

Language Practice and Management in Iraqi Kurdistan Region

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Abstract: This paper deals with the core issues that reflect the relationship between language and other aspects of life in Kurdish society. This study attempts to present the methods adopted and the steps followed by the individuals, governmental and non-governmental centers in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region in terms of language practice and management. Since language policy may refer to all the language practices, beliefs, and management decisions of a community or polity, on the one hand, this paper explores how Kurdish language interacts with other domains, on the other hand, it aims to find out whether what has been implemented until now in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region is the result of adopting a language policy, or is it being carried out spontaneously? To arrive at sufficient answers to such questions, this study covers linguistic, socio-economic, political, religious, linguistic lawful issues in addition to minority linguistic rights. Accordingly, the focus is primarily on language and its relationship to the domains related to the aforementioned issues since they play a crucial role in the appearance of landmarks in language policy, which is assumed to get developed whenever there is the determination to do so.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Language cannot be properly used in all governmental and non-governmental domains at all levels, and cannot stand against the quick changes of the technology nowadays if certain procedures are not adopted and if serious individual efforts are not made. Examining the position of language in all sectors reveals the amount of attention that is given and needs to be given to language. Thus, language and its management need to be looked at in the widest context and not treated as a closed topic. Language management may apply at various levels. It might be at the level of an individual unit (vowel, word, and sentence) or refer to labelled varieties, which are clusters of units (dialects). Thus, the domain of language policy may be any defined or definable social or political or religious group or community, ranging from a family through a sports team or neighborhood or village or workplace or organization or city or nation state or regional alliance. Language policy may be found in the linguistic behavior (language practices) of the individual or group. It may also be seen in the ideology or beliefs around the language of the individual or group, or it may be made explicit in the formal language management or planning decisions of an authorized body. Accordingly, the policies that exist in the form of official documents as statements, and clauses in national constitutions, or a language law, a cabinet document or administrative regulations are recognized as language policies found in every established nation.

Although Kurdish language has become the medium of education, administrative documents, and records for cultural aspects of Iraqi Kurdistan region as a result of Kurdish political developments, there is still more to be done to fill the gaps that exist due to the lack of linguistic awareness at all levels. That is, any language which does not have a policy or a plan in place will be at great risk. Hereby, it has to remain intact with regulations and laws arranging, organizing and reducing threats that cause its weakness. Accordingly, this study revolves around seeking the answers to questions related to what has been done for more than twenty-five years of Kurdish independent rule in terms of the language policy in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region. For instance, one may ask about having a plan or to which extent is a plan in place and to what extent work is being carried out to protect the language. These and many other questions reveal the state of language management in Iraqi Kurdistan. Language policy could be represented by what the Kurdish authority has done, either officially via legislation and court decisions, or through enabling individuals or ethnic groups to practice their languages. Therefore, examining different fields and sectors in the Iraqi Kurdistan region will be of help in identifying the role of language and discovering the space given to it by different components of society, from the government authorities to individual members of society. In a word, language policy exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, and educational factors that make up the full ecology of human life.

Methodologically, this paper draws on the discussion historical method to investigate some periodical articles, books, and official documents in terms of the relation the Kurdish language has with governmental and

non-governmental domains. It is equally significant to problematize the myth that there is an implicit Kurdish language policy. The myth needs to affirm that language policy exists in the form of clear-cut labeled statements in official documents. It might, for example, take the form of a clause in a national constitution, or a language law, or a cabinet document or an administrative regulation. It may be implicit, in which case there can be honest disagreement as to what is the real policy of a community. Accordingly, to deal with the relationship the language has with other domains of life, it is necessary to investigate the sociolinguistic situation in Kurdistan, which reveals that language management is not only restricted to the field of education and it does not ignore the linguistic rights of other ethnic groups that compose the Kurdistan community. This chapter examines the rise and spread of Kurdish media. In brief, the research notes the relationship role of the economy and religion in enhancing the situation of Kurdish language. In addition, the impacts the law and law projects have on Kurdish language in terms of language practice are pointed out. Finally, this paper arrives at the main concluded points.

