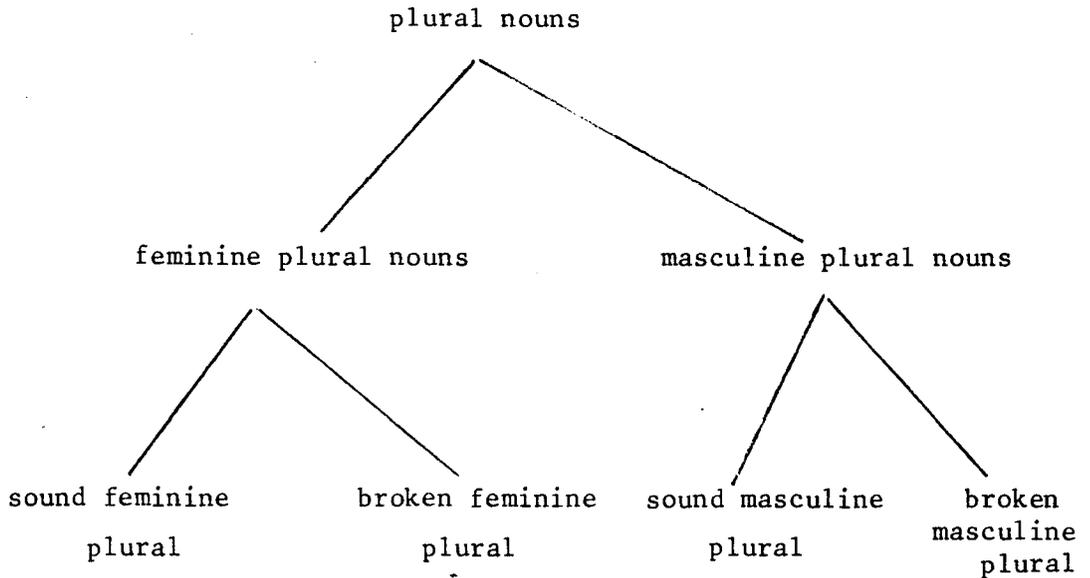
The data include 390 nouns borrowed from Arabic; 256 of them are singular and 134 are plural nouns both masculine and feminine.

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} roh "soul" and bi|lād "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", lisān "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 plural⁴ 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.

sayyāʾāt	"planets"
ḥukūmāt	"governments"
ʔālāt	"machines"
ʔadawāt	"equipments"
ḥaʾakāt	"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.	CuCūC	the singular is	CaCC	e.g.
	ʔuṣūl	"	ʔaṣl	text no. 1
	ḥuqūq	"	ḥaqq	text no. 17
	ʔusūm	"	ʔasm	text no. 18
	ʔumūʔ	"	ʔamʔ	text no. 18
	ʃuʔūn	"	ʃaʔn	text no. 18
	duʔūs	"	daʔs	text no. 26
2.	ʔaCCāC	the singular is	CuCC	e.g.
	ʔaḍʔām	"	ḍaʔm	text no. 5
	ʔaḥkām	"	ḥukm	text no. 18
	ʔaxmās	"	xums	text no. 25

3.	CaCā?iC	the singular is	CaCīCa	e.g.
	wazā?i f	"	wazīfa	text no. 17
	ʕaʕā?i ʕ	"	ʕaʕīʕa	text no. 3
4.	MaCCāCiC	the singular is	MaCCaC	e.g.
	maṭālib	"	maṭlab	text no. 24
	makātib	"	maktab	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 -īn. That is to say, none of them occurred with the nominative pluralizing suffix -ūn. The following are the words borrowed, their meanings and the number of the text in which each occurred.

1.	maʕmūʕīn	"officials"	text no. 1
2.	muwazzafīn	"public servants"	text no. 13 and 18
3.	mustaxdamīn	"employees"	text no. 13
4.	mudaʕʕisīn	"men secondary school teachers"	text no. 17
5.	muʕallimīn	"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 tudʕdʕār "merchants", zurʕāʕ "farmers", ḥukkām "judges"; they have the pattern CuCCāC and its singular is CāCiC.

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:

<u>Singular form</u>	<u>No. of text</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>No. of text</u>	<u>Meaning of singular</u>
wazîř	3	wuzarā	13	"minister"
hukūmat	5	hukūmāt	6	"government"
sayyār	6	sayyārāt	6	"planet"
nawî	6	řanwās	6	"kind, sort"
hařaka	6	hařakāt	6	"movement"
sanfat	6	sanāřif	16	"trade"
qānūn	9	qawānīn	5	"law"
mafāř	13	mafāřāt	13	"salary"
kalima	13	kalimāt	14	"word"
maktab	14	makātib	24	"school"
řilāh	16	řāliha	24	"God"
mudařřis	17	mudařřisīn	17	"male secondary school teacher"
mudařřisa	17	mudařřisāt	17	"female " " "
muřallima	22	muřallimāt	17	"woman primary school teacher"
řařis	19	řuřasā	3	"chief"
quwwat	21	quwā	21	"power"
qism	24	řaqsām	24	"division, part"
kasiř	25	kusūř	25	"fraction"

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 -āt

which means that they are sound feminine plurals, l is pluralized by the addition of the sound masculine plural ending -l̄n 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. mudaŕŕis (male secondary school teacher), but mudaŕŕisa (female secondary school teacher), text 17
2. maŕa||im (male primary school teacher), but muŕa||ima (female primary school teacher), text 17 and
3. mudŕŕa (headmistress, woman director), text 17 and this contrasts in gender with mudŕŕ.

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 trilateral 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. baḥs ṣaql ḥaps ḥarb lafz
which occurred in texts nos. 6 and 10.
- b. CiCC e.g. fikr ṣilm
in texts nos. 6, 7 and 21 respectively.
- c. CuCC e.g. nutq suḥ lutf
in texts nos. 11; 16 and 20 respectively.
- d. CiCāC e.g. ḥidāʾ kitāb ṣimāl
in texts nos. 2, 6 and 23 respectively.
- e. TaCCTC e.g. taqdīm taʾxīr tabīʿ tadqīq
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. fitra niṣma siḥḥa
in texts nos. 5, 16 and 18 respectively.

- b. CuCCa e.g. fuſla quwwa
in texts nos. 6 and 16 respectively.
- c. CiCāCa e.g. wilāda ?i?āda ?idāra
in texts nos. 1, 8 and 18 respectively.
- d. CaCāCa e.g. ſatāla faxāma sarāha
in texts nos. 9, 12 and 16 respectively.
- e. MuCāCaCa e.g. muwāfaqa muzāha?a muſāfada
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. Furthermore, 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 MuCāCaCa and TaCCīC and also to the majority of pattern CaCC, CiCC, CuCC. Thus it is possible to say:

<u>muzāh?a kirdin</u>	"to demonstrate"
<u>taqdīm kirdin</u>	"to offer"
<u>bahs kirdin</u>	"to do research; to discuss"
<u>fikr kirdin</u>	"to think, to contemplate"
<u>sulh kirdin</u>	"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 agentia or agentive participles which are actually agents or actors, and

(ii) adjective participles.

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

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

- (i) CāCiC as in hāzir ʿātil ʿāmil ʿādir kātib
in texts nos. 3, 6, 9, 16, 18 respectively.
- (ii) MuCaCCiC as in mudarʿis, muʿallim
in texts nos. 17 and 18 respectively.

The feminine of the above participles also occurred and the pattern is then CāCiCa and MuCaCCiCa, e.g. ʿāmiʿa and mudarʿisa in texts nos. 14 and 17 respectively.

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

- a. MaCCūC as in maʿlūm maʿqūl maḥbūs madzhūl
in texts nos. 1, 5, 10 and 24 respectively.
- b. MuCaCCaC as in muqaddas munaqqah mujaʿraf
muʿabbas in texts 6, 9, 12 and 25.
- c. MuCCaCaC as in muhtaʿam mujtaʿak
in texts nos. 3 and 25.
- d. MuCCaCiC as in munfasil muttasil
in text no. 24.
- e. MuTaCaCCiC as in mutakallim mutawassit(a)
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 faxīm, zaṣṣīf, muhim, basīt, saḥīḥ 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 -ī or -īyya. These adjectives can also function as abstract nouns (Wright, 1975, p.165). The following are examples of such adjectives that occurred in the data:

ʔidz̄timāṣṣī, qawmī, madanī (in texts nos. 5, 18, 18 respectively); and ʔidz̄timāṣṣīyya, xāʔidz̄īyya, ḥuqūqīyya (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:

muwaqqatan, dāʔiman, ʔaʔsan, ʔawwalan.

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: ʔasna and bayn in texts nos. 6 and 23 respectively.

However, a further 6 prepositions in the borrowed Arabic phrases occurred. They are:

maʕa "with", ʔi lā "to", bi- "in", bi lā "without",
ʔa lā "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) | maʕa lʔasaf | "with regret" |
| (b) | biʔadʒal | "at a pre-destined time" |
| (c) | bi lʔaks | "on the contrary" |
| (d) | bi lā faṣil | "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) | mūmāʔi layhim | "the one pointed to" |
| (b) | muʔāʔi layhā | "the one indicated" |
| (c) | sāʔi ʔihT | "the rest of it" |
| (d) | mattrūhminhu | "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) | ʔusbatulʔumam | "League of Nations" |
| (b) | walTʔahd | "Crown Prince" |
| (c) | daʔulmuʔallimTn | "Male preparatory school" |

9 phrases of this kind occur in the data.

The phrase lāyatagayyār "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:

<u>lā</u>	negative particle meaning "no"
<u>yatagayyār</u>	"it changes" where <u>ya</u> 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"
-hā	"her"
-hū	"him"
-hī	"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.22f. 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) ṭ > t The pharyngealized (emphatic) voiceless dental stop of Arabic became voiceless dental stop wherever it occurred in the loanwords.

Thus the Arabic words ṭibbī, qitṣa, dābit which occurred in texts nos. 1, 3 and 13 respectively were realized as tubbī, qitṣa and zābit.

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

- (b) ṣ > 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:

ṣura, ḥaxs, xulāṣa, ṣihha, ṣifa which occurred in texts nos. 5, 10, 14, 18 and 24 and were changed into:

sūrat, ḥaxs, xulāsa, sihhat and sifat.

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

taqṣīṣ, ḥiqṭiṣād, ḥasl, fasl and these occurred in texts nos. 2, 5, 14 and 23 respectively.

The borrowed word qīṣṣa in text no. 24 retained its double pharyngealized /ṣ/ possibly because the change might produce homophony and therefore confusion with the native word qīsa "talk, speak".

The retention of the /ṣ/ sound in the borrowed words has greatly increased the functional load of this phoneme.

- (c) ṣ > r The trilled Arabic /ṣ/ was occasionally realized as a flap /r/ medially and finally. Kurdish has both a trilled and a flapped /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:

qaṛāṛ ʔintidāṛ tayyāṛa hadṛat haṛb wazāṛa

which occurred in texts nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 11 and 18 and were realized as qarār, ʔintizār, tayyāra, hazrat, harb, wazārat.

- (d) l > ḷ The clear lateral sound /l/ in Arabic loanwords was occasionally realized as a velarized (dark) /ḷ/.

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 ʔa.l.lāh "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:

taḷab and muḷk, ʔaql, ʃikl, ʔasl, fasl,

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, ʕ or a sound which is pharyngealized as in taḷab above.

(ii) Change in Point of Articulation

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

(a) θ > s The interdental voiceless fricative becomes voiceless alveolar fricative wherever it occurred in Arabic loans, e.g. bahθ, θānī, ʔāθāʔ, which occurred in texts nos. 6, 8 and 23 were realised as bahs, sānī and ʔāsār.

(b) ð > z Voiced interdental fricative became voiced alveolar fricative in the borrowed words, e.g. ʔiʔtiðāʔ, ðarʔa and ʔustāð in texts nos. 2, 10 and 17 became ʔiʔtizār, zarʔa and ʔustāz.

(c) ð > z The pharyngealized voiced dental fricative became voiced alveolar fricative wherever it occurred in the borrowed words, e.g. hāðīʔ, ðarība, lafð in texts nos. 3, 13 and 14 became hāzīr, zarība and lafz.

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 /ā/. Twelve words with final -āʔ occurred in the data and all changed to -ā, e.g.

ʔuʔasāʔ, ʔistidʔāʔ, wuzaʔaʔ and ʔimlāʔ in

texts nos. 3, 5, 13 and 15 became

ʔuʔasā, ʔistidʔā, wuzarā, ʔimlā.

(b) Several phonological changes occurred within single words, e.g.

tud₃d₃ā^ʔ became tud₃ār in text no. 3.

kitāb became kiteb (also kitāb) in text no. 6.

ṛūh and waqt became ṛoh and waxt in text no. 16.

All these words except the first are probably early borrowings; but the reduction of the geminate cluster d₃d₃ in tud₃d₃ā^ʔ 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.

dzuz? in text no. 2

su?āl in text no. 3

- (b) the loanwords have introduced a change in the functional load of the velarized alveolar fricative /s/ 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	<u>muttasil</u>	(text no. 24)
2. bb	as in	<u>muṛabbaf</u>	(text no. 25)
3. dd	as in	<u>muqaddas</u>	(text no. 5)
4. ss	as in	<u>muʔassiʔ</u>	(text no. 9)
5. <u>ss</u>	as in	<u>qissa</u>	(text no. 24)
6. zz	as in	<u>muwazzafīn</u>	(text no. 13)
7. ww	as in	<u>ʔawwalan</u>	(text no. 5)
8. yy	as in	<u>tayyāra</u>	(text no. 3)
9. kk	as in	<u>muṛakkab</u>	(text no. 24)
10. qq	as in	<u>muwaqqata</u>	(text no. 7)
11. <u>hh</u>	as in	<u>sihhat</u>	(text no. 18)
12. ṛṛ	as in	<u>mudaṛṛis</u>	(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 -īn as in maʔmūr + in "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 femininizing 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. muʔallim + 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 -t and -īyya as in huquqī and huquqīyya (see p. 81 for further examples).
- (e) The adverb forming morpheme -an, e.g. ?awwalan "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.

<u>qatra</u>	"drop"	<u>wilāda</u>	"birth"	<u>ḡahm</u>	"womb"
<u>ḡuz?</u>	"part"	<u>ta?xīr</u>	"delay"	<u>ḡidḡā</u>	"request"
<u>baḡz</u>	"some"	<u>wafat</u>	"death"	<u>lisan</u>	"tongue"
<u>maḡāhīr</u>	"famous men"	<u>tifl</u>	"child"	<u>yawmī</u>	"daily"
<u>?awwalan</u>	"firstly"	<u>lākin</u>	"but"	<u>nawḡ</u>	"kind, sort"
<u>nudḡūm</u>	"stars"	<u>ḡadd</u>	"counting"	<u>ḡuḡ la</u>	"flame"
<u>quwwat</u>	"power"	<u>lāzim</u>	"necessary"	<u>ḡaqīqī</u>	"real"
<u>kullī</u>	"complete"	<u>sānīḡ</u>	"maker"	<u>fawq</u>	"above"
<u>sānī</u>	"second"	<u>mawt</u>	"death"	<u>zāif</u>	"weak"
<u>ḡaxs</u>	"person"	<u>ḡāī</u>	"high"	<u>ḡidḡtimāḡ</u>	"meeting"
<u>su?āl</u>	"question"	<u>?īlāh</u>	"God"	<u>ḡzism</u>	"body"
<u>ḡzalb</u>	"bringing"	<u>fayazān</u>	"flood"	<u>ḡahsīn</u>	"improving"
<u>?arz</u>	"earth"	<u>qadīm</u>	"old"	<u>?ahmaḡ</u>	"red"
<u>?īḡtīḡāī</u>	"burning"	<u>?īḡtīḡāḡ</u>	"burning; combustion"		

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 řahm, wafāt, mawt, sānif, řilāh 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'; řahma (4) 'mercy';
qufrān (4) 'forgiveness'; bārī? and bārītāfālā (4)
'God Almighty'; mawřūd (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.

