Language Management in Iraqi Kurdistan

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Abstract:

Language management is a discipline that consists of satisfying the needs of people who speak multiple different languages. These may be in the same country, in companies, and in cultural or international institutions where one must use multiple languages. In the Iraqi Kurdistan context, we are presented with a linguistic situation where two languages are constitutionally official, i.e., Arabic and Kurdish while English is adopted as the solitary means of instruction in some schools/colleges/universities besides the fact Turkmani and Assyrian are spoken and adopted as means of instruction in schools of areas where the Turkmen and Assyrians are a majority. This linguistic reality calls for a sound and rational resolution or management at all levels, particularly at the academic levels which we are interested in here.Thus, the main aim of the present study is to suggest ways on how to take the multilingual situation in Iraqi Kurdistan to an English plus situation in a similar manner we have witnessed in Singapore.

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ادارة اللغة في كردستان العراق

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الكلمات الدالة: ـ	**الخلاصة:**
ـ المستويات الاكاديمية ـ ادارة اللغة ـ اللغة الكوردية	إدارة اللغة هي مجال يتألف من تلبية احتياجات ألشخاص الذين يتحدثون عدة لغات مختلفة. قد تكون هذه في نفس البلد وفي الشركات وفي المؤسسات الثقافية أو الدولية حيث يجب استخدام لغات متعددة .
	في كردستان العراق ، نواجه وضعًا لغويًا حيث توجد لغتان رسميتان دستوريًا ، أي اللغة العربية و الكردية بينما يتم اعتماد اللغة الإنجليزية كوسيلة للتدريس في بعض المدارس / الكليات / الجامعات إلى جانب حقيقة تحدث اللغة التركمانية والآشورية واعتمدت كوسيلة للتعليم في مدارس المناطق التي يشكل فيها التركمان والآشوريون الأغلبية. يستدعي هذا الواقع اللغوي اتخاذ قرار أو إدارة سليمة وعقلانية على جميع المستويات ، وخاصة على المستويات ألأكاديمية التي نهتم بها هنا .و بالتالي. فإن الفرض الرئيسى من هذه الدراسة هو اقتراح طرق حول كيفية اتخاذ الوضع متعدد اللغات في كردستان العراق إلى وضع زائد الإنجليزية بطريقة مماثلة شهدناها في سنغافورة.
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Language Shift and Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan

In a strikingly similar case to the Singaporean language situation, many perspectives on language shift in Iraqi Kurdistan Region point to a situation where traditional languages (Arabic in particular and the Kurdish) are losing their grip on younger generations in Kurdistan region population. Cavallaro and Serwe (2010), Pillai (2009), Ramiah (1991) and Li et al. (1997) in their studies on language shift in Singapore, all found that their participants aged 18- 29 were more comfortable in English. Pillai (2009) even reports that young Singaporean Malayalams are not at all interested in learning Malayalam, a linguistic reality similar to Iraqi Kurdistan where

young people are more interested in English than Kurdish and Arabic. For some other languages such as Assyrian and Turkomani, the shift may be more drastic.

There can be two key factors behind the current language practices in IKR: government policies and people's desire for personal gain and social mobility, with both issues closely tied in with language attitudes and language identity. Iraqi Kurdistan has experienced significant social and economic development in the past few decades. These developments have in part been brought about through the government's emphasis on good English language skills (Ministry of Education in IKR has taken steps to Anglicize the scientific subjects starting from the first year of primary schools).

Due to some potential conflict that might arise in the future consisting in promoting Kurdish as the sole language of communication in IKR, there would be some likelihood for language conflict with players such as the Turkomans and the Assyrians as well as the central government resisting such efforts based on the constitutional support, English can be an ideal alternative to secure a smoother language policy in the IKR. This means that, in effect, English will replace all other languages as a supra-ethnic language. As in all language contact situations, the co-existence of English with other languages will give rise to a new contact variety of English with substrate influences from other local varieties (Hokkien, Mandarin Chinese and Malay in Singapore and one potential variety is likely in the IKR). The new variety might be named something like Kurdglish! (ibid).

Language and Nationality

Nationalism is a concept that cannot easily be defined. There are various definitions for the term nationalism. One of the best-known definitions is from Anthony Smith who defines the term nationalism as 'an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation' (Smith, 1991, p.73). In this definition, Smith wanted to show the goals of nationalism, which he believes to be national autonomy, national unity and national identity.

Ernest Gellner, in his book *Nation and Nationalism,* defined nationalism as "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 1983, p.1). Moreover, Gellner thinks that nationalism is a necessity of the new world (Gellner, 1983, p. 22). By looking at these two definitions, it becomes clearer that there is neither more adequate than the other. This might be because nationalism is different from a place to another.

Also, there are different types of nationalism, for example, cultural, civic, ethnic, political, eastern and western nationalism. These kinds of nationalism, understanding national ideologies and the relationship between nationalism and language will be discussed in the next sections, in particular the role of the Kurdish language in the

Kurdish national uprising in 1991. This is because the Kurdish language played a considerable role in the uprising, and it is generally believed that Kurdish nationalism is a linguistic nationalism (Mahmud, 2013), which basically means that Kurdish language and Kurdish nationalism are closely linked.