II. LANGUAGE AND AUTHORITY

Though dealing with language management is not only the role of the government, the majority of the responsibility is given to the authorities since the implementation of language policy requires power the relation of which with language policy is in fact two-way (Spolsky, 2004, p.40). Hence, it is the responsibility of the government authorities to work on language varieties so as to make sure that the language chosen passes the processes of selection, codification, elaboration of function, and acceptance (Haugen, 1983, p.273); (Hudson, 1996, p. 33). It is a natural phenomenon for any language to contain some dialects, and governments have carried out projects and programs to deal with these dialects; all languages that have a standard form adopt such processes. Nevertheless, language planning does not force the government to pay attention to all dialects and deal with them equally. Each state classifies languages and dialects into several groups in accordance with its national strategy. Some languages will, therefore, be prohibited. Accordingly, the recent introduction of sociolinguistics has resulted in a new division of language according to the social class and state status of the governmental strategy, rather than dividing language into dialects and sub-dialects (Tofiq, 2007, p.68).

Jambaz (2014, p. 56) expresses his sorrow and disappointment at having no appropriate plan to take care of the Kurdish language to be properly used even after the Kurdish uprising in 1991 until now all over Iraqi Kurdistan. As a matter of fact, the Kurdish language has not been used as a formal language; the best example is the Kurdistan Parliament as its first session lasted for 13 years, but throughout these years, the laws and decisions were stated in the Arabic language despite recognizing Kurdish as a formal language. The discussions inside the hall of the parliament were in Kurdish, but the rules and laws were formed and published in Arabic in *The Events of Kurdistan (Waq'a'ee of Kurdistan)*.

Notably, having no standard and formal languages in Iraqi Kurdistan indicates that the political and the Kurdish government didn't work for the language policy. Hereby, language policy is a great historical necessity aiming at glorifying the language of any nation. Accordingly, the authority is required to react positively and adopt certain procedures, some of which are mentioned by Tofiq (2007, p. 33) who believes that the authority should put programs in place and provide students and the readers with different types of Kurdish sources. He also claims that the authority is required to think about establishing a national center for the development of computer technology and whatever is related to computer technology with regard to terms and terminology so as to create a unified language and insert terms belong to internet, computer, and cell phone. Accordingly, many hidden efforts are to be made use of properly by being regulated within a systematic institution. Otherwise, such efforts will not prove to be fruitful.

III. LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

Politics affects life in general and language in particular, therefore the role of the politicians is essential. As far as Iraqi Kurdistan is concerned, the political parties and organizations that comprise the Kurdish authority of Iraqi Kurdistan have been focusing on language and its usage in their programs. For instance, the Iraqi Kurdistan political parties have devoted many articles within their programs to language. Articles 62, 69, 85, 97, and 98 of the programs of the Democratic Kurdistan Party indicate that the Kurdish nation in any part of Iraq has its rights and is an inseparable part of the Kurdish nation. In addition, a lot of work has been done to enhance social and cultural relations with them and implant national and nationalistic thoughts in their minds by means of the educational system. They have been supported in paying attention to their folklore, culture, language, the Kurdish variations, religion and their creeds through opening an academic institution interested in translation, which enhances the movement of translation through which laws and scientific books and sources can be translated into Kurdish and from it into other languages.

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, in the same way, dedicates several items and articles to language. One of the points in Article 9 confirms opening a particular institution for teaching the Kurdish language to those foreigners who are working and living in Kurdistan. Furthermore, the enhancement of the cultural movement and the establishment of a scientific center for the sake of gathering the dialects of the Kurdish

language together so as make an effort towards having a standard Kurdish language, and developing a Kurdish Academy, are cultural and linguistic points that this political party confirms as its strategy.

The internal programs of the Islamic parties have also paid attention to nation, national identity, preserving the originality of punctuation and Kurdish language, and the efforts of activating a standard Kurdish language in the education system and governmental institutions. They even claim that giving priority to living languages like English and Arabic should be done through opening courses instead of enforcing students to study them in lessons throughout the academic year.

The documents from the fourth conference of the Kurdistan Communist Party in March 2008 indicate that attention is to be paid to the Kurdish language, which is recognized to be the formal language in all schools, and that learning programs are to be developed in both Arabic and English. To adopt a Kurdish standard language in the educational system for Kurdistan is a necessity. Priority is to be given to a Kurdish academy and its components.

Accordingly, it is quite clear that language policy is not only found in the states and regions of Europe and around the world; it is also important within the programs of political parties and it takes the form of papers being prepared by specialists over a long period of time; for instance, the Green Environment Party of Ireland set out a language policy for a period of twenty-year from 2009 till 2029. What is noted here is the attention that is given to language management by this political party compared to Kurdish political parties. There is a great distance between them since our political parties do not pay enough attention to language policy and do not give enough space to language management.