ʔadʒal (4) 'destiny'; baʃar (5) 'human being';
muqaddas (6) 'holy, sacred'; ʔazama (6) 'greatness';
ʔāniʔ (6) 'creator'; ʔaʔʔi (6) 'conforming to
religious laws'; muqaddāsāt (15) 'sacred things';
ʔilāh (16) 'God'; ʔoh (16) 'spirit, soul';
ʔadʒāʔib (16) 'miracles'; fayz (16) 'bounty';
niʔma (16) 'blessing'; dīn (16) 'religion';
zaʔʔa (16) 'atom'; ʔināya (16) 'providence';
nifāq (18) 'hypocrisy'; fasād (18) 'corruption';
lutf (20) 'kindness in relation to God';
ʔukur (20) 'thankfulness'; ʔāliha (23) 'Gods'.

(ii) Government and Administration.

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

hayʔa (1) 'committee'; ʔuʔasā (3) 'chief heads';
ʔaʔʔiʔ (3) 'tribes'; hukūma (4) 'government';
siyāsa (4) 'politics'; taʔmīnāt (5) 'deposits,
securities'; ʔawāmiʔ (5) 'orders'; ʔiqtiṣādī (5)
'economical'; hukūmāt (5) 'governments'; siyāsī
(5) 'political'; naqdī (5) 'cash'; wazīrmufawwaz
(7) 'minister plenipotentiary'; ʔiʔtiʔāf (7)
'recognition'; ʔaʔīs (7) 'leader'; muwāfaqa (7)
'approval'; madʒlis (8) 'council'; mabʔūs (8)
'delegates'; ʔihtidʒāt (11) 'protest'; ʔzalāla
(11) 'majesty'; malik (11) 'king';

matālib (11) 'demands'; muṣāhada (11) 'treaty';
ʔid-ḡtimāṣ (12) 'meeting'; ʔuzū (12) 'member';
faxāma (12) 'highness, greatness'; mamlaka (12)
'kingdom'; bayānāt (12) 'declarations'; ʔṯzāḥ
(12) 'explanation'; mīzāniyya (13) 'budget';
maṣāʔ (13) 'salary'; maṣāʔāt (13) 'salaries';
muxaṣṣāt (13) 'allowances'; taqāʔud (13)
'retirement'; xadamāt (13) 'services'; wuzarā
'ministers'; muwazzafīn (13) 'officials';
mustaxdamīn (13) 'employees'; ʔaṣyān (13) 'peers';
muwwāb (13) 'members of parliament; delegates';
ʔafʔād (14) 'individuals'; wazāra (17) 'ministry';
baladiyya (18) 'municipality'; dīwān (18) 'main
office'; muʔassasāt (18) 'establishments';
xāʔid-ḡziyya (18) 'ministry of external affairs';
madanī (18) 'modern, civil'; tud-ḡārī (18)
'commercial'; ʔuʔta (18) 'police'; biḡād (18) 'country'.

(iii) Law and Legal Organization.

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

qarār (1) 'decision'; qawānīn (5) 'laws';
ʔimtiyāz (5) 'privilege'; ʔistidʔā (5) 'summon';
tabliḡ (7) 'note of information from court';
qānūn (9) 'law'; mahbūs (10) 'imprisoned';
ḡaps (10) 'imprisonment'; ḡuʔm (10) 'crime';

ʔiʕdām (10) 'death sentence'; ʔiʕtikāb (10)
 'committing a crime'; huqūq (11) 'rights';
maʕʕūsa (11) 'legal, lawful'; lāʔihā(r)s 'law bill';
suḥ (16) 'peace'; maḥkūm (17) 'convicted';
qānūnī (18) 'legal'; ʕadl (18) 'justice';
ʔaḥkām (18) 'provisions of the law'; muḥākamāt
 (18) 'trials'; ḥukkām (18) 'judges'; ʕuqūbāt
 (18) 'punishments'; tadwīn (18) 'law recordings';
quzāt (18) 'religious judges'; qazāʔiyya (18)
 'pertaining to the legal system'; katib-i ʔadl (18)
 'notary public'; taʕʕiyya (21) 'legislative'.

(iv) Education.

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:

nudzūm (6) 'stars'; sayyār (6) 'planet';
ʔad-ʕām (6) 'celestial bodies'; ʔafīāk (6)
 'orbits'; maʕʕṭx (6) 'Mars'; dzadi (6) 'Jupiter';
maqāl (9) 'essay'; ʔad-ʕnās (9) 'species';
ḥaywānāt (9) 'animals'; nabātāt (9) 'plants';
ʕuzwiyyāt (9) 'organisms'; tāʕṭx (14) 'history';
maktab (14) 'school'; kulliyya (17) 'college';
mutawasita (17) 'intermediate school';

sānawī (17) 'secondary school'; maṣūrif (17) 'education'; ḥamīd (17) 'dean of college';
mudaḥḥis (17) 'male secondary school teacher';
mudaḥḥissa (17) 'female secondary school teacher';
ḥustāz (17) 'lecturer, professor'; mudiḥa (17) 'headmistress, female director'; tabḥiyyāt (17) 'natural sciences'; muḥallimāt (17) 'women primary school teachers'; taḥlīm (18) 'teaching';
talāba (20) 'students'; maḥīfat (23) 'knowledge';
taḥḥīsāt (24) 'teachings'; makātib (24) 'letters';
ḥaḥyā (26) 'preliminaries of science'.

The following words have been borrowed under the influence of language and grammar:

ḥimlā (14) 'dictation'; ḥaḥz (14) 'word or item pronounced'; kaḥimāt (14) 'words'; ḥuḥa (17) 'language'; taḥḥuma (18) 'translation';
ḥiṣṣa (24) 'story'; maḥnā (24) 'meaning';
ḥawāḥid (24) 'grammar'; naḥū (24) 'syntax';
ṣarf (24) 'derivation, morphology'; ḥism (24) 'noun'; ḥiḥl (24) 'verb'; ḥaḥf (24) 'particle, letter'; ḥāḥl (24) 'present'; ḥistiḥbāḥl (24) 'future'; ḥamḥ (24) 'imperative'; maḥḥūm (24) 'active'; maḥḥūl (24) 'passive'; muḥaḥadī (24) 'transitive'; ḥāzim (24) 'intransitive';
muḥaḥallim (24) 'first person, addresser';

muxātab (24) 'addressed'; mufřad (24) 'singular';
d₃amf (24) 'plural'; zamīř (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:

řiyāziyyāt (17) 'mathematics'; hisāb (25)
'arithmetic'; řadad (25) 'number'; řāhād (25)
'units'; řařarāt (25) 'tens'; miřāt (25)
'hundreds'; mařtaba (25) 'category'; d₃amf
(25) 'addition'; tarh (25) 'subtraction';
matřūh (25) 'subtrahend'; zarb (25) 'multiplication';
taqsīm (25) 'dividing'; qisma (25) 'division';
maqsūm (25) 'dividend'; kasiř (25) 'fraction';
surat (25) 'numerator'; maxřad₃ (25) 'denominator';
řuřřī (25) 'decimal'; řiřtiyādī (25) 'common';
muřabbař (25) 'square'; muzāřaf (25) 'coefficient'.

(v) Army.

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

qitřa (3) 'company of soldiers'; řaskařiyya (3)
'military'; tayyāra (3) 'plane'; harb (11) 'war';
zabit (12) 'officer'; difāř (18) 'defense';
d₃ayř (18) 'army'; řasliha (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 luga 'language', fayazān 'flood', ḡarq 'east', garb 'west', nudzūm 'stars', harb 'war', ʔasliha 'weapons', etc. are perhaps borrowed because of the prestige that the Arabic language enjoyed among the Kurds, (see section 1.5 p.10ff 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 waziʔmufawwaz, bayānāt, ʔizāh, masāʔāt, muxasasāt, taqāʔud, xadamāt, muwazzafīn, mustastaxdamīn, ʔasyān, nuwwāb, baladiyya, muʔassasāt, muwāsasalāt, d-ʔamhūʔiyya, salāhiyyāt, faxāma, siyāsi, madani, taʔmīnāt, ʔimtiyāz, kulliyya, mutawasita, sānawi, mudaʔʔisa, mudʔʔa, kaʔʔāfa, 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:

ʔaʕyān, nuwwāb, mutawasita, sānawī, mudaʕʕissa,
mudīra and kaʕʕāfa.

The first two words were not used during the Ottoman rule, for they used mabʕūs (see text no.8) instead. The second two words are new because the words hamīdiyya and ʕuʕdiyya 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 mudaʕʕis '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 mudaʕʕisa and mudīra are borrowed since the establishment of modern Iraq.

The word kaʕʕāfa '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 f. 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 -aka~-ka~-k- and the indefinite article⁶ -ek and -yek were used with the borrowed words, e.g.

?id ₃ timāf + aka	(12)	'the meeting'
muzāhara + ka	(11)	'the demonstration'
millat + ak + ān	(14)	'the nations'
qism + ek	(3)	'a part'
tifl + ek	(5)	'a child'
qatra + yek	(1)	'a drop'
hafta + yek	(3)	'a week'

6. -aka and -ek are used with words ending with consonants, e.g. kuř 'boy', kuřaka 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 -ān is added after -ka, the result is dekān 'the villages'.

2. The Kurdish liaison morpheme, *izāfa*, (-i with words ending with consonants and -y with words ending with vowels) is employed to link words and form endocentric constructions, e.g.

faxāmat-T wazīr-T tayaʔān (3)

'his excellency, minister of aviation'

wafāt-T muʔsif (4) 'sad death'

tablīg-T ʔaʔTs-T hukūmat-T tāza-y erānī
kird (7) 'he informed the head of the
new government of Iran'

In the examples above, the *izāfa* 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:

am ... a 'this'

aw ... a 'that'

and the plurals am...āna 'these' and aw...āna 'those', e.g.

am + ʔuʔūl + a (1) 'this process'

am + ʔilm + a (6) 'this science'

aw + nowʔ + a (9) 'that kind'

aw + wafid + āna (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.

sayyār + ān	(6)	'planets'
mabfūs + ān	(8)	'delegates'
ḡāḡiḡ + ān	(16)	'ports'
ḡarf + ān	(24)	'letters'

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

mustaxdamīn + ān	(13)	'employees'
ṭalāḡa + k + ān	(20)	'the students'

Such usage indicates that the sound masculine suffix of Arabic is not completely assimilated, and that the broken plural ṭalāḡa 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

la ... dā	'in, at', and
ba ... awa	'with'

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

la + dunyā + dā	'in the world'
la + maktab + dā	'at school'
ba + ḡasfa + awa	'with regret'

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-Īn/V-yn
 2nd person singular: C-Īt/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: + bŪm ; plural: + bŪyn
 2nd person singular: + bŪyt ; plural: + bŪn
 3rd person singular: + bŪ ; plural: + bŪn

The future forms are:

1st person singular: + abim ; plural: + abyn
 2nd person singular: + abĪt ; plural: + abin
 3rd person singular: + abe ; plural: + abin

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

mumkin + a (1) 'it is possible'
lāzim + a (6) 'it is necessary'
dā?imĪ + ya (6) 'it is continuous'
muhim + in (12) 'they are important'
mufĀad + a (4) 'it is singular'

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

ta?xĪĀ + bŪ (2) 'he/it was delayed'
ḡadiĀ + bŪ (8) 'he/it was issued'

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

maſ lŪm + abe (1) 'it will be known'
muſaĀaf + abim (12) 'I will be honoured'

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 $-\bar{\text{T}}$, e.g.
mahbūs 'imprisoned'; mahbūsī (10) 'imprisonment'
 - b. the adjective suffix $-dār$
šaraf 'honour', šarafdār (12) 'honourable'
 - c. the comparative and superlative adjective suffixes, $-tir$ and $-tirīn$, e.g.
qadīm 'old', qadīmtir and qadīmtirīn (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 kirdin 'to make'.

The potentiality of forming such compound verbs is very high since it is possible to add kirdin to almost all verbal nouns particularly those that have the patterns MuCCiC and TaCCiC (see p. 88+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.

III CHAPTER THREE

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, /gəlwəz/ 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. /gəlwəz/ 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 /dang-i gittî tîza/ 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 /qalṭweʒ/, 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 (Hilāli, 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 Hilāli (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 [ḥadīth], (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 Mullas 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 Kurdish¹ 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 No. 2

Name of Administrative District	No. of schools		No. of Teachers		No. of Students		No. of students to every 10,000 persons
	For Boys	For Girls	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Mosul	68	19	176	72	4310	2327	1076
Kirkuk	15	2	45	4	896	102	63
Arbil	7	-	15	-	614	-	30
Sulaimania	1	-	5	-	106	-	15
Baghdad	17	7	98	40	2604	1184	97
Diyala	17	1	52	2	1272	78	82
Dilaym	9	-	30	-	793	-	45
Kūt	5	-	19	-	436	-	25
Hilla	6	-	25	-	636	-	34
Karbala	5	-	23	-	514	-	78
Diwaniya	9	-	29	-	686	-	18
Al-Muntafik	11	-	34	-	909	-	28
Samara	10	1	42	5	946	203	75
Basra	19	1	72	7	1877	161	72

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

Name of Administrative District	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Students
Mosul	103	487	15416
Kirkuk	54	209	4962
Arbil	33	117	2703
Sulaimania	37	108	2854
Baghdad	89	623	19316
Diyāla	49	191	2945
Dilaym	32	126	3422
Kūt	25	106	2343
Hilla	42	182	4163
Karbala	21	114	2917
Diwaniya	45	192	4026
Al-Muntafik	49	191	4120
Ṣamāra	39	203	4860
Basra	55	292	8614

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:

maktab	'school'
ʔih̄tiyāt [ʔih̄tiyāt]	'reserve'
daftař	'note-book'

b. feminine singular nouns, 7:

wazārat [wazaʔa]	'ministry'
dʒinsiyat [dʒinsiyya]	'citizenship certificate'
madʔasa	'school'
dʒināyat [dʒināya]	'crime'
ʃahādāt [ʃahāda]	'certificate'

c. feminine plural nouns, 3:

ʃaʔāʔit [ʃaʔāʔit]	'conditions'
ʔaxlāq	'manners; morals'
nifūṣ	'population'

d. verbal nouns, 7:

difāʔ	'defence'
dawʔa	'course'
dawām	'attendance'
ḥusn	'excellence'
sulūk	'behaviour'
ʔumr	'age'
dʒayʃ	'army'

e. participles, 5:

zābit [dābit]	'officer'
muʔādil	'equivalent'
mahkūm	'imprisoned'
muʔayyad	'supported'
mulāzim	'lieutenant'

f. adjectives, 3:

sānawT [θānawT]	'secondary'
sānT [θānT]	'second'

g. phrases, 2:

nāʔib zābit [nāʔib dābit]	'army quarter master'
ʔadam mahkūmiyyat [ʔadam mahkūmiyya]	'non-conviction'

2 hybrid compounds occurred in the text; one is a verb with kirdin as its second element, e.g. dawān akan "they are attending". The other is a noun. Its second element is the Kurdish word nāma "record", e.g. [ahādāt 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:

taʔrdzuma [taʔrdzama] 'translation'

b. feminine plural nouns, 3:

ʔadabiyyāt (used 3 times) 'literature'

c. verbal nouns, 1:

kiteb [kitāb] 'book'

d. adjectives, 2:

ʔadabī 'literary'
saqāfī [θaqāfī] 'educational'

1 hybrid compound verb occurred. The native second element is kirdin, e.g. taʔrdzuma kirdin "translating".

TEXT NO. 3, article on language and letter to editor, 1940

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:

maqāl		'article in a paper or magazine'
taṣbīṭ	(used twice)	'expression'
ḥāl	[ḥāl]	'condition'
maʿnā		'meaning'

b. feminine singular nouns, 5:

kalima	(used four times)	'word'
ḍumla		'sentence'

c. verbal nouns, 2:

ʔazā	[ʔidāʔ]	'satisfaction'
ʔumʔ		'age'

4 hybrid compounds occurred in this text, they are:

- (a) ʔazāmandī This is a compound noun formed by adding the Kurdish nominalizing suffix -mandī to the borrowed word ʔazā and it means "satisfaction"
- (b) nāʔazāī A compound noun made of the Kurdish negative particle nā- "not", the borrowed word ʔazā and the nominalizing suffix -ī. The compound means "dissatisfaction".
- (c) nāʔazā A compound adjective formed by prefixing the negative particle nā- "not" to the borrowed word ʔazā. The compound means "dissatisfied".

