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The linguistic situation in Kirkuk: a sociolinguistic  
study

by

Mchammed Amin Qadir

A thesis submitted for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Aston  
in Birmingham

March 1980



## Summary

The linguistic situation in Kirkuk: A sociolinguistic study

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Mohammed A. Qadir

A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D at the University of Aston in Birmingham, March 1980

This study is concerned with the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk in north eastern Iraq. In this town there are three main ethnic groups: Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen. with some very small minorities such as Chaldeans, Assyrians and Armenians. The languages spoken by these three ethnic groups belong to different language family groups.

In the first part of the study the historical background of the population, a review of the literature, both of the present linguistic situation in Kirkuk and of relevant sociolinguistics in general, and the theoretical framework, have been discussed in detail in order to provide background to this study which is mainly concerned with the following areas:

1. The relationships existing between ethnic background and language usage and language loyalty in Kirkuk.
2. The attitudes of Kirkukians towards language maintenance and language shift in Kirkuk.
3. Bilingual, multilingual individual communicative competence of Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen in the languages concerned, including the degree to which such a speaker is bilingual or multilingual and the nature of bilingualism or multilingualism in different domains and situations in Kirkuk.

To throw light on these areas a situationally-oriented language survey was conducted; the relevant data was collected by randomly distributed questionnaires, by personal interview, by personal observation of language use and language attitudes in this town. The data subjected to computer analysis and the results proved that there were no significant and substantial correlations between the language use, attitudes and competence based on the socio-economic status of respondents in this town. On the other hand, the correlations between the ethnic backgrounds and the language use, attitudes and competence are indisputable.

## Key Words

Sociolinguistics  
Language use and Attitudes  
Multilingualism in Kirkuk

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M A Qadir

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## Introduction

In recent years a great many linguists have become concerned with the field of sociolinguistics: the study of natural language in all its various social and cultural contexts. Nevertheless, this study is concerned entirely with the sociolinguistic description of the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk in north eastern Iraq. In this town, there are three main ethnic groups, Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen, with some very small minorities such as Chaldeans, Assyrians and Armenians.

The languages spoken by these three ethnic groups are entirely different from each other. Kurds speak Kurdish which is Indo-European, Arabs speak Arabic which is Semitic or Afro-Asian and finally Turkmen speak Turkmenish which is Altaic. In this bilingual or multilingual community therefore, at least three main languages of the town are in continuous contact with each other. These languages and the ethnic groups they belong to have been living together in this town for a long time. It must be stated here that the main purpose of this study is not limited to the linguistic description of Kirkuk itself as a special area, but in addition an examination of the place of bilingualism or multilingualism in education and the study of the considerations which affect that problem. It was mainly because Kirkuk is



the only area in Iraq with three large ethnic groups having different language backgrounds that this study was undertaken, a situation not to be found elsewhere in that country. In the light of social factors affecting language stability and language shift in much of the developing world, current language policy in this town, together with simultaneous economic, social and political developments taking place there at present make of Kirkuk a most interesting area of study for sociolinguists.

In the first part of the study, the historical background of the population, a review of the literature, both of the present linguistic situation in Kirkuk and of relevant sociolinguistics in general, and theoretical frameworks have been discussed at length in order to provide background to this study which is mainly concerned with the following areas:

first, the relationships existing between ethnic background and language usage and language loyalty in Kirkuk.

second, the attitudes of Kirkukians towards language maintenance and language shift both in formal and in informal domains and situations in Kirkuk.

third, the competence and extent of language usage of individual Kurdish/Arabic, Kurdish/Turkmanish, Arabic/Turkmanish bilingual or multilingual in this town, including

the degree to which such a speaker is bilingual or multilingual and the nature of this bilingualism and multilingualism in different domains and situations in Kirkuk.

To throw light on these areas a sociolinguistically-oriented language survey was conducted; the relevant data was collected by randomly distributed questionnaire, by personal interview, and by personal observation of language use and language attitudes in this town.

The thesis is organised as follows: Chapter 1 presents background information on the community, its ethnic groups and languages; in Chapter 2 the survey of relevant literature of sociolinguistic is reviewed; in Chapter 3 the theoretical background and the description of the project are outlined; in Chapter 4 the methodology adopted, procedure and technique and purpose of the study have been discussed. The relevant data derived from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk has been analysed, described and presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 is devoted to summary and conclusions.

Two final points are to be noted. Because of the very restricted collective role, or individual roles, of the small Armenian, Chaldean etc. minorities of the town and their consequent paucity in the sample, they have been excluded from detailed discussion throughout this study.

More important, in spite of efforts made, information concerning the census carried out in 1977 by the Government of Iraq has not been obtained. It has therefore not been possible to check the constitution of the population sample surveyed against current official statistics: it has been necessary for comparison to have recourse to an earlier survey carried out commercially.

## Chapter One [I]

### 1.1 The town of Kirkuk

#### 1.1.1 Location

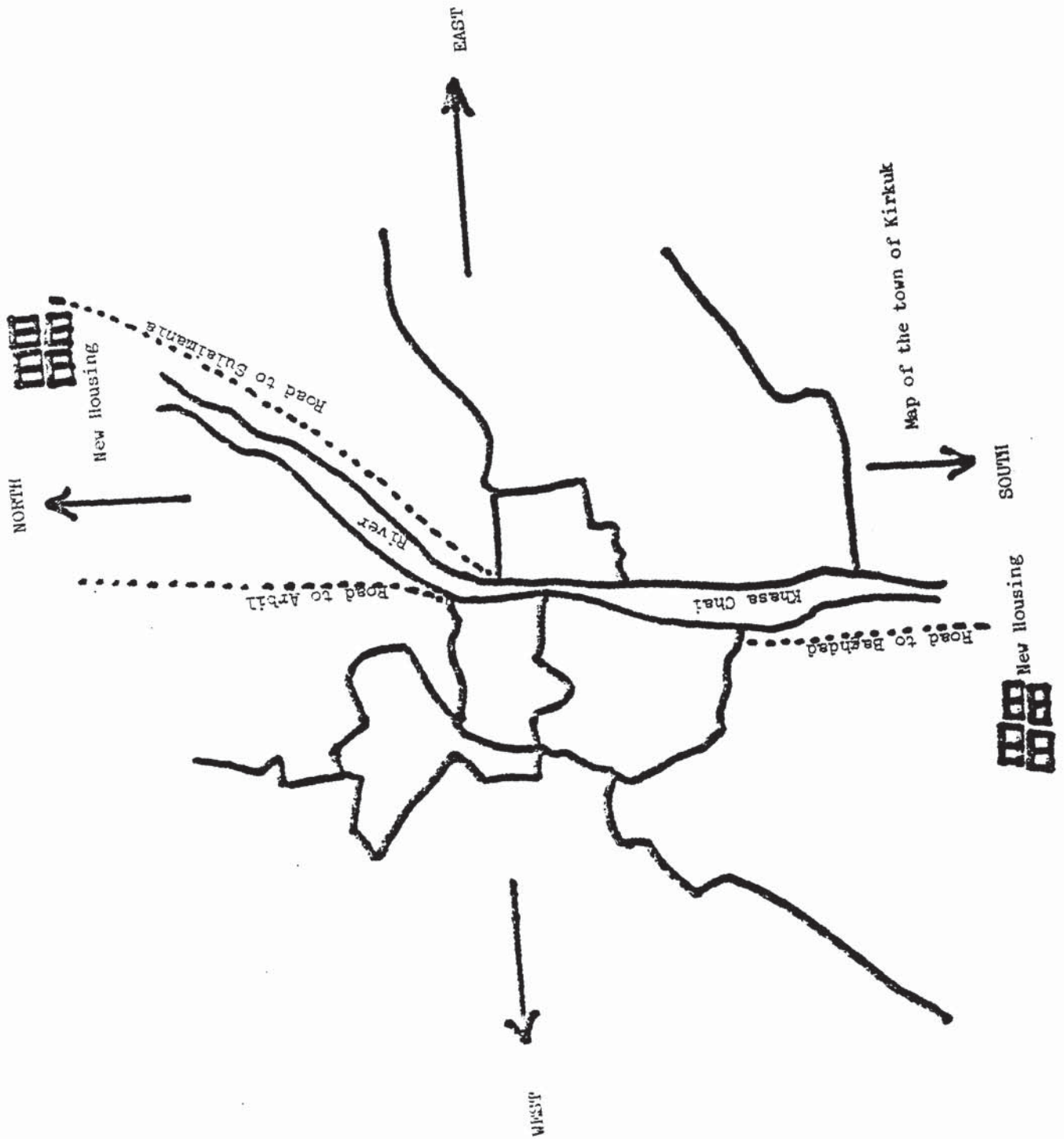
The town of Kirkuk is the city centre of the province of Kirkuk<sup>[1]</sup>, north eastern Iraq. The town consists of two parts, the oldest of which [the eastern part] is built on the great rectangular mound that rises about 120 feet above the level of the plain. This part is situated on the east bank of the Khasa Chai river and it is well known with the name of Qalā.

On the opposite west river bank, the second or the new part of the town has been developed: the Iraqi authorities' headquarters have been established here and further west lie the headquarters of the Iraq petroleum company, spreading north west to the district of Baba Surgur (about two miles north west of the town), which contains the main plant, workshops, residential zones and the starting point of pipelines to the Mediterranean sea. The town has been developed and enlarged and many new quarters have been built recently on both sides; it stands near the foot of the Zagros mountains in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Kirkuk is about 145 miles from the national capital city of Baghdad with which it is linked by a paved road and rail.

---

[1] The name of the province has been changed recently to Tamim





Kirkuk is the largest town in the district of 7,546 square miles bounded by the little Zab in the north west, the Diyālā to the north east. Kirkuk also links Baghdad with the provinces of Mosul, Sulaimania and Arbil. Moreover, two main roads from Persia run through Kirkuk as well.

#### 1.1.2 Historical and political background

Historically the town is very ancient and there are many stories and opinions about its previous name. However, according to Thompson [1923], the capital city of the Kingdom of Gutium, and some archaeologists and historians believe that the Kurds are the descendants of this people, was called Arrapkha, and this capital city lay in or around the town of Kirkuk. On this ground, therefore, we may assume that Arrapkha was the old name of Kirkuk. The name Kirkuk does not appear until mentioned for the first time by Sharaf-al-Dīn Ali Yazdi when he was telling the history of Timur and his conquest of Iraq on 20 December 1403 [Encyclopedia of Islam, 1927: 1027].

Edmonds [1957: 268] has mentioned that the christians who lived in the town continued to call the town by its old Syriac name, or in Arabic Al-Kherkh. It is not clear what name the Arabs gave it [Hoffman: 272]. However, after Timūr left the area, Kirkuk was ruled by Ak-Koyunlu, followed by the conquest of Mesopotamia by Shah Ismail 1 in the early years of the fifteenth century.

'When finally Mesopotamia and the Irak had passed into the hands of the Ottoman Sultans Selim I and Sulaimān I, by the first Turco-Persian peace concluded at Amasia [May 29, 1555], Kirkuk resumed its former role of an important bulwark against an enemy from the east'.

[Encyclopedia of Islam: 1023].

Kirkuk again was occupied by the Persians after the fall of Baghdad in 1623, but it was retaken by Khusraw Pasha in 1630 [ibid]. According to the Encyclopedia of Islam Kirkuk was ruled several times either by Persians or by the Ottoman Turks, but the real masters of the country were the local Kurd chiefs. However, when the Ottoman empire established the vilayets system, Kirkuk was a sanjak; with thirty one other sanjaks it belonged to the vilayet of Shehrizūr and became the official residence of the Pasha of Shehrizūr. The town remained in the Ottoman empire to 1918. Moreover, under the modern Turkish administrative system of the 19th and 20th centuries, Iraq was divided into the three vilayets of Basrah, Baghdad and Mosul, and Kirkuk was the capital of the sanjak of Shehrizūr in the vilayet of Mosul [May 1921: 14].

Kirkuk was occupied by British troops on 27 October 1918 when the armistice of 1918 was concluded [ibid]. It remained under the British until 1920 when it passed to the government of the kingdom of Iraq on the establishment of the first Iraqi government on 23 October 1920. Nevertheless,

Kirkuk was not definitely incorporated in this kingdom until the endorsement of the agreement between Turkey and Britain in June 1926, by which accordingly the fate of the vilayet of Mosul [this vilayet included the whole area of Iraqi Kurdistan at the present time] was decided [Kinnane 1964: 28].

### 1.1.3 Population

According to the 1957 census the total population of the province of Kirkuk was 328,939, whereas the population of the town of Kirkuk alone was 120,402.

The number of Kurds in the town was given as 40,047, Arabs 27,127, Turkmans 45,306. The total population of Kurds in the province of Kirkuk was 187,593, that of Arabs 109,620 and of Turkmans 83,371.

The following table [Table 1] shows the distribution of the population in the town and in the province of Kirkuk [by mother tongue and sex]. However, here we find 5,146 inhabitants classified as of unknown mother tongue. This in my view arises either because these inhabitants were government officials and for political reasons did not want to identify their first language and linguistic community, or because they were from the minority groups who were afraid to make known their mother tongue, or because they were from those leading aristocratic families of the town who were originally Kurdish but considered themselves as Turks [Edmonds 19266];



Table 1 Census of population: Kirkuk, 1957 by mother tongue and sex

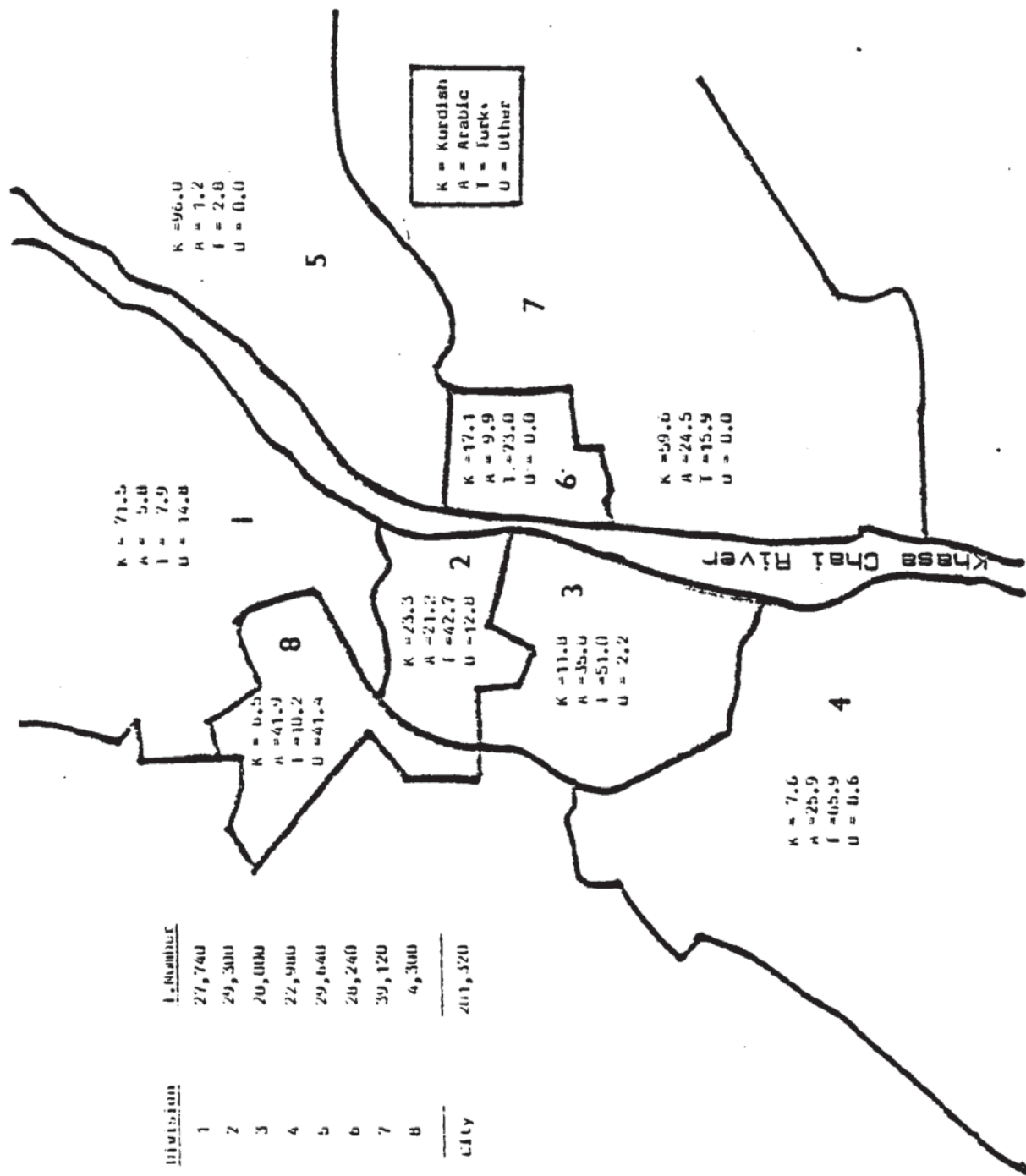
Mother tongue	The town of Kirkuk			The rest of the province of Kirkuk			The total population of the province of Kirkuk		
	Sex			Sex			Sex		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Arabic	15008	12119	27127	41716	40777	82493	55724	52896	108620
Kurdish	21281	18766	40047	74110	73436	147546	95391	92202	187593
Persian	60	41	101	17	5	22	77	46	123
Turkish	22564	22742	45306	18992	19073	38065	41556	41815	83371
English	391	243	634	42	21	63	433	264	697
French	22	13	35	6	-	6	28	13	41
Hindi	53	26	79	5	3	8	58	29	87
Chaldean & Syriac	774	735	1509	48	48	96	822	783	1605
Other languages	226	192	418	-	-	-	226	192	418
Unknown	2684	2462	5146	113	25	138	2797	2487	5284
Total	63063	57339	120402	138049	133388	268437	198112	190727	388839

with the rise of the Kurdish movements and Kurdish nationalism in the area at that time, they became uncertain about the future of the town, and therefore they preferred not to identify themselves.

However, these figures and the other census statistics for the town and the province as a whole must be used very cautiously, for the simple reason that a great number of the population of the province (in particular among Kurdish males) have not been registered during the census as residents of the province in order to avoid military service.

According to the survey carried out in 1973 by Doxiadis Associates - Kirkuk master plan for the Town and the province of Kirkuk, the population of the town of Kirkuk alone was in that year 201,320. The number of Kurds in the town shown by the survey was 87,620, Arabs 35,300, Turkmen 68,160, others 10,240. According to the New Encyclopedia Britannica, the estimated population of the province in 1970 was 535,700, that of the town 207,852. It is quite obvious that the population of the town has almost doubled in less than twenty years. The causes of such unnatural increases in the population of the town must be considered carefully. However, in my view these increases may be justified as follows:

- 1) Kirkuk has been (and is) a market and trade centre of the area as well as a major centre of the Iraq petroleum



1. Map of the town of Kirkuk with plot of percentages of languages spoken in the home.
2. The division of the town and above figures are those of Doxidis Associate - Kirkuk Master Plan, 1973

industry and for the oil pipeline for a long time, and therefore has attracted the jobless of the province, as well as from the other parts of the country, who having settled in order to make their living have consequently become permanent dwellers.

2) During the fighting between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish nationalists from 1961 - 1975 many Kurds who were not directly involved in the movement moved to the city centres in order to avoid the troubles and find some peaceful areas to live in and to resume their businesses. Kirkuk was certainly one of those towns.

3) Finally, it was [and is] official policy to transfer Arab tribes from southern as well as from other parts of Iraq to the province and the town of Kirkuk in order to augment the Arabic-speaking population of the area, to change the identity of this historically Kurdish town.

#### 1.1.4 Economic situation

Kirkuk is a market and trade and export centre for surrounding areas' agricultural produce [cereals, cattle, olives, grapes, fruit, etc.], and cotton and woollen textiles are manufactured there as well. Kirkuk also acts as a distributing centre in southern Kurdistan for imported consumer goods, due to its physical and strategic situation. Moreover, Kirkuk is a major centre of the Iraq petroleum industry, and the oil pipeline connects it with the Mediterranean



Sea. This kind of industry has contributed to the town's considerable growth and helped its development since World War 1. There are also some other petro-chemical industries recently established in this town.

Among the town population government officials, teachers, industrial workers, shopkeepers, traders or landowners and independent professionals predominate.

#### 1.1.5 Religion

The religion of the overwhelming majority of Kirkukian people at the present time is Islam. Before Islam it is claimed that the Kurds were mostly Zoroastrians (Arfa 1966: 6). Kurdistan was occupied by the Muslim armies between 634 - 644 and 644 - 656, when the Kurds submitted to them and accepted Islam, very rapidly, in order not to allow the Arabs to interfere with their way of life, on one hand, or to establish colonies in their area on the other. However, the religion of the greater number of Kurds nowadays is Islam, and the overwhelming majority of the muslim Kurds belong to the Sunni or orthodox muslim sect. The Kurds in general are normally fanatical, since they are still powerfully influenced by their shaikhs and mullas in whom they place the most implicit trust. However, it must be borne in mind that the word 'shaikh' in Kurdistan does not mean a tribal chief as it does amongst the Arabs: it refers to a man who is holy and venerated either on account

of his descent from a sacred origin, or because of a pious life.

Leaders of the different Sunni sects [Tariqāt], the shaikhs, still exercise a strong influence throughout Kurdistan. The two main Tariqāts in Kurdistan, which are still influential, are the Qadīrī and Naqshabandī. Each shaikh of importance has a great number of followers and supporters [with different titles such as: Murīds, Dervishes, Sūfīs] among the people, especially in the rural areas subject to the so-called Caliph, the actual representative of the shaikh. It is normally and customarily approved of that every 'murid' should visit his shaikh at least once a year in order to deliver presents to him, for which he will receive blessing. Otherwise, there is no clerical hierarchy among the Kurdish sunnis.

However, as far as a 'mulla' is concerned, every 'mulla' [priest] should complete his studies under the supervision of another generally recognised 'mulla'; he is then awarded a licence to perform his office. Without it he is not allowed to do so. A priest, usually, has no other income than that which he receives from the believers. In some villages and rural areas where the people are poor, the priest has to make his living by farming or cattle-breeding in the same way as the rest of the inhabitants of that area. In this latter case and before the diffusion of modern education the priest [mulla] was the only educated person

of that area or village and occasionally played a positive role in the national liberation movement [Chassemlou 1965: 24].