Despite the focus of the Kurdish political parties on language and its management, it seems that what is mentioned in these programs and strategies are mere words and instructions given so as to avoid any sort of embarrassment in the future. To be to the point, the role of the politicians is not highly appreciated by many linguists and writers who have written about the relationship between language and the politics. For instance, Sabir (2008, p.123); Sabir (2009, pp.56, 57) and Tofiq (2007, p.28) believe that two classes are to be blamed in terms of the current linguistic situation. The political authorities and the Kurdish educationalists are to be accused of being careless and paying no attention to their language and the process of its standardization and not having enough information about their language and about the threats their language probably encounters. Hereby, it is not strange to find one of the main officials in the Ministry of Education to state proudly that they are changing the language of education from Kurdish into English. Unfortunately, there is no coordination between the academics and the politicians since the politicians are not working on translating the linguists' efforts made in the past fruitfully. Instead, they are about to destroy what has been built up till now. Hereby, Sabir (2008) states that "the issues of culture and language are basically political issues. Culture and politics besides language and politics are tied to each other which are not only directly affecting each other but making decisions upon the fate of each other too." (p. 124)

In brief, the efforts of a group of writers and linguists are not influential because this issue is not only educational and scientific, but it is also a politic issue. To be to the point, the identification of the main problems is the responsibility of the educationalists, but the implementation of the programs is the responsibility of the politicians who are required to make use of the experiences of nations around the world, which show that the politics and the politicians can play a positive role in this respect.

IV. LANGUAGE AND ECONOMY

In addition to political support, Sabir (2008, p.110) considers economic support an influential factor for any language to be able not to retreat behind other stronger languages. Occupation, commerce, migration, religion, and the economy are some of the factors beyond the spread of language (Jambaz, 2014, p.60). 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, p.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, p.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, p.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.

V. 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, Vogt, and Webinger (2015, p.22)

Before Islam, the prevalent religion for Kurds was the mere religion of Yazidi (Nabaz, 1976, p.10). Nabaz makes sure that the believers of this religion could not get the chance to prevail their religion in Kurdish as one of its medium of religions expression. Yazidi believers have two sacred books known as kitabDjilwa (the book of Revolution) and Mashafraash (Black Book) and because of the oppression they confronted, they were written in mixture of Kurdish sub dialects: such as Mukriani, Sulaymani, Ardalani, and Badinani sub dialects. Accordingly, the influence of the two sacred books on the development of the Kurdish nation building in Hassanpour's viewpoint (1992, p.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, p.70) indicates that many religious movements arose 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, Zubaida points out that Muslims coexisted with Jews and Christians, exotic religions and sects from Islamic and more ancient roots in Iraqi Kurdistan region. Yezidis, Ahli-Haq and Alevis are samples for the syncretic mixtures of Muslim elements with pre-Islamic Persian and Shamanic religions. For Zubaida each religion composed a closed community having its own authorities and laws, mostly speaking dialects of Kurdish. Zubaida cited in Jabar and Dawod (2006, p.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, p.48) doesn't find the role of Mashafiraash (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, p.92) assumes that both writings of Jilwa and Mashafiraash 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.

Having the same idea of Hamid and Raza (2013, p.108), Alyawayee (2003, p.8) indicates that Kurdish Mala (clergy men) 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'adiTaftazani, Imam Bukhari, QutbuddinRazi, SibawaihiJaraAllah, 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 clergy men 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 clergy men 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 (Faqa). 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 one may refer to MalaiGawra, Muhammadi Khal, Mala Abdul-KarimiMudarris, 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,

HazharMukriyani, and TahseenDoski 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. Because Muhammadi Khal and HazhariMukriyani 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.

VI. LANGUAGEAND 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, p.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 Studies through translating, preparing and writing processes is a task that is not too difficult. 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, the internal obstacles are not less than the external obstacles. 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 language (Nawkhosh, 2013, p.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, p.170)

In a word, Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996, p.29) show that the Iraqi Kurdistan Kurdish-language education system made a massive contribution to Kurdish studies through founding an intellectual élite that operate 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 of the separate and independent efforts made by the lecturers in different governmental universities in terms of translating the topics they teach, Jwaideh (2006, p.288) calls for attributing the responsibility of education and similar matters to the state. Hereby, the government initiative is imperative not only because it sets the seal of official approval on any given undertaking in this field, but also because it is the only way to get things done.