- (d) bahā A compound adverb made of the borrowed word hā [hā] and the Kurdish prepositional prefix 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:

daʿs 'lesson'

- b. feminine singular nouns, 3:

wazifa [wazifa] 'job, work'

sanʿat [sanʿa] 'craft, trade'

tadʒʿuba 'experiment;
experience'

- c. feminine plural nouns, 1:

?iʿādat 'plural of advice'

- d. verbal nouns, 4:

fikʿ 'thought'

tamʿin 'drill; practice'

kiteb [kitāb] (used twice) '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 kirđin, e.g.

fikřit kirđuwa "you have thought"
timřin bika "you should practice"

The other two are formed with the Kurdish verb wařgiřtin "to take", they are:

tadžřuba wařbigřa "you should get experience"
řiřřadāt wařbigřa "you should get advice"

The remaining compounds are:

1. sanřatkar "craftsman". This is a noun compound formed by the loanword: sanřat and the native bound morpheme -kar "worker, a person who does something".
2. kitebxāna "bookstore; library". kiteb is a borrowed word and -xāna "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:

mā| [mā|] 'wealth'

- b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

qīmat [qīma] 'value'

c. feminine plural nouns, 2:

ʔadobiyyāt	'literature'
ʔāsāʔ [ʔāsās]	'relics; past records'

d. verbal nouns, 3:

qawm (used twice)	'nation'
tāʔix [tāsax]	'history'

1 hybrid compound adjective occurs in this text, e.g. qīmatdār "valuable". It is formed by adding the Kurdish adjectivizing morpheme -dār "the one that has" to the borrowed word 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:

ʃiʔ	'poetry'
mānā [maʔnā]	'meaning'

b. verbal nouns, 1:

xalq [xalq]	'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:

ʃiʃʔ 'poetry'

b. feminine plural nouns, 1:

?adobiyyāt 'literature'

c. adjectives, non-Arabic, 2:

dīmokrātī (used twice) 'democratic'

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:

mānā [maʕnā] 'meaning'

b. verbal nouns, 2:

ʃimāl 'north'

ʔziṅūb 'south'

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:

taʃʔn 'name of a month'

b. adjectives, 3:

siyāsī 'political

simuw 'high'

malikī 'royal'

c. non-Arabic loan, Turkish 1:

?āyinda 'next, coming'

TEXT NO. 11, caption under a picture, 1943

This text contains 16 words, 1 is a loanword 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:

ḍins	'sex'
manzar [mandaṛ]	'scene, view'
řoh [řūh]	'spirit'

b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

mawḍūdiyyat [mawḍūdiyya]	'existence; presence'
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c. adjectives, 1:

laṭf [laṭf]	'fair, beautiful'
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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:

ḍins	'species'
-------	-----------

b. feminine singular nouns, 1:

dawlat [dawla]	'state, country'
----------------	------------------

c. feminine plural nouns, 1:

ʔadabiyyāt	'literature'
------------	--------------

d. verbal nouns, 1:

xiṭāb [xiṭāb]	'speech'
---------------	----------

e. adjectives, 1:

mařāʔ	'honourific term meaning highness'
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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

daʿs '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:

tikrār [tikʾār] 'repetition'
maktab 'school'

b. feminine plural nouns, 1:

mufaʿallimāt 'women teachers'

c. verbal nouns, 4:

xizmat [xidma] 'service'
ʔaks 'reverse, contrary'
misāl [miθāl] 'example'
taʕyīn 'appointing'

d. participles, 1:

muṣallim 'male teacher'

e. adjectives, 1:

muḥtād- '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"
tikṛārt bikaynawa	"that we repeat it"
taṣyīn nakṛāwin	"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 paṛwārda 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:

qāḷā [qāḷā] '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 "Hygeine" text-books 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:

wād_zibāt 'duties'

b. verbal nouns, 3:

kiteb [kitāb] (used twice) 'book'

sih_ha [sih_ha] 'health, hygeine'

c. participles, 1:

muta_ʔd_zim '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.

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

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

No. of Text	EARLY PERIOD 1924 - 1939		
	No. of words in the text	No. of loans	Percentage of loans
1	51	18	34.4
2	16	8	50.0
3	59	31	52.71
4	26	16	61.35
5	92	42	45.65
6	180	88	48.88
7	36	14	38.88
8	20	13	65.0
9	105	57	54.28
10	25	12	48.0
11	85	41	48.23
12	41	18	43.91
13	83	45	52.21
14	132	40	30.3
15	33	5	15.33
16	137	35	25.54
17	57	25	43.5
18	246	141	57.31
19	19	8	42.1
20	31	11	35.4
21	31	19	61.2
22	13	4	30.7
23	114	49	42.9
24	173	94	54.34
25	140	69	49.28
26	45	24	53.3

No. of Text	MIDDLE PERIOD 1939 - 1958		
	No. of words in the text	No. of loans	Percentage of loans
1	71	30	42.25
2	78	7	8.97
3	157	12	7.64
4	45	10	22.22
5	20	7	35.0
6	83	3	3.71
7	110	4	3.6
8	48	3	3.71
9	31	0	0
10	33	5	15.15
11	16	1	6.25
12	64	5	7.81
13	64	6	9.06
14	41	1	2.4
15	43	0	0
16	58	9	15.5
17	30	0	0
18	59	0	0
19	65	3	4.61
20	42	5	11.90

Table No. 4
Comparison of texts in chronological order between
the Early and Middle Periods

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.

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

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. ḡahāda, madḡasa, kalima which occurred in texts nos. 1 and 4. The remaining 10 occurred with the pre-case ending -at, e.g. dzinsiyyat, qīmat, dawlat 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 ʔiʔ[ādāt, ʔadabiyyāt (used three times), muʔallimāt and wādʔibāt used in texts nos. 4, 5, 7, 13, 16 and 20.

The broken plurals are [aʔāʔit, ʔaxlāq, nufūs and ʔāsāʔ 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:

<u>CuCūC</u>	e.g.	<u>nufūs</u>
<u>ʔaCCāC</u>	e.g.	<u>ʔaxlāq</u>
<u>CaCāʔiC</u>	e.g.	<u>[aʔāʔit</u> [[aʔāʔit]
<u>CāCāC</u>	e.g.	<u>ʔāsāʔ</u> [ʔāθāʔ]

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:

<u>Type of Noun</u>	<u>Chapter two</u>	<u>Chapter three</u>
	<u>Number borrowed</u>	<u>Number borrowed</u>
Masculine singular noun	136	22
Feminine singular noun	120	20
Sound masculine plural	5	None
Sound feminine plural	31	6
Masculine broken plural	19	None
Feminine broken plural	60+	4

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 femininizing Arabic morpheme -a is a distinguishing gender factor in the receiving language. However, in the weekly, zīn of July 30, 1953 the borrowed word 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:

<u>CaCC</u>	as in	qawm, řaks	(texts nos. 5 and 16)
<u>CaCC</u>	as in	řikř	(text no. 4)
<u>CuCC</u>	as in	řumř, řusn	(text no. 1)
<u>TaCCTC</u>	as in	tamřTn, tařyTn	(texts nos. 4 and 16)

No example of verbal noun occurred of the pattern MuCaCaCa; only one verbal noun occurred with the feminine ending -a, e.g. dawřa in text no. 1 and it has the pattern CaCCa.

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) CāCīC as in zābit [zābit̄] (text no. 1)
- (ii) MuCāCīC as in muṣāḍīl and muḷāzim (text no. 1)
- (iii) MuCaCCīC as in mutaḥḍzim and muṣallim (texts no. 16 and 20)

The adjectival participles have the following patterns:

- (i) MaCCūC as in mahkūm (text no. 1)
- (ii) MuCaCCaC as in muḥayyad (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 -ī, e.g. ḥadabī, saqāfī [θaqāfī], siyāsī (see texts nos. 2 and 10). The others are adjectives by signification, e.g. mumkin, muḥḥadḥ in texts nos. 4 and 16. No adjective occurred with the ending -īyya.

e. Phrases

Only two phrases occurred in this data and both are endocentrically constructed, e.g. nāḥibzābit and ḥadammahkūmiyya (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. 82f 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. t̤ > t , e.g. ʔihtiyāt > ʔihtiyāt in text no. 1
2. θ > s , e.g. θaaqāfi > saqāfi in text no. 2
3. d̤ > z , e.g. wadīfa > wazīfa in text no. 4
4. s̤ > s , e.g. sihha > sihha in text no. 20
5. -āʔ > -ā , e.g. ʔidāʔ > ʔazā in text no. 3

The reasons for the above-mentioned changes are that Kurdish does not have the phonemes /t̤/, /θ/ and /d̤/ and so these Arabic phonemes were modified by sometimes changing the manner of articulation as in t̤ > t and s̤ > s or place of articulation as in θ > s and d̤ > 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:

- a. -l > -l̥ The clear /l/ was changed into dark /l̥/ in the words hāl, māl and dawlat in texts nos. 3, 5 and 13.

The reason here is that when a backed open vowel or the semivowel /w/ preceded a lateral, the lateral's manner of articulation is changed to a dark one.

- b. -r̥ > -r Final trilled /r̥/ became flapped in the words ʔāθāṛ > ʔāsār and ṭikṛāṛ > ṭikṛār in texts nos. 5 and 16.

The reason in this case is that the vowel preceding the trill in the Kurdish language is front open vowel /ā/.

3.5.2. 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 geminated consonant cluster, e.g. -hh- in sihha (text no. 20).

As compared with the phonological effect in chapter two (see 2.9.1 p. 83f. 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 /s/ 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. muṣallim + 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 yakamîn "first" (text no. 2) replaced ?awwâl
and ?awwâlan (texts nos. 24 and 5)

zimân "tongue; language" (text no. 2) replaced lisân
and lugat (texts nos. 5 and 17)

kon "old" (text no. 2) replaced qadīm and qadīma (text no.5)
minā "child" (text no. 17) replaced tifl (text no. 5)
ziyān "life" (text nos. 4 and 12) replaced ḥayāt (text no. 5)
duwam "second" (text no. 2) replaced sānī (texts nos. 8 and 13)
yārmatī "help" (text no. 2) replaced musāfada (text no. 26)
niyāz "purpose" (text no. 2) replaced maqṣad (texts nos. 5 and 10)

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 Kuttāb 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 Hāji Qadir Koyi (see footnote 2 on p. 11 of this work).

In another verse Hāji says " bālagatekī haya hitj zimāne nāygāte ", 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'.

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 galāwez and dang-i gittī tāza.

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:

hānde "some, a part" (text no. 3) replaced d̲uz̲? (text no.2)

t̲a̲q̲n̲; d̲z̲or "kind, sort" (texts nos. 3 and 13) replaced

nawf̲ (plural ?anwaf̲) and īk̲ (texts nos. 6, 7, 9, 24)

hamīf̲a "always" (text no. 15) replaced d̲ā?iman and d̲ā?imī

(texts nos. 9 and 7)

ka|k "use, benefit" (text no. 7) replaced ?istifāda (text no. 11)

ki|tukā| "agriculture" (text no. 7) replaced zarāfat (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 dang-i gittī tāza. Wahbi introduced a large number of words from the Bahdinānī dialect. Some of these words immediately became popular such as miřov "human being", āmānd̲z̲ "aim, purpose", yāsā "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 deřek "old" was used to mean history, and (ii) coining certain words which he claimed to have been introduced from a Kurdish dialect; e.g. āburī "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:

<u>bākūr</u>	"north"	(text no. 7)
<u>āxawtin</u>	"speech"	(text no. 7)
<u>miřov</u>	"human being"	(text no. 7)
<u>deřek</u>	"old"	(text no. 7)
<u>střān</u>	"song"	(text no. 7)
<u>dastūr</u>	"grammar; method"	(text no. 9)
<u>newiřk</u>	"gist; summary"	(text no. 10)
<u>hařem</u>	"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:

tīp-ī dangī "consonant letters" Literally: "sounding letters". The Arabic item from which it was translated is ḥaʿf sādīṭ where ḥaʿf is "letter" and sādīṭ is "sounding or voiced".

tīp-ī bizwen "vowel letters" Literally: "sounds of movement". This is translated from the Arabic ḥaʿf ḥaʿaka where ḥaʿf is "letter" and ḥaʿaka is "movement".

maq-ī dastkird "satellite" Literally: "hand-made moon" which is a translation of "qamaʿ sināʿi" where qamaʿ is "moon" and sināʿi is "manufactured, made".

nīwaʿo Literally: "midday" is a translation of the French midi or the Italian medzo 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:

bilāw kirdnawa (text no. 7) which means "spreading" was semantically extended to mean "publishing";

āgā (text no. 7) which means "awareness" began to be used for "news" as well;

natawa (text no. 7) which means "sons, offerings" began to be used for "nation; people";

- koma|āyatī (text no. 7) which is derived from /koma|/ meaning "heap" began to be used for "society; human community", hence "sociological";
- ḡāstānetī (text no. 7) which is derived from /ḡāst/ "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";
- bāzīrgānī (text no. 7) which is derived from bāzīrgān "cloth merchant" began to be used for "commerce and trade";
- wəna (text no. 8) which means "picture" began to be used for "example";
- dāniḡtwān (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";
- paḡwaḡda kirdin (text no. 17) which means "bring up, grow" began to be used for "education";
- ḡegā (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 zanīn "to know" with the agentive suffix -yār to produce zānyār "learned person, scientist". Then the nominalizing suffix -ī is added to form zānyārī.

bāzīrgānī "commerce" (text no. 7) is formed from the noun bāzīrgān "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.

īārstānetī "civilization" (text no. 7) is formed by suffixing the noun īār "city" with -stān "realm" to form īārstān. This last word is then suffixed with the nominalizer -etī to produce īāristānetī "civilization".

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

pīāsāzī "industry" (text no. 15) is formed by suffixing pīā "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 suffix^{ed} with the nominalizer -ī, hence xwendwārī.

nūsyār "writer" (text no. 4) is formed by adding the agentive suffix -yār to the stem of nūs- of the verb nūsīn "to write".

nūsar "writer" (text no. 14) is formed by adding the agentive suffix -ar to the stem nūs- of the verb nūsīn "to write". It is noticed that two words are used for the same meaning: nūsyār and nūsar.

xwenar "reader" (text no. 18) is formed by adding the agentive suffix -ar to the present stem xwen- of the verb xwendin "to read". Here also two items are noticed: xwendawar and xwenar "reader".

namī "immortal" (text no. 10). This adjective is formed by prefixing the negativizing particle na- "not" to the modified present stem -mir- of the verb mirdin "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 gaḷāwez, 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 kalima "word", four different words are used, e.g. wiḡa, wāta, guta and wita.

The words weza "literature", wezar"writer", siruftī "naturalness", honrōw "poetry" used in the monthly periodical hiwā of February, 1958 are examples of such coining.

In fact almost all the articles published in the periodicals of this period contained a number of 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 galaŵez, 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 galaŵez ... 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 hiwā 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 bwez, ha|basthon, ha|bastbez in addition to the loanword ĵāfiř are used in the issue of February 1958 of the periodical hiwā. Also words like nūsyār, nūsar and wezer are all used to replace the Arabic loanword kātib.

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 maʿnā "meaning" began to be rendered in the written language as mānā.

IV CHAPTER FOUR

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-Hiti, 1976, P/92).