Ideologies of Nation and Nationalism

The word 'nation' in medieval times was used for groups of students who came from the same region (H. Herb & H. Kaplan, 2008). The modern meaning and the idea of being a nation can be traced back to the Eighteenth Century, when philosophers Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) claimed the greatness of the German nation was due to the German language and culture (Taras, 2008, p. 17). However, we could say that the German philosophers' notion was very simplistic and they looked on a nation as having a collective culture rather than looking for political statehood. Nationalism is often discussed with the meaning of a nation. This is because one cannot argue the term nationalism without considering what is a nation. Generally, nationalism is a term used to describe the attachment and feelings of an individual to a particular group, which could be a political group for achieving statehood or an ethnic group, which was related because of their language, history, religion and so on. There are various views about nations and nationalism because those people who defined both terms had different opinions and ideologies. Also, the term has been extremely debatable because of its importance. Ernest Gellner, in his book *Nation and Nationalism*, redefined the term of nation and nationalism, argued that 'a man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears' (1983, p. 6). In contrast, Marx and Engels rejected nationalism completely, and they claim that 'the working class has no country' (Curties, 1997).

Anthony D. Smith defined a nation as 'a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members' (Smith, 1991, p.14). Smith's definition could not classify nations according to their spirit (Barrington, 1997), for instance, distinguish between the nation of Arabic from that of Kurdish, or Spanish from Catalan and so on. Furthermore, he included 'a common economy', which is obviously experienced in one state (Barrington, 1997). One might ask that about a Kurdish or Turkish nation as Kurds live in various countries which have different economies. If they are not a nation, what does Kurdish nationalism mean? Also, the same explanation is true for Turks who have more than one state. Not surprisingly, Smith made some remarkable changes in his definition of 'nation' in 2002, when he stated that a nation is 'a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs' (Guibernau, 2004). As has been seen, there are some obvious fundamental changes, which Guibernau (2004) also mentioned; he removed the 'mass'

character of public culture and a 'common economy', also 'common legal rights and duties' have been swapped with 'common laws and customs'.

Benedict Anderson defined a nation in a different way saying that a nation is 'an imagined political community.' Anderson argues that all members of nations do not know each other even in the smallest nation, but they have an image of their communion (Anderson, 1991, p.6). He criticizes Ernest Gellner who thinks that 'nationalism invents nations where they do not exist' and he discusses that all communities are in fact imagined not by their false genuineness but by the style in which they are imagined and they are distinguished by their imagined style (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). I think Anderson's ideas are more appropriate for the Kurdish community and nationalism. This is because whole Kurds are not similar in culture, faith, country, even they do not have one united language to understand each other, but they feel and imagine they are Kurdish.

National Identity and Nation-state

The historian Hans Kohn differentiated between western and eastern nationalism and thought that western nationalism is territorial-civic nationalism because the middle class was active in the west and aimed to create a liberal and rational civil society, but eastern nationalism is ethnocultural nationalism because of the weakness of the middle class. Nationalism in the west was only 'the dream and hope of scholars and poets' (Kohn, 1982, p. 29-30). As a result of both kinds of nationalism, nation-states were built, and most theorists agree that nation-states are contemporary constructions (Kohn, 1982; Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1991; Smith, 1991). Obviously, nation-states were widely accepted and national boundaries were drawn. Following that, the issue of those ethnic groups who do not have a state has appeared and it was theorized under the term 'nations without states'.

Despite there being various theories and views to show what should be called national identity, one has been compelled to accept one's state as a national identity officially, e.g. states are members of the United Nations (United-Nations, 2013). This basically means that the identity of Scots is British, not Scottish, and the identity of Kurds might be Turkish, Iraqi, Iranian or Syrian but not Kurdish. As has been argued by Smith (1991), identity plays a central role in nationalism and according to him national identity 'involves some sense of political community, history, territory, partiality, citizenship, common values and traditions' (Guibernau, 2004, p. 133). Smith's definition also could not include nations without states, and he was criticized for ignoring nations like Basques, Flemish, Kurdish and so on (Guibernau, 2004).

There is no doubt that some nations in the world do not have their own states due to the last centuries' conflicts, in particular both World Wars. Some people think that every nation should have a state, while some others claim that democracy can give

ethnic rights to various nations within a state. One of the biggest stateless nations is the Kurdish nation. They were victims of peace settlements after the Ottoman Empire collapsed (Gotlieb, 1994, pp. 101-104). Kurds and similar nations are generally called nations without states or stateless nations. We totally agree with those people who think that every nation should have their own state because that democracy is not a static term, and those nations who are a minority in a country are looked upon as lower-level citizens. The most obvious example could be the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq who were massacred by their own states in 1937 (Demirhan, 2010) and the 1980s (McDowall, 2004, p.352).

Language and Nationalism

As we mentioned earlier, there are two main kinds of nationalism: civic nationalism, which is also called liberal nationalism, and ethnic nationalism. Liberal nationalism is more about being a citizen than blood (Ernest, 1995). It is a modern mode of thinking about being a citizen in a group without thinking about blood loyalty. On the other hand, building upon the ideas of ethnic nationalism, nationalism is closely linked with blood, meaning individuals are members of a nation because of their common language, culture, color and so on. According to ethnic nationalism, it is believed that language is a national basis and one nation needs to have one common language. Ignatieff argued that ethnic nationalism is based on 'blood loyalty' (Billig, 1995, p. 47). Regarding Kurds, it is thought that Kurdish nationalism is based on ethnic nationalism due to the fact that being Kurdish is linked with language, spiritual thinking, culture and so on.