Edmonds [1957: 78] has pointed out that the most important 'Maqshabandī' in his time in Kirkuk was Saiyid Ahmadi Khanaqah who belonged to the Barzinja family. However, in the province as a whole perhaps the most important family was the Talabānī, but the role of the prayer carpet shaikhs of the Talabānī has become tribal rather than religious [ibid: 78]. Nevertheless, their house [Takya] in the town of Kirkuk, as it is described by Edmonds, furnishes an excellent example of a house which in quite modern times rose to a position of wealth and worldly power by virtue of the religious influence of its dervish founder. Shaikh Fiza, for example, one of the celebrated members of the Talabānī family, was a native of Kirkuk and wrote poetry in four languages: Kurdish, Arabic, Persian and Turkish [Hay 1921: 37].

Among the Kurds, there are also members of other religious groups and sects; Christians, Jews, Kakais (who are found south of Kirkuk), Ali Allahi or the so-called Ahle Hāq, and Yazīdī, improperly known as 'worshippers of the devils', whose prophet is called Mālik Tawūs, 'the peacock king'. Originally, the Yazīdī religion was Iranian Zoroastrianism, which, however, from contact with Islam and Christianity incorporated many elements of these two religions [Chassemlou 1965].



The number of Yazīdīs living in the Mosul region is about one hundred thousand, all Kurds. As far as the Shia sect of Islam is concerned, their number among the Kurds is very small and rarely mentioned: normally they live either in Iranian Kurdistan or in small towns of Iraqi Kurdistan [such as Khanaqīn, Mandālī] which are very close to the Iranian border. However, there is a considerable number of Shia Kurds living in Baghdad, well known as 'Failīyah'.

Among Arabs and Turkmans in the town of Kirkuk, Islam visibly predominates. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of both communities are Sunnis but the number of Shia Arabs has increased since recent immigration of southern and other Arabs.

As far as the other minorities of the town is concerned, Edmonds [1957: 266] tells us that 'under the Sassanian empire Kirkuk was a celebrated centre of the Nestorians, the seat of the metropolitan Bishop of Bêth Garmê', but despite this today the number of Christians in the town is relatively very small; they have their own churches and cathedrals. Furthermore, most of the members of this Christian community work for the Iraq petroleum company at Kirkuk.

#### 1.1.6 Education

The development of education in the town of Kirkuk is entirely connected with the development of education in Iraqi



Kurdistan and Iraq as a whole. Therefore, in Kurdistan as well as in other parts of Iraq, there still exists a large proportion of illiterates. However, the development of education in Iraq and particularly in Kurdistan has also been closely connected with the mullas. In some villages and rural areas, the mulla was the only educated person among the people. Hay [1921: 39] has pointed out that mullas were at that time the sole source of education in Kurdistan; he quotes the saying that education could only be obtained from the village mullas. However, education in this sense consists mainly of reading the Quran and a few Persian works such as the 'Gulistan' of Gadi. The mullas themselves are often very well-read in oriental literature, and have usually studied under some leading divine of the neighbourhood and under generally recognised mullas.

According to Hilali [1959], under the Ottoman empire, education in Iraq was very backward. The number of primary and secondary schools throughout the country was as follows:

85 boys primary schools with 7539 pupils

3 girls primary schools with 462 pupils

3 boys secondary schools with 110 pupils

No girls secondary schools.

However, the author does not mention the location of these schools, though there was one industrial school in Kirkuk. Moreover, Turkish was the language of teaching at these schools and even the grammar of Arabic was taught in Turkish [ibid: 234]

From the above figures one can see that the Ottoman imperial authorities in Iraq took no steps whatsoever to establish a modern education. The small number of schools was quite insufficient for the number of the population and the situation with women's education was worse.

Under British rule education in Iraq was scarcely improved: in 1932 at the end of the British mandate in Iraq numbers of schools were as follows:

222 boys primary schools with 28,987 pupils  
 54 girls primary schools with 9,485 pupils  
 19 boys secondary schools with 2,541 pupils  
 3 girls secondary schools with 287 pupils.

However, under the monarchy and the so-called first national Iraqi government, education in Iraq showed a slight improvement, yet relatively it remained many steps behind. According to an official report on education in Iraq published by the Ministry of Education, the number of schools in 1950 - 1951 was as follows:

919 boys primary schools with 133,530 pupils  
 190 girls primary schools with 42,249 pupils  
 64 boys secondary schools with 17,594 pupils  
 31 girls secondary schools with 5,112 pupils.

As far as Kirkuk province is concerned, the number of schools according to the same report was as follows:

64 boys primary schools with 7,162 pupils  
 16 girls primary schools with 2,180 pupils  
 5 boys secondary schools with 900 pupils  
 1 girls secondary school with 210 pupils.

The population of Kirkuk at that time according to this report was 296,005.

However, it must be said that education in Iraq as a whole and in Iraqi Kurdistan in particular has been making promising progress since the Iraqi revolution in July 1958. The number of schools, pupils and teachers has been very much increased and many colleges and universities have been established in Iraq since then.

According to the annual official report on education of 1960 - 1961 published by the Iraqi Ministry of Education, the number of schools and students in Iraq was as follows:

3679 primary schools (boys and girls) with 760,463 pupils  
 370 general secondary schools (boys and girls) with  
 135,996 pupils  
 32 vocational secondary schools (boys and girls) with  
 8,011 pupils

As far as the province of Kirkuk is concerned the number of schools and pupils according to the same report was as follows:



<u>Number of schools</u>	<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>
320	Primary (boys and girls)	43,863
14	General secondary (boys and girls)	5,673
3	Vocational secondary boys and girls]	880
Total		<u>50,016</u>

By today, these figures have certainly been more than doubled or even tripled. So, according to an official report on education of 1977 - 1978 published by the Ministry of Education, the number of schools and students in Iraq was as follows:

Table 2

<u>Type of Education</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pre-primary school	306	1 boys 29859 2 girls 26488	56347
Primary school	8387	1 boys 1283494 2 girls 765072	2048566
Secondary school	1394	1 boys 469164 2 girls 196133	664297
Vocational schools [Ind. Agr. Com.]	92	1 boys 27272 2 girls 7846	35118



<u>Type of Education</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Total</u>
Teacher training	1 schools 32	1 boys 4652 2 girls 12685	17337
	2 institutes 13	1 boys 3029 2 girls 3223	6252
Higher education	1 technical institutes 14	1 boys 8522 2 girls 3720	12242
	2 universities 6	1 boys 50384 2 girls 22773	73157
Total			<u>2913316</u>

As far as the town of Kirkuk is concerned, however, the number of schools and students for the same year was as follows:

Table 2

<u>Type of Education</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pre-primary school	11	1 boys 949 2 girls 704	1653
Primary	1 boys 67]143 2 girls 7] 3 mixed 39]	1 boys 30444 2 girls 21496	51940
Secondary	1 boys 23]40 2 girls 13] 2 mixed 4]	1 boys 15635 2 girls 7154	22789

<u>Type of Education</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Total</u>
Vocational [Ind. Agr. Com.]	4	1 boys 1984 2 girls 429	2393
Higher education [Technical institute] 'Baghdad Polytechnic Branch in Kirkuk'	1	1 boys 227 2 girls 123	350
		Total	<hr/> 79125 <hr/>

NOTE:

1. The number of primary school teachers in the town of Kirkuk in

1978 was	1 male 984	2005
	2 female 1041	

2. The number of secondary school teachers in the town of Kirkuk in

1978 was	1 male 332	613
	2 female 231	

However, there are now in Iraq six universities with 45 colleges distributed as follows:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number of Universities</u>
Baghdad	3
Sasrah	1
Mosul	1
Eulaimania	1

Moreover, there is also a polytechnic in Baghdad with branches in many provinces. The early establishment of other universities in Kufa and in some other areas in Iraq has been decided.

All schools in Iraq are now administrated by the Ministry of Education and all universities and higher educational institutions are administrated by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, and are all free of charge.

The basic outline of the present educational system in Iraq is as follows:

Primary [5 years]

Intermediate [3 years]

Secondary

High secondary [3 years]

Polytechnic [2 years after secondary school]

University [varying in periods]

Entry into secondary school and university is on the basis of a common examination [Baccalaureate examination] which must be taken in the final years of primary<sup>[1]</sup>, intermediate and high secondary schools.

The students' marks in the final year of high secondary school [as a result of this common examination] will determine his fate and the college he is allotted to. All primary

and secondary schools at Kirkuk are administered by the local authorities and financed by the government. There is a technical institute in the town (Branch of Baghdad Polytechnic in Kirkuk) established in 1973 but there is no university, nor private schools, at present. The children's age required for primary school entry is six years and all schools follow a syllabus provided by the Ministry of Education.



## Chapter One [II]

### 1.2 The ethnic groups

At present Kirkuk is inhabited by the Kurds, Turkmen and Arabs with some other small minorities.

#### 1.2.1 The Kurds

The Kurds are the fourth most numerous people in the middle east, after Arabs, Turks and Persians.

##### 1.2.1.1 The origin of the Kurds

There are many opinions about the history and origin of the Kurds. However, some historians and archeologists as a result of investigations of Sumerian clay tablets, have claimed that the Kurds are descendants of the Gutti people who lived contemporaneously with the Sumer, Akad, Elam and Ancient Armenia.

Safrastian [1948] has pointed out that one Sumerian tablet dated about 2350 B.C. indicates that the Kingdom of Gutium was important enough to be classed by Sumerian King as independent. Gutium has been placed by Thompson [1923] in a quadrilateral contained by the lower Zab, the Tigris, the hills of Sulaimania and the river Diyala. Their capital city lay in or around the town of Kirkuk, named Arrapkha.

Some other historians associate the Kurds not only with the Gutti but also with the Medes, Khaldi, etc. However, Martin Short has claimed that 'the Kurds are descendants of

Indo-European tribes which settled in the region up to four thousand years ago. They have been identified with the mountain people who warred with the Mesopotamian Empire of Sumer, Babylon and Assyria'. [Short 1977: 6]. These indo-European tribes spoke similar languages and lived in the area which is known at present as Kurdistan. Lockwood [1972: 241] has remarked that 'the origin of the name Kurds is unexplained'. Nevertheless, Safrastian [1948: 16] believes that the term 'Kurd' was derived from the land and the Kingdom of Gutium and the people Guti, an /r/ sound inserted after the first vowel so a form such as Gurti was found. This affirmation of the origin of the Kurd is supported by the fact that a similar phenomenon can be found in some other indo-European languages such as Sanskrit, Greek and Armenian. Some other writers, Driver, for example, find the term was not only used differently by different nations but also that the same nation used different names for the same concept at different periods. Therefore, the Sumerian used the land of Kar-da or Qar-da, Assyrian: Quri, Gortu, Armenian: Gortu, Kerchekh, Greek: Kardūchi, Qur-ti-e and finally the Arabs have used Qarda, Kurdi, Al Kurd, etc. Moreover, many other terms such as: Gordiaca, Gordi, Kardakes, etc. have also been found. Driver, however, associates the term Kardakes with the Kurds on the grounds that the term Karda means 'manly' and 'warlike' and the Persian gurd or Kurd, which seems to have a common origin with the Babylonian gardu, 'brave', 'valiant' or

'war-like', and because 'bravery' and the love of fighting were regarded as the main characteristics of the Kurdish tribesmen; Kardakes can hardly be anything else than the Kurdish people [Driver, 1913: 403].

#### 1.2.1.2 Kurdistan

The cohesive region which is inhabited by the Kurd is historically known as Kurdistan. Nowadays, Kurdistan is distributed between the following political states; Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union [see map in pocket ]. The term Kurdistan is not used officially in the countries in which the Kurds live; instead it is called 'north' in Iraq, 'west' in Iran, 'eastern and south eastern Anotolia' in Turkey, and 'Jazirah' in Syria.

According to Ghassemlou (1965: 14) the entire area of Kurdistan covers approximately 409,650 Km<sup>2</sup>; out of this area 72,000 Km<sup>2</sup> are in Iraq, 124,950 Km<sup>2</sup> lie in Iran, 149,400 Km<sup>2</sup> in Turkey, 18,300 Km<sup>2</sup> in Syria. Therefore, the rest of the area [35,000 Km<sup>2</sup>] which is not mentioned by Ghassemlou must be in the USSR. Minorsky (1927:1130) has stated that 'its length is about 600 miles . . . and its breadth averaging 120 to 150 miles is greatest [250 miles] on the line Mosul-Ararat'.

Kurdistan is mainly mountainous but some wide plains can be found scattered in between. The country has many



rivers and in particular the two Biblical rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates have their sources in Turkish Kurdistan. Moreover, Lake Van and Lake Urmia are also situated in Kurdistan. However, Kurdistan has been described as ' wild and most impressive, vast gorges and precipitous cliffs with a sheer drop of several thousands of feet in some places. In the spring time, with the valleys carpeted with flowers, grass and shrubs, and the mountains covered with snow, the country is seen at its best'.

In the winter the climate is very severe, in particular in the mountain areas; snow falls nearly all through the season and this makes life unbearable, particularly for those people living in the remote areas. Some villagers may stay indoors or in their villages for several days in such a cold season without setting foot outside their doorstep. Nevertheless the plains have a subtropical climate.

Kurdistan is believed to be very rich in natural resources. Oil, however, is the most important mineral resource in the country. It is being extracted at Kirkuk [Iraq], Shahabad near Kirmanshah [Iran], Siirt [Turkey] and finally in Jazirah [Syria]. However, much of the region's mineral wealth is not exploited at all: coal, copper, iron, sulphates, lead, salt, gold, silver and uranium are among other minerals which exist in different parts of Kurdistan. Reports on such explorations as have been carried out are



not usually published either for political or commercial reasons [Short, 1977: 5].

#### 1.2.1.3 The division of Kurds and Kurdistan

In the previous section it was said that Kurdistan is now divided between Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the USSR; the Kurds are to be found in those countries and in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Lebanon. During the sixteenth century the two major powers in west Asia were Turkey and Persia. The two empires were at constant war for half the time between 1514 and 1639, when the treaty of Erzurum was signed between the two countries and accordingly the frontier between them was established, more or less as it is today [Arfa, 1966:16].

As a result of this treaty and demarcation, the first partition of Kurdistan took place and from then down to the nineteenth century the Kurdish communities were two separate colonies [Kinnane 1964: 22]. When the Ottoman Empire declined, the treaty of Sèvres was signed on 10 August, 1920, between the allied powers and Turkey. The articles 62, 63, 64 confirmed the rights of the Kurdish people and provided for a Kurdish state. Therefore, immediately after the endorsement of this treaty, the Sultan included representatives of Kurds, Armenians and other minorities in his new government and parliament. But this situation was of short duration, in particular when the Turkish nationalists under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk came to power they rejected the Sèvres

treaty signed by the previous Sultan, and forced the allies to draw up a new peace treaty. In this way, the treaty of Sèvres was not implemented and it was replaced by the treaty of Lausanne of 1923, which ignored the national rights of the Kurdish people [Edgar O'Ballance, 1973: 20]. However, the British aim in accepting this new treaty was to add the Mosul Vilayet [the present Iraqi Kurdistan] to its zone, Mesopotamia. Although the Turkish government rejected the British move at the beginning, eventually it accepted it and the League of Nations awarded the Mosul Vilayet to Iraq: this was settled in June 1926 [Kinnane, 1964: 28]. In this way another partition of Kurdistan has taken place, and some Kurds became Iraqi citizens.

As far as the Syrian Kurds are concerned, some Kurdish territory was awarded to Syria when the disputes between France [Syria was under French mandate after World War 1] and Turkey were over and agreement between them was endorsed in Ankara in 1929 concerning the finance and the frontiers problems between Turkey and Syria [Ghassemlou, 1965: 82-83].

With regard to the Kurds in the USSR, Ghassemlou [1965: 83] states that some Kurdish territories were given to Russia after the Gulestan agreement between Iran and Russia in 1813. Moreover, the Encyclopedia of Islam [page 1131] notes that there are some important Kurdish tribes in

Baluchistan and Afganistan; their population is estimated by Lockwood [1972: 240] as about 200,000 Kurds; they were transferred to those areas by Nadir Shah of Persia in the eighteenth century [Encyclopedia of Islam]. Above all, there are also about 70,000 Kurds living at present in the Lebanon. The overwhelming majority of these Kurds came from Mardin in eastern Turkey during the French mandate [David Hirst in Short, 1977: 16].

#### 1.2.1.4 Situation of the Kurds in the various countries

##### 1.2.1.4.1 The Kurds in Turkey

The use of Kurdish in Turkey has not been recognised, and Kurds have been treated with ruthless severity from Kemal Attaturk's time to the present. The Turks not only denied Kurdish rights by their refusal of the Sèvres treaty but also they violated the Lausanne agreement. In this later agreement the Turkish government agreed to guarantee fully the lives and rights of all inhabitants of Turkey including the minorities; nevertheless, instead they started a repressive campaign against the Kurdish people in their homeland. Severe restrictions were imposed on the Kurdish nationalists and 'all Kurdish mosques were closed, all Kurdish associations dissolved, Kurdish ceremonies and meetings were banned and their traditional dress was proscribed'. [Edgar O'Ballance, 1973: 27]. Therefore, the Turks regarded Kurds in Turkey as 'mountain Turks' and the use of the Kurdish language for any



kind of administrative purposes or education is prohibited. But this does not mean in any way that the Kurds in Turkey have entirely abandoned their native language. On the contrary Kurdish is still used for daily life purposes among the Kurds themselves despite the Turkish authority's ban.

#### 1.2.1.4.2 The Kurds in Persia

The Kurds in Persia are recognised by the authorities in Persia. Although the Kurdish language is not prohibited it is nevertheless not used for any sort of administrative purposes. However, there are a Kurdish radio station and some publications in Kurdish. Although the main aims of this radio station and the publications are to carry out pro-governmental policy, in fact they contribute to the development of the Kurdish language and culture, in the form of literature and music.

#### 1.2.1.4.3 The Kurds in Syria

Although the present authorities in Syria proclaim publicly that the Kurds should be enabled to participate in the development of the country, in practice there is no cultural, linguistic or educational freedom for Kurds. The Kurdish organisations and political parties are not allowed officially and the Kurdish language is not used in any sort of administration or education. Indeed, the Kurds in Syria were in a better situation under the French mandate, when publishing in the Kurdish language was allowed between 1931



and 1956, and the Latin alphabet was in use [Lockwood, 1972:241].

#### 1.2.1.4.4 The Kurds in the USSR

The Kurds living in the USSR are spread between the republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, but most belong to the republic of Armenia. In spite of their small number, the Kurds in the Soviet Union are recognised as a nation. The Kurdish language is used as a medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools, and the Cyrillic alphabet is in use. Some Kurdish colleges and departments have been established at some Soviet universities for the purpose of encouraging the revival of Kurdish folklore and literature. Writing in Kurdish is supported by the generous resources of Soviet publishing on various aspects of the Soviet's life [Kinanne, 1970: 5]. Moreover, radio and television also broadcast in Kurdish.

#### 1.2.1.4.5 The Kurds in Iraq

When the League of Nations awarded the Mosul Vilayet to Iraq, the Kurds became citizens of the Kingdom of Iraq. The Kurdish nationalists in Iraq asked for an independent Kurdish state, but their demands were rejected by the British government for several reasons. The Mosul Vilayet was awarded to Iraq by the League of Nations on the grounds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of

their country and dispensation of justice and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the language of all these services [Arfa, 1966: 14]. Later, when the British mandate in Iraq was ended in 1932, the Iraqi government in its application to be a member of the League of Nations reasserted its acceptance of minorities' rights. A special law was therefore enacted defining the areas within which Kurdish should be the language of the local administration, of the law courts and of primary education [Edmonds, 1957].

According to Ghassemlou (1965: 71) nevertheless 'The only result of the Kurds' struggle in Iraq was that Kurdish started to be taught in elementary schools, but in the Sulaymania region only', even though, as he pointed out in a footnote, 'according to the act of May 23, 1931, Kurdish became the official language in the whole of Iraqi Kurdistan' [Al-Gorani, 1939: 114]. Later a radio station was established to broadcast both main dialects of the Kurdish language, and then very recently a television station has been established in Kirkuk to broadcast in Kurdish as well. Above all, the existence of Kurds in Iraq as a nation was recognised and confirmed officially for the first time in the Iraqi provisional constitution, after the victory of the Iraqi revolution on 14 July 1958. But unfortunately, this in practice has not been fulfilled and as a result the Kurdish struggle and movement continued in Iraq until 11 March 1970, when the present Iraqi government declared autonomy and full



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## The Kurds in Iraq

national rights for the Kurdish people. It must be added that by virtue of the 1958 revolution the process of national revival proceeded and deepened further. Yet the new Iraqi government's declaration of the Kurdish people's rights seems to be another document without complete fulfilment. Moreover, although all evidence indicates that Kirkuk is [and was] the heart of Iraqi Kurdistan, this province is nevertheless excluded from the autonomous area declared by the Iraqi government in 1970.

#### 1.2.1.5 Kurdish demography

Population figures available for the countries in which the Kurds live are generally unsatisfactory and for political reasons the population of the Kurds in particular has never been estimated properly. No scientific calculation has ever been made by those who have written about the Kurds. Their sources of information have been either the government under which the Kurds lived, very old censuses, or personal judgement and estimations. For example, the Turkish sources defy history and deny the existence of Kurds in Turkey. The Turkish references and literature regard 'Kurds' as 'mountain Turks'. However, although the Kurdish nationalists claim that the population of Kurds is more than 16 million, nevertheless Ghassemlou [1965: 23] claimed only a total of about 10,450,000 distributed as follows: in Turkey 4 million, in Iran 3 million, in Iraq 1.4 million, in Syria 400,000, in



the USSR 59,000, the rest being scattered outside Kurdistan. William Eagleton (1963: 38) suggests a total of 5 - 6 million, and Lockwood (1972: 240) suggests a total of 7 - 8 million at the most, of whom 2.5 - 3 million in Turkey, 2 million in Iran, 2 million in Iraq, .25 million in Syria, about 60,000 in the USSR, .2 million in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The most recent figures for minimum and maximum population of the Kurds have been given by Martin Short (1977: 6), distributed as follows:

	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>
Turkey	3,200,000	8,000,000
Iran	1,800,000	5,000,000
Iraq	1,550,000	2,550,000
Syria	320,000	600,000
USSR	80,000	300,000
Lebanon	40,000	70,000

However, whatever estimates have been made by these writers, all evidence indicates that the population of the Kurds in general is not less than 12 million.

#### 1.2.1.6 The social structure of Kurdish society

The Kurds occupy a cohesive region in the Middle East but have never attained any sort of political cohesion or independence as a nation. Nevertheless, they have kept their language, culture and tribal customs separate from those

nations whom they lived with and have not become assimilated by any other racial or ethnic group. However, the Kurdish society may be classified into three groups: settled, semi-nomadic and nomadic people.