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, खobāt 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

Name of Periodical	Date of Publication	Nos. of Issues	Date of Discontinuation	Place of Publication	Language(s) of Publication
Āy gal (weekly)	Sept.6 1959	34	1962	Kirkuk	Kurdish
āzādī (daily)	May 1 1959	56	1960	Baghdad	Kurdish
Īzgarī (weekly)	1959	2	1959	Baghdad	Kurdish
daṅg-ī qutābyān (weekly)	1959	3	1959	Kirkuk	Kurdish, Turkish & Arabic
tjārasar kirdin-ī kištukā (monthly)	1959	21	1962	Baghdad	Kurdish & Arabic
biḷesa (monthly)	1959	10	1960	Sulaimania	Kurdish
nawroz (monthly)	1959	3	1959	Sulaimania	Kurdish
daṅg-ī qutābyān (monthly)	1959	4	1959	Baghdad	Kurdish
āfratān (monthly)	1959	1	1959	Baghdad	Kurdish & Arabic
hunar, magazine (seasonal)	1959	1	1959	Sulaimania	Kurdish
ništīmān (monthly)	1959	1	1959	Sulaimania	Kurdish
hiwā-y Kurdistan (bi-monthly)	1959	12	1960	Sulaimania	Kurdish
Āoz-ī nwe (monthly)	1960	18	1961	Sulaimania	Kurdish
biḷwā (weekly)	1960	95	1963	Sulaimania	Kurdish
daṅg-ī kurd (weekly)	1960	69	1961	Baghdad	Kurdish & Arabic
ŷirāq-ī nwe (monthly)	1960	12	1961	Baghdad	Kurdish & Arabic
ziyān (monthly)	1960	2	1961	Arbil	Kurdish
kurdistan (daily)	1961	6	1961	Baghdad	Kurdish

Table No. 5

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 Bāhdinān. 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 No. 6

class taught in	Title of Book	Number of Copies		
		1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
First Year	Kurdish Alphabet	30,000	10,000	12,000
	Mathematics	30,000	-	31,000
	Science	-	-	-
Second Year	Useful Reading	24,000	24,000	20,000
	Modern Mathematics	29,000	25,000	12,000
	Science	-	-	-
Third Year	Useful Reading	20,000	21,000	10,000
	Modern Mathematics	13,000	21,000	10,000
Fourth Year	Religion	-	13,500	5,000
	Arithmetic	11,000	13,500	8,000
	Science & Hygeine	10,000	13,500	8,000
	Kurdish Reader	10,000	13,000	11,000
Fifth Year	Religion	-	13,000	-
	Kurdish Reader	-	12,000	7,000
	Kurdish Grammar	8,500	13,000	8,000
	Modern Mathematics	8,500	13,000	8,000
	National Education	8,500	13,000	8,000
	Arab and Islamic History	-	13,000	8,000
Sixth Year	Geography of Iraq	8,500	13,500	8,000
	Science	-	13,500	8,000
	Religion	-	12,000	-
	Kurdish Reader	-	11,000	6,000
Sixth Year	Kurdish Grammar	7,500	12,000	6,000
	Mathematics	8,000	12,000	7,000
	National Education	7,500	12,000	7,000
	Geography of the Arab World	7,500	12,000	7,000
	History	7,500	-	7,000
	Sciences & Hygeine	7,500	12,000	7,000

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-Thowra 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 xob̄āt 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 534¹. 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.

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

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, Pa'warda u Zānist (Education and Science) no. 12, 1977 gives the following figures of Kurdish textbooks used in schools before and after 1958:

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

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
<hr/>	
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 1975².

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:

d₃ug₃rāfiya

'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:

dʒamhūʕiyya 'republic'

- b. non-Arabic words, 2:

dīmurātī 'democratic'

impryālistī '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:

mudʕiyyat [mudʕiyya] 'directorate'

wazārat [wazāʕat] '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:

d ₃ amhūřiyat [d ₃ amhūřiyā]	'republic'
naqāba	'trade union'
?id ₃ āza	'pérmit'

- b. adjectives, 1:

naqābī	'belonging to the union'
--------	--------------------------

1 hybrid compound occurs in this text. It is

?id ₃ āza dān	'permit'
--------------------------	----------

The native verb used is dān '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:

?istiřmāř	'colonization'
-----------	----------------

- b. verbal nouns, 1:

řazā [řidā?]	'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:

naqāba	(used twice)	'trade union'
--------	--------------	---------------

- b. masculine singular nouns, 1:

dīn	'religion'
-----	------------

- c. adjectives, 1:

naqābī	'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:

qutōb- [kuttōb] '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:

nuqta [nuq̣ta] 'point, period'

b. verbal nouns, 1:

taʔyīd 'support'

c. non-Arabic words, 2:

impīryālizm 'imperialism'

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:
 ʔadab (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:
 masʔala 'question'
- b. participles, 1:
 ʔādīl 'one who is just'
- c. non-Arabic loans, 1:
 impi ryāli zm '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 [dawla] 'state'
- b. adjectives, 1:
 siyāsī 'political'

1 hybrid compound noun occurs in this text. It is

qutābxana 'school' in which qutāb- [kuttāb]
'religious school' is an originally Arabic word,
and -xāna '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:

ʔadab 'literature'

b. sound feminine plural nouns, 1:

ʔadabiyyāt '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:

ʔadab 'literature'

- b. non-Arabic loans are:

akādīmyā 'academy'

diyālekt 'dialect'

tiyōrī '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 dawām '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 ʔadab '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 No. 7

No. of text	No. of words used in the text	No. of loanwords	Percentage of Loanwords
1	36	1	2.77
2	13	3	23.07
3	17	3	17.64
4	23	4	17.39
5	37	2	5.4
6	48	4	8.33
7	20	1	5.0
8	42	4	9.75
9	32	0	0
10	49	4	8.16
11	45	3	6.6
12	58	2	3.44
13	57	0	0
14	37	2	5.40
15	53	0	0
16	50	0	0
17	117	0	0
18	61	5	8.19
19	69	2	1.45
20	77	2	2.79

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:

<u>Word Class</u>	<u>No. of words</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Percentage in relation to the words of the data</u>
Feminine singular noun	11	26.19	1.16
Masculine singular noun	12	28.57	1.27
Sound feminine plural	1	2.38	0.10
Adjective	3	7.14	0.31
Verbal noun	3	7.14	0.31
Participle	1	2.38	0.10
Non-Arabic	11	26.19	1.16
	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 ʔadab 'literature' is used 7 times; each of the feminine singular nouns naqāba 'trade union' and dzamhūriyya 'republic' are used twice and the adjective naqābī '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.

Table No. 8

Comparison of texts in chronological order between Chapters two, three and four

CHAPTER TWO 1924 - 1939				CHAPTER THREE 1939 - 1958				CHAPTER FOUR 1958 - 1973			
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	35.29	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	114	49	42.9								
24	173	94	54.34								
25	140	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:

	<u>Chapter two</u>	<u>Chapter three</u>	<u>Chapter four</u>
Total number of words	1992	1158	941
Total number of loanwords	926	111	42
Mean percentage of loanwords	46.48%	9.58%	4.46%

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 no. 9

Categories of Loanwords	CHAPTER TWO			CHAPTER THREE			CHAPTER FOUR		
	No. of Words	% in relation to loan-words	% in relation to total no. of words of data	No. of Words	% in relation to loan-words	% in relation to total no. of words of data	No. of Words	% in relation to loan-words	% in relation to total no. of words of data
Masculine singular nouns	137	14.48	6.82	22	19.81	1.94	12	28.57	1.27
Feminine singular nouns	120	12.95	6.02	20	18.18	1.67	11	26.19	1.16
Masculine plural nouns	25	2.65	1.25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feminine plural nouns	109	11.77	5.47	13	11.7	1.15	1	2.38	0.10
Verbal nouns	302	32.61	15.16	28	25.22	2.48	3	7.14	0.31
Adjectives	91	9.82	4.56	12	10.8	1.06	3	7.14	0.31
Participles	84	9.07	4.21	8	7.20	0.70	1	2.38	0.10
Adverbs	11	1.18	0.55	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conjunctions	1	0.10	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prepositions	2	0.21	0.10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phrases	20	2.15	1.00	2	1.8	0.17	0	0	0
Non-Arabic words	25	2.69	1.25	6	5.4	0.53	11	26.19	1.16

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

ʔadabīyyāt 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:

	<u>Chapter two</u>	<u>Chapter three</u>	<u>Chapter four</u>
Sound feminine plural	31	10	1
Sound masculine plural	5	None	None
Broken plurals (feminine)	60	6	None
(masculine)	6		

The pluralizing morpheme -īn 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 CīCāC, TaCCīC and CaCūC. 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 -ī. In chapter two 84 adjectives occurred, some with the ending -ī and others with the ending -īyya; while in chapter three 12 borrowed adjectives occurred. The earlier ending -īyya has thus disappeared from the Kurdish written language. Moreover, the ending -ī 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.

ʔistiʕmār	"colonization" (used in text no. 5) and
ʔadab	"literature" (used in texts nos. 10, 14, 18 and 20).

Medially, it occurred in two words also, e.g.

masʔala	"question" (used in text no. 11) and
taʔyīd	"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

CHAPTER TWO		CHAPTER THREE		CHAPTER FOUR	
Lone Sounds	Geminate Clusters	Lone Sounds	Geminate Clusters	Lone Sounds	Geminate Clusters
- ? -	tt	- ? -	<u>hh</u>	- ? -	-
- ?	bb	- ?		- ?	
	dd				
	ss				
	<u>ss</u>				
	zz				
	ww				
	yy				
	kk				
	qq				
	<u>hh</u>				
	rr				

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 sarf u nahū-y Kurdi by saŕīd sidqī, 1928 and it was printed by Naŕjoah 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 Ŕezimān-ī kurdī 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 nahū-y kurdī"

The title of the book is Arabic for muxtasar [muxtasaʔ] "summary", sarf [saʔf] "morphology" and nahū "syntax".

The names of the parts of speech are all borrowed from Arabic, e.g.

<u>ʔism</u>	'noun'
<u>sifat</u> [sifa]	'adjective'
<u>zamīʔ</u> [damīʔ]	'pronoun'
<u>fiʔl</u>	'verb'
<u>ʔadāt</u>	'article'
<u>mufʔad</u>	'singular'
<u>d-zamʔ</u>	'plural'
<u>fāʔil</u>	'subject'
<u>mafʔūl bihi</u>	'object'
<u>māzī</u>	'past'
<u>hāʔ</u>	'present'
<u>ʔistiqbāl</u>	'future'
<u>maʔlūm</u>	'active'
<u>mad-zhūl</u>	'passive'
<u>masdar</u> [masdaʔ]	'infinitive'

Even the terms kalima "word" and harf [haʔf] "letter" are borrowed from Arabic.

- b. Nourī Ali Amin's "qawāʔid-i zimān-ī kurdī la sarf u nahū dā", 1956 and 1958 contains a large number of Arabic grammatical terms. For example, in the title the words qawāʔid "grammar", sarf [saʔf] "morphology" and nahū "syntax" are borrowed from Arabic. The only Kurdish word in the title is zimān "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.

<u>āxāwtin</u> (kalām)	'speech'
<u>řist</u> (dzumla)	'sentence'
<u>farmān</u> (fiʕl)	'verb'
<u>nāw</u> (?ism)	'noun'
<u>tāk</u> (mufřad)	'singular'
<u>gal</u> (dzumʕ)	'plural'
<u>tjāwig</u> (masdāř)	'infinitive'
<u>řānāw</u> (damīř)	'pronoun'
<u>pīt</u> (hařf)	'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:

<u>pīt</u>	(letter)
<u>pīt-i dangdār</u>	(vowel letter)
<u>pīt-i bedang</u>	(consonant letter)
<u>wāza</u>	(word)
<u>dast wāza</u>	(phrase)

<u>řista</u>	(sentence)
<u>āmrāz</u>	(article)
<u>nāw</u>	(noun)
<u>řānāw</u>	(pronoun)
<u>řawift</u>	(adjective)
<u>dze</u>	(adverb)
<u>farmān</u>	(verb)

Even the Arabic terms used were followed by their English translations, e.g.

<u>qawāřid</u>	(grammar)
<u>musnad 'i layh</u>	(subject)
<u>musnad</u>	(predicate)

However, the newly formed or coined Kurdish terms are followed by their Arabic translations and not by the English ones, i.e.

<u>bkar</u>	(fāřil)	'subject'
<u>la bir-i bkar</u>	(nāřib fāřil)	'subject of the passive sentence'
<u>tawāwkar-i řāst</u>	(mafřūl)	'object'

- c. 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 řezimān-i kurdī "Kurdish Grammar" where the word řezimān, literally meaning "language route or way", is formed by adding the word ře "road, route" to zimān "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" - ba 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.

<u>pīt-tī bizwen</u>	"vowel letters", <u>bizwen</u> means 'movement'
<u>āwaj kar</u>	"adverb", literally: companion of verbs,
<u>āwaj nāw</u>	"adjective", literally: companion of nouns,
<u>řag</u>	"root"
<u>pāřgiř</u>	"suffix", literally: 'end-catcher'
<u>peřgiř</u>	"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 xā_l , by Sheik M. Xā_l, 1960
- b. farhang-i mahābād , by Giw Mukiryānī, 1961
- c. A Kurdish English Dictionary, by T. Wahbi and C. Edmonds, 1961
- d. farhang-i kiştukā_l , by M.K. Mardouki, 1972
- e. farhang-i zānyāri , by K.J. Gharib, 1974.

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 zānyārekān-I kiteba qutābxānāyekān "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:

<u>Language Academy</u>	<u>Directorate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
pejter	tawla	stable
tozīnawa	le kolinawa	study
ziyāngā	şwenawār	environment
xamlandin	xaml kirdin	assessment
hanārdin	nārdnadarawa	export

nāsāndin	pe nāsīn	definition
birīn kār	birīn sāz	surgeon
īfīta	ko andām	organ of the body
barabāb	nawa	generation
nażād	ġagaz	race
lampar	babast	barrier
bārist	qabāra	volume
ziyār	ġaristānetī	civilization
dād kār	dād gar	judge
xizmat	ġāza	service
daŷs	wāna	lesson
wiŷdak	xulak	minute
saŷāt	sāt	hour
kiŷwar	dawlat	state
maydān	goŷapān	yard, space

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 schooltexts 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. 190ff. 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, zīmāra u pewān "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.

sařa "numerator", literally: the thing above.

This is translated from the Arabic word sūřa.

zeřa "denominator", literally: the thing below.

It is translated from the Arabic maqām.

kart "fraction", literally: part. It is a translation from the Arabic kasř.

kart-ī daī "decimal number", literally: fraction of tens. It is translated from the Arabic

kasř ūfīř

(ii) Semantic Extensions

gořa "angle", originally it means corner.

kokirdnawa "addition", originally it means gathering.

pał "side", originally it means limb of the body.

tīra "diameter", originally it means the leather strip that pulls the other parts of the shoe together.

(iii) Coining

řeza "ratio"

řanūs "number"

pařtūk "book"

řesā "rule"

(iv) Utilization of the Structure of the Kurdish Language

penūs "pencil", literally: the thing to write with.

This is formed by adding pe "with" to -nūs-,

the present tense root of the verb nūsīn "to write".

pewař "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 -ař.

d_zihāngař "tourist", literally: the person who roams about the world. This is formed by adding d_zihān "world" and the nominal suffix form of the verb gařān "to roam about, to travel about".

- b. The geography textbook of the sixth year primary is d_zugřāfiya-y sařataī, translated by Nouri Ali Amin, 7th edition, Salman Al-A^cdamī Press, Baghdad, 1968. The glossary at the end of the book contains 146 words, (pp. 173 - 177).

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

piřniřtanī "density of population", literally: fullness of staying. It is a translation of the Arabic phrase kaθāfat?assukkān where kaθāfa is "density" and ?assukkān "the population".

řāre "principal method", literally: the main road. It is translated from the Arabic phrase tařtqa řa?řsa.

kāřdastān "labourers", literally: working hands. It is a translation of the Arabic phrase ?a|?aydī ?a|řāmi |a which means "the hands working".

(ii) Semantic extensions

bābat "subject", originally it means "item"

bān "plateau", originally it means "roof"

dastgā "establishment", originally it means "tool"

karta "continent", originally it means "a part".

(iii) Coining

doŕga "island"

wāna "lesson"

tawar "pole"

(iv) Utilization of the Structure of the Kurdish Language

zānistga "university", formed by suffixing zānist "learned, educated" with the suffix -gā "place".

ke|ga "farm", formed from the present verb root -ke|- of the verb ke|ān "to plough" and the suffix -ga "place".

ga|tyār "tourist", formed by adding ga|t "picnic, journey" and the agentive suffix -yār.

ka|t|wānī "navigation", formed by adding ka|tī "ship" and the agentive suffix -wān and the nominalizing suffix -ī.