It is assumed by most traditional social scientists that language communality is a crucial point, and members of a language need to seek for their political recognition to save their language (Billig, 1995). Besides, language has been used by nationalists for political support, for instance, Kurds in Iraq in the second half of the last century. They used their language to increase nationalist feelings among Kurdish inhabitants against the Iraqi regime at that time (Mahmud, 2013). In the 1991 uprisings, the Kurdish language played a significant role in various sectors. If media is taken as an example, Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio was one of the most effective voices at that time, especially through those messages and speeches which were propagated to Arabs in Iraq, arguing for ethnic rights and revolution against the process of Arabization (Mustafa, 2009, p. 31-40).

Generally, the Kurdish language has been a very important tool for Kurdish nationalism. The deputy of the head of the Kurdish Academy called Kurdish nationalism as linguistic nationalism (Mahmud, 2013). He basically means that the Kurdish language is the main or one of the main bases of Kurdish nationalism. Also, Jaffer Sheyholislami believes that 'Kurdistan, as a territorial and cultural nation, has

been imagined and defined in terms of the Kurdish language' (Sheyholislami, 2009). Moreover, the modern scholars of Kurdish studies have suggested that 'Kurdish language is arguably the most salient symbol of Kurdish identity' (Sheyholislami, 2009). This fact could be the main factor for linking Kurdish language with Kurdish nationalism and politics strongly. Every political wave in Kurdistan would affect the Kurdish language. Also, Every Kurdish language issues might have an impact on Kurdish nationalism. This could be the main cause that encourages Kurds to have standard Kurdish language, in particular in Iraqi Kurdistan. This is because this part of Kurdistan is the only place the Kurdish language is a formal language and studied widely.

The Role of Language in the 1991 Kurdish National Uprising

After the invasion, Iraq withdrew from Kuwait in February 1991 because of a massive US-led military campaign (BBC, 2013). Many Iraqis expected that the United States and its allied army would go beyond Kuwait, but this did not occur, and President Bush asked the Iraqi people to remove the dictator themselves (Reuters, 1991). Moreover, Bush's speech was broadcast on opposition radios and the Voice of America. Some people think that this speech played a great role in the Iraqi uprisings in southern Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan in 1991 (Fisk, 2006). The Kurds rose up against the Ba'athist government and Ranya was the first town to be liberated on 5th March. Following that, the people and Peshmarga1 in most Kurdish cities and towns started to fight against the Iraqi regime and the government was forced to leave most Kurdish areas (McDowall, 2004).

It is generally believed that the uprising was the outcome of some other events, which were, firstly, the international reactions against Iraq because of the Iran - Iraq War and the Kuwait invasion. Secondly, the bad internal Iraqi situation was due to the Kurdish genocide and Shiite uprising (McDowall, 2004). Also, language was another spur for the Kurdish uprising. This was because, in most multilingual and multi-ethnic societies, language plays a significant role in managing tensions and making political waves. Besides, the media can be used as a tool to send these sorts of messages. There are various examples of such usages e.g. the messages of Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio in 1991. During the uprising, Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio The Voice of the People of Kurdistan' was chosen as a mouthpiece by 'Barai Kurdistani' United Kurdistan Parties, and its language played a considerable role due to the fact that the radio broadcast some effective private-sphere messages for public-sphere purposes

(Mustafa, 2009). Generally, the Kurdish language played two vital and effective roles in the 1991 uprising, which were; firstly, the linguistic role of the Kurdish language was because Kurds didn't have linguistic rights. Even though Iraqi Kurds were supposed to have more rights than other Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Syria, they were forced to study and speak in Arabic by the Iraqi regime. In addition, Kurdish has been sidelined and the most important languages in those areas where Kurds live have

been Arabic, Turkish or Persian (M. Azeez, 2005, p. 553). As a reaction, the Kurdish nationalists have encouraged people to protect their language because it is believed that Kurdish should have the same right as other languages and it is crucial that it is taught, published and printed (Nawkhosh & Khoshnaw* 2011). As we have seen above, people in Iraqi Kurdistan were massacred in the 1980s because of being Kurdish. They were forced to take action when their language also was threatened with linguicide. Secondly, the role of a motivated Kurdish language on regular people, which was used for political ends in the media, flyers, publications, speeches, marches etc. Dangi Geli Kurdistan Radio was chosen as an example because it was the main radio at that time and played a very effective role (Mustafa, 2009).

Paying no attention to how many languages and dialects the Kurds speak, Aziz (2015: 50, 51) gives the priority to the theoretical dimension of language which should be considered as a fundamental element in the process of strengthening national identity which is confirmed by many Kurdish nationalists such as Hajar Abdurrahman, Hemen Mokryani (from Iranian Kurdistan), Aladdin Sajadi, Jamal Nabaz, and Ferhad Shakely. That is, the Kurdish language is of high significance as it is a symbol indicating who the Kurds are and it has been a crucial protector of their (kurdayati) Kurdishness.

The troubles with the Kurdish language are the reflection of the troubles of a nation that has stepped up and pulled through deep pain towards nation building that gives the meaning to providing a political environment which gives a new meaning to culture, cultural freedom, and language. In addition, it has neither been able to provide a suitable political setting for Kurdish culture nor solve the simplest problem with the Kurdish language during one century of its age (Sabir, 2008: 115).