VII. LANGUAGEAND MEDIA

Media has both negative and positive impacts on language. That is, Qadir (2013, p.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 to distort 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, p.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 Iraqi Kurdistan Region 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 Kurdish formal 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 Iraqi Kurdistan Region broadcasting their programs in Turkman, Assyrian and Armenian languages (Jambaz, 2014, p.108). Anyhow, it seems that it is not possible to find the role of media and language interchangeable. Hereby, Qadir (2013, p.17) believes that

language has a wider function than being one of the means of media. Accordingly, Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996, p.78) believe that today's languages have become critically dependent upon broadcasting for their continued strength because radio and television are the most influential channels for transmitting national culture.

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, p.18). Anyhow, according to the data Jukil (2003, pp.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. 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 post Kurdish uprising of 1991 the number increased and reached to more than 400 journals. That is, in Iraqi Kurdistan, within the security zone created in 1992 to protect three Kurdish provinces, Jabar and Dawod (2006, p.111), makes clear that Kurdish literature flourished, and writers and poets enjoying a hitherto unknown freedom adapted readily to democracy. As early as 1992, 77 newspapers and magazines appeared, 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.

VIII. LANGUAGE AND THE LAW

Examining language in the law domain is not limited to the laws and the rules issued by the Ministry of Justice; rather, it includes all the regulations and articles that are put forward in legislation by institutions such as parliament, the courts, and the council of ministers. The role of the constitution should not be ignored in this respect as well. All over the world, and from time to time, a concerted political effort is made to proclaim a new policy on language. This may be a law such as the French Language Law of 1975, or it may be a government paper like the various forms of the Australian National Language policy, or when a Ministry of Education sets out to redefine the school related aspects of language policy, such as the Dutch National Foreign Language Action Program or the Israeli Policy for language in education. Accordingly, language policy or management refers to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually, but not necessarily, written in a formal document, about language use. (Spolsky, 2004, p.14). Accordingly, to arrive at what sort of language management is found till now in the governmental domain, it requires tackling the constitution as well as the projects on formal languages and language law. As a matter of fact, the Iraqi Kurdistan Region has witnessed a lot of changes and events throughout its struggle for its own independent state particularly after the institution of the Iraqi Republic Constitution after the fall of the previous Ba'ath regime. Anyhow, what follows shows the mechanisms and the procedures that have been adopted in different domains of law.

IX. CONSTITUTION

There are definitely figures and examples to be given about world's constitutions that express some policy about language (Spolsky, 2004, p.12). It is to be stated that this is one of the steps other nations and states adopted throughout their histories to have their own language policy by virtue of their constitution or laws.

For Aziz (2015, p.42) the Kurds of Iraq hopefully imagined to find their community a territorial political entity as they tried to ensure to find their rights be written into the future constitution of Iraq. In an attempt to repeat the same consequences, and to show that modern efforts have arrived at some of the intended goals, Jambaz and other supportive members of the delegation of the Parliament members of Iraqi Kurdistan that went to Baghdad to support the Kurdistan Coalition Fraxion, participated in preparing and writing the Constitution of the Republic of Iraq in 2005. Jambaz talked to the Kurdish political parties about using the Kurdish language in governmental establishments throughout Iraq. They answered and asked about the

requirements for preparing such a project. Consequently, the delegation showed their agreement to Jambaz's suggestion to translate the Iraqi Constitution into Kurdish. The four Kurdish parliament members that participated in the process of translation were the lawyers: Tariq Jambaz, Kareem BahriBradost, Zana Rostayee, and KarkhiNajmaddin Ale Barmakh. Then, Sheikh Hussain Balisani gathered and obtained the signatures of nine members of the Iraqi National Council. Later on, the UN published 950000 editions of the constitution in Kurdish. (Jambaz, 2014, p.89)

There are laws in which several items are in direct conflict with the ethnic groups found in Iraqi Kurdistan and their linguistic rights. The most outstanding laws are the law no. 14/2007 of the Ministry of Culture as well as the law of Higher Education and Scientific Studies no. 10/2008. That is, in law no. 14/2007 of the Ministry of Culture in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, items 12 and 13 are as follows:

Item12: General Directorate of Education and Arts of Turkman will be ruled by a general director who has a university certificate and is qualified and experienced.

Item 13: General Directorate of Education and Arts of Assyria will be ruled by a general director who has a university certificate and is qualified and experienced.