Several words occur in the glossary which are taken from other dialects, e.g.

hāviŕke "race, competition"

ŕox "bank of river; coast"

pe|wāzī "receiving somebody; reception"

c. The Social Science textbook for the fifth primary school is paŷwaŷda-y niŷtimānī u komalāyatī 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-ī saŷbast "free enterprise", literally "free work", translated from the Arabic phrase
ʔaḥṣamal-ḥaḥ

dīdawānī "scouting", literally: the activity of finding. It is translated from the Arabic
kaḥḥāfa.

(ii) Semantic extensions

bāḥā "advancement, improvement". Originally: "loftiness, length".

xāŷd-ī "expenses". Originally: "pocket-money".

wīza "energy". Originally: "ability".

(iii) Coining

ākār "characteristics"

aḥket "form"

payk "post"

(iv) Structural utilization

pījagarī "trade". Formed by adding pīja "work"
and -garī "the activity of usually a trade".

īramanī "dairy products". Formed by adding īr
"milk" and the suffix -manī "things of".

faṛmāngā "office". Formed by adding faṛmān "work"
and the suffix -gā "place".

nāsnāma "identification card". Formed by adding
-nās-, the present root of the verb nāsīn "to
know" and nāma "certificate".

(v) Items derived from other dialects

<u>ṛāva</u>	"explanation"
<u>komakī</u>	"collaboration"
<u>havāī</u>	"colleague"
<u>hārīkārī</u>	"co-operation, helping"

(vi) Items borrowed from European languages:

<u>atom</u>	"atom"
<u>bāṅqanot</u>	"banknote"
<u>pṛopāganda</u>	"propaganda"
<u>piroza</u>	"project"
<u>ṛol</u>	"role"
<u>ṛiṣṭm</u>	"regime"
<u>zāyonizm</u>	"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 f. 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:

niḥīngā and bāragā are both used to mean "central office, base";

dasgā is used in one place to mean "organ" and in another to mean "establishment";

tḥārowā and gyānowar are both used to mean "animals";

keḥgā and tḥandingā 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 wiḡa-y zimān-ī kurdī "the Words of the Kurdish Language" by A. Haji Marif, there are 7 European words out of 21 entries in the glossary. These are:

<u>etimolozi</u>	"etymology"
<u>sintaks</u>	"syntax"
<u>fřez</u>	"phrase"
<u>fonatīk</u>	"phonetics"
<u>leksikolozi</u>	"lexicology"
<u>mořfolozi</u>	"morphology"
<u>mořfīm</u>	"morpheme"

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 matimātīk 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:

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
?ixsāb	feřtilāyzejin	"fertilization"
?axtabūt	oktopas	"octopus"
?aḡiḡa sālība	tīřk-ī nagatīv	"negative rays"
?aḡiḡa mudzība	tīřk-ī pozitīv	"positive rays"
?aḡiḡa kawniyya	kozmiḡ rays	"cosmic rays"
tařaddud	frīkwansī	"frequency"

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.

V CHAPTER FIVE

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, Sa'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 p.184f. and 187 particularly the list on p. 181 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 Lousanne 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.114 ff.).
- 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" (Sayihi, 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 Hesbacher and Fishman (1964, 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.204 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 folk" (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.

VI CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSIONS

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 insofar as 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 lexicon 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.209f). 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, Ke douri (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

TEXT No. 1

Source: zlyānawa

Date: September 15, 1924

/ gařā?ib fanniyya/

/ duqtoř ... la ?ahl-ī ... ?uṣūlekī taqdīm andżuman-i tubbī kirduwa ka
ba wāsita-y awawa tǵwār māḡ peǵ wilādat-i mindāḡ mumkina bizānin aw
mināḡa ka la řahm-i dāyikdāya āyā kuřa yā kitǵa/ awīǵ ba taḡlīl-i
qatrayek la xwen-i dāyk-i mināḡaka maṣtūm abe/ andżuman-i tubbī faransa
qarārī dā hay?atek dābine bo tewiřdbūnawa-y am ?uṣūḡa/

Translation

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: ziyānawa

Date: September 15, 1924

/ ?ištizār/

/ labar dzuz?e saqatī ka tuj-i makīnakānmān būbū ma?al?asaf zimāra

4 haftayek ta?xīrbū/ lam xušūşawa řidzā akayn taqsīrmān bibaxjře/

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.

TEXT No. 3

Source: ziyānawa

Date: October 3, 1929

/ tafīrf/

/ ŕoz-i 29 ?aylūl faxāmat-i wazīr-i tayarān-i barīttānya loŕd tomson u
baŕzek zawāt-i muhtaŕama ba tayyāra tafīrfyān hāt/ la peŕ tafīrf-i
mūmā?i layhimda ŕumūm ŕu?asā-y ŕafā?iŕ u ?afīrāf u ma?mūrīn u tudzār-i
mamlakat la ŕāyekawa la ŕāyek-i tirawa qismek polīs-i swārī u qit?ayek-i
ŕaskaŕiyya-y pyāda ŕaf basta ?ihtiŕām u hāzir ?ihtiŕām būn/faxāmat-i
loŕd zor ba bajāfat salāmī la xalqaka kird/

Translation

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: ziyānawa

Date: October 3, 1924

/ wafāt-i muʔsif/

/ rōz-i 28 ʔaylūi biʔadʒal mawʔud ... wafātī kird/ zor ba ʔasafawa
bayān-i taʔziyat la maxdūmān-i mujāʔʔilayhā ʔakayn/ tamanā-y ʔahmat
u guʔrān la hazrat-i bāʔʔitaʔāiā akayn/

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.

TEXT No. 5

Source: Dyārî Kurdistan

Date: March 11, 1925

/ la pāytaxt-i hūkūmat-i faxîm-i siŕāqiyadā d̄zārîdayek-i siyāsî w
yawmî lazim bu ka lisān-i hā]-i millat-i kurd be/ ?awwajan bo
?imtiyāz-i roznāmayek-i siyāsî u ?id̄zîmāŕî u ?iqtiŕādî ?istidŕām
dābū/ ba nāw-i ta?mināt mu]kin nuwāndibū lākin qawānîn u ?awāmiŕ-i
hukūmat bo na]ŕ-i d̄zārîda-y siyāsî dū hazār ŕupe-y maqdî dapoziŕî
ta]ab akird/ dyārî kurdustān diyār agare/ gu] u gu]zār apî]kine/
hart]ŕ dastkawe dastadasta aybaste wak ŕistagu] pe]ka] xwendawārān
u ā]nāyān-i xoy dakā/ dyārî kurdustān tiflek-i mawzāda/ fitratî
pāka/ maqŕadî t]āka/ daxŕî basar siyāsatawa niya/ surat-i pyāwa
ma]ŕqu]ānmān fotogrāf-i ma]ŕhîŕ-i d̄zihānmān ni]ŕān adā/ tār̄dzuma-y
hā]yān/ taqwîm-i hayātyān bayān dakā/

Translation

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.

Dyâri Kurdûstan 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.

TEXT No. 6

Source: ziyānawa

Date: August 25, 1925

/ māngīran u sulaymānī/

/ le peŷ baḥs kirdin-i māngīran wahā lāzima bizānīn ka qudrāt u ōzamat-i
sānīŷ-i haqīqat la tŷī daŕadzayek-i wahā dāya ka ōaql-i baŷar la taŷīf
kirdinī am tŷa ōātil u qāsira/ la kitāb-i ōilm-i ōaflāk/ astartāb/
qozmogŕafyādā/ ḥazrat-i ōalī mahāŕati habū/ am ōilma har baḥs-i nudzūm-i
sayyārāt akat/ sayyārātīŷ ōibārata la māŷ/ ŕoz/ maŕŕix/ dzadī u sāŷirihi/
bo kaŷf-i am sayyārāna la hammū pāytaxte hukūmāt-i ŷawrupā ŕasīdxāna-y
ŷdzādkirduwa/ am ŕasīdxānāna ŷālāt u ŷadawāt-i ŷadzāyibī le drust u ba
ŷamal henŕawa ka la fawq-i quwwat-i baŷar ŷadd bikret/aw ḥikmatŷunāsana
ōaql u fikŕ-i xoyān xīstote sar kaŷf kirdin-i sayyārāt ba xuŷūŷ māŷ ka
āyā bizanīn am sayyārāna tŷīn/ ḥaŕakāt u sakanātyān tŷontŷoniya/ bo
tegayīŷtin-i am adzŕāmāna u am sānŷata xāŕiqaya hiŷ ŷayb u ŷārek-i
ŷaŕŷī tya tasawwiŕ mākrēt/ bilŷakis bo baŷar ferbūn-i am nawŷa xāŕiqa
qudrātnumāyāna taŷyīd-i wiḥdāniyyata/ ŷadzŕāmi āsmān ḥaryaka lasar
xatek-i muŷayan-i xoyān ḥaŕakat akan/ am ḥaŕakata bilā fāsīl u dāŷimiya/
la ŷasnā-y am ḥaŕakatadā wahā taŷaduf akāt ŕoz u ŷarz u māŷ akawna sar
xatek-i ŕāst/ ŷasāsan ba tadzŕuba u ba kiteb-i muqaddas bo ema ŷisbāt
bywa ka māŷ la ŕoz ŷuŷla waŕagret/ xusūf dū nawŷa/ xusūf-i kulīl u
xusūf-i dzuzŷī/

Translation

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 loneliness 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.

TEXT No. 7

Source: ziyānawa

Date: November 19, 1925

/ ?iṣṭiṛāf-i baṛitānya ba hukūmat-i muwaqqat-i erān/ wazīrmufawwaz-i
baṛitānya la tahrān tablīg-i řa?īs-i hukūmat-i tāza-y erān-i kird ka
hukūmat-i baṛitānya muwafaqatī kirduwa ka muwaqqatan ?iṣṭiṛāf ba
hukūmat-i tāza-y eran bika tāku erān la [i]k[le]k-i dā?imīdā qatṣiyyat
paydā bika/

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.

TEXT No. 8

Source: ziyānawā.

Date: November 19, 1925

/ taʔdʒāl-i madʒlis-i mabʿūsān/ ?iʔāda-y malikī sādīʔ bū ba taʔdʒāl-i
madʒlis-i mabʿūsān bo muddat-i ʔi lūpendʒ ʔoz ʔiʔtibāʔan la ʔoz-i pendʒ-i
taʔʔīn-i sānī 1925/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 9

Source: zîyân

Date: February 17, 1927

/ ?adabiyyât-i kurd/

/ sîlsîla-i ?uzwiyyât agar la duniyâda tadqîq u tatabbûs bikîre abinîre ka hammû haywânât u nabâtât tâbiî-i qânûnek-i îlayatagayaîin u bow qânûna takâmûl u yâ îru akâta ?inqirâz/ ?adzînâs u ?anwâs-i haywâniyya u nabâtiyya har bamqânûna fitriyya azî u har amqânûna sawq-i takâmûlî akâ/ awnawî u dzînsâna ka lagal amqânûna tawâfuq nakâ ... akaweta bîrek-i ?izmîhîlâlawa ... u agar zor zaîtfbû mahkûm-i mawtek-i ?abadî abe/ hay?at-i ?idzîtimâsiyya-y millatektî ?aynan wâya/ awmilata-y mubtalâ-y naxoîfî faqr u îatâlat bûbe dâ?îman la taraf millatek-i ?azîmkâr u dawlamandawa hâgûfrawa/ binâ?an- îalyht bo away ka mustahqîq-i zîyânîin ?istiqâmat/ saîî/ dzîddu dzuhd îâmîlek-i mu?assîra/ ammaqala munaqqaha u la zawâ?îd mudzârîrada/

Translation

Kurdish Literature

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 emanded and free from additions.

TEXT No. 10

Source: ziyān

Date: April 12, 1928

/ ḥapīsxāna u maḥbūsī/ maqsad la maḥkūm kirdin-i [axsek ka dzuřmek
?iřtikāb akāt mādām ka ba ?iřdām maḥkūm nākře bo ?awa niya ka ?aw
[axsa 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.

TEXT No. 11

Source: ژیڤان

Date: July 21, 1930

/ nutq-i muhtařam řamzĩ ba bonay tafřĩfhenān-i waliřahd u muzāhařātek-i řumūmĩ kurd/ hammū azānĩn qawm-i kurd āyā la řasnā-y ĥarb-i řumūmĩdā u āyā la peřdā gale fiřsat-i qimatdārĩ dastkawt/ mařalřasaf la ĥiřřyān řistifādamān nakird/ ĥuqūq-i ema la mādda se u řřwār-i qarār-i madzlis-i řāĩř řuřbatulřumam u mādda se-y muřāĥada-y 1922 u mādda 109 u 110 -i qānūn-i řasāř ĥukūmat-i řiřāqiyya tasbĩt kiřābū u ka la taraf bařĩtānyāwa u dzalālat-i malik u řařĩs-i ĥukūmat-i řiřāqiyyawa řasman tařyřd u řiřĩřāf-i peķřawa/ ... labar ama muzāharaka řiĥĩdřādzeka bo matāĩb u ĥuqūq-i mařřuĥa u mařřūřamān/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 12

Source: Ziyān

Date: August 28, 1930

/bayānāt-i faxāmat-i wakīl-i řa?Tsulwuzarā ka la
sulaymānī la waqt-i ?idz?timā?akadā xwendūyatawa/

/ mujāřřaf abim ba bayān-i ?izāh kirdin-i awsiyāsāt-i xofawistiya
ka hūkūmat-i řiřāq xarīka ?itibā?ī bikat ba nazar awwa?dāna ka ba
kurdakān-i hāwwilatmān dřawa/ awkurdāna ka řuzwek-i muhimin la d?izm-i
mamlakat-i řiřāqdā/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 13

Source: ziyān

Date: December 4, 1930

/ lā?iha-y qānūn-i zarība-y maṣāḥāt u
muxaṣṣāt bo sāl-i 1930/

/ amqānūna ba qānūn-i zarība-y maṣāḥāt u muxaṣṣāt nāwbirawa/ zarība
la sar awmaṣāḥ u muxaṣṣāta dānīrawa ka la wāḥidāt-i ṣumūliyya adre u
mustahaq-i dāna la yak-i tajrīn-i sānī 1930/ kalima-y maṣāḥ ṣumūlī
haya ba sar maṣāḥ-i wuzarā u muwazzafīn-i dā?imī u muwaqqatī u zabitān
u awmustaxdamīnāna-y ka maṣāḥiyān la sar mīzāniyya-y ṣamma qayd akre u dīṣān
basar maṣāḥ u ?ikrāmiyya-y taqāṣudī ṣumūlī haya/ kalima-y muxaṣṣāt ṣumūlī
basar muxaṣṣāt-i ?aṣyān u nuwwāb u muxaṣṣāt u xadamāt-i xuṣūṣiyyadā haya/

Translation

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 ?aṣyān (member of the Higher House) and of the members of the House
of Commons. It includes the special allowances and services as well.

TEXT No. 14

Source: Summary of the History of Kurds and Kurdistan, by M. A. Zaki.

Date: 1931

/xulāsayek-i tārīx-i kurd u kurdustān/

P1 /amkitebam t̄jon nūsT/

/ la dwā-y ama ka la d̄zegā-y taṣbīr̄-i ṣumūmī ṣusmānī lafz-i turk u torānī la turkiyādā bāwī sand/ ba tabīṣat waku ṣafīr̄ād-i millatakānītir minīṣ la nāw awkomaladā gayr̄iyyat-i xom t̄fāktir ḥiss kird u guṣur̄-i qāwnī mad̄z̄būrī kirdim ka la hammū fir̄satekdā amḥissa-y xom ṣizhār bikam/ baṣlām darḥaq ba ṣaṣl u tārīx-i qawmakam hit̄ṣim naṣazānī t̄ṣuṣka tā awwaqtā na la maktabdā fikr̄ek-i wāmān d̄rābūye u na la dwaṣṣdā zarurat-i tadqīq-i tārīx-i kurdmān dībū u kalima-y d̄zamīṣa-y ṣusmānīṣ ṣaṣṣāb-i qawmiyya-y hammūmānī tā darad̄zayek xāwkirdibowa u bāraha amsuṣālam la xom kird/qawm-i kurd la t̄ṣṣ natawayeka/ t̄ṣṣ ba sar ḥātuwa/ amkiteba ba kurdī nūsṣm baṣlām ... kalimāt-i kurdṣm waku t̄jon abez̄re wa nūsṣ baṣlām ṣimlā-y kalimāt-i ṣar̄abṣ u fārṣṣm teknadā t̄ṣuṣka ṣawwaṣlan ḥaqim nabū sāniyan rayga sarīṣ la xwendawārān tekbidā/

Translation

Summary of the History of Kurds and Kurdistan
by M. A. Zaki.