The first group, the settled one, inhabits the towns and villages, The village dwellers normally work for some 'Agha' [the landowner] and land distribution is generally unequal. Land reform therefore has been a major demand of Kurdish political movements. The town dwellers however are usually non-tribal. In Kurdistan a distinction is drawn between villagers who claim tribal origin and those who do not; for example in Kirkuk and Sulaimania the non-tribal villagers are called 'misken' and the tribal villagers are referred to as 'Kurd'.

For political purposes, however, one may say that outside the towns Kurdish society is essentially tribal. Each tribe is divided into clans and septs. Sometimes the whole of a tribe claims descent in the male line from a single ancestor. Sometimes it is the clan or septs, or perhaps only the ruling family that claims such descent, and the tribe is more a political or territorial unit. The second group, the semi-nomadic tribes are those which make seasonal migrations from their villages in search of pasture for the flocks. The third and final group is the real nomads who live throughout the year in tents, migrating with their flocks according to the seasons between the plains of Iraq

and the highlands of Persia and Turkey. However, since the boundaries have been fixed between the countries where the Kurds live, obstacles and restrictions have increasingly been placed in the way of their annual migrations, and particularly after the rising of the Kurdish nationalist movements in the last fifty years. The nomads life has therefore become very difficult, and eventually they have to give it up.

As a result nomads have been converted to semi-nomads, and semi-nomads to settled people. Moreover, in many places in Kurdistan the tribal system is breaking down as a result of close government control on the one hand, and due to the new civilisation and industrialisation on the other. As a result some Aghas have had good opportunities to buy land in big towns and make a good deal of money in this way.

Women in Kurdish society are allowed a greater freedom and enjoy more respect in the family than the women of many communities in the Middle East. Moreover, among the tribal ruling families, as well as among others, it is quite common for strong-minded women to come forward and play an important part in tribal and non-tribal politics. Above all, there is now in the towns, and even in the villages, a new generation of educated and progressive young Kurdish women who play a worthy and influential part in the life of the Kurdish national movement and people.



### 1.2.1.7 The Kurdish language

The Kurdish language is Indo-European, and is very closely related to modern Persian, in much the same way that French is to Spanish or Italian [Martin Short, 1977: 7]. On the other hand Edwards [1851:122] has described the relationship between Kurdish and modern Persian as 'of cousins german [rather] than of sisters'. However, Kurdish in general has its own characteristic that is undoubtedly very distinct from that of Persian. Although according to the Sharaf-Nama [1596: 1152] the Kurdish nation consists of four sections: Kurmanj, Lur, Kalhur, and Guran, some scholars, Mackenzie for example, believe that the Lurs, who live in south west of Iran and the Gurans speak at present dialects of the north west of Persia differing considerably from Kurdish. As far as the Kalhurs are concerned, Minorsky [1927] has pointed out that the southern Kurdish dialects of western Persia which are spoken by the Kalhurs have lost their essential Kurdish features. The only remaining Kurds therefore are the Kurmanj. However, Kurmanji consists of two major dialects; the eastern and the western. The Greater Zab is believed to delimit the boundary between them. On the other hand Ghassemlou [1965] has also classified the Kurdish language into two main dialects but using different terms, Sorani and Kurmanji. The eastern Kurmanji, however, is spoken by the Kurds who occupy the same area as that of Sorani [the area below the imaginary line connecting the town



of Rawanduz in Iraq with Urmia in Iran]. The areas occupied by the speakers of western Kurmanji coincide exactly with those of Kurmanji [see the map on page 39]. Nowadays, the terms of Kurmanji and Sorani are very common. The Kurmanji dialect is spoken by the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, the Mosul region in Iraq, and north Urmia in Iran. This dialect prevailed in literature until World War I. However, the literary predominance of this dialect gradually died out after prohibition of the Kurdish language in Turkey by Kemal Attaturk's regime and his successors. In this way, the Sorani dialect became the major dialect used in present day Kurdish literature. This remarkable progress by Sorani, as Edmonds (1957: 11) has pointed out, was due to the use of the Sorani dialect as an official language of the administration in the southern Kurdistan area [in particular in Sulaimania, northern Iraq] by Babān princes in the early part of the nineteenth century. This dialect, however, is written in Arabic script. Mutual intelligibility between any two speakers of Sorani and Kurmanji is usually possible with adjustment on both sides, and this is due to the mobility of the Kurdish population either as a result of a nomadic way of life in the past or as a result of the political upheavals at present.

With regard to the literature, except for poetry, nothing was written in Kurdish before the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Kurdish folklore is



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one of the richest. Due to the illiteracy of the people, the poems and songs narrating the histories of ancient battles or love tales have been preserved by oral tradition from one generation to another. The first Kurdish grammar appears to have been written in Rome in 1787 by an Italian ecclesiastic called Maurizio Garzoni. This grammar entitled 'Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua Kurda' is described by Edwards [1851: 120] 'as a small octavo of two hundred and eighty pages, and contains a grammar, reading lessons, a glossary etc.' However, although the Kurdish language has survived and escaped from natural as well as planned pressure from the different prestige languages with which it has been [and is] in contact, nevertheless the surrounding languages have exerted considerable influence on it as early loan forms from Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Moreover, despite the establishment of the Iraqi Sorani as a Kurdish standard, the current published texts show that this standard, even in its orthographical representation, is still evolving.

The earliest texts in Kurdish, however, are poems ascribed to the twelfth century. Mala Jazire was regarded as one of the greatest poets of that time. Ahmade Khani [1650 - 1706], whose excellent work 'Mam U Zin' which has been translated into many foreign languages, was considered as one of the best Kurdish poets. Above all, Haji Qadiri Koyi [1815 - 1892], Shaikh Riza Talabani [1840 - 1909] and Abdulla Goran [1904 - 1962] and many others formed an admired elite



of Kurdish poets, and achieved the climax of present day Kurdish literature.

As far as printing in Kurdish is concerned, Edmonds [1957: 11] claims that the first Kurdish newspaper was called 'Kurdistan' and was published first in Cairo in 1892, and then transferred to London and continued until 1902.

### 1.2.2 The Turkmens

According to the 1957 census the population of Turkmen in the town of Kirkuk was 45,306 and their number according to Doxiadis Associates' survey in 1973 was 68,160. Their origin and immediate provenance are uncertain yet the Encyclopedia of Islam, under 'Kirkuk', says that these Turks were probably there before conquest by the Ottoman Empire but that it is uncertain whether their origin is to be traced to a Turkish garrison established there by the Caliphs in the ninth century or to an immigration in the time of the Seljuks [Great Seljuks 1037 - 1117, Seljuks of Iraq and Kurdistan 1117 - 94]. Edmonds [1957: 267 - 9], however, gives three contrary opinions about the origin of the Turkmen of Iraq:

1. They are descended from the 100,000 Turkish prisoners who were captured by Tamerlane [1392 - 1405] and spared from death on the intercession of the Shaikh of Ardebil, the Khawaja Ali who was the first head of the



Safawi order of dervishes to reveal shia tendencies.

2. or they are the descendants of Azarbayjanis from Maragha planted as garrisons in the area by the Shah Ismail Safawi (1502 - 1524).
3. or they were brought from Anatolia by the Sultans Selim I and Sulaiman I between 1512 - 1566 in order to protect the road and act as frontier guards in the area.

Edmonds, then, believes that these Turkmen must have come to Kirkuk in a time later than the date mentioned in the Encyclopedia of Islam. Arfa (1966: 108) says that the Turkmen of Iraq are the same Turks as those of the Ottoman Empire, but for political reasons during the mandate the British Empire insisted on calling them Turkmen.

For Hay (1921: 81) 'the origin of this population which sometimes refers to itself as Turkmen to show that it is not Ottoman, is wrapped in mystery, but it is generally inferred that it must be descended from a line of colonies settled by the Seljuks as the outputs of their rule'.

The Seljuks were a Turkic people who, starting from their home in Central Asia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, overran Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and established their rule there. They eventually fell under the sway of the

great descendants of Osman, the founder of the Osmanly or Ottoman Empire. Turkmans are also found in some other areas of Iraq, in particular at Tazakhurmatu, Tauq, Tuzkhurmatu, Kifri, Khanaqin, Mandali, all on the highway, and some of these places were very important centres of Ottoman administration. The task therefore of Turkmans in those areas must have been to protect the road and the line which divides predominantly Kurdish from predominantly Arab territory. However, whatever the origin of the Turkmans may be, it is quite obvious and generally agreed on by all writers that the Turkmans in Iraq are not aboriginal inhabitants of the country, but were brought to these present areas for political reasons. Of the language of these people, Hay says 'the language of the Turks of Mesopotamia differs only from that of Constantinople in that it is generally harder, some of the gutturals<sup>[1]</sup> which have been softened in the more highly developed tongue of the capital, retaining their original values'. Their language is therefore regarded as a dialect of Turkish, which belongs to the Altaic family of languages. However, it should be noted that this dialect does not possess the vowel harmony system of the Stanbuli [Standard] Turkish.

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[1] i.e. /ʕ/ and /ħ/ and also velar fricatives /χ/, /ɣ/ and uvular plosive voiceless /q/.

### 1.2.3 The Arabs

The Arabs are the largest ethnic group in the Middle East; their number in the town of Kirkuk according to the 1957 census was 27,127 and according to Doxiadis Associates' survey in 1973 35,309. The most important Arab tribes in the province of Kirkuk probably are the Tai and the Obayid. These two Arab tribes and some others have been established in the area for a long time. The Arab townsmen may be tribal or non-tribal, but the former no longer follow their tribal traditions in the town.

The language of these people is not uniform: different Arabic dialects are in use and there is no single recognised Arabic dialect which has established itself as a dominant dialect of the town. Besides these local forms, Standard Arabic may be recognised as an official language in the town. However, with the increasing number of different dialects of immigrant Arabs to this town and as a result of the propagation of Arabic in the socio-economic life of the community at large, in the course of time the chance of the establishment of a recognised local Arabic dialect, provided the circumstances remained unchanged in this town, is very considerable.



## Chapter Two

### 2.1 Survey of the literature

#### 2.1.1 Introduction

This project is concerned entirely with the study of the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk in north eastern Iraq. The theoretical and methodological background to this study is that of the description and measurement of societal multilingualism which has been developed and given more attention in recent years as a subfield of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics has regarded multilingualism as a special case of language variation and linguistic diversity. For sociolinguists language variation and language diversity is systematic and restricted to the system of social variables and restrictions, and it is not a free or random process.

#### 2.1.2 Multilingualism

The study of multilingualism has a long history and many linguists have involved themselves in this important field of study. Yet Weinreich may be regarded as the pioneer in the study of this particular subject and his book Language in Contact 1952 laid the ground work for recent advances in the field by systematizing the factors relevant to language contact and stressing the need for interdisciplinary approaches. The concept of bilingualism and multilingualism has developed into that of compound and co-ordinate bilingualism by different



writers on the subject, For example Csgood-Ervin, 1954; Fishman, 1966; Macnamara, 1967; Diller, 1967; Jakobovits, 1970.

Weinreich, however, has defined bilingualism as the 'practice of alternatively using two languages' [Weinreich 1953: 1]. He does not indicate the degree of proficiency necessary in order to be labelled 'bilingual' or 'multilingual'. On the other hand, Haugen has pointed out that bilingualism begins 'at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language' [Haugen 1953: 489]. Moreover, in his 1954 review of Weinreich's Language in Contact, Haugen's definition includes anyone who had learned to even understand a second language. Bilingualism or multilingualism in these terms denotes an ability to use two or more languages in some way or another. This could include a person proficient in one of the two or three languages and just learning the others, as well as one who has complete mastery of the two or three languages. William Mackey [1960] mentions that bilingualism is a phenomenon which may be divided into various levels of mastery. He contends that bilinguals are not equally bilingual at all times and that there is continual vacillation in the skill with which each language is used. The degree of bilingualism may vary from moment to moment, depending upon what Ervin-Trip [1963] labels 'language', 'topic' and 'listener'. In other words any bilingual or multilingual's

skills vary at any given time depending entirely upon the language used by the speaker, the topic being discussed and the person who is listening at the time.

According to Mackey how well the bilingual knows the two languages is not the issue. The real emphasis should be placed on what he does with them and when, where and with whom he uses each language and to what extent. Thus the term of bilingualism or multilingualism refers to the ability to use either language in the appropriate situation.

Co. Fishman [1968 a: 1029] has formed the view that presociolinguistic studies of multilingualism as 'multilingualism is basically unnatural and therefore some price had to be discovered, some toll had to be revealed in comparison with monolingual normality'. However, Weinreich [1953: 1] pointed out that,

'those instances of deviation from the norms of either language, which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact . . . it is these phenomena of speech, and their impact on the norms of either language exposed to contact, that invite the interest of the linguist'.

Interference then is the linguistic 'price' of multilingualism. Most linguists [of various schools and approaches] have generally considered actual linguistic usage of no real interest. The notion that only the ideal structure of the



pure code underlying speech usage and speech corpora deserves attention has especially dominated recent work in generative-transformational grammar. This methodological limitation is due to the emphasis in linguistics on the abstract structure of language, which is concerned with the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his own language, his competence. In this view multilingualism is of direct interest to linguistics only insofar as deviation in the speech of multilinguals may shed light on a pure code.

Chomsky [1965: 3] has pointed out that

'Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community who knows its language perfectly, and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors [random or characteristic] in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance'.

By performance is meant 'the actual use of language in concrete situations' [Chomsky 1965: 4].

Competence clearly underlies performance, but performance will be affected by other considerations than competence alone: slips of the tongue, memory, the human life span, the influence of drugs, and many other factors will all play a part in performance. But these are all non-linguistic phenomena, and it is the task of the linguist, who can only directly observe performance, to specify the content of the

native speaker's competence, masked or overlaid as it is by other factors external to linguistics. However, it is the study of non-linguistic factors which leads us to the study of sociolinguistics. The general view has been that speech communities are homogeneous. So, if we take this theory as a framework to study language, then there is no room left for variation in language or language interplay. We know language does not exist in a vacuum but is used by speakers in the course of social interaction. If this is the only theory pursued one is left with the image of 'an abstract and isolated individual, not, except contingently, of a person in a social world' [Hymes 1966: 3].

### 2.1.3 Sociolinguistics

The aim of sociolinguistics is to clarify the understanding of human capacity for the appropriate use of language.

Fishman [1970: 16] has set the goal and the aim of sociolinguistics as communicative competence as follows: 'the rules that native members of speech communities implicitly grasp and that constitute their native member sociolinguistic behaviour'. However, Dittmar [1976: 127] mentions that 'the name "sociolinguistic" does not appear until 1952 in a work by Haver C Currie, whose intention was to encourage investigation into the relation between speech behaviour and social status'. So, sociolinguistics



is complementary to linguistics but not exhaustive of the performance factors excluded from linguistics by Chomsky. If linguistics aims at the understanding of the human capacity for language acquisition, then the sociolinguistics must aim at the understanding of the human capacity for appropriate use of language. Linguistic variation is a universal feature of language use, and it is obvious that no normal speaker speaks the same at all times. The language varieties used by an individual comprise his linguistic repertoire. Sociolinguistics may study the language of individuals or of groups of people.

That branch of sociolinguistics which deals with individuals or small groups is called micro-sociolinguistics and that branch concerned with wider contexts, let us say speech communities, is called macrosociolinguistics.

However, Fishman [1970: 28] has defined a speech community as 'one all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use'. This redefinition, for a speech community, is felt to be very necessary in order to get away from the superficial notion of the speech community as a homogeneous group of people all of whom speak the same language, in which one would be focussing on code rather than on society. Hymes [1972b:54] has defined the speech community as a group of speakers 'sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of at least one linguistic variety'.

Speakers in a speech community then possess at least one language in common and the rules that govern basic communicative functions of these languages are shared by all of them. Moreover, the speakers do not need to use the same linguistic forms at all times and in the same type of situations. However, Cumperz (1969: 453) has defined a linguistic community as 'a social group . . . held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weakness in the lines of communication'.

Bloomfield's definition of a speech community was very wide: 'a group of people who interact by means of speech'.

Ferguson does not believe in the homogeneity of a speech community, and this is due to the fact that all speech communities as all individuals display linguistic variation. The language varieties in use in a community comprise the linguistic repertoire of the community. With communities, as with individuals, the language varieties in use may be varieties of one language or of more than one. For Dittmar (1976: 103 - 107) 'speech communities are, however, rarely homogeneous in most cases, they are composed of varieties which are connected with the speech community as a whole by a number of shared social norms; at the time they reflect historically-based discrepancies determined by differences of interest and region'. However, Dittmar, also, has pointed out that the notion of speech community is difficult to define because definitions always depend on the interest of a



particular case study. Therefore he mentions that Switzerland may be considered as one speech community in spite of the fact that this country consists of more than three different ethnic groups, speaking different languages and on the grounds that it has integrated these different languages into the force field of national interests. The obstacles and barriers that do exist could be overcome by supra-regional communicative networks (radio, television) and by bilingual or trilingual education. On the other hand, he viewed the opinion that it is possible to class all speakers of Italian in Switzerland as a speech community despite the fact that they are not all of them the same nationality, but on the basis that they all belong to one linguistically continuous geographical area. Therefore, there is no clear division between micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics, since if we want to arrive at the linguistic situation in a community, it is necessary to deal with language behaviour of individuals, likewise, the language behaviour of individuals can be understood only in terms of community norms of communicative appropriateness.

Macro-sociolinguistic studies of language variation have shown that the concepts developed on the micro-level are applicable in wider contexts as well. However, Labov's research on the English of New York City in 1966 serves to make this notion clearer. Labov developed the notion of the 'linguistic variable' by which he means the isolation of



language variants which are usually of non-standard nature, and its correlation to levels of carefulness and casualness of a particular interaction and to measures of socio-economic characteristics of the group that uses it. By showing this language continuum formed by phonological or grammatical variable, Labov has challenged previous models of linguistic theories that have maintained that variation in language was largely 'free variation' among several dialects spoken by the speakers. Labov has been able to prove that New York City is a single speech community, and not a collection of speakers living side by side and borrowing occasionally from each other's dialects. Labov [1966: 7] has pointed out that 'subjective evaluations of native New Yorkers show a remarkable uniformity, in sharp contrast to the wide range of response from speakers who were raised in other regions'. Greenfield and Fishman [1971] have pointed out that the analysis of three variables [the person with whom the bilingual is speaking, the location of the speech encounter, and the topic that is being discussed] can give a very accurate picture of the actual language situation within a speech community.

The topic of interest for macro-sociolinguistics is the linguistic situation, and this was pointed out clearly by Ferguson [1963: 309] when he defined the linguistic situation as 'the total configuration of language use at a given time and place, including such data as how many and what kinds of

language are spoken in the area by how many people, under what circumstances, and what the attitudes and beliefs about languages held by the members of the community are'.

However, Dittmar [1976: 107] distinguishes four forms of linguistic variety which can be further differentiated as the need arises, and these varieties are, standard variety, regional variety, social variety, functional variety. Moreover, Ellis-Ure [1969] have mentioned that 'how we talk or write, what kind of language we use, depends not only on what we are talking about but on the use to which we are putting the language and other circumstances of the 'immediate situation of utterance' '.

The determination and specification of the circumstances under which a language variety is used is an area of present theoretical concern in sociolinguistics.

The problem arises from the fact that language behaviour is one fact of human behaviour, and there is no adequate analytical framework of human behaviour. A number of factors have been shown to vary with language use, but the relationship of these factors has yet to be satisfactorily formulated.

#### 2.1.4 Speech events

However, the basic unit of data in sociolinguistics is the speech event, a segment of language use comprising

one or more speech acts [utterances]. Many suggestions have been made for the analysis of a speech event into its component parts.

Ervin-Trip [1968: 192] has suggested setting [locale, situation], participants [sender, receiver, audience], topic, functions, form [channel, code, sociolinguistic variants, non-linguistic vocal signals] and the values held by the participants about each of these.

Another classification is that introduced by Hymes [1968: 110] who suggested sender, receiver, message form, channel, code, topic and setting as component parts of speech event. Another factor is the function of speech event, for which Hymes proposes seven types including such categories as expressive and directive. These factors may be considered as operational constructs. They were developed in micro-sociolinguistics, but as was stated above, are used productively in macro-sociolinguistics as well.

Some of these constructs, however, will be discussed below very briefly.

#### 2.1.4.1 Code

Code is one of the most important variable factors in a speech event [or linguistic situation]. It is the systematic covariation of the code with the other factors which is of basic interest to sociolinguistics.



Dittmar [1975: 10] has mentioned that Bernstein's concept of sociolinguistic code 'points to the social structuring of meanings and to their diverse but related contextual linguistic realisations'. Moreover, Bernstein intends the sociolinguistic codes to be understood as linguistic planning strategies which having been conveyed by the social structure on the level of actual speech, are realised systematically as speech form, i.e. relatively independent of the individual contexts. However, Dittmar has defined the speech codes as 'verbal strategies, which as a function of social relations have correlates on the linguistic and on the verbal planning level' [ibid]. The speech codes become manifest in 'elaborated' and 'restricted' speech forms.

The nature of the code is central to linguistics, but marginal to sociolinguistics except for the fact of its distinctiveness from other language varieties.

Sociolinguistic studies of free 'variation' in phonology are illustrative of this. Language varieties are not considered per se, but are considered to be defined by a certain 'range and frequency of realisations of particular phonetic and syntactic' units, and it is these bits of language, which operate linguistic variation, which are considered [Fishman 1968 a: 1034].

Fischer [1958] has pointed out the non-randomness of linguistic variation and this became obvious to him while

he was working on a course of psychological study of children in a New England community. He found that the alternation in the participle ending 'ing/in' was closely related with some factors such as topic, sex, class, and interlocutor [Fischer in Burling 1970: 97]. This approach is refined in the work of Labov, who has pointed out that phonological variation can be 'a sensitive index of many other social processes' [Labov 1968: 240]. He has developed the concept of linguistic variable, a phonological index lending itself to quantitative analysis. One interest of sociolinguistics with regard to codes has been the definition of types of language varieties. A useful distinction has been made between dialect, a language variety distinguished according to user, and register, a language variety distinguished according to use [Halliday 1968: 149]. Two features of codes which have been utilised in these definitions are language distance and manner of acquisition. By language distance is meant the whole differences between two language varieties.

#### 2.1.4.2 Participants

The participants involved in a speech event usually consist of the sender [speaker], receiver [hearer] and audience. Audience include those hearers who are normally not the intended receivers and may be considered as part of the setting rather than as participants. The relevant features of the participants are generally of two types, demographic attributes and role relationships. Demographic attributes



commonly considered are age, sex, occupation, socio-economic class, ethnic background and level of education.