Language proves the nationality and the existence of a nation. If any nation cannot use its language by writing and reading, it will melt within the spirit of another nation ad hoc in the near future. It is a national duty for political parties to form a coherent plan to urge their supporters and members to speak in the Kurdish language at home, never forget their language, and never consider it the second degree (Jambaz, 2014, 59-61; 115, 116).

Sabir (2008: 111, 112) points out that the ruling experience of the government of South Kurdistan and the absence of a national cultural policy besides the absence of having a plan for adopting a standard language for formal speaking and writing indicate that the political authority cannot achieve and create the foundations for cultural and language unity without profound national awareness and a cultural policy that covers every aspect of education and science. It will probably increase the rate of language distribution and differentiation, and it will complicate the spiritual and political lives of Kurds. Meanwhile, Sapir indicates that the language policy (concerning the national language or minority language inside the state) composes

part of the policy of the state- particularly the internal policy of the state (Khalid, 2015).

However, language and the linguistic reality in IKR has been influenced by a number of important factors. The following discussion is drawn from Saeed (2018):

Language and other Concepts
Language and Economy

In addition to political support, Sabir (2008: 110) considers economic support an influential factor for any language to be able not to retreat behind other stronger languages. Jambaz (2014, p. 60) discusses the factors beyond the spread of language and mentions some of them, such as occupation, commerce, migration, religion, and the economy. Consequently, some states are using language as an influential economic card, for instance, when Jack Shirak was the Prime Minister of France, he made a suggestion to the 36 Francophone states where the formal language is French and offered to forgive them from paying back their debts whenever they used French over English. The French deployed and distributed their language in this way and they still ask and are motivated about opening French departments. Likewise, the Spanish authorities have attempted to establish institutions for teaching Spanish. If France, Spain, and the UK make such efforts, what should we do? The Spanish government spent 75000000 dollars on a project to develop the Spanish language outside Spain (Tofiq, 2007: 24). Economically, formal languages have something to do with occupation and making use of vacant positions. For instance, the efforts made by spanish parents who travelled to the US, as they prefer to learn English even in those states of the US where the majority of the population have their roots in Spanish migration. That is, they force their children to attend English schools rather than spanish schools because English is the language of all of the states of America. spanish parents think that not knowing English will threaten the future of their children. Talking about the formal language of Iraq during the Ba'ath regime and finding it normal to have Arabic as the formal language and the language of the majority of Iraqis, Tofiq (2007: 57) notes that learning the Arabic language leads to more job opportunities. As parents were always worried about finding a better future for their children, they have found learning Arabic a necessity. Unfortunately, there was and still there is no space for such economic policy in terms of serving Kurdish language. The situation in Iraqi Kurdistan is totally different since the people try to speak Arabic because of their Arab customers. The people who are able to afford sending their children to private schools where the language education is English do not pay attention to the costs which weaken the Kurdish language. Since the economic efforts in Iraqi Kurdistan are serving foreign languages, the political authority is required to allocate an amount of money to enhance the linguistic situation of Kurdish language so as to spend less in the future and to avoid being in the same boat with the Western Arabic states (i.e. Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) which allocate an amount

of money every year to reduce the impact of French language on their people in their countries (Spolsky 2004: 134-135).

Accordingly, if nothing was done in the past in terms of making use of the economic factors concerning the Kurdish language, the authority is required to follow appropriate procedures such as opening a Kurdish department in universities outside Iraq especially in Europe and America in the future so that foreigners can learn Kurdish language and at least one will feel that there is a sort of enthusiasm and activity.

Language and Religion

In general, Kurds are a religiously diverse ethnic group since most Kurdish people are Sunni Muslims and belong to Shafi'i madhab (school of jurisprudence), some are Shi'i and some Yarsan (also called Ahli Haqq or Kakayee), Alevi or Yazidi and others are agnostics, atheists recent converts to non-sectarian Christianity or fit other religious descriptions. King cited in Taucer, Vogi, and Webinger (2015: 22).

Indicating the role of religion, on the one hand, and showing its relationships to language on the other hand, Sabir (2008: 115) refers to the nation of Jews for whom language was not the original element of the culture and national identity; their basic identity was the religion. That is, they protected themselves through their religion, not their language.

Before Islam, for Nabaz (1976:10) the prevalent religion for Kurds was the mere religion of Yazidi. Nabaz makes sure that the believers of this religion could not get the chance to prevail their religion in Kurdish as one of its mediums of religions expression. Yazidi believers have two sacred books known as Kitab Djilwa (the book of Revolution) and Mashafrash (Black Book) and because of the oppression they confronted, they were written in a mixture of Kurdish sub dialects: such as Mukriani, Sulaymani, Ardalan, and Badinan sub-dialects. Accordingly, the influence of the two sacred books on the development of the Kurdish nation-building in Hassanpour's viewpoint (1992: 74) has been minimal because the two sacred books have been kept and not allowed to act as the base of general religion for Kurds and Kurdistan people. Though Jukil (2014: 70) indicates that many religious movements arouse in Kurdistan for reforming Islamic religion on the base of ancient Kurdish religions such as Ahli Haq, Shabak religion, and Kakayee whose holy books were not in Kurdish and their religions were persecuted, there are evidences that show how Muslims coexisted with Jews and Christians, and how Muslims avoided any sort of tensions with exotic religions and sects that are not close from Islamic and more ancient roots in IKR. One may refer to Yezidis, Ahli-Haq and Alevis as samples for the syncretic mixtures of Muslim elements with pre-Islamic Persian and Shamanic religions. A closed

community having its own authorities and laws, mostly speaking dialects of Kurdish is composed by each of such religions. Zubaida cited in Jabar and Dawod (2006: 93)

As a matter of fact, the role of the religions in terms of the Kurdish language was not and still is not the same. That is, Tofiq (2007: 48) doesn't find the role of Mashafi rash (black mashaf), Jilwa, and the total of Yarsans (Ahli Haq) effective or useful since they have been used within a very small scope throughout their history. Likewise, Nawkhosh (2007:92) assumes that both writings of Jilwa and Mashafa rash didn't only play no roles in Kurdish linguistics but they stimulated and encouraged Kurdish writers to explore the religion of Yazidiyati rather than the language of these two writings.