The second article of Law no. 10/20 includes Item 12 which indicates that:

Work will be done on making the Kurdish language the language of teaching and higher education in the humanitarian sciences, and supporting the processes of translation, writing books, publishing scientific material, and translating educational and academic sources into Kurdish and in Kurdish. (ibid, pp.88, 114)

As a matter of fact, the uprising of 1991 spoiled everything for the previous regime, and all minority nations of Kurdistan participated in the three authorities of (legislation, implementation, and the judiciary). They took part in the process of writing and preparing the project of the Kurdistan constitution as well as other related laws. This is a natural right of nations, and there are many articles and texts that confirm such rights in the project of the constitution of Kurdistan, which were confirmed by the Kurdistan Parliament on the 24th of June 2009. For instance, the three items of Article 14 deal with language and the linguistic rights of nations as follows:

Item one: Kurdish and Arabic are the two formal languages of the Kurdistan region, and this constitution guarantees the constitutional rights of Kurdistan citizens such as the right to education in educational governmental establishments according to the educational rules and regulations. That is, minorities like Turkman, Assyrian and Arman have their own right to use their mother tongue languages for education.

Item two: Turkman and Assyrian Languages are two formal languages besides Kurdish and Arabic, and they can be used in administrative units where the majority of the people use one of these minority languages. This would be regulated according to the law.

Item three: In Kurdistan, the provisions of Article 4 of the federal constitution in terms of the formal language, will be adopted wherever there is a lawful/legal scope for implementing it.

Notably, law no. 15/2006, the second law of the amendment of the law of the Ministry of Education of Iraqi Kurdistan-Iraq no. 4/1992, tackled the following points:

Item 4 of the Article is to be amended and another item is to be added to the article to become item 5 to take the following form:

1. Though teaching Kurdish and Arabic is obligatory, the Assyrian, and Turkman languages have the right to be the language of education
2. Changing the education curriculum to cope with the requirements of the era in a way that agrees with the education and development strategies of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Finally, the third part includes Article 29, which deals with the national and religious rights of the different ethnic groups of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, shows that those individuals who belong to one of the national and religious ethnic groups of the Kurdistan region have the right to be recognized through using their mother tongue, and they have the right to use their languages to name their traditional and local places, but they have to be tied by the provisions of the Languages Law of the Kurdistan Region. (ibid, pp.119; 129-130)

X. LAW OF FORMAL LANGUAGES

In 2006, Jambaz submitted a suggestion for preparing a project for formal languages law in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region to the presidency of the Kurdistan Parliament, but no committee was formed for its implementation. Jambaz made use of the experiences of many countries, such as Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, India, and Spain during his suggestion of his project. Later on, he listed several reasons for why he thinks the project should not be postponed. The first factor is the ability to know the Kurdish language to deal with Arabic written laws and decisions of the parliament. Another factor is looking at the Kurdish language as a second language by some persons. Putting an end to the efforts to distort the Kurdish language publically is another factor, and there should be a committee to prevent such efforts just like other states and regions such as Quebec. Other factors are related to multilingualism and multi-nations. Another factor is the feeling of having a gap in the law sector. Therefore, it was necessary to have a project prepared that made use of 49 articles. In fact, the

issue of the law is important, but its implementation is more important. After revising the project, the articles were reduced to 46 articles. At the beginning, the project of formal languages in the Iraqi Republic was composed of 16 items and suggested by Tariq Jambaz on the 21st of January 2007 but it was amended later on. (Jambaz, 2014, p.75)

In a word, though such concerted political efforts made basically by an individual like Jambaz, such efforts probably proclaim that there is already a new policy for language management. Anyhow, the project was amended and given to the Head of the Iraqi Kurdistan Parliament in 12/5/2012 who supervised a workshop for the project in the hall of the parliament in 17/7/2012. The amended project was prepared by two lawyers, Tariq Jambaz and Dr. Aso Abdulla Zada, besides two linguists, Dr. Omer Mahmood Karim and Dr. Nariman Abdulla Khoshnaw. It consists of 10 parts as follows:

Part One: Terms Definitions: one article

Part Two: Principles and Aims: 4 articles

Part Three: The Law on Language and The Courts: 6 articles

Part Four: The Language of the Governmental Institutions and other Organizations: 7 articles

Part Five: The Language of Education: 5 articles

Part Six: The Language of Work and Commerce: 9 articles

Part Seven: The Language of National Components: 2 articles

Part Eight: The Commission of Formal Languages: 8 articles

Part Nine: The Punishments: 1 article

Part Ten: The Final/Ending Articles: 3 articles

Accordingly, all aspects of life are found to be mentioned by the project, and the reasons behind carrying out such a law project are set out. That is, having only Article 4 of the Iraqi Constitution, and no particular law such as the ones on state law and one on the multi-language region made it necessary introduce such a law and have it approved as the source and the framework of language policy. (Jambaz and et al, 2012, pp.5-19) and (Jambaz, 2014, p.276)