Gumperz [1988: 403] has defined roles in sociolinguistics as 'modes of acting allotted to individuals within a society', and he gives them a central place in his analysis. Therefore, it could be said that individuals as well as communities have role repertoires. Role relationships have been sub-classified as situational/non-situational and personal/transactional. Non-situational role relationships are defined by inherent features of the participants, such as father-son. Situational role relationships have situation as an additional characteristic, as doctor-patient [on the assumption that such kind of relationship obtains for example in a doctor's surgery during office hours, but not on the sports ground]. The terms 'personal' and 'transactional' refer to interaction types, defined by the degree to which the participants roles govern their interaction. Transactional interaction is typically more formal and invariable. These interaction types can serve to characterise roles and role relationships, for example, friend-friend is personal, telephone operator-caller is transactional, and doctor-patient may be both personal and transactional.

#### 2.1.4.3 Setting

With regard to setting, there is considerable variation in terminology. This variation is due to some extent to the



similarity of the linguistic concept of context of situation used by Firth [1957: 13] and widely covering 'whole stretches of personal biography and cultural history'. Therefore, it is found very necessary to refine this concept of context in order to suit the sense and the topic of sociolinguistics. However, Hymes [1938: 112] has avoided the term of context for this reason and used 'setting', 'scene' and 'situation' as alternative terms for this important factor. Moreover, Ervin-Trip [1938: 123] uses setting to include locale and situation. By locale is meant the time and place of speech event; situations are 'standard behaviour patterns' such as a family breakfast, a faculty meeting, a party.

Fishman [1968 b: 970] on the other hand has viewed the situation as a higher-level construct defined by the locale and the role relationships of the participants.

#### 2.1.4.4 Channel

The channels usually distinguished are spoken and written. Nevertheless, there are some other channels relevant in certain communities, such as drumming, whistling, gesture, etc. as a content-bearing alternative to speech, and therefore may be regarded as channels.

#### 2.1.4.5 Function

By function is meant either the motive that lies behind a speech act or the purpose that it serves. Therefore,

Ervin-Trip [1933: 195] has pointed out that the difference between function and topic is quite similar to that between latent and manifest. On the other hand, function may be defined as 'the effect on the sender of his action'.

Hymes [in Giglioli 1972: 38] lists the following types of function 'expressive, directive, contact [phatic], metalinguistic, contextual, poetic [stylistic], referential and metacommunicative'. His approach derived mainly from the study of stylistics, and in particular from Jakobson 1960.

Function may also be used with regard to language varieties, referring to purpose served; functions in this sense may be social mobility, higher education, prestige, solidarity, etc.

#### 2.1.4.3 Topic

Topic refers to the subject matter or content of speech.

Dittmar [1973: 150] mentions that 'the topic is a fundamental variable in interaction, as for a speaker a change of topic often coincides with a change of code'. Therefore, Ervin-Trip [1934] regards it as characteristic of bilingual persons. However, Hymes [1968: 112] has proposed the ethnographic approach of eliciting folk taxonomies of topics, i.e. the range of possible answers to the question, what are they talking about?

However, Burling [1970: 37] has pointed out that in Fischer's [1952] study of -ing/in' alteration, topical distribution was evidenced by the occurrence of -ing with 'visit', 'correct', 'read', 'interest', but 'in' with 'swim', 'chew' and 'hit'. Moreover, Ervin-Trip [1952: 205] in her study of Japanese 'war brides' in America indicates

'that some topics are more closely connected with life in the United States, others with Japan. For example, 'love', 'marriage' and 'kitchen' have American associations for these women. On the other hand 'mushroom' and 'fish' and 'New Year's Day' are strongly associated with Japanese life'.

#### 2.1.5 Language attitudes

Language attitudes are the attitudes and beliefs which people have with regard to language varieties and their uses. In other words a language attitude is 'a subjective disposition towards a particular language and the speakers of that language' [Fishman 1970].

In many ways the understanding of language attitudes is closely related to the description of linguistic situation. On the level of data gathering, language attitudes will influence people's responses on self-report questionnaires. The obvious example is that of standard language speakers in creole situations who always deny that they use the creole, or even that it exists. The gap that this creates between reported behaviour may be conscious or unconscious, and frequently reflects community norms of appropriate usage.



Dittmar [1978: 181] has pointed out that the 'measurements of language attitudes are based on two different theoretical standpoints: the mentalists' and the behaviourists' positions'.

The obvious difference between these two approaches as pointed out by Dittmar is that the mentalists assign to attitudes a multi-layered componential structure, whereas the behaviourists consider them as uncomponential. However, in Lambert's 1967 view, attitudes consist of three components: the cognitive [knowledge], affective [evaluation] and conative [action] components, whereas for Osgood [1957] attitudes consist of only one component, which is the affective one.

Just as language behaviour is not autonomous, so language attitudes form part of complex system of attitudes in general. And attitudes toward a language variety are closely related to attitudes toward the people or group who are felt to be characterised by that variety. Fishman has always stressed the basic importance of attitudes, language and non-language, in understanding both linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour. The relation between individual and community attitudes is the same as that between individual and community behaviour. Individual attitudes reflect community attitudes, and community attitudes can only be ascertained by the study of individual attitudes. Therefore, the same conceptual framework can be used for both.

#### 2.1.6 Diglossia

The term diglossia was used first by Ferguson in 1959. In a paper published on this matter, Ferguson referred to two dialects or two languages in use in a community which were genetically related in such a way that one was the more classical and standard or literary version of the other, which was the popular colloquial speech. Ferguson says of Arabic that in addition to the primary dialects of the language [which may include a standard or regional standards] there is a divergent, highly codified (generally grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for day-to-day conversation. This high language is a variety that has an elevated function in the community and is not used in colloquial speech. Familiar speech is marked by the use of the low language.

This notion of diglossia was expanded to other types of language situations by Fishman and other writers. However, diglossia is used at present time to mean language choice related to domains of interaction.

A diglossia situation will be one in which the functions or roles of the two languages or varieties are maintained apart

because they are associated with separate values and domains of interaction.

Diglossia is found in many communities in which the speakers estimate one language more appropriate for certain types of activities or behaviours than the other. This is the case of classical/vernacular Arabic, and High German/Swiss German etc. However, the domains of interaction used for this purpose are defined by Fishman (1971: 17) as 'institutionally relevant spheres of social interaction in which certain value clusters are behaviourally implemented. Domains are similar to the sociologist's institutions, but take into account behaviour, as well as structure'.

Examples from these 'domains' may be [1] the family, [2] the neighbourhood, [3] the school, [4] the place of work, [5] the government, [6] the mosque, [7] politics, etc.

Diglossia, therefore, is a type of bilingualism in which the two languages used in the community have distinct delimited functions (Fishman, 1971).



### 2.1.7 The study of special cases

Every field has both theoretical and descriptive concerns, and the interaction of these two areas is essential to the development of the field. Case studies, however, are basically descriptive, designed to gather basic information.

The theoretical contribution lies in demonstrating the degree of variability and the range features which actually exist, and thus the level of delicacy required. This is basic to theory's descriptive contribution, the provision of an adequate and economical framework for descriptive studies, which in turn hopes to serve as a laboratory for the testing of hypotheses and generalisation. Moreover, case studies, detailed analysis of individual units, are essential to any empirical discipline. The case studies are particularly important in sociolinguistics because of the recentness of the subject on the one hand and the scarcity of investigation of the subject, at present, on the other.

This subject as Paper [1962: 3/7] has pointed out, requires 'many kinds of information that we have never been able to get, or haven't thought of getting'. This lack is felt particularly at the macro level, where even the most basic demographic data on language use is often unreliable and in many cases lacking altogether. An obvious example of this is the recentness of the discovery that relatively stable societal multilingualism is the rule rather than the

exception for most of the world. It is recognised that a 'Full-scale description of language situation . . . constitutes a useful and important body of data for social scientists of various interests' [Berry, 1970: 2; Ferguson 1926: 309].

As far as applied sociolinguistics is concerned, in particular with regard to the language-related problems of the new nations, many attempts have been made to develop 'national sociolinguistic profiles'; this certainly involves the provision of descriptive framework and shorthand notation for describing what are felt to be the relevant features of national linguistic situations [Ferguson 1926, Stewart 1938]. Moreover, some other writers such as Criper and Ladefoged [1971] have argued for the necessity of examining each level of administrative organisation separately in determining the extent of national multilingualism. However, a case study in the description of societal multilingualism involves the description of the linguistic situation in a multilingual speech community, a valid description of the linguistic repertoire of the community, and the determination of which language varieties are used by which members of the community under which circumstances.

Chapter Three3.1 The description of the project

This project will be a sociolinguistic description of the language situation in the town of Kirkuk, northeastern Iraq. The population is heterogeneous and the community, generally speaking, is either bilingual or multilingual. The overwhelming majority of inhabitants of the town belong to three language family groups: Kurdish, spoken by the Kurds, is indo-european, Arabic, spoken by the Arabs, is semitic [Greenfield proposed 'afro-Asian'], Turkmanish [Turkish], spoken by the Turkmen is Altaic. [See map in pocket].

Despite the apparently cosmopolitan nature of the town, there is strict separation between the above groups. However, my prime attention will be concerned with the use of the Kurdish language and the attitudes, the competence of its speakers in this town; reference to the other two major languages will be made and details given about them wherever necessary.

3.1.1 The linguistic situation in Kirkuk

There are several essential considerations about the present linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk that will define the scope and the nature of this project.

The first of these considerations concerns the relationships existing between these three different ethnic groups and language usage and language loyalty in the town of



Kirkuk. The second consideration relates to the attitudes of Kirkukians towards language maintenance and language shift both in intimate and formal situations, and in different societal domains.

The third and final consideration are those of the competence and extent of language usage of bilingual or multilingual speaker of Kurdish-Arabic, or Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish in this town, including the degree to which this speaker is bilingual or multilingual and the nature of this bilingualism and multilingualism in different situations.

The theoretical background will be supplied by sociolinguistics, and in particular that part of sociolinguistics which is concerned with the description of societal multilingualism. The relevant literature for this purpose has been reviewed and its application to this project will be referred to wherever necessary.

### 3.1.2 Ethnic groups and language loyalty

The first of the considerations outlined above is concerned with the relationships existing between ethnic groups and language usage and language loyalty. The ethnic group has a particular significance in clarifying the patterns of language use in Kirkuk. This is due to the fact that the ethnic group is very closely correlated with language background. In Kirkuk as well as in other parts of Iraq, the mother tongue

is a primary marker of ethnic origin. It is the Kurdish language, for example, which makes an individual a Kurd, and Kurds as a distinct ethnic group in Iraq. My task here is to find out what exactly is the nature of this relationship. Despite the strict separation between the ethnic groups of the town, continuous contact between them is something inevitable. So the attempt will be made to find out whether it is possible to find a speech community with strong ethnocentric feelings but little or no strong feelings of language loyalty. And to what extent is the concept of language loyalty applicable to Kirkukian Kurds?

On this subject, Weinreich [1958: 100] has stated that 'it is in the situation of language contact that people most easily become aware of the particularities of their language as against others, and it is there that the purity of standardised language most easily becomes the symbol of group integrity. Language loyalty breeds in contact situations just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders'. Language loyalty, then, exists primarily in bilingual or multilingual speech communities, where two or more languages exist in contrast. Of course, this does not mean at all that the concept of language loyalty does not exist in monolingual communities. On the contrary in these latter it is quite possible to have very strong emotional ties between the speakers and their own native language, but it is clear that the concept of language loyalty for these speakers is not



constantly exercised as it is in the bilingual and multilingual communities; this is because these ties are not normally in danger or threatened as in the previous case.

In my experience the Kurds entertain strong national feelings about their language and are extremely proud of it. The Kurdish nationalists in Iraq have given priority in their demands to the recognition of Kurdish as an official language in the predominantly Kurdish areas and its teaching in the schools and universities. Even those Kurds outside the area of Kurdistan, or abroad, always exert themselves to ensure that their children learn Kurdish. Kurdish is regarded as the normal language among Kurds to be used in most situations in Kirkuk, and as Kinnane [1964: 4] has pointed out, 'instruction in Arabic, Turkish, or Persian is not likely to stick when the business of daily life is conducted in Kurdish'. The use of other languages in these situations, while it does occur, is generally considered snobbish or disloyal. Above all, Kurds often do speak Kurdish when they are abroad in spite of the fact that sometimes they feel that it is inappropriate to speak in a language not known to the other people around, who may even sometimes think that they are being insulted or plotted against. Despite this, most Kurds insist on speaking Kurdish with other Kurds whatever the circumstances.



The source of this strong feeling towards language loyalty by the Kurds, in my view, is natural planned pressures from the different prestige languages in contact, and also the inhuman treatment and oppression which the Kurds have suffered, from the authorities of the different countries in which they live. Such strong feeling and loyalty from the Kurds towards Kurdish supports the contention of Fishman [1973: 43] that in modern nationalist movements the two concepts of language loyalty and ethnocentrism are intimately and essentially related, and that the single most important factor in modern nationalism is the absolute and essential need of a unique language which will express the authenticity of a speech community. It is this function of language that the nationalist of today is most interested in. It is a function of a group with a particular language. Therefore, it is the language of a speech community which becomes the single most salient factor in relating the present generation's aspirations to those of the past and maintaining their authenticity.

On the other hand Weinreich [1958: 10] has pointed out that the language loyalty and nationalistic aspirations do not necessarily have parallel goals and therefore the connection between the two cannot be taken for granted. Weinreich gave the Italian speakers of Switzerland as an example, and demonstrated that these show extraordinarily strong feelings of language loyalty without exhibiting the idea of independence

or separatism that modern militant nationalism or ethnocentrism does. This, in my view, can be explained very easily, in the light of the fact that all citizens in Switzerland enjoy equal rights, so that the Italian speakers of that country do not feel that their language is in danger or threatened; there is no reason for Swiss Italian speakers to seek independence or separatism. Bearing Weinreich's opinion in mind, one must also remember the observation of Streib (1974), discussing modern Irish nationalism and language attitudes, that the Irish people exhibit very strong feelings of nationalism and strong attitudes towards preserving and maintaining Gaelic, but that nevertheless in practice only a very small proportion of the population of Ireland actually uses this language in their everyday conversations. Nonetheless there is no doubt whatsoever that the overwhelming majority of present day nationalist movements regard attitudes toward language loyalty as an integral part of their movements.

The obvious examples of those correlations between nationalism and language loyalty are the French of Quebec and the Kurds of Iraq. However, although the generalisations on any possible combinations of correlation between the two factors must be avoided, nevertheless ethnocentrism or nationalism and language loyalty are closely related in speech communities.



### 3.1.3 The Kirkukian speech community's attitudes

As far as the second consideration is concerned, the attitudes of Kirkukians towards language maintenance and language shift can clearly be explained in the light of Weinreich's works on the subject. Weinreich [1958: 68] has defined language shift as 'the change from habitual use of one language to that of another': it is quite obvious that this kind of shift will cause some distortion when it occurs in any specific speech community. The factors which cause such kinds of change are either social, economic, political, geographical or psychological, and it is these factors which are of prime interest to the investigator in the analysis of language shift.

Language shift usually starts wherever there are prolonged culture contacts of any sort between the speakers of different languages. As Fishman [1966] has pointed out, language shift depends entirely on the social value and the prestige of the languages concerned.

Language shift is of two kinds either 'partial' or 'complete'. By 'partial' shift is meant that the mother tongue occurs only within specific societal domains of speech community. The best examples of partial language shift have been observed within the different immigrant groups who went to the United States of America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Fishman [1966] has noted,



at least during the first and second generations of these immigrant groups the mother tongue was entirely maintained in the domains of home and often in Church and school, whereas in the more formal domains a shift was rapidly and easily made to English. However, by complete shift of language is meant that the mother tongue of a speech community has completely been replaced and supplanted by a new language. A very good example of this is the replacement of Amerindian mother tongues by English in the United States of America. However, the direction of the shift is closely related to the concept of partial shift and the combinations of various factors such as sociological, political, economic and psychological have a great influence on the direction of the shift. However, some linguists have come to the conclusion that it is the language of the learner that is influenced, not the language that he learns [see for example Windish in Haugen (1969: 370)]. This statement is based on some empirical studies of the language of immigrants to the United States of America; it has been found that it was the mother tongue of these immigrants that were strongly influenced by English, whereas American English (with the exception of certain number of lexical items) has resisted any significant influence from these immigrant languages. It must be borne in mind that this statement does not imply whatsoever that the bilingual's own version of his second language will not be influenced by his mother tongue. On the

contrary, on the phonological level, for example, the transference of certain phonological elements from the mother tongue to the language being learned is quite obvious to most observers. Moreover, the traces of lexical borrowing made to adapt the new language's morphological constraints can be followed to a remarkable extent. Syntactical imports to the language being learned are rare, though not impossible.

As far as the Kurdish language is concerned, borrowings of a great number of lexical items from Arabic, Persian and Turkish as loanwords are quite obvious. These loanwords are assimilated to the phonetic sound classes and the phonological patterns of the Kurdish language. Synchronically, therefore, they are no longer recognisable by their morphology as loans. Similarly, both Arabic and Turkmanish in Kirkuk have borrowed considerable numbers of Kurdish words as loanwords.

As far as I have observed, bilingual speakers of Kurdish and Arabic or Kurdish and Turkmanish show no phonological influence of these languages upon their Kurdish; on the other hand it is quite obvious that their Arabic or Turkmanish are, to a considerable extent, influenced by Kurdish phonology. This phenomenon is entirely in agreement with the statement of Weinreich [1958: 85] that 'the most natural direction of influence is generally thought to be from the mother-tongue upon the other tongue'.



Haugen [1969] has pointed out that language maintenance and language shift are almost always strongly influenced by attitudes of in-group cohesiveness, such as nationalism, and that the language of those living in urban areas tends to be more amenable to language shift than those living in rural areas. Above all a language of greater 'prestige' will replace a language of less 'prestige' when the two languages are in prolonged contact.

As far as the last item of the Haugen's statement is concerned, it seems to me that it cannot be applied to the case of Kurdish. In spite of the fact that Arabic was (and is) the official language of the country and the Islamic religion, and similarly that Turkish was the language of the Ottoman empire, for long the ruler of Iraq and Kurdistan, - in other words that they were the languages of greater prestige - the Kurdish language has nevertheless survived and kept its characteristics as an independent language to a remarkable extent. Indeed, the case of the Kurdish language supports the claim by Fishman [1966: 427] that each speech community undergoing language shift must be studied and analysed independently as a unique community. This being so, generalisations will only lead to the possibility of error.

In this project the language shift that is obviously taking place in Kirkuk will be analysed and discussed with reference to the situation that the Kurdish bilingual or



multilingual finds himself in [intimate or formal] and in the different societal domains which have already been mentioned above.

#### 3.1.4 Bilingualism, multilingualism and linguistic competence

As far as the third and final consideration is concerned, Weinreich's [1953] concept of bilingualism as the 'practice of alternatively using two languages' has been developed later by Fishman [1966], Jakobovits [1970] and others, into that of 'compound and coordinate bilingualism. By compound bilingualism is meant that the bilingual depends upon one linguistic system while using another. On the other hand, if a bilingual maintains a complete separation between his languages, relying upon the other language for neither linguistic nor cultural assistance, he is said to be a coordinate bilingual. However, the distinction between these two types of bilingualism is of a great value, because it helps in describing more specifically and exactly the total communicative competence of an individual. In a study of this nature it is the individual's communicative competence that is of prime interest.

Dittmar [1976: 162] has defined communicative competence as 'the ability of individuals to communicate with one another under situationally and normatively defined conditions [linguistic, psychological, social and pragmatic in nature]'. Hymes [1974: 75] in a discussion of communicative competence, elaborates this.

'Linguistic theory treats of competence in terms of the child's acquisition of the ability to produce, understand and discriminate any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language. A child from whom any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language might come with equal likelihood would be of course a social monster. Within the social matrix in which it acquires a system of grammar a child acquires also a system of its use, regarding persons, places, purposes, other modes of communication, etc. all the components of communicative events, together with the attitudes and beliefs regarding them. There also develop patterns of the sequential use of language in conversation, address, standard routines, and the like. In such acquisition resides the child's sociolinguistic competence (or more broadly, communicative competence) its ability to participate in its society as not only a speaking, but also a communicating member. What children so acquire, an integrated theory of sociolinguistic description must be able to describe'.

The native speaker's sociolinguistic competence helps him to decide which variety to use in different social situations, in order to function effectively in his community. Many sociolinguists - Haugen [1972], Sankoff [1972], Ervin-Trip [1972], Hymes [1974], Fishman [1971] - have made clear that the following factors must be taken into account in discussing this communicative competence.

First it is obvious that the bilingual or multilingual has within his neurological network a competence in the phonology, lexicon, syntax and semantics of his two or three varieties.



The second factor is the channel, that is to say the manner or manners by means of which the code is transmitted by speech, writing or gesture.

The third factor is the code itself, that is, the variations that are available to the speaker, such variations being dialects, styles or registers. With regard to this last factor, one must take into account the bilingual's or multilingual's ability to control the proper rules of alteration, sequencing and co-occurrence.

The fourth factor is the topic, that is, what it is the speaker is able to talk about and what it is he is able to understand.

The fifth and final factor is the setting, that is, how well the speaker is able to function linguistically in various societal domains and situations.

As has been said earlier, what is of prime interest and importance is the communicative competence of the speakers of this speech community as this competence is reflected in the degree of bilingualism or multilingualism shown by these speakers and the location of that bilingualism or multilingualism. However, the term 'degree of bilingualism' is certainly not clear and unambiguous, and could lead to any manner and number of interpretations. In the present study, by degree of Kurdish/Arabic, or Kurdish/Turkmanish bilingualism,



is meant the total amount of everyday speech in each of several different societal domains (domains of home, school, work, neighbourhood, mosque, etc.) which the speaker prefers to carry on in Kurdish.

Fishman [1966: 432] has stated that 'bilinguals vary with respect to the number and overlap of domains in which they habitually employ each of their languages'. This kind of statement is not to deny that there is within the bilingual speaker a certain competence which governs his performance in any given bilingual speech encounter, and it is this kind of competence which will lead the speakers to use one language in preference to another, depending on any number of variables. However, for the purpose of this project and this definition, these variables will be the person with whom the bilingual is speaking, the location of the speech encounter, and the topic that is being discussed. Greenfield and Fishman [1971] have suggested that any analysis of the three variables mentioned above will give a very accurate picture of the actual language situation within speech community. Attention will therefore be focussed on these three variables.