Unfortunately, Kurdish educationalists, particularly Kurdish clergy men, Tofiq (2007:16) believes, were the first to fall into the trap of working for the Arabic language throughout history. That is, those who were literate and could add something to the Kurdish language were clergymen who were busy with the morphology, grammar and rhetoric of Arabic language, and did not pay enough attention to the Kurdish language except for a small minority. For example, Khani and Sheikh Marif Nodaiyee wrote two dictionaries, the purpose of which was to be familiar with the Arabic language, which means that these two dictionaries were written for the sake of the Arabic language too. Historically, Nawkhosh (2007: 49-50) thinks that it was due to the impact of the Holy Quran that many Kurdish scholars like Ali Tarmakhi, Mala Mahmudi Bayazidi, Sheikh Husein Qazi, Mawlana Khalidi Naqshbandi, and Mala Abdulla Jalil Zada wrote their educational works. Notably, it was due to the impact of the Holy Quran that the Kurdish intellectuals tried to compose a Kurdish alphabet on the Arabic alphabet. Thus, Ala´addin Sjadi, Jamal Nabaz, Mustafa Nariman, Hamid Farij believe that Kurds after being converted to Islam tried to imitate Persians and have their own Kurdish alphabet composed on the Arabic alphabet. Adopting the Kurdish alphabet is found apparently in the writings of Yazidis and Kakayees. These texts are proofs that Kurds used these orthographies in the 11th and 12th centuries. Accordingly, having the same idea of Hamid and Raza (2013: 108), Alyawayee (2003: 8) indicates that Kurdish Malas (clergymen) served Islamic religion through writing many books on Tafseer (translating Qur'an), hadith (the speeches of the prophet), and other scientific topics. He mentions the name of some of those Kurdish scholars whose writings were in Arabic and some of their poems were in Persian language. He refers to Imam Rafi'i, Sa'adi Taftazani, Imam Bukhari, Qutbuddin Razi, Sibawaihi JaraAllah, and Zamakhshari. Though such scholars wrote in Kurdish too, Persian language was common till the end of the first world war when the Ottoman Empire came to an end. Then studying in Kurdish at schools gradually started to appear. What is of interest here is the attitude Alyawayee has in this respect. That is, he stands against those who blame the Kurdish clergymen for not serving Kurdish language as required. He thinks that all parts of Kurdistan were under the power of the colonized states and nobody could do anything at that time. He points out that the

chance given to the clergymen in Iraq in 1959 when the Iraqi government decided to open courses for literate people (i.e. clergy men) to let them teach at schools after their graduation after being tested. Thus, in addition to serving as teachers, they set out working on translating the Holy Qur'an in addition to the books related to the biography of the prophet and those that are the curriculum of the religious students (Faqe). The modern history witnessed an outstanding movement in the field of translating many religious books and the priority is given to the analysis (Tafseer) of Holy Qur'an.

To name few of them it is possible to refer to Malai Gawra,Muhammadi Khal, Mala Abdul-Karimi Mudarris, Mala Othman Abdul-Aziz, and Mala Ibrahim Guli in the past and many other Kurdish Islamic scholars give the meaning of reviving many Kurdish words.Then the translation of Holy Qur'an by Shapol, Hazhar Mukriyani, and Tahseen Doski played a great role not only in enriching Kurdish language with religious words but for better understanding the Holy Qur'an in a way that such text in Kurdish language made a change in the literate structure. That is, the Kurdish literate (reader) not only gets further Kurdish words but its scope of thinking gets expanded as he can understand such texts to a great degree. Because Muhammadi Khal and Hazhari Mukriyani had written Kurdish dictionary, they made a great effort this way so as to find identical Kurdish words for these Qur'anic words. Accordingly, it is through these analysis and translation of Holy Qur'an and other religious books related to the bibliography of the Prophet Mohammed as well as other sources the Kurdish religion students (Faqe) make use throughout their studies in the hujra (religion school) and Islamic institutions that a Kurdish dictionary could be written for such religious words of Kurdish language. Hereby, Kurdish language will experience a very important change within a very short period of time and all these efforts will be counted as part of the Kurdish linguistic movement. For Nawkhosh (2007: 19) the translation and the analysis of Qur'an in Kurdish is a turning point in the movement of Kurdish linguistics because it is through this way that hundreds of Kurdish words, terms, and expressions are saved from death. To be to the point, on cannot ignore that translating Bible through Armenian language and alphabet, on the one hand, and making efforts in changing some prayers of Christians into Kurdish created a scope/space for education for Kurds which enables them to explore their languages, cultures, and religion. It was also a factor for confirming about part of the history of (Kurdish literature text). The project was indirectly in favor of Kurdish linguistics in a way that at least an attention was paid to Kurdish through text (Nawkhosh, 2012: 123-167).