XI. LANGUAGE AND MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS

The Iraqi Kurdistan revolutionary movement supported, asked, and fought for the sake of the national identity of the nations of Kurdistan in different ways. It was a major requirement whenever a negotiation was held with the consecutive governments of Iraq and the documents include this requirement. That is, in 1961 the Iraqi Kurdistan revolutionary movement had a one-hour radio broadcast in which the news was broadcasted in Turkman and Assyrian languages besides the Kurdish, and Arabic languages. Although the Iraqi Government issued order no. 89 for Turkman on the 24th of January 1970, and order no. 251 on the 20th of February 1972 for Assyrians in terms of the linguistic and cultural rights of minority people, the aim of which was cosmetic and it was not taken seriously at all. In fact, the previous Iraqi regime gradually reduced and took back what was given to such minorities until they eventually received nothing and they were forced to change the names of places and locations into Arabic. There are many documents that indicate this racial cleansing policy. For instance, one of the documents that can be found in the book 'The Racial Cleansing "Changing Nationality" of Kurds and Turkman in Kirkuk' written by Tariq Jambaz shows that the Ba'ath regime distributed the forms to enforce changing the national identity from Kurds and Turkman into Arabs in Kirkuk, and forced them to change their identities. Some of them who did not change their identities were tortured and faced a lot of trouble. This policy continued till the fall of the regime. Then, the first election of the parliament and the first establishment of the Iraqi Kurdistan Government in 1992 opened the door for the recognition of the mother tongue as the identity of the Kurdistan nations, and all the requirements have been set out for this purpose, for instance, the education system by the Ministry of Education of the Iraqi Kurdistan Government and the Cultural Rights of the Ministry of Education besides general directorates and centers are offered to Turkmen and Assyrians which enabled them protect their mother tongue language according to the texts and articles of the Kurdistan Parliament. (Jambaz, 2014, p.108)

As far as the education right of the minorities in Kurdistan is concerned, according to official documents till 2014 that are confirmed by Jambaz there were 20 schools whose language of education is Turkman; 58 schools the language of which is Assyrian, and four schools use the Arman language for teaching. All of these schools belong to the Ministry of Education

XII. CONCLUSION

This paper comes to conclude that there is a direct connection between the Kurdish language and the sectors of politics, economy, culture, religion, education, media, and law. The Kurdish authority is to be blamed in respect of working for the Kurdish formal language but it has respected the linguistics rights of all minorities without exceptions. Though there are no official documents affirming explicit language policy which is one of the influential choices the officials and the linguists of the Iraqi Kurdistan region is to give the priority to, the

mentioned data in terms of TV and radio stations, published books and journalism stand for the efforts and procedures reflecting an implicit language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan. Accordingly, in order to have a proper language policy put in place in Iraqi Kurdistan in all sectors of life just like other states, and to properly make use of many hidden attempts and regulate them within a systematic institution in both fields of laws and language, the following points need to be addressed:

1. It is good for the Kurdish Academy to devote more time and give more space and more priority to the Kurdish language through exploring and collecting the terms occur in different aspects of life but it is better for the governmental authority to work on establishing Kurdish Language Academy which is only interested in language and linguistic issues.
2. The media and other organizations in the Kurdish society are required to observe the process of language keeping and do their best in this respect because till now what is happening is not encouraging.
3. Some of the private schools of the Iraqi Kurdistan play negative roles in terms of the Kurdish national feeling as they depend on English on behalf of Kurdish. Hereby, the officials are required to have a plan put in place to prevent such a threat which becomes an international threat known as English threat.
4. A lot of money from the annual budget of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region Government should be dedicated to Kurdish language policy and other languages found in Kurdistan, because there are many seminars and conferences that cost the government a lot of money but they do not cover language and its policy.
5. Working for the process of language preservation according to a long term planning in the fields of education, teaching, and media is essential, and those who care about it are required to take action as soon as possible.
6. A decision is to be made to establish several committees one of which is to be a dominant committee in the Iraqi Kurdistan Parliament made of law and language scholars to deal with issues related to language and law. Another dominant committee is to be established from law and language scholars to study laws and decisions in the Council of Ministers.

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