Different writers of course [Weinreich, 1953, Haugen, 1956 and others] have employed different numbers of domains for the purpose of their studies and analysis. Nevertheless I shall follow Greenfield and Fishman [1971], and the domains used will be: home, neighbourhood, school, mosque, work,

traditional and national festivals held on occasions<sup>[1]</sup> and politics. Haugen [1972: 329] has given different domains, different features and pointed out 'this marks the fact that the plus status variety [H] is used by the government, in the schools, by persons of high social and economic rank, or by city dwellers, while the minus status variety [L] is not used by one or all of these groups'. However, the term 'formal' will be used for the plus status variety and 'informal' for the minus status variety. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the formal variety may change to the informal according to the topic, the persons spoken to, the location of the speech encounter. For example, topics such as 'How children should behave' will have an informal feature, whereas those such as 'How a good Muslim should act' have a formal feature. Likewise, if the bilingual is speaking to his parents or to his intimate friends, such individual will be given an informal feature, whereas people such as his teacher, his shaikh, will be given a formal feature. Similarly, a co-worker who rates a formal feature may be given an informal feature at a festival or at a social gathering. What is more, in normal sociolinguistic situations, language choice in the bilingual may be either conscious or unconscious. Although the phenomenon itself of switching to either language or variety is never random, under certain circumstances the individual may nevertheless not be able to control his switching.

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[1] such as Nawroz [the new year, which takes place every year on 21 March] and the Islamic feasts, etc.

As Blom and Gumperz [1972] have remarked, even when speakers can recognise the social meaning of switching, they may not be able to control it consciously when engaged in bilingual conversations. The role-relationships are predetermined and the necessity to choose either variety is inherent. The very nature of the relationship between the interlocutors and the topic under discussion prevent the speaker from controlling his language alternation. However, any overlapping between these may well be due to a certain sense of linguistic insecurity with the result that the speaker's concept of his role or roles is unclear, and consequently so may be his choice of language.



## Chapter Four

### 4.1 Methodology and purpose of the study

This study is a sociolinguistic description of the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk, north eastern Iraq. The methodology used and the purpose of the study will be described fully in this chapter.

#### 4.1.1 Methodology: procedure and techniques

In this section the procedure followed and the techniques used to obtain the sociolinguistic picture of the linguistic situation in this town will be discussed in detail. The data for this purpose has been collected by means of randomly distributed questionnaire and through interviews with the inhabitants of the town.

The methodology used in this study would approach more, but on larger scale, the 'ethnography of communication' type of research, in which one works with groups of subjects similar to those used in large-scale sociolinguistic surveys, such as the projects developed and reported by J Fishman in 1971. The instrument which was used in this study follows very closely that devised and used by Fishman and his associates in their survey of bilingualism in Jersey City. The portions of their methods adopted were modified to suit the particular sociolinguistic characteristics of the Kirkuk speech community and the purpose of this study. Sociolinguistics

however, is interdisciplinary in its origins and interests, and therefore in its methodology also. The main source disciplines have been either linguistics, anthropology or sociology. In a study of this nature, each has its contribution to make. Linguistics provides the identification, description and comparison of language varieties; anthropology shows the observation and description of how the language is used in different situations and contexts; and finally sociology establishes the statistical significance for observed trends and relationships. In other words, it establishes the social structures which can be correlated with linguistic data.

In this field of investigation the source of data should be respondents in a defined area interviewed by the researcher himself. Many of the studies, however, done in the past, particularly pre-Labovian works, have included texts, elicitations and the intuitions of the researchers which have been freely utilised, but data from face to face interaction from everyday life activities have seldom been mentioned. As Labov has pointed out,

'we find linguists who spend all of their time analysing their intuitions about language as others work with texts or laboratory experimentation . . . but linguistics can no more ignore the social behaviour of speakers of language than chemical theory can ignore the observed properties of the elements'.

[Labov 1970: 25]

One should also mention that some research in socio-linguistics has been carried out only with a sample of friends and associates or with students as subjects. In some cases, conclusions have been based on just a taped interview of one speaker. It was planned, however, that the author would be assisted by at least three speakers of the languages concerned in the town but fortunately this approach was rejected by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research [Scholarship Section], Baghdad, for financial reasons. The survey was therefore carried out by the researcher alone. Incompatibility of methods of data collection were thus avoided. The interview technique employed provides a broadly based and reliable outline of language use in the community. The anthropological and linguistic techniques were employed to supplement the survey-derived data in various ways. In the first place it is not feasible to include questions on all potentially significant variables in an interview schedule to be administered to a broad sample. It is also necessary to assess the reliability of the survey results and to clarify the meaning of self-report responses. As Joshua Fishman observes in regard to questionnaires used in censuses, 'it is easier to ask a person about his language behaviour than to gather sufficient data in order to extract the regularities in such behaviour from the data alone. It is necessary to question the reliability and validity of self-reported data' [Fishman 1971: 3].



In the course of the present survey, however, interesting data arise several times when a respondent in answering one question contradicted some affirmation he had made earlier, as in the case of some Turkmenians claiming to use Arabic at home in speaking to their children: an exaggeration, at best, only partly true, for they used Turkmanish in the investigator's presence. Language census reports then may be very different from the actual language behaviour of the speakers. Generally, speaker's written reports of language use are open to query. For example, if one posts a questionnaire to Kurdish parents and ask them if their children ever speak Arabic or Turkmanish with their friends, many will deny they do so; however, this is not true. One has to take into account the complexity of a language situation before formulating judgement on endangered languages. The conclusions of some studies done in the past, lacking such realities, may well be misleading.

Heterogeneity is the rule in the language of everyday life, and so ways must be found to elicit this heterogeneity other than through the language-assessment questionnaire. One must think, however, not of two or three 'ideal' languages in contact but in terms of the ways in which speakers exploit the totality of their language to fulfill certain functions. Labov has pointed out that 'Monogeneity, if it existed, would be dysfunctional. Speakers in every community switch with extraordinary facility from one dialect or language to the

other and every speaker possesses a range of styles governed by the social context' [Labov 1971: 456].

Personal interviewing by the researcher on the other hand allows many informal observations to be made, in particular permits the elicitation of alternate responses, especially when the researcher is thoroughly familiar with the languages under investigation. The verbal style of the interviewer is an important factor in obtaining relevant data. In each interview, to create rapport with the respondents, this investigator used his own judgement on which language should be used. Thus in using the anthropological techniques an attempt was made to observe activities representative of the whole range of life in Kirkuk. This included attendance at special events as well as everyday activities: traditional ceremonies, traditional Muslim religious observances, school classes and special activities, daily life in the market, home and community. Moreover, the interviews were carried out with selected residents of Kirkuk, including persons with special knowledge of certain aspects of Kirkuk life, such as local notables, mullas, religious shaikhs, head teachers of schools, etc. However, the main purpose of using the linguistic methods was to attempt to determine the extent and nature of differences in the language of different social classes, levels of education, age groups and sexes which may be regarded as an indication of the direction and nature of change in the language [if there is any].



The linguistic survey of the town of Kirkuk itself was started on 1 February 1972 and continued for almost four months until nearly the end of May, when the background information on linguistic situation in Kirkuk had been fully collected. The questionnaire for this purpose was prepared in advance and the interview schedules were planned to be translated into Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish. Nonetheless, only the Arabic form was duplicated for two reasons: firstly, to avoid misunderstandings with the Arabic-orientated local authorities, and secondly because Arabic, the language of education and of Islam, can be understood, read and written by all the educated, and understood by a great many uneducated. The status of the other local languages is different. Although only the Arabic form was duplicated, the interviews were in practice conducted in the three main languages of the town. A cassette recorder was also used on occasion. Sufficient domains, samples and percentages of the population of Kirkuk have been chosen for this purpose [see Chapter Five]. However, prior to actual survey a preliminary pilot survey took place, followed by interviews with speakers of different languages in use in the town. The survey was conducted as follows:

#### 4.1.2 Comicoiles

About 600 houses were chosen at random, and two to five houses of each block were picked out also at random. The



investigator had intended that all occupants of age ten and over in each of the houses should be interviewed, but in practice it proved impossible to do so. This was because only one or two persons at the most in each house were prepared to be interviewed and the rest of the family either refused or were not allowed to do so by the head of the family. Some families, however, refused entirely to be interviewed. This was due to the abnormal political situation in the towns; families of different ethnic groups have a reserved attitude toward others. This was so after disagreement arose between the Iraqi government and the leader of the Kurdish nationalists' movement over the exclusion of Kirkuk from the Kurdish autonomy declared on 11 March 1970. Another reason for this abnormal situation was the immigration of several thousand Arabs from other provinces (mostly with little or no education) into the town. This new influx has helped to break down the social life of the town to a remarkable extent. In this atmosphere of suspicion, questions may be unwelcome. Nevertheless, the local knowledge and the social characteristics of the interviewer will help to overcome this reticence to a considerable degree. However, an informal atmosphere, a relaxed situation and a real care in verbal style were needed to achieve relevant data. It was nevertheless noticeable that Question 11 [What language do you now speak best?] proved extremely sensitive, inducing hesitation, particularly among non-Arabs. The investigator several times found it

insufficient to explain the scientific and non-political nature of the enquiry: he had to swear to it on the Quran. However, carrying out a linguistic survey in a town such as Kirkuk, especially under present circumstances is a very difficult task. Therefore, the skill of the investigator must be at work always in obtaining reliable data in such a sensitive situation.

It seems important to state here that people who belong to working class groups, especially uneducated speakers from different ethnic groups, were the most receptive to the study. Residents who are experiencing upward mobility such as government officials, teachers, or others who own businesses in the area, particularly among Turkmen, were very conscious of their speech, especially their use of languages, particularly Kurdish and Turkmanish. Generally speaking, the Kurds and Arabs of the town were more receptive to the study than Turkmen.

#### 4.1.3 Schools

20 schools were chosen at random and one or two classes of final grades (final year of intermediate or secondary school - for details about the education system in Iraq see Chapter 1.1.3), were chosen at random too. The questionnaire was then distributed among the students after all the questions of the questionnaire and the aim of the study had been explained and clarified. The school students

were asked to answer the questions without any interference from each other. The questionnaire was extensive enough to cover the most significant aspects of the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk and precise enough to allow a detailed statistical analysis of the findings (see attached questionnaire).

The data obtained from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk has been subjected to computer analysis and the results obtained will be analysed and described in the following chapter.



The linguistic survey of Kirkuk  
Questionnaire

- Q.1      Where were you born?
1.      In the town of Kirkuk.
  2.      In the province of Kirkuk.
  3.      In some other province.
- Q.2      How old are you?
1.      Less than 21 years.
  2.      Between 21 - 40 years.
  3.      Between 41 - 50 years.
  4.      Between 51 - 60 years.
  5.      Between 61 - 70 years.
  6.      Over 70 years.
- Q.3      What do you do for a living?
1.      Government official.
  2.      Teacher.
  3.      Industrial worker.
  4.      Self-employed.
  5.      Retired.
  6.      Housewife.
  7.      Student.
  8.      Unemployed.
- Q.4      How long have you lived in Kirkuk?
1.      Up to 10 years.
  2.      Between 11- 20 years.

3. 21 - 25 years.
4. Over 25 years.
5. Whole life.

Q.5 Where did you live before?

1. In the town of Kirkuk.
2. In the province of Kirkuk (not in the town)
3. In the northern provinces.
4. In the capital and central provinces.
5. In the southern provinces.

Q.6 What language did you first speak as a child?

1. Arabic.
2. Turkmanish.
3. Kurdish.
4. Other.

Q.7 What language did you first read and write with as a child?

1. Arabic.
2. Turkmanish.
3. Kurdish.
4. Other.

Q.8 Which language has been used most frequently in your home since you were six years old?

1. Arabic.
2. Turkmanish.
3. Kurdish.
4. Other.

Q.9 Which dialect of your mother tongue are you most familiar with?

- |               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Arabic     | 1. standard  |
|               | 2. dialect   |
| 2. Turkmanish |              |
| 3. Kurdish    | 1. Sorani    |
|               | 2. Kurmanji. |

Q.10 Are you able to 'yes' 'no'

1. understand Arabic?
2. read and write Arabic?
3. speak Arabic?
4. understand Turkmanish?
5. read and write Turkmanish?
6. speak Turkmanish?
7. understand Kurdish?
8. read and write Kurdish?
9. speak Kurdish?

Q.11 What language do you now speak best?

1. Arabic.
2. Turkmanish.
3. Kurdish.

Q.12 Which language do you usually use at

- |    |                                  |   |
|----|----------------------------------|---|
| a. | home, for conversation with your | <u>Arabic</u> <u>Turk.</u> <u>Kurd.</u> |
| 1. | father?                          |   |
| 2. | mother?                          |   |



Arabic Turk. Kurd.

3. brothers and sisters?

4. husband/wife?

5. friends?

6. children?

b. home for writing letters and private  
correspondence?

c. work with your co-workers?

d. work with your employer superiors?

Q.12 Which language and dialect do you  
usually use

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>Kurd.</u>
<u>S</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>S</u> <u>K</u>

1. For conversation with your  
friends?2. For conversation with your  
teacher?

a. at school

i. in the classroom?

ii. outside the classroom?

b. outside school?

3. For conversation at festivals  
and on national occasions (such  
as Nawruz , etc.) withi. young male friends and  
acquaintances?ii. young female friends and  
acquaintances?

		Arabic	Turk.	Kurd.
		<u>S</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>S</u> <u>K</u>
iii.	old male friends and acquaintances?			
iv.	old female friends and acquaintances?			
4.	for conversation at political party meetings?			
5.	for conversation at traditional Islamic feasts with			
i.	young male friends and acquaintances?			
ii.	young female friends and acquaintances?			
iii.	old male friends and acquaintances?			
iv.	old female friends and acquaintances?			
6.	for conversation with your neighbours?			
7.	for conversation in the market?			
8.	for conversation with men of religion, such as mullas and shaikhs?			
9.	for conversation in the mosque before and after prayer?			
10.	for conversation about topics such as			
i.	poetry?			

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>Kurd.</u>
<u>A</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>A</u> <u>K</u>

- ii. literature?
- iii. science?
- iv. arts?
- v. religion?
- vi. politics?
- vii. sport?
- viii. professions?

Q.14 If you speak Arabic, Kurdish and Turkmanish Fluently,

- a. do you intend to use 'yes' 'no'
- 1. always Arabic with Kurdish and Turkmanish speakers?
  - 2. always Turkmanish with Arabic and Kurdish speakers?
  - 3. always Kurdish with Arabic and Turkmanish speakers?
- b. or do you use some of these languages on certain occasions and topics?

Q.15 What language do you most like to Arabic. Turk. Kurd. speak?  
Why?

Q.16 What language do you not like to speak?  
Why?



'yes'

'no'

Q. 17 Do you wish to speak always in Arabic?

Why?

Q.18 Do you wish to speak always in

Turkmanish?

Why?

Q.19 Do you wish to speak always in

Kurdish?

Why?

Q.20 Do you wish your children could speak

more fluently

1. Arabic?

2. Turkmanish?

3. Kurdish?

Why?

Q.21 Do you think there should be more TV 'yes' 'no'

and radio programmes in Kirkuk,

1. in Kurdish?

which kind of programmes?

2. in Turkmanish?

which kind of programmes?

3. in Arabic?

which kind of programmes?

Q.22 Would you like to have your children

to be taught and educated in Arabic only?

'yes'

'no'

Q.23 Do you think there are people who speak

1. better Arabic than you?  
who are they?
2. better Kurdish than you?  
who are they?
3. better Turkmanish than you?  
who are they?

Q.24 Which language do you think is more  
difficult to learn

1. Arabic for the speaker of  
Turkmanish and Kurdish?
2. Turkmanish for the speaker of  
Arabic and Kurdish?
3. Kurdish for the speaker of  
Arabic and Turkmanish?

Q.25 Which of these languages do you consider the most  
beautiful?

1. Arabic
2. Turkmanish
3. Kurdish

Q.26 Which of these languages do you consider most  
important for governmental jobs and other professions  
in the town of Kirkuk?

1. Arabic
2. Turkmanish
3. Kurdish.

'yes''no'

Q.27 Do you consider people who always speak some other languages than their own, even with close friends, are snobbish and disloyal to their native languages?

Q.28 Do you read a daily, weekly, monthly paper?

If 'yes' in

1. Arabic
2. Turkmanish
3. Kurdish.

Q.29 Educational achievement.

1. have you finished University?
2. have you finished teacher training college?
3. have you finished secondary school?
4. have you finished primary and/or intermediate school?
5. are you educated but have not finished primary school?
6. are you uneducated?

Q.30 Which of the following foreign languages have you studied in school and for how long?

1. English



2. French
3. German
4. Russian
5. Other languages.

Q.31 How much do you spend [earn] per month?

1. over 150 Iraqi Dinars
2. between 100 - 150 ID
3. between 80 - 99 ID
4. between 40 - 79 ID
5. between 20 - 39 ID
6. less than 20 ID.

Note:

Arabic S	=	Standard
Arabic D	=	Dialect
Kurdish S	=	Sorani
Kurdish K	=	Kurmanji

#### 4.2 Purpose of the study

This study was an attempt to investigate and analyse certain kinds of problems that are related to the present linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk. Mainly the following areas will be looked at.

1. The relationships existing between ethnic groups and language usage and language loyalty in the town of Kirkuk.
2. The attitudes of Kirkukians towards language maintenance and language shift both in intimate and formal situations and in different societal domains.
3. The competence and extent of language usage of bilingual or multilingual speaker of Kurdish-Arabic, or Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish in this town, to include the degree to which this speaker is bilingual or multilingual and the nature of this bilingualism and multilingualism in different situations.

There is one fact of great sociolinguistic interest which stands out very clearly for the observer: within the Kirkukian speech community or communities, as a direct result of planned pressure, language shift might take place if the present language policy adopted in Kirkuk is maintained. Under such circumstances a shift might make for a greater use of Arabic in all formal domains and in all informal

situations. Therefore, the aim of this study is to find out whether the education factors have any role in this matter and the correlation between the level of education and the degree of flexibility and amenability in shifting to Arabic in the formal domains and informal situations. Another purpose was to seek any correlation between certain demographic factors such as age, sex with the socio-economic status of respondents, with language maintenance, and with language shift in both the intimate and formal domains and situations. If this is the case then it is necessary to find out whether males or females are more conservative in their language preference, preferring to retain the mother tongue in all domains and situations. The question that is of greatest interest to the socio-linguist is what will be the final outcome of the shift, if there is any. Will this lead to the point where Arabic will prevail even in intimate domains and Kurdish and Turkmanish will die out slowly, and disappear from this town? Or will this shift eventually lead to a diglossic speech community, where Kurdish and Turkmanish will be the low vehicle of intimate usage and Arabic the high vehicle of formal usage? Alternatively, is Arabicisation leading to the creation of a pidgin language situation and consequently to the creation of creolised language in this town?

If indeed the present education system in Iraq is a factor producing language shift, then the result will be



contrary to the declared intent of the Iraqi government [statement of 11 March 1970] concerning autonomy and full national rights for the Kurdish people in Iraq. The information obtained from such a study should then be able to provide valuable guidelines to those within the government who are responsible for language planning for this town and elsewhere in Iraq, for it would indicate the way bilingual or multilingual education should be directed.

It is hoped that this study will raise even more questions concerning language usage within Iraq as a whole and within Iraqi Kurdistan in particular. Moreover, language study in the unusual situation of this town is still in its infancy. The field is therefore wide open for further and more detailed linguistic study of language usage and language preference in this historic town.

In view of the social factors affecting language stability in much of the developing world, Kirkuk, as a city where there are simultaneous economic, social, and political developments and tensions, may stand as an example of many present-day non-European situations of languages in contact.

#### 4.3 Remarks on the questionnaire and responses

The preliminary interviewing of the linguistic survey of Kirkuk indicated that it was necessary to collapse some

questionnaire headings and to discard others. For example, the answers to the sub-items i, ii, iii, iv of the questions 3 and 5 were treated as the answers to the following reformed questions 3 and 5 'which language do you usually use in conversation with your friends and acquaintances at festivals and on national occasions?' and 'which language do you usually use in conversation with your friends and acquaintances at traditional Islamic feasts?' respectively. The original question items and sub-items, however, were designed on the assumption that the two dialects of the Kurdish language (Sorani and Kurmanji) and the two main forms of Arabic (standard or classical and the local forms) might be in use in Kirkuk. But in practice this assumption appears to have little truth and not very meaningful to respondents, as Sorani is the only Kurdish dialect used in this town and standard Arabic was rarely observed even in the classrooms in Kirkuk (cf. Tables 47,48,49). Moreover, the division of the sub-items in questions 3 and 5 was made on the grounds that people might use different varieties of languages with different age groups and members of the opposite sex on such occasions. This also proved in practice to be largely untrue, with the exception of school students. Therefore, the distinction between dialects has been disregarded throughout the study. Instead 'languages' has been used wherever 'dialects' have been mentioned in any question of the questionnaire. Furthermore, the answers to the question item 12 were disregarded because the Kirkukians are generally not prepared to give

direct answers to this type of question 'what language do you not like to speak?'. This is due to the sensitivity of the situation in this town, which led people to try to avoid confrontation of any sort as much as they could; they did not intend to announce publicly their real feelings on this matter. Similarly, the answers to the question item 21 'Do you think there should be more TV and radio programmes in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish in Kirkuk?' and question item 30 'Which Foreign languages have you studied at school?' were not referred to in the discussion and analysis of the data because of the invalid answers to the first and the irrelevancy of the other. In general, the lack of reference in this study to any question item or sub-item will be due to the reasons mentioned above.

#### 4.3.1 The ratings

With regard to the socio-economic status of the respondents, the socio-economic status of population of Kirkuk has been determined as follows:

4.3.1.1 monthly income. The monthly income was rated on six point scale ranging from less than twenty Iraqi dinars (rating: six) to over 150 ID (rating: one).

	<u>Income per month</u>	<u>Rating</u>
High	over 150 ID	1
	100 - 150 ID	2
Middle	30 - 99 ID	3
	40 - 79 ID	4
	20 - 39 ID	5
Low	less than 20 ID	6



Then the respondents were asked to indicate their monthly income by marking the appropriate place or stating the actual amount of money they receive each month. However, those earning over 100 ID per month were regarded as of high income. Those earning between 40 - 99 ID per month were regarded as of middle income. Those earning less than 40 ID income per month were regarded as of low income.

This division is based partially on the scale established by the Ministry of Planning for the whole population in Iraq, but based essentially on the standard of living in this town as calculated by this investigator, since the original scale cannot be applied to the population of this town without manipulation.