In brief, the role of Kurdish Islamic clergy men in Iraqi Kurdistan very crucial. Besides the awareness of the people, the clergy men have to highlight language policies and relevant issues because this topic is not mentioned too much. Accordingly, the role of Muslim clergy men is to talk more about the position of language in religion. They have to indicate that languages are equal and they have to

be used equally. They should talk about such issues in their Friday sermons and make use of nearly 2800 mosques where they deliver their speeches every Friday. (Jambaz, 2014: 234) and (Tofiq, 2007: 243).

Language and Education

Many things happened and a lot of work has been carried out in the field of education. According to statistics presented by Jambaz (2014: 237), there were 497 preparatory schools, 633 journals and newspapers, 180 radio and TV stations besides many other satellite TV channels, which are using the Kurdish Language at the late of 2014. Nevertheless, Jambaz wonders whether such educational centers and channels are working according to a planned policy or not. In an answer to such a question, he refers to the phenomenon of prohibiting answering questions in exams in the universities of the capital city of Iraqi Kurdistan where the expression 'answering in Kurdish is not allowed' is repeated more than once every year during the exams. Changing the language of education for the topics of humanitarian sciences in Kurdistan Universities, under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research through translating, preparing and writing processes is a task that is not too difficult. That is, except for university students, the Kurdish Departments of the Colleges of Languages, Education, and Basic Education, the students that pass the secondary and preparatory stages will come up against a wall, since they will find themselves forced to study and deal with their curriculum sources (the ones in Humanitarian Sciences) in the Arabic language. This is the result of the carelessness and lack of effort in translating many such sources into Kurdish, especially after the uprising of 1991. It was possible for the teaching staff to teach and use the Kurdish language in all college departments of Humanitarian Sciences. If a question was asked about the inability of the students to learn Arabic, though he or she would study it during his/her time at university, the answer would require the change of education system and the facilities provision for learning any language (ibid, 87; 116).

Accordingly, the language of education is of great importance, and most of the nations of the world give it the priority. Using two different dialects in two different regions may result in adopting two standard languages in the educational system. No nations allow having two languages for the education system because it will lead to the slow destruction of the nation. Therefore, internal obstacles are not less than the external ones. They are just like wind and rain for melting snow, because the external obstacles are intentional and the internal obstacles are ignorantly working on executing Kurdish (Nawkhosh, 2013: 25).

By the end of 2014, more than 5740 schools existed wherein the language of education is Kurdish. These schools belong to the Ministry of Education, and hundreds of publications have been printed in governmental and private publishing centers in Kurdish along with hundreds of channels that Kurdish citizens could not

deal with becoming available. Actually, language has become a crucial issue, and it has caused those who are prevented from using their mother tongue language in their countries to try to learn it at home and teach it to their children (Jambaz, 2014: 170).

In a similar strategy, the Ministry of Education has repeated the same mistake in terms of those students who finished their studies abroad or outside Kurdistan over the years. Those whose language of education was not the Kurdish language are not required to take Kurdish lessons for the final exams of grade 9 and grade 12. Therefore, why is a student whose language of education is Kurdish to be exempted from taking exams in the Arabic language if he or she relocates to an Arab inhabited area? (ibid, 88).

Despite the negative points found in the educational system, the first half of the 20th century witnessed movements and awareness of education besides the revolutionary movement of the Kurds. These movements were headed by the Kurdish educationalists who were leading figures in politics as well. That is, they were the decision-makers and the influential players in both fields of politics and education (Tofiq, 2007: 13).

In a word, Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996: 29) show that the Iraqi Kurdistan Kurdish- language education system made a massive contribution to Kurdish Studies through founding an intellectual élite that operates from within 'Kurdistan' rather than from the diaspora. Though Kreyenbrock & Allison think that the Kurdish-language education system was unable to cater for speakers of minority dialects and the political situation made it exposed to intrusion and government intervention, besides Arabic departments in College of Languages, Education, and basic Education, there are Turkish, Persian, French, and Germany departments in College of Languages, and Syriac Department which is already opened in College of Education. Despite the separate and independent efforts made by the lecturers in different governmental universities in terms of translating the topics they teach, Jwaideh (2006: 288) views that it is the responsibility of the state to dominate the education and similar matters. Hereby, the government strategy is crucial not only because it has the ability to approve any given undertaking in this field, but also because it is the only way to get things done.

Language and Culture

For Sabir (2008: 112), language is the most important element of culture. It is the means by which the nation expresses itself, or it could be the framework within which the culture is estimated. Therefore, language comprises the essence of each nation and highlights the features of knowledge, civilization, and personality. For Kurds since the 1990s the Kurdish language has become progressively and more precisely a self-

marker since then. The Arabic language has come to be perceived as a clear cultural and/ or ethnic indicator that can be mapped out to conclude where the political frontiers and boundaries are (Aziz, 2015: 53). Accordingly, for Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996: 48) the culture and language of this society are supposed to oral and unwritten, or they are a matter of "local' varieties being in contact in one way or another with the prevailing cultures and languages of the Middle East - Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Hereby, Sabir (2008: 109) believes that culture and the national language cannot remain isolated and neglected inside an enclosed geography.