P1 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.

TEXT No. 15

Source: ziyān

Date: July 27, 1933

/ ba zor direzī nakaynawa nak naxwenretawa/ yakam la ře-y watan
pařwařī u millat pařwařewa duam le ře-y xwā u pegammař u muqaddasātā.
fiřyā-y ... zuřřāš-i kārnatawāw bikawin la dast xwen mizīn-i pāradāra
tamāškarakānyān darkan/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 16

Source: Bahau'llah and the New Era, translated by M. Jawdat.

Date: 1933

P. 10-11 /bahā?u||ā u dawr-i nwe/

/bahā?u||ā zor t̂jāk u ba sarāhat bayān u ?i?ti?rāfī kirduwa aw māmwasta
u pe gayanda?ī dzihāna ka la sasrahāwa t̂fawarwānī dakan xoyatī/
?regayeka ka ?rebwārānī agayenta ni?matek-i ?adzāyib-i wā ka la sarū
hammū fayzek-i ?rabūrdwaya/ har wak hammū ?rubār u zeyek la nāw dar?yādā
tekal dabin hammū dīnān-i dzwedzwe? bo paywastī u yakbūn tekalāw-i
am mazhar-i ?ināyata dabin/ bahā?u||ā bināgayek-i baquwwat-i bo
?rekxistin-i yaketi ?ālam dāmazrānd/binā-y am dawra ?a?afdāra/ am
?asra ā?tiya-y la sar zamīndā u su|h u salāh la nāw xalqda d?rūstkir
ka dameka pegambarān xabaryān dāwa/ ?āsi?rān tārni?myān kirduwa/

P. 124 /darmān u ?ifā/

/ ?rūkirna bāragā-y ?ilāhī ?ifā-y dzism u ho? u roha/ la? twānāy
?abadī mānawa niya t̂jujka la mādda-y dz یادz یاد u la zār?ra-y komal
d?rūstbuwa/ be gumān ka waxte abe amāna la yek dzwebibnawa bow ?itāna-y
ka la ?ibtidāwa la? ley paydā buwa/ labar ama abe la? xizmatkār-i roh
be/

Translation

Bahau'llah and the New Era

P. 10-11 Very frankly and clearly Bahau'llah 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. Bahau'llah 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.

From Bahau'llah and the New Era, by J. E. Esslement, translated into Kurdish by M. Jawdat, Ma'arif Press, Baghdad, 1933.

TEXT No. 17

Source: ʒiyān

Date: September 20, 1937

/wazārat-i maṣāʾif-i ʿirāq bo wazārat-i maṣāʾif-i misrī nūsiwa bo aw
wazāʾifa-y la xwārāwa nūsrāwa/ ʔustāz u mudārʾisīn u mudārʾisāt bo
ʿirāq binerīn/

/ʿamīd bo kullīyya-y huqūq-i ʿirāqī/ʔustāz-i lugaṭ-i ʿarabī/ mudīrā
bo dāʾulmuṣallimāt u mudārʾisa-y ʾiyāziyyāt u tabīʿiyyāt u lugaṭ-i
iṅglizī u tāʾix u dʒugʾrāfiyā u se mudārʾis-i biyoloʒī u zarāʿat bo
sānawī u mutawasīta-y kuṛ u kitf/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 18

Source: ziyān

Date: October 4, 1937

/progrām-i wazārat-i madfaʿī/

/siyāsāt-i xāʾidziyya/

/ la sar siyāsāt-i yāʾida-y ūsbatulʿumam u aw mamlakatāna ka dost u
swendxwāʾtmān la bayndāya/ yakdlīʾ u yakdʾihatī/ biʾāyati u wiḥdat-i
ʿaʾrabi/ tekaʾit lagaʾi bilād-i ʿadʾznebī/ bo wazifa-y ʿumūr-i xāʾidzī
maʿmūr-i tʾjāk haʾbiʾzāʾdīn/

/siyāsāt-i dāxliī/

/ ʿidāʾa-y ūmūmī/ saʿī la tatbīq-i ʿahkām-i qānūn/ ʾaʿf-i nifāq u
fasād/ muḥāfaza-y ʿādāb-i ūmūmiyya/ siḥḥat u tandurustī muʿasasātī
zor bo taʾmīnāt-i siḥḥat-i ʿāma u ʿaʾbāb-i ʿixtisās dʾzalb kirdīn/

/bandixāna bixʾreta ʾiklīkawa ka ʾislāḥ-i ʾahwāl-i hapsakān-i pe
bikʾre/

/ ʾurta/ poliʾs/ quwwatī zyād bikʾre/ baladiyya wiʾsātī bidʾrete/ āw-i
pāk bo ʾāʾrān u dehāt paydākā/ ʾamala ʾafahiyyatī bidʾrete/

/ siyāsāt-i māliyya/

/ ʾiʿāda-y nazar bo taʾkīlāt-i dawlat/ mʾzaniyya boddʾa bixʾreta qāʾibekawa
qarzī bo nakre/ ʾiʿāda-y nazar la qānūn-i taqāʾud-i madanī u ʾaskaʾī
u taʾdīʾī ba ʾiklī huqūq-i muwazzafīn u wazī-i māʾī dawlat yak kawe/
taʾsīʾ-i ʾuda-y zarāʿat/ ʾitifaq lagaʾi dawlatakāndā bo āʾugoʾr-i
ʾaʾyā-y tudʾzārī/

/ʕadliyya/

/ taqwiya-y ʕoh-i ʕamniyyat ba qazā ʕawīʕ ba ʕikl-i ʕamniyyat ba
ʕadālat ka ʕasāsakay taʕkīlāt-i qazāʕiya u tafʕīʕ-i ʕadīʕ u muḥafaza-y
huqūq-i hukkān u quzāt la taʕqiyadā/ diwān-i tadwīn-i qānūnī ʕiḥzār-i
iāʕiḥa-y qānūnī bo ʕusūl-i muḥakamāt-i ʕzazāʕiya u huqūqīyya u ʕuqubāt
u ʕulḥ u kātib ʕadī u tudʕarat u ʕusum-i tāpo/

/difāʕ/

/ tazyīd-i kafāʕat-i ʕzayʕ/ ʕafʕ-i mustawā-y māddī u maʕnawī u ʕandʕ-i
zor bo taʕlīm-i ʕzayʕ u tadʕhīzyān ba ʕasīḥa-y taza/

/ʕiqtisād u muwāʕalāt/

/ hawl bidayn xatar-i fayazān namene u ʕaʕīʕ bo taḥsīn-i zarāʕat u
pāʕezgarī nabātāt u xat-i ʕamandafar/

/siyāsat-i taʕlīm/

/ʕiḥlāl-i ʕidāra-y ʕuʕūn-i maʕāʕīf/ muʕallīm-i bāʕ pegayāndīn/
taʕlīm-i dehāt u tadʕīb-i sanāʕīʕ/ kitebxāna kirdnawa u taʕdʕuma u
taʕlīf/

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.

TEXT No. 19

Source: zīyān

Date: November 22, 1937

/raʔTs-i dʒamhūriyyat-i turkiyā u wakīl-i dāxiliyya tʃūn bo garān-i
wilāyat-i ʃarqī/ la diyārbakīr baʔd-i bināga-y istāsyon-i ʃamandafar-i
diyārbakīr dānāwa/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 20

Source: ziyān

Date: December 13, 1932

/kaḥḥāfa-y bagā/

dasta-y kaḥḥāfa u mudarḥḥis-i dāḥḥulmuḥḥallimīn zor farahmandīn u
ḥḥukurguzārīn bo ḥḥahāīḥḥ u ḥḥustāzān u taḥḥabakān-i sulaymānī bo aw lutf
u mīḥḥwāndārī u yakdīḥḥīya ka ba ḥḥroḥḥek-i bilīndawa darbāray emayān
kīrdūwa/

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.

TEXT No. 21

Source: ziyān

Date: March 3, 1938

/ʕilm-i huqūq-i ʔidāra/

/ madzlis-i wuzarā la wazīfa u salahiyātdā zor [iklī] goṛṛā/ estā ka
tafṛīq-i quwāya se kutḥkayek-i quwwat-i hukūmata/ quwwat-i tafṛīʕiyya
u quwwat-i ʔidzṛāʕiyya u quwwat-i ʕadliyya amaḥ ʔiqtiṛāḥ-i montisikyoya/

Translation

The Science of the Laws of Administration

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.

TEXT No. 22

Source: 3Tn

Date: October 5, 1939

/ mutawasita-y kitfān bū ba rāst/ dzegayān dzwekirāyawa mudīra u
muṣallimajyān bo maṣlūm kira/

Translation

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
"Taʔriḫ" by Al-Falāḥī translated by M. Z. Amin, Furat
Press, Baghdad.

Date: 1928

Extracts

p. 17 / qism-i yakam/ fasl-i yakam/ dawlatakān-i ʃarq/ dawlat-i
misir/

/ misrekān la madaniyyat u tuʔraqqīdā qadīmtirīn millatakān-i
ʔālam būn/ ʔulamā-y ʔāsār-i qadīma u ʔulamā-y tāʔriḫ la
ʔatrāf-i nīlawa gale ʔāsāryān darhenawa ka ʔiqtidār u
maʔrifat u madaniyyat-i misrekānyān ba tawawī pe zānīwa/

p. 18 / misrekān mamlakat-i gawrayān la ʃimāl-i ʃarq-i
ʔafrīq-āda wa la hārdū taraf-i nahr-i nīlā bīnākirduwa/
misrekān ʔibādatyān la sar ʔasās-i taʔadud-i ʔāliha
dāmazrāndibū/

p. 45 / qawm-i fīnīgī ʔaʃyā-y drūstkiʔaw-i xoyān ba ʔegā-y baḫrā
bo ʔiqlimakān-i ʃarq u gārb danārd/

p. 64 / fasl-i pendzom/
/ yoḡānekān la dʔunūb-i ʔawrupādā la nihāyat-i ʃubh-i
dʔazīʔa-y baʔq-āndā dāniʃtibūn/

p. 129 /dʒazīra-y ʕarab watan-i ḥaqīqī ʕaraba/ ʔarzakā-y la
bayn-i baḥr-i ʔaḥmar u mamlakat-i jān u šīrāq u xalīdʒ-i
fārisa/

Translation

Part One: Chapter One, The Countries of the East,
The State of Egypt

p. 17 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.

p. 45 The Phoenecian people sent the goods they made by way
of the sea to countries in the east and the west.

p. 64 The Greeks were living in South Europe at the end of
the Balkan Peninsula.

p. 129 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-i sarf u nahw-i kurdi/ by Sa'îd Sidqî;

Date: 1928

p. 2 /hata am sasra ?axîra xwendinmân la maktabâ u nusTnmân
ba kurdî nabû/ baw sababa sasT u kojîj nakrawa ka
qawâsîdek-i sarf u nahu bo zubân-i kurdî řekbixre/ waqte
la taraf masârif u millat pârwařânawa tadřTsât-i makâtib
u nusTn-i makâtib klřân ba kurdî lâzim ba|ku wâdzib bû ka
qawâsîde bo zubân/ bo nusTn-i kurdî đabimazre/

p. 3 / muqaddima/
/ la bayân kirdin-i ĥarfân-i hidzâ u ?imlâ-y kurdî
hammûnmân zanTwmâna u dayzânTm ka kalimân la ĥarfân-i
hidzâ u qisşa-y tawâw la kalimân řekdaxřen/

p. 6 /kalima u ?aqşami/
/ kalima tanyâ lafzeka ka maşnây bibe/ nûsTn u qisâ
kirdin-i kurdî ba pendz nawş kalima drust dabe/ ?ism/
sifat/ zamîr/ fişî/ ?adât/

p. 7 / bahs-i ?awwa| la bayân-i ?ism u ?aqşam-i ?ism/ ?ism dū
qisma/ ?ism-i şâm u ?ism-i xâs/ dîşân ?ism yâ mufřada
yâ dzamîa/

p. 10 /?ism du nawş/ basTt/ tanyâ/ muřakkab/ teka|/

p. 17 / masdar/

- p. 24 / zamīr du nawsa/ muttasīl/ u munfasīl/
- p. 29 / zamīrān-i [axsiyya-y māzī mutaṣaddī ṭamānan/ bo mufṛad-i mutakallim/ bo muxātab-i mufṛad/ bo mufṛad-i gāʔib/ bo dʒamʕ-i mutakallim/... zamīrān-i [axsiyya-y mazT lāzim ṭamānan/
- p. 36 / taqsīm-i fiʔl/
- / fiʔl tʃwār qisma / fiʔl-i māzT/ fiʔl-i hāʔ/ fiʔl-i: ʔistiqbāl/ fiʔl-i ʔamir/
- p. 43 / fiʔl du nawsa/ maʔlūm/ madzhūl/

Translation

- p. 2 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.
- p. 3 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.

- p. 6 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.
- p. 7 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.
- p. 10 Nouns are of two sorts; simple - alone and compound - mixed.
- p. 17 Infinitive.
- p. 24 Pronouns are of two kinds: bound and free.
- p. 29 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 ...
- p. 36 The Division of the Verb
- Verbs are four divisions: past verbs; present verbs, future verbs and imperative verbs.
- p. 43 Verbs are of two kinds: active; passive.

TEXT No. 25

Source: Arithmetic for the Fourth Year Primary School
/ ?aħisāb_īl ?istiqrā?ī/ by N. Barzinji and F. Barzinji

Date: 1928

Extracts

- p. 5 / kart// kasiř/
/ ?ilm-i zimāra// ħisāb/
- p. 7 / tegayiftin-i kart// tařřif-i kasiř/
- p. 8 / ħařt yak// sumin/
/ dū la pendz// xumsān/
/ se la pendz// salāsāt ?axmās/
- p. 9 / kāgāzek-i tšwār sutšT// muřabbas/
/ lekđānawa-y kasiř// muqāřana bayna ĩkusūr/
- p. 15 / ?asmāi-i ?arbasā-i kartān// ?asmāi ĩkusūr/
/ kokirdnawa// dzamš/ darkirdin// tarħ/
- p. 21 / kartān-i řuřřT// kusūr-i řuřřT/ kartān-i tāybatī//
kusūr-i ?istiyādi/
- p. 22 / mařtaba-y yakān// ?āħād/ u dayān// řařařāt/ u sadān//
miřāt/
- p. 23 zimāra-y be kartī // řadad saħTħ/

- p. 31 / matrūh/ = / le darhenrōw/
 / matrūh minhu/ = / darhātū/
 / ḥaṣi littaḥ/ = /pājmāwa-y darhenān
- p. 34 / zarb/ = / lek dān/
- p. 40 / taqṣīm / = / baḥkirdin/
- p. 43 / dabe mulāḥaza bikayn la misāl-i yakamīndā tḥurka la
 maqṣūmdā ṣadadek-i saḥīḥ niya xāridz-i qismatakay kasīr
 darḥtjū/
 / qāṣida/ bo taqṣīm kirdin-i ṣadad-i saḥīḥ ba sar kasīr-i
 ṣuḥṣṣīdā har waḳ ṣadād-i saḥīḥ taqṣīm dakre/
- p. 75 / muzāṣaf-i muḥtarak/ muzāṣaf-i basit/
- p. 78 / ḥattafṣīḥ ḥilāḥ ṣawāmiḥ ḥilḥawwaliyya/
- p. 141 / ḥagar sūrat-i kasīra ka ba sar ṣadad-i saḥīḥakadā
 qabil-i taqṣīm nabe aw ṣadada saḥīḥa la maxradz-i aw
 kasīra zarb akre wa dast nādre la zimāra-y sūratakay/

Translation

- p. 5 Fraction
 The science of numbers - arithmetic.
- p. 7 Knowing the fractions - defining the fraction.