#### 4.3.1.2 Occupation

The occupation was rated on an eight point scale. Ratings were essentially based on the prestige value of the occupation of the respondent. The scale extended from government officials (rating: one) to unemployed person (rating: eight) distributed as follows:

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Rating</u>
government officials	1
teacher	2
industrial worker	3
self-employed	4
retired	5

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Rating</u>
housewife	6
student	7
unemployed	8

The respondents were asked to mark that description which most closely corresponded to their actual professions.

#### 4.3.1.3 Education

Educational level of the respondents was measured on a six point scale ranging from finished university [rating: one] to uneducated [rating: six] distributed as follows:

<u>Level of education</u>	<u>Rating</u>
Finished university	1
Finished teacher training college	2
Finished secondary school	3
Finished primary and/ or intermediate school	4
educated but not finished primary school	5
uneducated	6

Then the respondents were asked to indicate their educational achievement according to the above scale.

#### 4.3.1.4 Age of respondents

The age of respondents was rated on a six point scale too. Ratings were essentially based on the regulations

concerning the compulsory military service age in Iraq, in which every adult [male] aged between 18 - 40 years should serve in the army for the period mentioned in the regulations, and this was taken as a base for the young group. The scale was also based on the regulations concerning the retirement age in which civilians may retire between the age of 55 and 60 years. So the average age was taken as a base for the middle age group. Over this age group was considered as an old group. Then the respondents were asked to indicate their age according to the scale below.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Rating</u>
less than 21 years	1
young	
21 - 40 years	2
41 - 50 years	3
middle	
51 - 60 years	4
61 - 70 years	5
old	
over 70 years	

#### 4.4 No-response rates

The response rates for the various linguistic survey of Kirkuk questions vary. This is to be expected because not all situations and role relationships are relevant to all respondents. Situation, role relationships and competence of



the respondents in various languages are obviously related to language use. If a language variety is restricted to certain situations in a community then a person who does not participate in those situations will generally not need, and may not know, that language variety. Differences in linguistic competence between groups may result from the differing situation competence of the groups.

The no-response figures in many tables throughout the study are of interest because they give an indication of group differences in situation repertoire. The no-response rate is also important to the interpretation of the linguistic survey of Kirkuk data. It is true, for example, that only 45.7 percent of Kurdish respondents claimed to speak Kurdish with their children in their answers to Question 12 sub-item C. This and similar figures could be misleading, however, since only those respondents having children mentioned Kurdish and those having no children did not answer this type of question. No-response rates for Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmanish and other languages speakers in Kirkuk vary from very low for some questions and very high for others. This variation may be due to the fact that not all the respondents have the same role relationships on the one hand or have the same competence in the different languages in use in the town, on the other. For example, all respondents have mother tongue, friends, birthplace, but not all read and write or have jobs, etc. The variation in no-response rate between demographic subgroup

of different ethnic groups in the town is quite obvious. The interrelationship of the factors such as age, sex and education is indicated by the fact that, where there is a substantial difference, the young, male, and educated groups differ from the average in one direction and the old, female and uneducated groups in the other.

In most cases, one factor appears to be more significant than the others, based on the practical knowledge of the world. This factor also displays the largest differences in no-response rates. For example, the old, female and uneducated groups have remarkably high no-response rates for Questions 7, 10 - 3, 5, 8, 12 b etc. Reading and writing would be expected to be most closely related to education and the education factor shows the greatest differences in no-response rates. The high rates for the old and female groups are probably the result of the larger proportion of uneducated respondents in those groups (cf. Tables 8, 9, 10 ).

Similarly, the young, male and educated groups have high no-response rates for Question 12 sub-items 4 and 5 (husband/wife, children). The major factor here is age, the younger respondents being less likely to have husband/wife and children. The high rates for the male and educated groups are due to the high proportion of younger people in these groups. On the other hand, the males and educated persons are more likely to discuss topics such as poetry, literature, science, etc., than females and uneducated persons do.

Similarly, old and male are more likely to attend mosques than young and females do, so similar justifications can be made for the rest of the no-response rates in the answers to other questions.



## Chapter Five

### 5.1 Description and analysis of the data

In this chapter the results of the relevant data derived from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk will be analysed and presented. The results will be dealt with under the following titles:

- 5.1.1 The demographic and socioeconomic background of the population in Kirkuk.
- 5.1.2 Ethnic groups and language usage and language loyalty in Kirkuk.
- 5.1.3 Attitudes towards language maintenance and language shift in Kirkuk.
- 5.1.4 The extent of language usage of bilingual or multilingual speakers of Kurdish-Arabic or Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish in the town, including the degree to which a speaker is bilingual or multilingual, and the nature of this bilingualism and multilingualism in different situations.

Results will then be analysed in order to find out what they have to say about the phenomenon of language variation in this bilingual or multilingual community and about the relationship between language attitudes and language use.

Moreover, a look will be taken at the overall degree of language maintenance by Kirkukians and language shift and the role of language when changing domains and situations.

## 5.2 Background of the population

The sociolinguistic community which has been studied in Kirkuk consists of three different ethnic groups with some small minorities. These groups are Kurds, Arabs, Turkmen and others. The details about these groups have been given in Chapter 1 . The non-linguistic and sociolinguistic background characteristic of these groups will be presented and discussed below.

Sufficient domains, samples and percentage of the population of Kirkuk have been chosen for this purpose. The samples consist of 898 respondents [357 Kurds, 239 Arabs, 257 Turkmen and 45 others] distributed as follows:

### 5.2.1 Kurdish sample

The total number of male Kurds was 236 and the percentage was 26.3%; the total number of female Kurds was 121 and the percentage was 13.5%; the total percentages of male and female Kurds was 39.8%.

The following table shows the details of the Kurdish sample.

Table 4      Distribution of Kurdish sample according to  
sex and age group of respondents

Sex	Age group		Number of people interviewed	Total
male	less than 21 years	young	106	163
female	less than 21 years		57	
male	21 - 40 years		57	86
female	21 - 40 years		29	
male	41 - 50 years	middle	38	58
female	41 - 50 years		20	
male	51 - 60 years		20	32
female	51 - 60 years		12	
male	61 - 70 years	old	12	15
female	61 - 70 years		3	
male	over 70 years		3	3
female	over 70 years		-	
			Total	357



### 5.2.2 Arabic sample

The total number of male Arabs was 182 and the percentage present in the sample was 20.3%. The total number of female Arabs was 57 and the percentage 6.3%. The total percentages of the Arabic sample as a whole was 26.6%. The table below shows the detail of the Arabic sample.

Table 5      Distribution of Arabic sample according to sex and the age group of respondents

Sex	Age group		Number of people interviewed	Total
—	—		—	—
male	less than 21 years	young	33	42
female	less than 21 years		9	
male	21 - 40 years	middle	95	124
female	21 - 40 years		29	
male	41 - 50 years		28	43
female	41 - 50 years		15	
male	51 - 60 years	old	12	14
female	51 - 60 years		2	
male	61 - 70 years		12	13
female	61 - 70 years		1	
male	over 70 years		2	3
female	over 70 years		1	
			Total	239

### 5.2.3 Turkmanish sample

For the Turkmanish sample the total number of male Turkmen was 159 and the percentage was 17.7%. The total number of female Turkmen was 98 and the percentage was 10.9%. The total percentages of Turkmen male and female together in the sample was 28.6%.

The table below shows the detail of the Turkmanish sample.

Table 6      Distribution of Turkmanish sample according  
to sex and the age group of respondents

Sex	Age group		Number of people interviewed	Total
—	—		—	—
male	less than 21 years	young	39	72
female	less than 21 years		33	
male	21 - 40 years		60	102
female	21 - 40 years		42	
male	41 - 50 years	middle	32	46
female	41 - 50 years		14	
male	51 - 60 years		16	23
female	51 - 60 years		7	
male	61 - 70 years	old	11	11
female	61 - 70 years		-	
male	over 70 years		1	3
female	over 70 years		2	
			Total	257

#### 5.2.4 'Other' sample

The total number of other males was 35 and the percentage was 3.9%. The total number of other females was 10 and the percentage was 1.1%. The total percentages of males and females was 5.0%.

The table below shows the detail of the 'other' sample.

Table 7      Distribution of other sample according to  
sex and the age group of respondents

Sex	Age group		Number of people interviewed	Total
—	—		—	—
male	less than 21 years	young	7	10
female	less than 21 years		3	
male	21 - 40 years		14	15
female	21 - 40 years		1	
male	41 - 50 years	middle	7	10
female	41 - 50 years		3	
male	51 - 60 years		3	5
female	51 - 60 years		2	
male	61 - 70 years	old	2	3
female	61 - 70 years		1	
male	over 70 years		2	2
female	over 70 years		-	
Total				45



In the sample as a whole males and females were not equally represented. This was due to the fact that the males were more prepared to be interviewed than females on the one hand and on the other hand some heads of the families did not approve at all of the interviewing of their females by strangers. As a matter of fact, some heads of the families have entirely refused such interviewing of their families by this investigator for the reasons discussed in detail in Chapter 4. As a result the number of males to females in the sample as a whole was almost 2:1 (612 males, 286 females).

Similarly the age groups of the sample varied. Young groups are overly represented in the sample. This was partly because the young, being more educated than the rest of the sample, are aware of the usefulness of such research work, and partly because the young are more ambitious and curious. Because the growth of education is recent within the age groups, therefore it is also not possible to obtain subgroups of comparable sizes, for example of educated versus uneducated. Younger people are more likely to have attended school than the middle and older groups. Nowadays school attendance in Kirkuk as well as in the other parts of Iraq is almost universal among school-age children. All families have a great desire to educate all their children, males and females equally. But in practice males are more likely to be educated than females, as can be seen in the following tables. However, some demographic factors must be taken into account

in discussing the linguistic situation in Kirkuk. The main variables which will be dealt with are age, sex, education and occupation of the respondents. The ethnic groups, however, are most clearly related to differential language use and linguistic situation.

**Table 8**      Distribution of the Kurdish sample according to age group, sex and level of education of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Level of education</u>									
		<u>Uned</u>	<u>Ed</u>	<u>NFPS</u>	<u>FPor</u>	<u>int</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>FSS</u>	<u>FTTC</u>	<u>FUniv</u>	<u>Total</u>
young	male	1	7			122		4	4	25	163
	female	18	1			54		-	5	8	86
middle	male	14	11			12		3	11	7	58
	female	26	2			2		-	2	-	32
old	male	8	3			4		-	-	-	15
	female	3	-			-		-	-	-	3
Total:		70	24			194		7	22	40	357

Table 9      Distribution of the Arabic sample according to  
age group, sex and level of education of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Level of education</u>							
		<u>Uned</u>	<u>Ed</u>	<u>NFPS</u>	<u>FFor</u>	<u>int s</u>	<u>FSS</u>	<u>FTTC</u>	<u>FUniv</u>
young	male	7	13	66	6	6	30	128	
	female	8	3	14	3	3	7	38	
middle	male	15	7	10	3	1	4	40	
	female	10	1	1	1	1	3	17	
old	male	8	3	2	-	-	1	14	
	female	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	
Total:		50	27	93	13	11	45	239	

Table 10      Distribution of the Turkmanish sample according to  
age group, sex and level of education of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Level of education</u>								
		<u>Uned</u>	<u>Ed</u>	<u>NFPS</u>	<u>FPor</u>	<u>int s</u>	<u>FSS</u>	<u>FTTC</u>	<u>FUniv</u>	<u>Total</u>
young	male	-	2	58		8	8	23		99
	female	5	1	40		4	4	21		75
middle	male	5	9	19		6	2	7		48
	female	12	2	4		-	1	2		21
old	male	2	3	4		-	3	-		12
	female	2	-	-		-	-	-		2
Total:		26	17	125		18	18	53		257



Table 11      Distribution of 'other' sample according to age group, sex and level of education of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Level of education</u>						<u>Total</u>
		<u>Uned</u>	<u>EdNFPS</u>	<u>FPrints</u>	<u>FSS</u>	<u>FTTC</u>	<u>FUniv</u>	
young	male	-	-	14	1	-	6	21
	female	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
middle	male	1	3	6	-	-	-	10
	female	3	2	-	-	-	-	5
old	male	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
	female	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total:		6	7	25	1	-	6	45

Table 12      Demographic subgroups: Kurds, Arabs, Turkmen and others

Age group	Sex	Kurds			Arabs			Turkmens			Others		
		% Ed	% Uned	% Total	% Ed	% Uned	% Total	% Ed	% Uned	% Total	% Ed	% Uned	% Total
young	male	99.4	0.6	100	94.5	5.5	100	100	-	100	100	-	100
	female	79.1	20.9	100	79.0	21.0	100	93.3	6.7	100	100	-	100
	male	75.9	24.1	100	62.5	37.5	100	89.6	10.4	100	90	10	100
middle	female	18.7	81.3	100	41.2	58.8	100	42.9	57.1	100	40	60	100
	male	46.7	53.3	100	42.9	57.1	100	83.3	16.7	100	50	50	100
	female	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	100	100
old	male	46.7	53.3	100	42.9	57.1	100	83.3	16.7	100	50	50	100
	female	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	100	100
	male	46.7	53.3	100	42.9	57.1	100	83.3	16.7	100	50	50	100

Table 12 shows that the young and male groups are predominantly educated and the educated groups are predominantly young. The old groups are predominantly uneducated. However, the percentage of old male educated people in the Turkmanish sample was much higher than the Kurdish and Arabic samples. Moreover, the figures for the male, young and educated in the samples are consistently higher than those for the female, old and uneducated groups. The educated/uneducated difference is always the largest.

This pattern is not limited to the competence of the respondents, but is evident in language use as well. For this reason, these three factors, sex, age and education, are not treated separately. The table below summarises and presents the average percentages of all demographic subgroups.

Table 13      Summary of demographic subgroups: Kurds, Arabs,

<u>Turkmans and others</u>					
<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Educated</u>	<u>Uneducated</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
young	male	98.0	2.0	100	411
	female	84.7	15.3	100	203
middle	male	77.6	22.4	100	156
	female	32.0	68.0	100	75
old	male	55.6	44.4	100	45
	female	12.5	87.5	100	8

Job responsibility for the respondents ranges from industrial workers to teachers, from self-employed to government officials in Kirkuk, as can be seen in the following tables.



Table 14      Distribution of the Kurdish sample according to  
age group, sex and occupation of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>								<u>Tot</u>
		<u>Gov.of.</u>	<u>Tea.</u>	<u>Ind.w.</u>	<u>S.emp.</u>	<u>Ret.</u>	<u>H.w.</u>	<u>St.</u>	<u>Une.</u>	
young	male	14	25	4	10	-	-	107	3	163
	female	1	13	-	-	-	25	47	-	86
middle	male	9	17	6	20	6	-	-	-	58
	female	-	2	-	-	-	30	-	-	32
old	male	-	-	-	6	9	-	-	-	15
	female	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Total		24	57	10	36	15	58	154	3	357

Table 15      Distribution of the Arabic sample according to  
age group, sex and occupation of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>								<u>Tot</u>
		<u>Gov.of.</u>	<u>Tea.</u>	<u>Ind.w.</u>	<u>S.emp.</u>	<u>Ret.</u>	<u>H.w.</u>	<u>St.</u>	<u>Une.</u>	
young	male	52	24	18	3	-	-	30	1	128
	female	5	9	-	1	-	17	6	-	38
middle	male	20	1	9	7	3	-	-	-	40
	female	1	4	-	-	-	12	-	-	17
old	male	1	-	-	1	12	-	-	-	14
	female	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total		79	38	27	12	15	31	36	1	239

Table 16      Distribution of the Turkmanish sample according to age group, sex and occupation of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>								<u>Total</u>
		<u>Gov.of.</u>	<u>Tea.</u>	<u>Ind.w.</u>	<u>S.emp.</u>	<u>Ret.</u>	<u>H.w.</u>	<u>St.</u>	<u>Une.</u>	
young	male	26	21	4	2	-	-	44	2	99
	female	7	22	-	-	-	12	33	1	75
middle	male	17	5	11	9	6	-	-	-	48
	female	1	3	-	-	-	17	-	-	21
old	male	-	1	-	3	7	-	-	1	12
	female	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total		51	52	15	14	13	31	77	4	257

Table 17      Distribution of 'other' sample according to age group, sex and occupation of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>								<u>Total</u>
		<u>Gov.of.</u>	<u>Tea.</u>	<u>Ind.w.</u>	<u>S.emp.</u>	<u>Ret.</u>	<u>H.w.</u>	<u>St.</u>	<u>Une.</u>	
young	male	4	3	5	1	-	-	7	1	21
	female	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4
middle	male	1	-	7	-	2	-	-	-	10
	female	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	5
old	male	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
	female	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total		6	3	12	2	6	6	8	2	45

Table 18      Distribution of combined samples (Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmanish and others) according to age group, sex and occupation of respondents

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>								
		<u>Gov.of.</u>	<u>Tea.</u>	<u>Ind.w.</u>	<u>S.emp.</u>	<u>Ret.</u>	<u>H.w.</u>	<u>St.</u>	<u>Una.</u>	<u>Tot.</u>
young	male	96	73	31	16	-	-	188	7	411
	female	14	44	-	1	-	55	87	2	203
middle	male	47	23	33	36	17	-	-	-	156
	female	2	9	-	1	-	63	-	-	75
old	male	1	1	-	10	32	-	-	1	45
	female	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	8
Total		160	150	64	64	49	126	275	10	898
		17.8%	16.7%	7.1%	7.1%	5.5%	14.1%	30.6%	1.1%	100%

The total number of males      =    612    68.2%.

The total number of females    =    286    31.8%.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents belong to the middle income groups and occupy governmental jobs, either directly or indirectly. The predominance of this socio-economic class in Kirkuk can be seen in the following tables.



Table 19      Distribution of the samples (Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmanish and others)  
according to socio-economic status of respondents (students and jobless  
are not included)

Occupation	INCOME															
	Kurds				Arabs				Turkmans				Others			
	High	Mid.	Low	Total	High	Mid.	Low	Total	High	Mid.	Low	Total	High	Mid.	Low	Total
Gov. officials	5	15	4	24	24	44	11	79	14	32	5	51	-	6	-	6
Teacher	25	32	-	57	14	24	-	38	13	39	-	52	-	3	-	3
Industrial worker	-	9	1	10	1	26	-	27	3	12	-	15	2	10	-	12
Self-employed	6	20	10	36	2	10	-	12	6	7	1	14	1	1	-	2
Retired	1	5	9	15	2	3	10	15	3	9	1	13	-	4	2	6
Housewife	5	27	26	58	4	15	12	31	7	19	5	31	1	4	1	6
Total	42	108	50	200	47	122	33	202	46	118	12	176	4	28	3	35
Percentages	21%	54%	25%	100%	23.3%	60.4%	16.3%	100%	26.2%	67%	6.8%	100%	11.4%	80%	8.6%	100%

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Table 20      Distribution of combined samples (Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmanish and others) according to socio-economic status of respondents

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Government official	43	97	20	160
Teacher	52	98	-	150
Industrial worker	6	57	1	64
Self-employed	15	38	11	64
Retired	6	21	22	49
Housewife	17	65	44	126
Total	139	376	98	613
Percentages	22.7%	61.3%	16%	100%

The factors of age, sex, education, occupation and income of all respondents (Kurds, Arabs, Turkmen and others) have been thoroughly analysed and presented at length because they seem to be the most clearly related to the linguistic situation in Kirkuk. Nevertheless, the answers to questions [1,3,4,5] in the questionnaire present and highlight some more demographic information concerning language use in Kirkuk. Although little or no systematic use has been made of this data, nevertheless some comments can be made.

### 5.2.5 Respondents' birthplace [Q.1]

Five hundred and eighty nine [65.6%] of Kirkukian respondents were born in the town of Kirkuk and eighty nine persons [9.9%] were born in the surrounding province of Kirkuk, whereas two hundred and twenty persons [24.5%] were born in other provinces of Iraq.

The following table shows the distribution of this figure among different ethnic groups of the town.

**Table 21**      Distribution of the samples (Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmanish and others) according to birthplace of respondents

Ethnic group	in the town of Kirkuk	in the province of Kirkuk (not in the town)	in other provinces	Total
Kurdish sample	273 76.5%	31 8.7%	53 14.8%	357 100%
Arabic sample	84 35.2%	35 14.6%	120 50.2%	239 100%
Turkmanish sample	218 84.8%	23 9.0%	16 6.2%	257 100%
Other sample	14 31.1%	- -	31 68.9%	45 100%
Total	589	89	220	898
Percentage	65.6	9.9	24.5	100
	%	%	%	%
Kurdish	30.4	3.5	5.9	39.8
Arabic	9.3	3.9	13.4	26.6
Turkmanish	24.3	2.6	1.8	28.7
Other	1.5	-	3.4	4.9
Total	65.5	10.0	24.5	100



5.2.6 Residence [The length of stay in Kirkuk and previous residence of respondents (Questions 4, 5)].

These two questions were asked in order to establish the degree of language usage, language familiarity of respondents and the duration of residence in this town, and, moreover, to distinguish between those who lived in the areas in which one of those spoken languages in Kirkuk is used and those originating from areas distant from Kirkuk. However, 72.3% of Kurdish speaker respondents and 78.6% of Turkmanish speaker respondents have lived the whole of their lives in Kirkuk. Only 33.5% of Arabic speaker respondents, however, have lived the whole of their lives in Kirkuk, as can be seen in the following tables.