Since several languages and cultures in states around the world which have their political unity protecting them are currently under the threat of becoming extinct, what will the situation of a culture and language of a stateless nation like the Kurds be like in the future? Language and culture are related to each other; therefore, policies on language and culture are an inevitable necessity that the Iraqi Kurdistan Government must take into serious consideration. Although the problems of culture and the Kurdish language are basically related to identity, national identity and personality, this is a political problem as well. Therefore, it cannot be fixed without the political authority adopting a cultural policy. Nevertheless, it will not be easy to sort out such a problematic issue, as it is complicated to the degree that it affects the political authorities. This is why we are facing a problem that could be the base of the crises of Kurdish thought and politics. Furthermore, it is not possible to discuss the hegemony of political life without the hegemony of culture.

The solution to the problems of culture and the Kurdish language needs political and national determination and cultural policy in the first stage. Cultural policy for Sabir (2008: 124) implies the total sum of the structures of the procedures adopted by the community in terms of culture and language issues, which includes cultural fields, language topics, literature and art, education in all its stages, media and publishing.

The Kurdish Academy

Talabany (2013: 103) defines the Kurdish Academy as: "an independent scientific organization directly linked to the presidency of the council of ministers and it is a supreme reference for anything that has to do with Kurdish language, its dialects, preservation and enrichment in order to reach a united official language". It has the following aims and goals:

1. It preserves, revitalizes and develops Kurdish language and its different dialects in addition to Kurdish culture and history. Meanwhile, it works on uniting dialects through different ways one of which is to gather Kurdish vocabularies among different dialects and prepare scientific dictionaries in all different fields.

2. It aims at uniting and finding the most appropriate way for national consensus in respect of having an official language in Kurdistan region.

3. It is urging the officials of education to be of help and make a tremendous effort to have the one standard language of education in IKR which was one of the problematic issues due to having two languages of education in the past few years. Thus, uniting the language of education is to be given the priority and there is to be a serious cooperation among the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher education and the Kurdish Academy.

4. It tries to improve the level of the conducted researches in Kurdish so as to be in accordance with scientific and cultural development.

5. Showing and making use of the role of Kurdish experts in the fields that are in close touch with culture, it revives Kurdish culture through making use of science, literature, and art.

6. It shows its adherence to the decision made by UNESCO, which asks for using the mother tongues to be taught for children to enable them to study in their mother tongue or their own related dialects.

In order to perform and execute the major programs and tasks, the Kurdish Academy has to make use of experts from different Kurdish dialects, there are the following committees which are overseen by active members of the academy:

1. Dialect committee: is one of the basic and influential committees of the academy which is required to look for genuine Kurdish dialects and work on them from the perspective of different fields.

2. Dictionary committee: is entirely responsible for the dictionaries preparation and getting them published through making use of the different dialects of the Kurdish language. For instance, the dictionary of (Upper Kurmanji – Lower Kurmanji) and the dictionary of (Hawrami – Sorani) have been published so far. Further, the committee was successful in publishing tens of specific bilingual and trilingual dictionaries in all major disciplines of Kurdish researches.

3. History committee: is interested in recording the general Kurdish history adopting an academic methodology.

4. Journal committee: is the unit which is specifically responsible for publishing a quarterly scientific and academic journal. It was able to publish more than 26 issues of the journal in Kurdish and Arabic till now.

5. Bibliography committee: is a committee whose duty is to prepare bibliographies for different fields of Kurdish research.

6. Publication and Distribution committee: is one committee and in direct contact with the process of publishing and distributing scientific and academic researches that are referred to in article number 4 of the Academy's law.

7. Language committee: is responsible for conducting researches and investigations related to the problems the Kurdish language and all the dialects it has without making any difference between them.

8. Literature committee: pays attention to dealing with and recording the history of Kurdish literature.

9. Manuscript and Evidence committee: is one of the sources of collecting and compiling all the Kurdish manuscripts anywhere in the world. Further, it gathers and follows any archive evidences related to Kurds and Kurdistan.

In addition to the committees above and the duties they have, another important project the Kurdish academy has is the Encyclopedia of Kurdistan, which contains a lot of information about the Kurds and Kurdistan and covers the following topics: famous personalities in different disciplines, geographic location, historic events, tribes, sect and families of Kurdistan, nations of Kurdistan, ethnicities, religion, beliefs, customs, traditions, Kurds in diaspora, Kurdologists, experts of language, history, sociology, geography, literature and so on. Definitely, such a scientific project is expected to come out in ten volumes and around five thousand pages.

Notably, to be able to let others have an idea about the activities of the abovementioned committees and to display what the Kurdish academics and language scholars have in terms of Kurdish language, the academy is supervising and presenting the seasonal scientific seminars. Many seminars have been held by the academy on various educational topics till now.

In a word, Kurdish Academy is a seasonal scientific and academic journal, the Journal Committee including an active member of the council is going to oversee and issue. It is noteworthy, that the universities from different locations of Kurdistan accredit this journal for the purpose of scientific promotion. The fields where the researches are conducted and published are language, culture, and Kurds civilizations. The journal is supervised by a group of professors and university lecturers. The language the journal depends on to publish researches are either Kurdish, Arabic or English. Likewise, one of the major and active duties of the Kurdish Academy is to publish books besides researches and dictionaries. According to confidential detailed statistics, the academy has published more than 220 books in Kurdish, Arabic and English from 2003 to 2013 which means that the number is much more now.