- p. 8 Eighth.
Two of five.
Three of five.
- p. 9 A four-edged paper - square.
Thinking about fractions - comparison between fractions.
- p. 15 The four skills of fractions - the working of fractions.
putting together - summing.
taking out - subtraction.
- p. 21 Decimal fractions
special fractions - common fractions.
- p. 22 Category of the units - units, and tens; and hundreds.
- p. 23 Numbers without fractions - whole numbers.
- p. 31 Subtrahend = taking out.
Minuend = coming out.
Difference = remainder of the taking out.
- p. 34 Multiplying = hitting, beating.
- p. 40 Dividing = Dividing
- p. 43 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 demoninator. 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.

TEXT No. 26

Source: Introduction to Natural History for the Sixth Year
Primary Schools.
/ duṛūs-i ʔaḥyā u saratā-y tabīʔiyyāt/ translated by
A. W. Nuri.

Date: 1929

p. 103 / ʔoksidzīn quṛstira la hawā/ ʔiḥtiṣāl nākā balām
musāḥada-y ʔiḥtiṣāl akā u ʔiḥtiṣāl-ī ʔadzsam la hawada
labar ʔoksidzīna/ ʔiḥtiṣāl-ī hīdrodzīn āw ḥāsīl akā/ am
ʔiḥtiṣāla ṣibārata la ʔimtizād-ī hīdrodzīn ba ʔoksidzīn-ī
hawā/ lama te agayn āw ṣibārata la hīdrodzīn u ʔoksidzīn/
sūtān-ī xalūz gāz-ī fahmī ḥāsīl akā/

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 exis-
tence 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

TEXT No. 1

Source: zīn

Date: October 6, 1939

/ la wazārat-i dīfāṣ maktabe klīrāwatawa bo dawra-y zābit-i ?ihṭiyāt/
awāna-y la sānawī daṛṭṭjūn [a]f māṣ dawām akan/ awāna-y ba bāṣṭ daṛṭṭjīn
yaksar abin ba mulāzim sānī awāna-ytir ka xāwin la dṣayṣdā abin ba
nā?ib zābit/ [a]rā?it/ dṣinsiyat-i ṣiṛāqī u ḥusn-i sulūk u ?axlāq u ba
dṣināyat maḥkūm nabe/ mu?ayyad be ba daftaṛ-i nifūs u [a]ḥādāt-nāma-y
ṣadam maḥkūmiyyat/ la madṛasa-y sānawī daṛṭṭjūbe yā la madṛasayek-i
muṣādil-i sānawī/ ṣumrī la nozda kamtir nabe/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 2

Source: galāwez Editorial written by Ibrahim Ahmed.

Date: December 1939

p. 1 / xam gale ba baxtlyār azānīm ka ba yārmāt-i gawra u
dost u birādařān yakam zīmāra-y galāwez tān peřkař akam
u hiwāyek-i zorřim haya ka har yakatān ba pey twānā
u la sunūr-i dasālāt-i xotān yārmātīm bidan la bilāw
kirdnawa u ziyāndin u peřxistindā/ galāwez govārek-i
řadabř saqāfiya/ yakamīn niyāzř bizāř-i zīmān-i kurdř u
ziyāndin-i řadabiyyāt-i kurdīya ba pārāstīn u kokirdnawa-y
řadabiyyāt-i kon u māwa dan ba bilāw kirdnawa-y řadabiyyāt-i
taza u tarřzuma kirdin-i nūsīn-i dżwān u klteb-i řfāk-i begāna/

Translation

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 galāwez, 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.

/galāwez/ 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 / galāwezim tʃon awe/ nūsīnek-i řawān u be qořtim ley
awet/ la xwendawārānawa gale nūsřawmān bo hāt la bābat
řazāmandī u handek-Itiryān nāřazalyān pTʃān dābū kawā
la tʃand bāseki ba girān te agan/ am nūsřāwa-y la
xwārāwa ayxwennawa hī yakek la nāřazākāna/ hammū
maqalākan-i galāwezim yakayaka zor ba wīrdī xwendawa/ awa-y
la hammū ſite zyātir kawta peſ tʃāwim hande kalima-y
tāzadāřezřāw u tāza dāhātū u hande dzumla u taſbTř-i
nabīstřāw u pe řānahātū bū ka la zor ſwendā wāy la pyaw
akird wāz la bāsaka bihene u bigařet bo maſnā-y ſāřřāwa-y
am kalima u taſbTřāna/ lām wāya hammūtān pe lawa anen ka
zimān-i kurdī waku zimānek pey binūsřet zor sāwāya/ ba
hā! ſumřī la 20/30 ſā! tepař akāt/ nimūnayek-i am sařleſewān
u har kas bo xoyiya kalima-y kallimaya ka yake wīſa u
awTīr wāta u seyam-guta u tʃwāram wita-y pe alet/ ama
har aw kasāna-y mīn ſitīm xwendūnatawa Indzā xwā ayzāne
xa!k-Itīr tʃiy 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 wifa, another wāta, a third guta, and a fourth wita. This is only in the writings of those I have read, thus, God knows what other persons have for it.

TEXT No. 4

Source: galawez

Date: June 1940

p. 46 /zilyān pemānagayene har wazīfayek t̄jāk pekī benīn abeta
pāyayek bo dařsek-itir/ to mumkina nūsyāř bi yān sanřatkār
hit̄j řozek fikřit kirduwa ka řegāyek-i tāza bidozītawa
bo īřakat/ bit̄jo bo kitebxāna kiteb-i tāza bikra řitī
tāza ferba tamřīn-i tāza bika tadzřuba-y tāza u řiřřādāt-i
tāza warbigra/

Translated from an Article in 'Psychology' by Newton Rogers.

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 lib-
raries, buy new books, learn new things, make new experiments and
obtain new training and new instructions.

TEXT No. 5

Source: ژیڤن

Date: July 16, 1940

/ hammū qawmek tārīx-i ʔadabīyyāti haya/ kurd amanda āwāran ʔāsār-i
qīmatdārījyān ba yakawa na nūsānuwa u bo qawnek-itir būn ba mā|/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 6

Source: galāwez

Date: October and November issue, 1940 (letter to the Editor by Jamshid).

p. 43 / hiwāmān wāya řūnākT galāwez am tārTkiya-y sar s̄ing-i
wiĵatakamān lābare u řegamān bo řofin kātawa zimānakamān
bo bizyenetawa u bomān bizār bikāt la bařd u kotĵk u
kannak-i begāna/ řiřā bāĵa u đzwānakānmān ka wena-y diman-i
řTrTn-i kaz u kewān-i řengTn-i kurdustān-i giřtuwa biĵaw
bikātawa/ u tikām wāya ka mūsarān tā peyān akřet la
wiĵa-y begāna bakārhenān xoyān bipařezin/ u la nūsTnā
ka wiĵayek-i KurdT patT tāzabakārhenřaw deta řemānakay
la xwāřawa lek bidretawa tawaku xalk teybigan u la nāwā
biĵaw betawa/

Translation

We hope that the light of galāwez dispels the darkness lurching 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.

TEXT No. 7

Source: dang-i gittī tāza

Date: October 1943, Editorial.

p. 1 /peʃakI/ amāndzi dang-i gittī tāza biḷāw kirdnawa-y
āgā-y řāsta la bāra-y hammū kirdār u qawmāwek-i am dʒaŋga
gittīgīřawa/ am gowāra zānyarī biḷāw akātāwa la bāra-y
am koʃiʃa dʒaŋgiya mazina ka natawa dīmokřātekān bo
biřdnaway pīřozī u mirov řūn akātāwa/ la bāra-y aw
amāndza pāka gawrāna ka natawa dīmokřātekān boy te akoʃin
ka wakū āzādī u baxtiyārī u xwendāwarī mařduma/ am
gowāra baʃe la lāpařakānī tarxān akā bo zānyarī deřek
u yāsā u bo ʃiřīř/ ʔadabiyāt/ dāstān/ strān/ ʧiřok u
gorānī ka kaʃki barz kirdnawa-y xwendawāřīyān haya/ lagaḷ
amaʃā te akoʃe bo barz kirdnawa-y ziyān-i komaḷāyatī u
ʃāristānetī/ u zānyarī] biḷāw akātāwa bo ʧjāk kirdin-i
tandřustī u kiʃtukāḷ u ābuřī u bāzīrgānī/

Glosses

deřek	'history')) in the Bahdinan dialect
strān	'songs')	
āburi	'economic')	

Translation

Introduction: The aims of dangī gittī 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.

TEXT No. 8

Source: dang-i gittî tâza

Date: November, 1943 (by Tawfiq Wahbi)

p. 4 / bākūr// şimāl/ nîwařo// dzunüb/ tşand şāi lamawpeş ka
destim kird ba bakārhenān-i am dū wişaya-y sarawa kirā
ba ha||ā/ ba gale kasim gayānd ka bākūr ba mānā-y şimāl la
nāw kurd-i bākurdā dozrāwatawa/ nîwařoş wişayek-i zor ba
dzeya bo dzunüb/ gale natawa ba zimān-i xoyān pey a|en
nîwařo bo wena ba fransizî midi/ ba italyayî mdzodzōrno/

Translation

(The writer suggests the use of /bākūr/ instead of the Arabic word /şimāl/ for 'north' and /nîwařo/ instead of /dzunüb/ 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 nîwařo 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'.

TEXT No. 9

Source: deng-i gittî tâza

Date: November, 1943 (by Tawfiq Wahbi)

p. 39 / dastûr-i zimâm-i kurdî; / bo âxawtîn u mûstîn ba zimânek-i
be ha|a u ba xâwentî zânîni binkakân-i dastûr-i aw zimâna
pewlsta/ awa lam dzârâwa bo sūd-i gittî dastûraka pārtja
pārtja bi|āw akamawa/

Glosses

/ âxawtîn darhenanî hande dan la damawa/

wîja karta, tîp.

tîpî dangî

tîpî bizwen

Translation

"Grammar of the Kurdish Language"

For speaking and writing a language with no mistakes and well, know-
ledge 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.

TEXT No. 11

Source: daḡḡ-i giṭṭī tāza

Date: December, 1943

/ lam nigārada hande la ofīsar u saʿbāz-i aḡamān abīnīn ka la ʿrusyādā.
xoyān dāwa ba dastawa/

Translation

In this picture we see some German officers and soldiers who have
surrendered themselves in Russia.

TEXT No. 12

Source: ژیڻ

Date: April 5, 1945

/ sayrān-i nawrōz/ dwene ka tšwār ſammūbū u rōz-i sayrān sar la
bayānī dwazda xewat ha|dřābū u sayrānkarīſ ahātīn/ aw daſte plřbū la
ā|uwā|ā/ ma|band-i d₃ins-i latīf daſtaka-y bař glřd-i yařa bū/ aw
daſta hař wakū ba gu| u gu|a|a -y bahār řāzābowa ... būbūwa
tamāſgāhek-i gyāndār/ Ind₃ā manzarayek u dimanek u ſewayek-i řoh-i kurdī
wā piſān dřa ka ba řāstī zind₃īřa-y ziyān u mawd₃udiyat-i hammū kurdustānī
anwānd/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 13

Source: 3Tn

Date: June 28, 1945

/ xitāb-i maṣāli tofiq wahbī/ Imro wiḷātakamān ʃādumāna ba dīdārī
baḷyoz-i dawḷat-i baṛīṭānyā/ nwenāreki gawra-y dīmokrātī/ muzdabaṛeki
āzādī/ terī/ tandṛustī/ betīrsī/ xwendawāṛī u baxtiyārī dzīns-i miṛov/
gayiṣṭin-i ewa bam wiḷāta bū ba hoy pāristin u saratā-y ziyānawa u
būzandnawa-y natawa-y kurd/ āsayiṣ dāmazrā/ ṛegā dṛust kiṛā/ bāzīrgānī
garmī pedrā/ kiṣtukāḷ ṛek xiṛāyawa/ dabustān ba zimān-i kurdī
dāmazrāyawa/ zimān u adabiyyāt-i kurdī hān dṛa u peṣkawī/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 14

Source: galāwez

Date: January, 1949 (editorial)

p. / ama da s̄āla galāwez maydāneka ka nusarakān-I kurd bow
zimāna-y ka hazārān s̄ā| bāw u bāpīřakānyān qisay pe akan/
maydāndāřī tedā akan u zimānakayān bi|āw akanawa/ ama
da s̄ā|a galāwez qutabxānayeka ka kurd zimān dařs-I zimān-I
kurdī tedā axwenet u kamükūrī zimānakay řāst akātawa/

Translation

It is ten years now that galāwez 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 galāwez 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: 3Īn.

Date: May 29, 1952

/ la ŝiřāqdā ba peřawāna-y hammū řwenek-itir kārubar u kaikusūd
wargiřtin-i dāniřtwān baw dżora řoyřtuwa u biřāwa ba řewa ka hammū
řū bkana pāytext u dże gĪrbīn tyādā/ u hamīře hawĪ dĪrāwa bo pařadān
baw řāra u kiřāwa ba nāwtřa-y hammū kārubar u pĪřasaziye/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 16

Source: 3Tn

Date: October 9, 1952

/ hammū kasek hawj adāt la ziyāndā u axwenet ta bigata pāyayek ley
biḥasetawa u xizmatek bikāt/ baḷām esta ba towōwT ba ṣaks-i amawaya/
misālek-i piṭṣūk bo ama aw muṣallimāt u muṣallimānaya kawā darṭṣūn
Imṣā!/ u nāyawe tikrārT bikaynawa ka ema ṭṣand muḥtadz+i maktabTn
ṭṣunḡka hammū ayzānTn ka ṛāda-y xwendawāṛTmān ṭṣand nizma/ baḷām tamaṣā
akayn amāna-y darṭṣūn zoṛyān taṣyTn nakrāwln/

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.

TEXT No. 17

Source: 3Tn

Date: December 21, 1954

/ pařwařdakirdin/ ?attarbiya/ pařwařda kirdin bājtirīn řegāya ka
pewista bigTřet bo pegayāndin-i minā] u biřdin ba řeway la sar
řewayek-i ā]kirā u řāst ka xo]T u kāmārānetī le dastgīrbe la zlyān-i
koma]āyatTdā/

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.

TEXT No. 18

Source: hiwā

Date: February, 1958

p. 17 / māng-i dastkird/ nizika-y dū māngek pe] tawāwbūn-i
sā]-i 1957 bāsek-i zānyarī girīng hāta kāyawa/ bāsek-i
awto ka bū ba duwān-i hammū miřovek u hammū kundzek-i gittī
girītowa/ zorahāy sarsām kird galeki] fādumān būn ba sarkawtin-i
am pīla zānyāriya/ amawe leřadā kuřtayek-i am bās u dīrust
kirdina bixama bar t]aw-i xwenarān-i kurd tākū agādārbin
la hammū rūdāwek u hammū pe]kawtinek-i zānyār-i/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 19

Source: /pa|a hawrek-i tʃi|kin/
/ jamā| bābān/ tʃāpχāna-y maʕārif/ bagdā/

Date: 1958

p. 8 /ʃār-i sulaymānT/ ʃārek-i xindzila u xānmo|ayek-i naʃmīla/
wak tʃapka gu|ek-i řāzowa/ yāxud wak asterayek-i piřʃingdār-i
ki|ʃāwa/ di| řūn/ dasřangTn/ řū xof u dam ba pekanTn/ nizTk
ba ʃāx-i goyza-y namiř řāki|ʃāwa/ tʃand qonāgek nizTk baw
qa|ā-y tʃwālāna/ aw qa|ā tʃwālāna-y nizTk dū tʃarx lamawbar
... ʃweni ʃānāzT u řez-i kurdān u qa|ā-y saxt-i mīřni|ʃTn-i
bābān bū/ sartʃāwa-y řūn-i zānyarT u tʃa|ʃma-y gawhar u
mirwārT xwendawārT bū/

Translation

A DIRTY PIECE OF CLOUD

by Jamal Baban

Ma'arif Press, Baghdad, 1958

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/goyza/mountain. Several miles from it is /qala tʃwalan/ 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-i tanhrustī bo minājan/
/ nūsar doktor salmān/ la layan sabdulqādir
qazāzawa kirāwa ba kurdī/
/ tšāpxāna-y masārif/ bagdad/ 1949/
2. /kiteb-i siħha bo minājan/
/ dānar doktor salmān/ mutārdzim sayn waw nūri/
/ tšāpxāna-y masārif/ bagdad/ 1951/
3. / wādzibāt-i řawist u xū-y ništīmānī/
/ danar hājim řařaľuřē/ fuřād řařid kirduyatī ba kurdī/
/ tšāpxāna-y masārif/ bagdad/ 1951/
4. / fārmān-i ništīmāni u řawistī/
/ nūsār řahmad sabulqadir/ la layan
sabdulqadir qazāzawa kirāwa ba kurdī/
/ tšāpxāna-y mahfūz/ bagdad/ 1953/

Translation

1. Hygiene text for children
Author: Dr. Salman

Made into Kurdish by Abdul-Qadir Qazaz
Maṣarif Press, Baghdad, 1949.