Table 22      Distribution of the Kurdish sample according to  
occupation and length of stay of respondents in

the town of Kirkuk

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Up to 10 yrs</u>	<u>Between 11-20 yrs</u>	<u>Between 21-25 yrs</u>	<u>Over 25 yrs</u>	<u>Whole life</u>	<u>Total</u>
Government official	1	3	-	1	19	24
Teacher	7	13	4	2	31	57
Industrial worker	-	1	-	2	7	10
Self-employed	1	4	1	4	26	36
Retired	-	-	-	7	8	15
Housewife	-	7	7	9	35	58
Student	12	13	-	-	129	154
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	3	3
Total	21	41	12	25	258	357
Percentage	5.9	11.5	3.3	7.0	72.3	100

Table 23      Distribution of the Arabic sample according to  
occupation and length of stay of respondents in

the town of Kirkuk

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Up to 10 yrs</u>	<u>Between 11-20 yrs</u>	<u>Between 21-25 yrs</u>	<u>Over 25 yrs</u>	<u>Whole life</u>	<u>Total</u>
Government official	36	7	1	3	32	79
Teacher	29	4	1	1	3	38
Industrial worker	16	2	-	-	9	27
Self-employed	2	1	2	4	3	12
Retired	-	-	-	8	7	15
Housewife	5	7	2	4	13	31
Student	19	5	-	-	12	36
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	107	26	6	20	80	239

**Table 24**      Distribution of the Turkmanish sample according  
to occupation and length of stay of respondents  
in the town of Kirkuk

Occupation	Up to 10 yrs	Between 11-20 yrs	Between 21-25 yrs	Over 25 yrs	Whole life	Total
Government official	1	3	3	3	41	51
Teacher	8	4	1	3	36	52
Industrial worker	1	-	-	1	13	15
Self-employed	-	-	1	2	11	14
Retired	-	-	-	4	9	13
Housewife	1	2	-	3	25	31
Student	8	4	1	-	64	77
Unemployed	1	-	-	-	3	4
Total	20	13	6	16	202	257
Percentage	7.8	5.0	2.4	6.2	78.6	100

**Table 25**      Distribution of the 'other' sample according to  
occupation and length of stay of respondents in  
the town of Kirkuk

Occupation	Up to 10 yrs	Between 11-20 yrs	Between 21-25 yrs	Over 25 yrs	Whole life	Total
Government official	1	3	1	-	1	6
Teacher	2	-	-	-	1	3
Industrial worker	1	3	3	3	2	12
Self-employed	1	-	-	-	1	2
Retired	-	-	-	5	1	6
Housewife	-	1	1	3	1	6
Student	2	1	-	-	5	8
Unemployed	1	-	-	-	1	2
Total	8	8	5	11	13	45



The majority of Arabic speaking respondents - 55.2% have spent most of their lives in other provinces than Kirkuk and their stay in this town does not exceed four or five years; and none have been resident for more than eleven years.

The following table shows the previous residence of respondents.

Table 26      Distribution of responses according to previous residence of respondents

	<u>Town of</u> <u>Kirkuk</u>	<u>Province</u> <u>of Kirkuk</u>	<u>Northern</u> <u>provinces</u>	<u>Baghdad &amp;</u> <u>mid.prov.</u>	<u>Southern</u> <u>provinces</u>	<u>Tot</u>
Kurdish sample	258 72.3	41 11.5	48 13.4	10 2.8	- -	357 100
Arabic sample	80 33.5	33 13.8	40 16.7	64 26.8	22 9.2	239 100
Turkmanish sample	202 78.6	21 8.2	9 3.5	23 8.9	2 0.8	257 100
'Other' sample	13 28.9	- -	26 57.8	6 13.3	- -	45 100
Total	553	95	123	103	24	898
Percentage	61.6	10.5	13.7	11.5	2.7	100

The results mentioned in the above tables do not reflect any direct measurement of relative competence in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish. They are valuable, however, in providing a useful frame of reference to be used particularly in judging other results of Arabic sample for competence in Kurdish and Turkmanish.

### 5.3 Language use in Kirkuk

The material on which this section is based derives from the data which has been collected from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk by means of a questionnaire designed for this purpose and almost covered all aspects of life in this town. The areas which have been looked at deal with the language used in a number of domains, settings and role relationships in various combinations in Kirkuk.

Although many demographic factors must be taken into account to clarify the pattern of language use in Kirkuk, nevertheless ethnic group has a certain significance. This is due to the fact that ethnic group is closely correlated with language background (Fishman 1973: 43). For this reason, distinction is made throughout this section and elsewhere between Kurdish speakers and non-Kurdish speakers on the grounds that the prime attention of this study will be particularly concerned with the use of the Kurdish language and the attitudes of its speakers in this town. Equally the use of the other two main languages (Arabic and Turkmanish) and the attitudes of their speakers, will be discussed in detail wherever necessary.

#### 5.3.1 Language use in the home

For Kirkukian Kurds, Kurdish is the language of the home and the language spoken to members of the family with very few exceptions. The only occasion where Arabic may be

used in the Kurdish home is during prayer, which must be in Arabic. Otherwise the occasion for Arabic to be used at home is very slight.

The situation with Kurds using Turkmanish at home may be slightly different from the previous one. The sample data shows that some Kurdish families (2.5%) still use Turkmanish as well as Kurdish at home, as can be seen in the following table. Nevertheless, even a family which uses Turkmanish in the domain of home may socially be regarded as snobbish and disloyal to its native language.

Table 27      Distribution of the samples according to ethnic origin and first language of respondent

<u>Ethnic origin</u>	<u>First language    Question 6</u>					<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Kurds	97.2	0.3	2.5	-	100	357
Arabs	0.4	97.1	2.5	-	100	239
Turkmans	-	1.2	98.8	-	100	257
Others	-	11.1	-	88.9	100	45

The comparison of language use in the home, generation by generation, may offer evidence of trends of change in the linguistic situation.



Table 28      Language predominantly used in the home, Kurds

[question 12]				
To:	% <u>Kurdish</u>	% <u>Arabic</u>	% <u>Turkmanish</u>	% <u>Total</u>
father	95.2	0.3	3.1	98.6
mother	90.2	0.6	8.4	99.2
brothers & sisters	95.0	0.3	4.2	99.5
wife/husband	46.8	0.3	3.9	51.0
children	45.7	-	3.1	48.8

Table 29      Language predominantly used in the home, Arabs

[question 12]				
To:	% <u>Kurdish</u>	% <u>Arabic</u>	% <u>Turkmanish</u>	% <u>Total</u>
father	0.4	96.7	1.7	98.8
mother	0.4	94.6	4.6	99.6
brothers & sisters	0.4	96.7	2.1	99.2
wife/husband	1.3	69.0	2.9	73.2
children	-	70.3	1.7	72.0

Table 30      Language predominantly used in the home,

<u>Turkmans</u> [question 12]				
To:	% <u>Kurdish</u>	% <u>Arabic</u>	% <u>Turkmanish</u>	% <u>Total</u>
father	-	1.9	95.7	97.6
mother	1.2	0.4	96.1	97.7
brothers & sisters	0.4	1.6	97.3	99.3
wife/husband	0.8	3.1	52.5	56.4
children	0.4	4.7	46.7	51.8

The figures in the Kurdish table [28] illustrate the dominance of Kurdish in the home. Moreover, according to the survey data, presented in Table 27, there is no indication whatsoever, for the time being, of an increase in the use of Arabic at home. On the contrary, all Kirkukian Kurds show great language loyalty.

It is clear to any observer that a planned pressure was and is taking place to increase the use of Arabic language in the town of Kirkuk. It was expected that despite this the home would be one of the most stable linguistic environments at the present time.

The relative stability of the Kurdish figures in the above table should not be taken to mean, however, that the linguistic situation in Kirkuk is stable, but rather that the home, at least for the time being, has been particularly unaffected by change. In Kirkuk the home is mainly a monolingual environment.

Though some Turkmen during the survey claimed to use Arabic in speaking to their children at home, this statement appears to be exaggerated, for some of those who claimed to do so in fact used Turkmanish to their children in the investigator's presence. The percentage of Turkman parents claiming to speak Arabic to their children was 4.7%. This figure is relatively high in comparison with Kurdish parents speaking Arabic to their children, which was nil. Similarly,

the above table shows not a single Arab speaks Kurdish to his children at home. The percentage of those Arabs speaking Turkmanish to their children at home, as is illustrated in Table 29, is negligible.

In addition to the home among the Kurdish community, the Kurdish language is regarded as the normal language to be used in most situations in Kirkuk, and the business of daily life is conducted in Kurdish. Outside the Kurdish community Arabic, Turkmanish and Kurdish are all in use, but the greatest importance has been given to the use of the Arabic language in the town, particularly in the institutions of schools, governmental offices, courts and even in mosques, in which the preaching on Friday services by the mullas was, until very recently, in the language of the locality, must now be in Arabic.

When we turn from the results for the language of the home to language use out in the community at large, we find that the data obtained for the language predominantly used while talking to neighbours, friends, in the market, etc. brought to light an important aspect of language variation in Kirkuk. These results should indicate language use in situations which differ from the home in that they are a degree removed in familiarity and formality. In the light of the history of diaglossic situations, in Kirkuk and elsewhere, with Kurdish the more restricted language variety (language of the home), the degree to which Kurdish is used



outside the domain of home would be expected to decrease. Conversely, the use of other languages, particularly Arabic, would be expected to increase substantially. Contrary to expectation, in Kirkuk the use of Kurdish by the Kurds in most domains, except at the place of work, was remarkably high. As the use of Kurdish increased in this setting in comparison to the use of other languages, the use of Arabic and Turkmanish by the Kurds must be correspondingly little used.

### 5.3.2 Language use at place of work (Q. 12 - c, d)

In the light of the level of use of Kurdish in the domain of the home, the data on language use at the place of work gives an undeniable indication of a downward trend in the use of Kurdish, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 31      Language predominantly used at work with co-workers

	% Kurdish	% Arabic	% Turk.	% KSA	% KST	% AST	% K,AST	% Total	% Nos
Kurdish sample	9.2	6.4	-	6.2	0.6	8.6	8.6	32.2	357
Arabic sample	-	59.8	-	0.4	-	1.3	2.1	63.6	239
Turkmanish sample	-	22.6	2.3	-	0.4	14.8	10.5	50.6	257

Arabic was the most frequently mentioned language; small percentages of the respondents mentioned either Kurdish or Turkmanish. The decrease in the use of Kurdish and Turkmanish by respondents, particularly with their employer superiors, as

the table below shows, reflects the fact that the vast majority of the employer superiors at present occupying posts in this town are Arabic speakers.

Table 32      Language predominantly used at work with  
employer superior

	<u>Languages</u>							<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>%</u> <u>KSA</u>	<u>%</u> <u>KST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>AST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>K,AST</u>		
Kurdish sample	5.9	19.0	-	0.3	-	0.3	-	25.5	357
Arabic sample	-	60.3	-	-	-	-	-	60.3	239
Turkmanish sample	-	41.6	-	-	-	3.1	1.2	45.9	257

Language use at work with co-workers is certainly very closely related to occupation. Those who have governmental posts normally use more Arabic during office time than the others, as can be seen in the following tables.

Table 33      Language predominantly used at work with  
co-workers (Kurdish sample)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Languages</u>							<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>%</u> <u>KSA</u>	<u>%</u> <u>KST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>AST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>K,AST</u>		
Government official	12.5	41.7	-	25.0	-	-	16.7	95.9	24
Teacher	42.1	17.5	-	17.5	-	-	14.0	91.1	57
Industrial worker	10.0	20.0	-	30.0	-	-	40.0	100.0	10
Self-employed	13.9	2.8	-	8.3	11.1	-	30.6	66.7	36

Table 34      Language predominantly used at work with  
co-workers (Arabic sample)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>%</u> <u>KSA</u>	<u>%</u> <u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>%</u> <u>AST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>K,AST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Total</u>	
Government official	-	91.1	-	1.3	-	1.3	2.5	96.2	79
Teacher	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	38
Industrial worker	-	85.2	-	-	-	-	11.1	96.3	27
Self-employed	-	50.0	-	-	-	16.7	-	66.7	12

Table 35      Language predominantly used at work with  
co-workers (Turkmanish sample)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>%</u> <u>KSA</u>	<u>%</u> <u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>%</u> <u>AST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>K,AST</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Total</u>	
Government official	-	51.0	-	-	-	23.5	23.5	98.0	51
Teacher	-	46.2	7.7	-	1.9	38.5	3.8	98.1	52
Industrial worker	-	53.3	-	-	-	26.7	20.0	100	15
Self-employed	-	-	14.3	-	-	7.1	64.3	85.7	14

The tables show a very clear picture of language use at work with co-workers in Kirkuk. It is quite obvious, however, that the Arabic language is the dominant language used officially in the town. The use of Kurdish and Turkmanish is strictly confined to independent professional occupations and non-official purposes, as has been illustrated above.



All government officials of the town stand in need of some means of communication with their non-Arabic speaking customers for conducting business efficiently; nevertheless, they do not take the trouble to acquire one. The self-employed, however, who are mostly shopkeepers and traders, whose occupation brings them into continuous contact with the three main language speakers, are more likely to use all these languages at work.

### 5.3.3 Language use with friends

As far as conversation with friends outside the domain of the home is concerned, the dominance of the Kurdish language among Kurdish speakers for use with friends in the community at large can be taken as an indication of the normative value placed on Kurdish as the language appropriate for use in the everyday personal contacts of the town's life. The table below shows that 53.8% of the Kurdish sample uses only Kurdish. None of the respondents mentioned only Turkmanish and the percentage of those using only Arabic is negligibly small, as can be seen in the following table.

	<u>Language predominantly used with friends</u>								
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	53.8	1.2	-	14.0	7.3	-	22.1	98.3	357
Arabic sample	-	77.0	-	2.5	-	11.3	8.4	99.2	239
Turkmanish sample	0.8	7.4	32.3	-	2.3	36.6	20.6	100	257

5.3.4 Language use at festivals and on national occasions  
and traditional Islamic feasts

During festivals, on national occasions and in traditional Islamic feasts, Kurdish was the dominant language in use by the Kurdish sample, as can be seen in the following tables.

Table 37      Language predominantly used with friends and acquaintances at festivals and on national occasions

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	75.9	1.4	0.6	8.4	4.8	-	8.4	99.5	357
Arabic sample	-	85.8	-	1.7	-	4.6	4.2	96.3	239
Turkmanish sample	0.8	10.8	37.1	-	2.4	28.4	17.2	96.7	257

Table 38      Language predominantly used with friends and acquaintances at traditional Islamic feasts

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	57.4	1.1	0.3	10.7	10.1	0.3	19.6	99.5	357
Arabic sample	-	85.7	-	1.7	-	4.6	4.2	96.3	239
Turkmanish sample	0.4	4.0	35.6	-	2.8	36.8	18.0	97.6	257

### 5.3.5 Language predominantly used with neighbours

The fact that the results for language use with neighbours show an increase of Kurdish over its use with friends by the Kurds can be seen in the following table.

<u>Table 39</u>	<u>Language predominantly used with neighbours</u>								
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	72.3	2.0	2.5	8.7	7.0	0.8	6.7	100	357
Arabic sample	0.4	80.3	2.9	2.5	-	10.9	2.5	99.5	239
Turkmanish sample	1.6	4.7	65.0	-	3.5	19.8	5.4	100	257

### 5.3.6 Language predominantly used in the market

The language use setting in the market can be assumed here to most often represent language use in Kirkuk as a whole. Here role relationships involve not only Kurdish speakers as interlocutors, but also Arabic and Turkmanish speakers. Although the degree to which Kurdish is used in the market by Kurds (50.1 percent) is not quite as high as it is in the setting with neighbours (72.3 percent), it is still higher than the use of Turkmanish in the market by Turkmans as can be seen in the following table.



Table 40      Language predominantly used in the market

	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Kurdish sample	50.1	1.1	0.6	15.4	9.2	0.3	23.0	99.7	357
Arabic sample	0.4	77.4	1.7	1.7	-	11.3	7.5	100	239
Turkmanish sample	0.4	5.4	40.9	-	3.1	31.9	17.9	99.6	257

The above table reflects the fact that the market is the best place for practicing the use of different languages in use in the town.

#### 5.3.7 Language predominantly used in political party meetings

The results for this question item indicate an extremely sharp negative trend in the use of Kurdish. It is significant here that very few of the Kurdish sample respondents apparently were involved in political party meetings and few of them use Kurdish in this role relationship. It can be assumed that the great majority of those involved in public political activities in the town at present are non-Kurdish speakers and are unable to understand this language. The situation with the Turkmanish speaker respondents in this respect is very different from the Kurdish one. 43.6% of the Turkmanish respondents are actually involved in such meetings and mostly they use Arabic on these occasions. Of the Arabic sample, however, 71.5% of the respondents are involved in political

party activities. Certainly Arabic is the language in use on such occasions, as the following table shows.

Table 41      Language predominantly used in political party meetings

			<u>Languages</u>						
	%	%	%	%					
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K&amp;A</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>A&amp;T</u>	<u>K,A&amp;T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	3.4	10.1	-	0.8	-	-	-	14.3	357
Arabic sample	-	71.5	-	-	-	-	-	71.5	239
Turkmanish sample	-	42.4	0.4	-	-	0.8	-	43.6	257

#### 5.3.8 Language use in the mosque before and after prayer

As far as the traditional Islamic services in Kirkuk are concerned, the prayer must be in Arabic, the language of The Quran. But preaching in Friday services and the exposition of Islamic doctrine, which was until very recently in the language of the local area, must now be in Arabic. Although, at present the formal dominance of Arabic in the mosques in Kirkuk is quite clear for any observer, nevertheless the informal conversation among the congregation would provide a clear division among the languages, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 42      Language predominantly used in the mosque  
before and after prayer

	<u>Languages</u>							<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>		
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>		
Kurdish sample	32.5	0.3	0.9	2.2	1.1	-	3.1	40.1	357
Arabic sample	-	44.3	-	0.4	-	3.8	1.7	50.2	239
Turkmanish sample	-	3.5	15.2	-	0.8	9.7	7.8	37.0	257

#### 5.3.9 Language use with men of religion

It had been anticipated that the language of the Kurdish respondents in Kirkuk while speaking with religious men such as mullas and shaikhs would show a major decrease in the use of Kurdish in comparison with language use in less formal and more familiar situations. The results, however, indicated an unexpectedly high degree of Kurdish used by Kurdish speaker respondents, actually increasing in comparison with their use of Kurdish in the market. The results for language use with men of religion are shown in the table below.



Table 43      Language predominantly used with religious men

	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Kurdish sample	62.2	1.4	0.8	3.9	1.4	-	5.3	75.0	357
Arabic sample	0.4	69.9	1.3	0.8	-	3.8	0.4	76.6	239
Turkmanish sample	1.9	8.9	34.3	-	2.3	16.0	6.2	69.5	257

5.4.0 Language use on different topics

Naturally, some aspects of language variation in this role relationship continue to be diglossic. Nevertheless, the results indicated the dominance of the use of Kurdish by the Kurdish respondents while they discuss different topics. Here again, although some of the Kurdish speaking respondents do switch to Arabic in such a role relationship, there is nevertheless a persistent and significant majority which does not. Once again this testifies to the role of Kurdish as the appropriate language for use in the community. The results for language use on different topics are shown in the following tables.

Table 44      Language predominantly used on different  
topics by the Kurdish sample

<u>Topics</u>	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	
poetry	41.5	10.1	-	17.9	-	-	0.3	69.8	357
literature	36.7	9.8	-	15.9	0.3	-	0.3	63.0	
science	39.2	8.4	-	11.2	-	-	0.3	59.1	
arts	38.9	17.6	0.6	10.0	0.6	-	0.9	58.6	
religion	58.8	8.9	0.6	15.2	1.2	-	3.1	87.7	
politics	21.0	9.8	-	6.7	-	-	1.5	39.0	
sports	42.0	6.2	0.3	6.7	0.9	-	2.0	58.1	
professions	38.9	4.7	0.6	9.2	2.0	-	4.8	60.2	

Table 45      Language predominantly used on different  
topics by the Arabic sample

<u>Topics</u>	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	
poetry	-	47.3	-	-	-	-	-	47.3	239
literature	-	34.7	-	-	-	-	-	34.7	
science	-	43.5	-	-	-	-	-	43.5	
arts	-	35.9	-	-	-	-	-	35.9	
religion	-	78.7	-	-	-	0.4	0.4	79.5	
politics	-	73.2	-	-	-	-	-	73.2	
sports	-	41.0	-	-	-	0.8	-	41.8	
professions	-	44.3	-	-	-	0.8	-	45.1	

Table 46      Language predominantly used on different  
topics by the Turkmanish sample

<u>Topics</u>	<u>Languages</u>								<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K&amp;A</u>	<u>K&amp;T</u>	<u>A&amp;T</u>	<u>K,A&amp;T</u>	<u>Total</u>	
poetry	-	43.2	8.2	-	0.4	13.2	1.6	66.6	257
literature	-	42.4	7.8	-	-	10.1	1.2	61.5	
science	-	42.0	8.2	-	-	10.1	0.4	60.7	
arts	-	35.4	8.6	-	-	11.2	0.8	56.0	
religion	0.4	36.5	16.7	-	1.2	18.3	4.7	77.8	
politics	-	42.4	4.3	-	-	8.6	0.4	55.7	
sports	-	30.7	10.5	-	-	17.2	1.6	60.0	
professions	-	27.2	12.8	-	0.4	17.9	5.8	64.1	

In view of the large numbers of Kirkukian Kurds (as the above table shows), this use of Kurdish by the Kurds appears to be a sort of defence mechanism by which these Kurds indicate their desire to maintain a separate identity, identity with local values and norms, and register their disapproval of what they see as a negative development: socio-economic development bringing in large numbers of outsiders who are ignorant of or insensitive to local values and norms in Kirkuk. Moreover, this restricted local use of Kurdish by the Kurds has become ideologised and their use of it been given a social and political meaning.



#### 5.4.1 Language use in school

After the Iraqi revolution in 1958 and specifically in 1970 some attempt was made to formalise Kurdish as the language of teaching in all Kurdish primary and secondary schools. The syllabus for this purpose was prepared by the Department of Education [Kurdish Section] and the teaching in Kurdish started in all Kurdish primary and secondary schools of the town. However, there was a number of schools in Kirkuk still teaching in Kurdish in 1978, when this survey was carried out and 81.8% of Kurdish sample respondents were not in favour of the teaching and educating of their children in Arabic alone [Table 121]. Nevertheless, the teaching in Kurdish has gradually been minimised as the result of the current language policy, in which Arabic is regarded as both an important subject and medium of instruction. It seems under present circumstances that the use of Kurdish in schools will discontinue. On the other hand, though Arabic is supposed to be the medium of instruction for all students excluding the remaining Kurdish schools, not all respondents mentioned Arabic. Moreover, the standard Arabic is not consistently used by school students even inside the classrooms, as can be seen in the following tables, which show the answers to Question 13 - 2, designed specifically for school students to discover the extent of use of language and dialect with their teachers for formal and informal activities.



Table 49      Language predominantly used by Turkmanish sample  
school students (males and females) with teachers

<u>Domains</u>		<u>Languages</u>									
		%	%      %		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
		<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>	
		<u>S</u>	<u>D</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>D</u>	
inside classroom	m	-	62.8	34.9	-	-	-	-2.3	-	-	100    43
	f	3.0	54.5	36.5	3.0	-	-	-3.0	-	-	100    33
outside classroom	m	-	-	41.9	30.0	-	-	-25.6	-2.3		100
	f	3.0	6.1	27.3	54.5	-	-	-6.1	-3.0		100
outside school	m	-	-	25.6	48.8	-	-	-23.3	-2.3		100
	f	3.0	-	12.2	78.8	-	-	-3.0	-3.0		100

#### 5.4.2 Language use in reading and writing

The main languages that people in Kirkuk read and write are Arabic and Kurdish. Even those Kurds educated in Arabic are almost all literate in Kurdish as well, in spite of the recent emphasis on the official status of Arabic in courts, government offices, schools, etc., the standard of literacy in Kurdish among Kirkukian Kurds has not fallen. Official policy, indeed, has proved counter-productive. What is more, many Kurds who have never been to Kurdish schools or studied Kurdish regularly or formally at schools are also literate in Kurdish.