Language and Media

Media has both negative and positive impacts on language. That is, Qadir (2013: 15) confirms that media has the ability to raise the level of language and borrow new terms, concepts, and expressions. At the same time, it has the capacity of distorting the language. Accordingly, whenever the language of media is improper, it will not only distort and spoil language but it will also threaten the national culture and lexicology.

Tofiq (2007: 48) thinks that the schools, media and computer technology have taken the role of the holy religious books and become the main factor beyond the formation of a unified language. Therefore, the officials from the Ministry of Culture in the IKR are required to take serious action in terms of the cartoons or movies that are translated into Kurdish. Most of the local channels do not use the formal Kurdish language most of the time; each of the characters uses his/her own sub-dialect. This shows that the process of linguistically monitoring these radio or TV channels is very weak. Nevertheless, these media channels are means through which one of the good points of language management in Iraqi Kurdistan is depicted. That is, many radio and local TV stations are available in the IKR broadcasting their programs in Turkman, Assyrian and Armenian languages (Jambaz, 2014: 108). Anyhow, it seems that it is not possible to find the role of media and language interchangeable. Hereby, Qadir (2013: 17) believes that language has a wider function than being one of the means of media. Accordingly, the strength of current languages makes use critically of broadcasting because radio and television are the most instrumental channels and means through which national culture is transmitted (Kreyenbrock & Allison, 1996: 78)

Notably, the media cannot do without the latest technology these days. It is easy to obtain thousands of pages, including research on the most difficult topics, but when it comes to the Kurdish language, it is totally different and one cannot get enough information; this shows that the Kurdish library is very poor in terms of linguistic studies. This fact is well known, and it has created a very complicated crisis for university students, including MA and Ph.D. students, as they cannot find the necessary sources for their work. The question is why the electronic library in the field of research is very poor in the Kurdish language. The answer to this question is that thousands of people are working in all fields of science in other languages like English. Hundreds and thousands of research institutions are continuously working on each epistemological field. For instance, there is a great number of institutions working on the English language in terms of the diseases, atoms, sports, and so on, but how many academics are researching and studying the Kurdish language around the world?

Everything is not going well in the media domain though Kurdish became the language of journalism more than one century ago. Nevertheless, all those who work in media are in touch with language on a daily basis, and it is one of the greatest requirements of each journalist to be familiar with the elementary principles and rules of spelling and grammar (Qadir, 2013: 18). To put it in a nutshell, Qadir finds something wrong with the media of IKR in terms of orthography, expressions, and beautification problems which increase as much as the channels of media, journalism and the institution for such problems is not a matter of days but it is a matter of having an accurate plan and it takes enough time and care. Anyhow, according to the data Jukil (2003: 78, 80) gathered the amount of printing in Kurdistan in the republican period is greater than the monarchy period. The rate is, no doubt, greater after the uprising of 1991 since all of the activities of Kurdish press (and publishing in general), broadcasting (radio and television stations) and even electronic mass media began to revive and to be utilized. More than 20 satellite television stations have been utilized in Iraqi Kurdistan. There is more than one radio or local television station or both in each town and city. The number of printing presses which are equipped with the modern technological computerized facilities is apparently getting increased. Over a thousand of titles of books, about a hundred specialized Kurdish reviews, magazines and periodicals, devoted to all branches of learning e.g. literature, women's literature, theatre, cinema, archeology, strategic research are printed in Kurdistan and outside in Kurdish language. Meanwhile, all modern means of communications and contacts such as Email, fax, mobile telephone sets and systems are available which facilitate communication of Kurdish speech community. All these facilities now paved the way for functional elaboration, mutual intelligibility and standardizing the Kurdish language. Depending on some sources one of which is the bibliography of Kurdish press 1975-1993 from Tanya, Roshinbiry print press, 1998, Jukil arrived at the following data in terms of the published books and journals: The estimated total of printed books from 1920-1985 is 2040 books of different kinds. From 1898-1990 there were 235 Kurdish journals but in the post-Kurdish uprising of 1991 the number increased and reached to more than 400 journals. That is, the security zone created in 1992 in Iraqi Kurdistan to protect three Kurdish provinces was a good chance for the Kurdish literature to flourish. Writers and poets, Jabar and Dawod (2006: 111) make clear, enjoyed as yet unknown freedom modified readily to democracy. As a result, the beginning of 1992 witnessed the appearance of 77 newspapers and magazines in the Kurdish provinces as follows: 38 in Erbil, 25 in Slemani, 12 in Dohuk and one in Kirkuk. Nevertheless, in one way or another, all the aforementioned data in terms of published books and journalism represent efforts and procedures which could be counted as having of implicit language policy despite of having no official documents affirming any kind of language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Conclusions

Iraqi Kurdistan is still a multi-ethnic province and after 1991's independence, the Kurdish language became an official language for education and the dominant language of administration.

Kurds felt pleased to see their language which is a strong symbol of national and ethnic identity is progressing. However it was at a very slow pace with regards to its implementation in the education sector, particularly in the field of higher education.

The language of education is quite important and most nations of the world give it the priority.

The teaching of English in Iraqi Kurdistan or anywhere in the world cannot be a success unless both the teachers and the learners are properly motivated toward attaining the predetermined goals. There might be two key factors in current language practise in Iraqi Kurdistan government policies and the student desire to learn.

As a consequence of globalization, the door was opened to the world, which has led to more conservative language management in Iraqi Kurdistan and suggests ways on how to take the multilingual situation in Iraqi Kurdistan to English.

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