2. Hygiene text for Children
Author: Dr. Salman
Translator: Şayn waw nuri

3. Duty of National Conduct and Manner
Writer: Hashim Al-Alusi
Fu'ad Rashid translated it into Kurdish
Maṣarif Press, 1951.

4. Task of Nationalism and Behaviourism
Writer: Ahmad Abdul-Qadir
Made into Kurdish by Abul-Qadir Qazaz
Mahuz Press, Baghdad, 1953.

Appendix III

DATA OF CHAPTER IV

TEXT No. 1

Source: peŕkawtIn

Date: August 9, 1958

/ kurd la dzhānda/ hande kas ka la mezū u dzugrāfiyā-y
kurdustān pītek nāzānin u āgādār-i gīrūgīrīft-i masala-y
kurd nīn ba ema bāwār nākan ka kurd la gittīdā ba taybaŕi
la nāw ŕozhaŕāt-i nawaŕāstdā la 15-20 milyon abet/

Translation

Kurds in the World

Some people who know nothing about the history and geography of
Kurdistan 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.

TEXT No. 2

Source: xabāt

Date: April 4, 1959

/ biṣṣāḥ-i ṣṣe-y gal ba kiṣṣānawā-y dḥmhūriyyat-i dīmukṣrat-i ṣṣirāq
la paymān-i impiryālisti ṣṣarāwī bagdā/

Translation

The decision of the Son-of-the-Nation for the withdrawal of the democratic republic of Iraq from the imperialistic and belligerent Baghdad pact.

TEXT No. 3

Source: xabāt

Date: April 8, 1959

/ biřyār diřā ba t[ə]f[ə]nek-i saratāi ka mudīřiyatek-i giřt dābinřet
bo kārubar-i zānyārī kurdustān la bāragā-y diwān-i wazārat/

Translation

It was decided in principle that a directorate general be established
in the administration headquarters of the ministry for the educational
affairs of Kurdistan.

TEXT No. 4

Source: āzādī

Date: November 16, 1959

/ pešawā a]e t]īn-i kirekār pešrawa la pārastīn-i d]amhūrīyyatakamānā ...
giftugo-y pešawā-y wi]āt la ga] sarkirdanaqābekān ba bona-y ?i d]āza
dān-i yeketī naqābakān-i kirekārān/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 5

Source: hiwā-y Kurdistan

Date: December 19, 1959

/ peḡawā-y xoḡawist wiṭī azānin ke la piḡt řūdāwaka-y karkūkawa buwa/
baḡga-y wāman haya ka low dīw sinūrōwa pīlānyān řekxist bo away gyān-ī
nārazāī: u dūbarakī biḡōw bikanawa u āgir xoḡ bikan u řegā taxt bikan
bo řistiřmār/

Translation

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: 3Tn

Date: February 11, 1960

/ kongra-y yaketT giſtT naqābakān-i kirekārān-i ſiſrāq sarkawtinek-
itir-i tſTn-i kirekārāna/ ſāyan-i ſānāziya bo tſTn-i kirekārān-i ſiſrāq
u naqāba

tekoſarakānyān ka la hamū xāk-i xoſawist-i ſiſrāqdā u ba hamū natawa
u bTſrubāwaſ u dTnekawa yak

yaketlyān haya u nizike-y 275 hazār kirekār u mūtſaxor-i naqābT
yak sarkirda-y pitaw u nabazyān haya/

Translation

The congress of the federation of the Workers' Unions of Iraq is another victory for the working class. It is pridetworthy 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.

TEXT No. 7

Source: hiwā-y Kurdistan

Date: March 8, 1966

/ kobūnawa firāwanaka-y ITzna-y yaket-i/ andāmān-i ITzna-y
barewabirdin-i kārubar-i Jārakān la yaketī qutābyān-i giŝtī hatin
u har law ŗozadā kobūnawayekyān kird/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 8

Source: ژیڻ

Date: September 22, 1960

/ kobūnawa-y ājtīxwāzān/ nuqta girīngakānī biretībūn la taʔyīd-i
hez-i galān-i afrīqā u āsiyā bo rīzgār kirdīn la kot u zīndzīr-i
īmīrīyālīzmī bezārī daʔbīrīn barāmbār be tekdān-i kobūnawa-y sarok-y
wīlata gawrakān/ hawī dān bo tʃak dāmāīn la dzīhāndā u bo qadaga
kirdīn-i tʃak-i atomī/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 9

Source: birwā

Date: December 10, 1960

/ la zīmarayek-i řoznāma-y birwādā la řista-y dang u bāsakān-i nāw
řār řitekīm bar tšāw kawt la bāray kirdnawa-y kārga-y dźiğāra wa
har wahā pek hatīn-i dām u dazgā-y barewabirdīnī tyā bās kirābū/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 10

Source: bîr wā

Date: February 21, 1961

/ goş'a-y ?adab ba nūsTn u honrāw u tîrok u řaxna u mezû-y ?adab
u folklor u dāstān ... bo toya/ bo natawa-y kurd u bo peşxistin-î
şārîstānetî tekřā/ ?adobakamān pewîstî ba buzāndnawa u bizār kirdin
u tomār u lekoltnawa u peşxistna/ hatā zuwa dast bidara xāma u amTş
řoznāma/

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.

TEXT No. 11

Source: Kurdustān

Date: March 4, 1961

/ gal-i kurd la hammū lāyek-i kurdustānā zor supās-i andāmān-i
řekxrāw-i d̄zihānī kurdustān u sarokakay akāt/ nāsāndin-i xoy u
kurdustānakay ba galān u darxistin-i řū-y gaj-i masala řādilakay wak
natawayek-i ājtixwāz-i ři zgārpāřwař ba sarkawtinek-i bāj-i azāne
la xabāt-i nabařdānayā di zT ImplīyāITzm u dāgTrkarān u zawtkarān-i
māfakānT/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 12

Source: / paŕwaŕda-y niŕtimānŕ bo pol-i pend-am-i saratāŕ/ dānar
ŕabduŕmadŕid yāsin mansūr/ warger dzōmal bābān/ tŕāpxāna-y
?alḥawādiŕ/ bagdad/

Date: 1962

p. 4 / ema umedek-i gawramān ba wiṭnawa-y paŕtūk-i paŕwaŕda-y
niŕtimānŕ haya la qutābxānakānmānā/ biŕwāŕmān beheza bawā-y
ka zor la peŕkawŕin-i siyāŕŕ u zānyārŕ u ŕoŕinbŕŕmān lam
ŕegāyawa abet ka hamū kasek ferŕ māf u aŕk-i sarŕān-i xoy
akāt bawadā ka yakeka la komaŕ. u andāmeka la dawŕatā/
ema hawŕmāndā bo away ampaŕāwa bikayn ba yakam hangāw-i
dast pe kirdŕn/

Translation

Source: National Education for the Fifth Primary.
Author: Abdul Majid Yasin Mansur.
Translator: Jamal Baban
Al-Thawra Press, Baghdad

Date: 1962

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.

TEXT No. 13

Source: / xwendnawa-y kurdî bo pol-i tîwâram-i saratâî / wargeŕ
mihammed tofiq sazîz tîjâpxâna-y dar-idz-dzajmûriyya?
bagda/

Date: 1964

p. 54 / dzûlanawa-y dîdawanî mabast u niyâzek-i barz u pîrozi
haya tîjûnka abeta hoy tîjâk kirdin u bahez kirdin-i řawîjt-i
lâwakân/

p. 65 / la duwândindâ ře akawet řât legaĵ bez-i aw kasadâ
nâbet la xot gawratîra/ lagaĵ eweĵdâ mindâĵ-i zîr ba
ĵewâza u la sar xo ba řezawa waĵâm-i gawra adâtawa wa ba
ĵewayek-i dzwân gift u goy lagaĵ akât/ bo wena .../

Translation

Source: Kurdish Reader for the Fourth Year Primary.
Translator: Mohammed Tawfiq Aziz
Dar-Al-Jamhuriyya Press, Baghdad.

Date: 1964

p. 54 Scouts Movement has a lofty and blessed purpose, and
intention since it becomes a cause for developing and
strengthening the character of our youths.

p. 65

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

TEXT No. 14

Source: brāt

Date: May 6, 1967

/ ba bonay dar t̄jūn-i zimarā yakam-i roznāmakamānawa sarak nūsarān
t̄jāwī ba sarak komār dakawet/ bā biʃaketawa ājā-y birāt
bo pekhenān-i yaksāni tawāw u yaketi u āsāyīʃ la hammū
si rāqdā/

/kor-i ʔadab u hunar u zānist āsoy ... nwey ʔadabiyyātmāna/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 15

Source: / dʒugrāfīyā-y saratāt bo pol-i ʃaʃam/ wargeʃ nūrī ʔalī
ʔamīn tʃāp-i hawtam/ tʃāpāna-y salām ʔalīʔaʃzami/ bagda/

Date: 1968

p. 50 / baʃ-i ʃaʃam/ nīwa darga-y ʔaʃab/
/ niwa darga-y ʔaʃab la ʔiʃāq u wiʃāt-i ʃāmawa barawxwāʃawa
akʃet hatā kotāt ba daʃyā-y ʔaʃab la lā-y hara xwāʃawa
det/ u am nīw dorgaya gawraya u la zortirin dʒewa ba daʃyā
tanīʃawa/ la ʃozāwāyawa daʃyā-y sūr u la xwāʃyawa daʃyā-y
ʔaʃab u la ʃozhaʃātyawa āwdīʃ-i ʔaʃabī dawrī dāwa/

Translation

Source: Primary Geography For the Sixth Year
Translator: Nouri Ali Amin
Seventh Edition
Salam Al Adhami Press, Baghdad

Date: 1968

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.

TEXT No. 16

Source: / bintġina-y zānīn u pařwařda-y tañdřustġ bo pol-i
pendzam/ dānan-1 ITznayek la wazārat-i pařwařda/
wargēr ?ibrāhim ?ahmed/ ġġāpxāna-y mařārif/ bagdād/

Date: 1969

p. 62 /away la sřuřtdā haya krāwa ba dū bajawa/ zindawār u be
gyān/ u zindawārakān bawadā đzyā akřenawa la be gyān ba
ho-y đzūġān u xwārdīn u hanāsa u gawrabūn hastklrdīn u
zorbūn/ zindawārġ akřet ba dū bajawa/ gyāndār u řuwak
la sřuřtdā řuwak zor han u gale đzōřyān haya/

Translation

Source: Foundation of Knowledge and Health Education for the
Fifth Class.

Written by a Committee in the Ministry of Education.

Translator: Ibrahim Ahmed, Ma'arif Press, Baghdad.

Date: 1969

p. 62 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.

TEXT No. 17

Source: Zānyārī.

Date: 1970

p. 1 /ōmāndz u ře u řwen-i govār-i zānyārT/ āsān kirdln-i nūsTn
u xwendln-i zānyārT ba zimān-i kurdT/ gaylřtin bam
mabasta hangāwek-i pewlsta bo away gal-i kurd ba
zimānakay xoy bixwenet la hamū pilakān-i xwendawāriyā/
hiwāmān wāya am govāra bibeta hoyek bo hāndān-i nūsarān
u xwendawārān-i kurd bo hawl dān lam lāyanawa/xwendawār-i
kurd ka nūsTn-i zānyārT kawta dast twānāy nūsTn u
xwendaway barabara para asene/ har wahā nūsTn-i zānyārT
ba kurdT pālman pewa anet bo dozinawa u dāriřtin-i wifā-y
pewlšt zānyārT/ bam bonayawa zimānakamān para asene u
peř akawet/ ema niyāzmān wāya ba pe-y twānā wifā-y kurdT
řāst bakār bihenTn/ balām aw wifā zānyāryāna-y ka la zor
zimānakān-i begana dzegTř bün emař har wahā bakāryān
ahenTn/

Translation

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.

TEXT No. 18

Source: /zīmān-i ʔadabī yakgiřtū-y kurdī/ŝizzaddīn miřtafa řasūl/
třāpxāna-y salmān ʔal ʔaszamī/ bagdā/

Date: 1971

p. 1 / lam řozānadā u ba bonay darřfūn-i yāsā-y akādīmyā-y
zānistī kurdewa la zor řwen u tananat ba nūsīnīř bās-i
zīmān-i kurdī u diyālektakānī/ lahdza/ u zīmānī yakgiřtū
u zīmānī ʔadabī yakgiřtū hātota nāwawa/ am bāsa andzām u
barhamī ba dwāy řāstī u zānistīyā garān-i am maydānaya/
zānistekīř ka sūdīř ziyān-i gal-i tyā bet biretiya la dū
binařat/ tīyorī/ nazariyya/ u přaktīk/ tatbīq/

Translation

Source: Kurdish Literary Standard by Izzaddin Mustafa Rasul.
Salman Al-A'Zami Press, Baghdad.

Date: 1971

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.

TEXT No. 19

Source: / zānyārT u pařwařda-y taqđrustT bo pol-i řařam-i saratāř/
warger řařTd mala řařT/ řjāp-i yakam/ řjāpxāna-y salmān řař
řařzami/ bagda/

Date: 1971

p. 205 / komařa-y xor/

/ zānāyān boyān darkawtuwa ka xor řjand hasārayeki haya
ka ba dawřTdā dasūretawa/ zowřř yakeka law hasārana/ aw
hasārana ba dawř-i xordā dasūrenawa/ u ka třřk-i xoryān
le dadāt daygařennawa/ labar awa dayānbřnřn la āsmāndā
dadřrowřenawa u wā dazānřn asteran/ tā estāř zor řřit haya
darbāray bořāř āsmān ka bomān āřkrā mabuwa u řřn nabotawa
bařām ādamřzād bardawāma la hawřdāndā bo dozinawa-y aw
niheniyāna ba řřga-y zānistř hamadzora/

Translation

Source: Science and Health Education for the Sixth Class Primary.
Translator: Rashid Mulla Ali. First Edition.
Salman Al řařzami Press, Baghdad.

Date: 1971

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.

TEXT No. 20

Source: / govār-i kor-i zānyārT kurd/ baŕg-i yakam/ baŕ-i yakam

Date: 1973

p. 380 / pārōstin-i pāŕmawa deŕŕnakān-i galakamān ka ba dāxawa
zuŕbay hara zaryān fawtāwIn kārek-i bāyaxdāra/ labar awa
kor-i zānyārT kurd ba pe-y twānā hawI dadāt aw baŕa
giriŕga-y mīŕatI ŕoŕŕnbŕŕŕ natawāyatImān biparezet u
bo am mabasta dastI kirduwa ba kokirdnawa-y aw
dasnūsāna-y bo bās-i ?adab u mezū-y gal-i kurd tarxān
kirāwIn baŕku awānaŕyān ka la lāyān zānāyān-i kurdawa
nūsŕāwIn yā nūsŕawnatawa u bās-i mezū u zimān u ?adab-i
galān u baŕakānŕŕŕ-i zānist akan/ amaŕ be gumān bāyaxek-i
zŕyārT/ ĥazārT/ dyārT haya/

Translation

Source: Journal of the Kurdish Science Academy.
First Volume, Part One.

Date: 1973

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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- a. 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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