Literacy in languages other than Arabic in this town normally is the result of political upheavals. The following table shows the answers to question 7 relating to the first language of reading and writing at school.

Table 50      Literacy in Kirkuk according to the first language  
of reading and writing at school

	<u>Languages</u>					<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Others</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Total</u>	
Kurdish sample	14.8	64.2	-	1.4	80.4	287
Arabic sample	-	79.1	-	-	79.1	189
Turkmanish sample	0.4	87.5	0.4	1.6	89.9	231
Other sample	4.4	66.7	-	15.6	86.7	39

While the results above indicate that most of the respondents started their education in schools with Arabic as a language of teaching, but nevertheless a great number of these respondents are able to read and write some of the other languages as well, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 51      Literacy in Kirkuk according to the reading  
and writing of languages ability

	<u>Kurdish</u>			<u>Arabic</u>			<u>Turkmanish</u>			<u>Nos</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Tot</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Kurdish sample	77.3	22.7	100	80.4	19.6	100	7.6	91.0	98.6	357
Arabic sample	1.7	97.9	99.6	79.1	20.5	99.6	1.7	97.9	99.6	239
Turkmanish sample	10.1	85.6	95.7	89.9	9.7	99.6	52.5	47.1	99.6	257
Other sample	15.6	84.4	100	82.2	17.8	100	2.2	97.8	100	45

The results obtained for language use in writing private letters and personal correspondence indicate that among Kurdish respondents a relatively high proportion use Kurdish for these purposes as the following table shows.

Table 52      Language predominantly used for writing private  
letters and personal correspondence

	%	%	<u>Languages</u>		%	%	%	%	%	%
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>	
Kurdish sample	36.7	13.7	-	27.8	-	-	0.3	78.5	357	
Arabic sample	-	75.7	-	-	-	-	-	75.7	239	
Turkmanish sample	-	82.5	1.6	-	-	3.9	0.4	88.4	257	
Other sample	-	62.2	-	2.2	-	-	-	64.4	45	

The use of Kurdish in reading and writing reflects the limited role of Kurdish in the media, particularly for formal or official purposes. The Kurdish inhabitants of Kirkuk who regularly read and write Kurdish, however, do so because of their taking the initiative, by seeking out reading material and consciously exercising their written command of Kurdish. There are very few daily and weekly newspapers in Kurdish in Iraq, nevertheless the results obtained show that a high proportion of Kurdish respondents use Kurdish language for this purpose. The use of Kurdish in reading newspapers by the other groups (Arabic and Turkmanish speakers) is nonexistent as can be seen in the following table.

Table 53      Language predominantly used for reading a  
weekly, monthly or daily paper

	<u>Languages</u>							<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>		
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>KSA</u>	<u>KST</u>	<u>AST</u>	<u>K,AST</u>		
Kurdish sample	12.9	30.3	-	27.2	-	-	-	70.4	357
Arabic sample	-	75.3	-	-	-	-	-	75.3	239
Turkmanish sample	-	69.3	0.8	0.4	-	3.5	0.4	74.4	257
Other sample	-	64.4	-	-	-	-	-	64.4	45



#### 5.4.3 Demographic variables and language use

So far we have discussed the language use in Kirkuk in terms of domains and situations. Now the language use in Kirkuk will be presented and discussed in relation to some non-linguistic variables, i.e. demographic factors such as age, sex, education and socio-economic status of the respondents.

From the discussion above, the uneven distribution of and variability of patterns of use appear clearly. It is to be expected, however, that language use will be correlated also with demographic characteristics; that is, the patterns of language use will differ for different subgroups of the population.

The results obtained from both personal observations as well as the linguistic survey of Kirkuk by means of questions in the questionnaire related to this matter, indicate that the demographic variables such as age, sex, education, birthplace, previous residence, length of stay in Kirkuk, occupation, and ethnic background of the respondents are closely correlated with the patterns of language use in Kirkuk. Therefore, age, sex, education and socio-economic status of the respondents and language use by different ethnic groups of the town will be discussed in detail below.

#### 5.4.3.1 Age, sex, education and socio-economic status of respondent

The main characteristics that will be dealt with are age, sex, education and socio-economic status of respondents. These, together with ethnic group are the most clearly related to differential language use.

##### 5.4.3.1.1 Age

The age of respondents is considered to be that elicited by Question 2. The sample divided into three age groups: young (aged up to 40), middle (aged 41 - 60), and old (aged over 60). This division was chosen on the basis being discussed in Chapter 4 and in order to obtain a clear picture about the linguistic situation does exist at present in the town of Kirkuk. This will be done by examining the competence, the language use, and the language attitudes of different generations in the town.

##### 5.4.3.1.2 Sex

Since the Arabic language differentiates between male and female, it was possible to determine the sex of respondents. (e.g. mu'alim, male teacher and mu'alimah, female teacher).

##### 5.4.3.1.3 Education

Question 29 asked for the degree and level of education achieved by the respondents. The respondents claiming to read and write without finishing primary school are classed as educated

#### 5.4.3.1.4 Socio-economic status of respondents (occupational category)

The occupation of the respondents were fixed according to their answers to question 3. The occupation was rated on an eight point scale and the ratings based essentially on the prestige value of the occupation as being discussed in Chapter 4.3.1.4.

These factors, particularly age, sex and education, are not unrelated. As shown in Table 13, the intersection of these three factors does not yield subgroups of equal size. Due to the recent increase in education, younger generation are more likely to have attended school than the older generation [see Chapter 5.2]. As has been noted earlier, the school attendance is almost universal among school-age children in Kirkuk at present. Moreover, males are more likely to be educated than females. Therefore, the educated males outnumber educated females in the sample as a whole almost three to one.

The age of the Kurdish respondents in the town of Kirkuk was found to make a significant degree of difference with regard to their use of different languages in use in this town. The use of Kurdish by the Kurdish sample, however, shows regular stratification according to the non-linguistic variables under consideration here. In the following tables stratification of the use of Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish



in Kirkuk by their sample speaker respondents according to age is given. Each of the three age groups, young, middle and old, reflects roughly parallel trends in regard to the use of Kurdish in situations ranging from the familiar and informal (in the home), to the more formal and unfamiliar (with employer superior). The most noticeable thing about the stratification of language use according to age in Kirkuk is not only that the old age group Kurds exhibits by far the greatest use of Kurdish, but also that the young age group Kurds make significantly greater use of Kurdish than do the middle age group Kurds. The relatively higher levels of Kurdish use by the younger age group Kurds, particularly educated people, must be seen as having a favourable effect on Kurdish language maintenance. However, the relative size of this group in Kirkuk [approximately 70% of all Kurdish respondents], and the unfavourable prospects for the Kurdish youth of the town remaining in the town after completing their studies there or elsewhere and taking up compulsory posts away from this town as a result of current official policy, speak against overestimating the overall influence of this group upon the trend of Kurdish language maintenance in Kirkuk.

In Tables 76 and 77 the young Turkmen, particularly the educated group, was seen to have gone further than the Kurdish young group to adapt itself to the sociolinguistic status of Arab residents of the town: i.e. a greater tendency to

approximate the use and competence in Arabic of Kirkukians native Arabs. Tables 54 - 85 show the use of Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to their distribution among the three different ethnic groups (Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen of the town). As was expected, the Kirkukian Turkmen stated that they use Arabic to a much greater degree than do the Kurdish group for all sub-demographic variables. However, while most Kirkukian Kurds have Kurdish as the language of the home with their children, about 16.3% of male middle age group Turkmen show a significantly greater use of Arabic with their children in this role relationship.

On the other hand, the increase in the use of Arabic by the younger educated Turkmen, males and females outside the domain of home and in most situations, as shown in tables 76 - 85) must be seen as having a favourable effect on Turkmanish speakers to change their language and to shift to Arabic in the course of time.

The stratification of the use of Kurdish according to the socio-economic status of the Kurdish sample speaker respondents (based on occupational category) display once again the important role of Kurdish as the normal language for use in the Kurdish community in Kirkuk. Tables 86 - 92 indicate the persistent use of Kurdish by all occupational categories in most situations. The only substantial decreases in the use of Kurdish for the Kurdish sample can be seen very clearly in the place of work. The decrease in the use of

Kurdish at the place of work by the Kurdish respondents may be due in part to the greater degree to which the other groups, particularly Arabic speakers, are employed in this town, in settings where Kurdish is less likely to be the language predominantly used. This, however, seems to reinforce the trend already observed in Table 28; a further indication of the importance of Kurdish as the language of the Kurdish community in Kirkuk - a reflection of the overall tendency for the use of Kurdish to increase as a socio-economic status of the bilingual or multilingual individual Kurds decreases. The hierarchy of the strata of language use for the Kurdish sample, according to socio-economic status is the same as it is for competence in Kurdish [cf. Table 130]. The decrease in the use of Kurdish by the Arabic and Turkmanish sample speaker respondents for all occupational categories is quite clear for any observer. Other than the domain of home, the use of Arabic, however, gaining a substantial increase among various occupational categories of non-Arabic sample speaker respondents of the town, particularly the Turkmanish ones. The use of Turkmanish by the various occupational categories of the Arabic speakers in this town is very slight and negligible as can be seen in the following tables. So, the dominant use of Arabic in the community at large is quite obvious and unmistakable.



**Table 54** Kurdish sample (young male educated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,8,c,d]

<u>Domain</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K S T</u>	<u>A S T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
At home	father	97.5	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	98.7	162
	mother	92.0	0.6	6.2	-	-	-	-	98.8	
	Brothers & sisters	97.5	-	1.9	-	-	-	-	99.4	
	wife	24.0	0.6	1.9	-	-	-	-	26.5	
	children	23.5	-	1.9	-	-	-	-	25.4	
At work	writing a private letter	51.2	15.4	-	32.1	-	-	-	98.7	
	co-worker	6.2	7.4	-	8.0	-	-	10.5	32.1	
	employer superior	2.5	22.8	-	0.6	0.6	-	-	26.5	
	friends	55.6	-	-	19.1	1.9	-	22.2	98.8	
	festival & on nat. occ.	72.2	0.6	-	13.6	1.2	-	9.9	97.5	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	61.1	-	-	14.8	1.2	-	21.6	98.7	
	neighbour	69.8	-	1.2	9.3	5.5	0.6	11.7	98.1	
	in the market	50.0	-	0.6	20.4	3.0	-	22.2	96.2	
	religious men	68.5	-	0.6	7.4	0.6	-	6.8	83.9	
	poetry	59.3	6.8	-	22.2	-	-	0.6	88.9	
Different topics	science	59.3	4.9	-	18.5	-	-	0.6	83.3	
	religion	60.5	4.9	-	20.4	0.6	-	2.5	88.9	
	politics	38.9	6.8	-	11.1	-	-	1.2	58.0	
	sports	63.6	1.9	-	13.0	1.2	-	3.7	83.4	
	professions	59.3	1.2	-	14.8	0.6	-	6.8	82.7	



Table 56

Kurdish sample (young female educated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

Domain	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	94.1	-	5.9	-	-	-	-	100	68
	mother	86.8	-	13.2	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	91.2	1.5	7.3	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	16.2	-	2.9	-	-	-	-	19.1	
	children	14.7	-	1.5	-	-	-	-	16.2	
At work	writing a private letter	51.5	19.1	-	27.9	-	-	-	98.5	
	co-worker	11.8	5.9	-	1.5	-	-	1.5	20.7	
	employer superior	11.8	8.8	-	-	-	-	-	20.6	
	friends	66.2	-	2.9	14.7	4.4	-	11.8	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	75.0	-	2.9	14.7	5.9	-	1.5	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	60.3	-	1.5	19.1	10.3	1.5	7.3	100	
	neighbour	69.1	-	4.4	16.2	4.4	1.5	4.4	100	
	in the market	58.8	-	1.5	23.5	7.3	1.5	7.3	99.9	
	religious men	27.9	-	1.5	2.9	1.5	-	2.9	36.7	
	poetry	50.0	11.8	-	33.8	-	-	-	95.6	
Different topics	science	70.6	8.8	-	7.3	-	-	-	86.7	
	religion	60.3	11.8	1.5	4.4	1.5	-	-	79.5	
	politics	33.8	7.3	-	4.4	-	-	-	45.5	
	sports	66.2	7.3	-	4.4	-	-	-	77.9	
	professions	51.5	4.4	2.9	5.9	-	-	-	64.7	





**Table 58** Kurdish sample (middle male educated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K S A</u>	<u>K S T</u>	<u>A S T</u>	<u>K, A S T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	93.2	-	2.3	-	-	-	-	95.5	.44
	mother	84.1	-	13.6	-	-	-	-	97.7	
	brothers & sisters	93.2	-	4.6	-	-	-	-	97.8	
	wife	93.2	-	6.8	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	95.4	-	4.6	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	25.0	25.0	-	47.7	-	-	-	97.7	
	co-worker	25.0	15.9	-	13.6	2.3	2.3	27.3	86.4	
	employer superior	31.8	34.1	-	4.6	-	-	-	70.5	
	friends	25.0	-	-	11.4	6.8	-	52.3	95.5	
	festival & on nat. occ.	72.7	2.3	-	2.3	9.1	-	9.1	95.5	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	29.5	4.6	-	6.8	11.4	-	47.7	100	
	neighbour	75.0	-	-	6.8	18.2	-	-	100	
	in the market	31.8	-	-	6.8	9.1	-	52.3	100	
	religious men	84.1	-	-	2.3	-	-	9.1	95.5	
	poetry	52.3	8.1	-	11.4	-	-	-	71.8	
Different topics	science	18.2	4.6	-	11.4	-	-	-	34.2	
	religion	61.4	6.8	-	15.9	-	-	9.1	93.2	
	politics	11.4	6.8	-	4.6	-	-	6.8	29.6	
	sports	22.7	-	-	2.3	2.3	-	4.6	31.9	
	professions	25.0	2.3	-	6.8	6.8	-	9.1	50.0	

**Table 59** Kurdish sample (middle male uneducated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,5, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domain</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	14
	mother	92.9	-	7.1	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	92.9	-	7.1	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	92.9	-	7.1	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	92.9	-	7.1	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	14.3	-	-	14.3	21.4	-	7.1	57.1	
	employer superior	7.1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	21.4	
	friends	50.0	-	-	21.4	7.1	-	21.4	99.9	
	festival & on nat. occ.	92.9	-	-	-	-	-	7.1	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	64.3	-	-	-	21.4	-	14.3	100	
	neighbour	85.7	-	7.1	7.1	-	-	-	99.9	
	in the market	42.9	-	-	7.1	35.7	-	14.3	100	
	religious men	92.9	-	-	-	-	-	7.1	100	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	7.1	-	-	-	7.1	-	-	14.2	







**Table 62** Kurdish sample (old male educated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	father	85.7	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	100	7
	mother	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	85.7	
At home	brothers & sisters	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	85.7	
	wife	85.7	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	writing a private letter	-	-	-	71.4	-	-	14.3	85.7	
At work	co-worker	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	
	employer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	28.6	-	-	-	14.3	-	28.6	71.5	
	festival & on nat. occ.	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	85.7	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	28.6	-	-	-	14.3	-	42.8	85.7	
	neighbour	71.4	-	-	14.3	-	-	-	85.7	
	in the market	28.6	-	-	-	14.3	-	28.6	71.5	
	religious men	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	71.4	
	poetry	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	
	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Different topics	religion	57.1	-	-	-	-	-	28.6	85.7	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	28.6	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	42.9	



**Table 63** Kurdish sample (old male uneducated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	8
	mother	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	87.5	-	12.5	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	children	75.0	-	12.5	-	-	-	-	87.5	
	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Miscellaneous	friends	50.0	-	-	-	12.5	-	37.5	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	100	
	traditional Islamic feasts	25.0	-	-	25.0	-	-	25.0	100	
	neighbour in the market	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	75.0	
Different topics	religious men	62.5	-	12.5	-	-	-	37.5	100	
	poetry	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	87.5	
	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	
	religion	62.5	-	-	-	12.5	-	-	75.0	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	37.5	

Table 64

Kurdish sample (old female uneducated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,  
B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

[illegible]

**Table 65**    Arabic sample (young male educated)    responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	-	98.3	0.8	-	-	-	-	99.1	121
	mother	-	97.5	2.5	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	0.8	59.5	0.8	-	-	-	-	61.1	
At work	children	-	61.1	-	-	-	-	-	61.1	
	writing a private letter	-	97.5	-	-	-	-	-	97.5	
	co-worker	-	69.4	-	0.8	-	0.8	1.6	72.6	
	employer superior	-	71.0	-	-	-	-	-	71.0	
Miscellaneous	friends	-	77.7	-	1.6	-	12.4	6.6	98.3	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	90.9	-	0.8	-	3.3	5.0	100	
	traditional Islamic feasts	-	81.8	-	1.6	-	8.3	8.3	100	
	neighbour	-	81.8	2.5	0.8	-	7.4	2.5	95.0	
Different topics	in the market	-	79.3	1.6	0.8	-	10.7	6.6	99.0	
	religious men	-	73.6	0.8	1.6	-	3.3	-	79.3	
	poetry	-	62.0	-	-	-	-	-	62.0	
	science	-	58.7	-	-	-	-	-	58.7	
Different topics	religion	-	81.0	-	-	-	-	-	81.0	
	politics	-	95.0	-	-	-	-	-	95.0	
	sports	-	60.3	-	-	-	-	-	60.3	
	professions	-	53.7	-	-	-	-	-	53.7	



**Table 66** Arabic sample (young male uneducated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total Nos</u>
At home	father	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100 7
	mother	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
	brothers & sisters	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
	wife	-	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	85.7
	children	-	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	85.7
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	co-worker	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
	employer superior	-	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	71.4
	friends	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	85.7
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
	neighbour	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
	in the market	-	85.7	-	-	-	14.3	-	100
	religious men	-	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	85.7
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	religion	-	42.9	-	-	-	-	-	42.9
	politics	-	57.1	-	-	-	-	-	57.1
	sports	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	14.3
	professions	-	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	71.4

**Table 67** Arabic sample (young female educated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,5, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	Father	3.3	96.7	-	-	-	-	-	100	30
	mother	3.3	86.7	10.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	3.3	93.3	3.3	-	-	-	-	99.9	
	husband	-	53.3	-	-	-	-	-	53.3	
At work	children	-	53.3	-	-	-	-	-	53.3	
	writing a private letter	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	co-worker	-	46.7	-	-	-	-	3.3	50.0	
	employer superior	-	46.7	-	-	-	-	-	46.7	
Miscellaneous	friends	-	86.7	-	3.3	-	6.7	3.3	100	
	Festival & on nat. occ.	-	73.3	-	6.7	-	6.7	3.3	90.0	
	traditional Islamic feasts	-	80.0	-	6.7	-	3.3	6.7	96.7	
	neighbour	3.3	80.0	6.7	3.3	-	6.7	-	100	
Different topics	in the market	3.3	80.0	3.3	-	-	10.0	3.3	99.9	
	religious men	-	43.3	-	-	-	3.3	-	46.6	
	poetry	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	
	science	-	73.3	-	-	-	-	-	73.3	
Different topics	religion	-	70.0	-	-	-	-	-	70.0	
	politics	-	70.0	-	-	-	-	-	70.0	
	sports	-	53.3	-	-	-	-	-	53.3	
	professions	-	53.3	-	-	-	-	-	53.3	





**Table 69**      **Arabic sample (middle male educated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)**

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	Father	-	96.0	4.0	-	-	-	-	100	25
	mother	-	92.0	8.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	92.0	8.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	-	88.0	8.0	-	-	-	-	96.0	
	children	-	92.0	4.0	-	-	-	-	96.0	
At work	writing a private letter	-	88.0	-	-	-	-	-	88.0	
	co-worker	-	84.0	-	-	-	8.0	4.0	96.0	
	employer superior	-	88.0	-	-	-	4.0	-	92.0	
	friends	-	76.0	-	-	-	8.0	12.0	96.0	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	92.0	-	-	-	4.0	-	96.0	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	88.0	-	-	-	8.0	4.0	100	
	neighbour	-	80.0	-	-	-	8.0	4.0	92.0	
	in the market	-	84.0	4.0	-	-	8.0	4.0	100	
	religious men	4.0	80.0	4.0	-	-	-	-	88.0	
	poetry	-	44.0	-	-	-	-	-	44.0	
Different topics	science	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	
	religion	-	88.0	-	-	-	-	4.0	92.0	
	politics	-	80.0	-	-	-	-	-	80.0	
	sports	-	8.0	-	-	-	4.0	-	12.0	
	professions	-	24.0	-	-	-	4.0	-	28.0	

Table 70

Arabic sample (middle male uneducated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,5, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)]

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	15
	mother	93.3	6.7	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	93.3	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	86.7	-	-	-	-	-	86.7	
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	66.7	-	-	-	-	6.7	73.4	
	employer superior	53.3	-	-	-	-	-	53.3	
	friends	53.3	-	6.7	-	20.0	13.3	93.3	
	festival & on nat. occ.	80.0	-	-	-	-	6.7	86.7	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	46.6	-	-	-	26.7	26.7	100	
	neighbour	66.6	-	6.7	-	20.0	6.7	100	
	in the market	53.3	-	6.7	-	20.0	20.0	100	
	religious men	80.0	-	-	-	13.3	6.7	100	
	poetry	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	6.7	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	93.3	-	-	-	6.7	-	100	
	politics	46.7	-	-	-	-	-	46.7	
	sports	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	
	professions	40.0	-	-	-	6.7	6.7	53.4	

Table 71 Arabic sample [middle female educated] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	Father	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	7
	mother	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	co-worker	-	57.1	-	-	-	-	-	57.1	
	employer superior	-	57.1	-	-	-	-	-	57.1	
	friends	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
Miscellaneous	Festival & on nat. occ.	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	traditional Islamic feasts	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	neighbour	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	in the market	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	religious men	-	42.9	-	-	-	-	-	42.9	
Different topics	poetry	-	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	71.4	
	science	-	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	71.4	
	religion	-	85.7	-	-	-	-	-	85.7	
	politics	-	71.4	-	-	-	-	-	71.4	
	sports	-	42.9	-	-	-	-	-	42.9	
	professions	-	57.1	-	-	-	-	-	57.1	







Table 74 Arabic sample [old male uneducated] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K S A	K S T	A S T	K, A S T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	75.0	8
	mother	-	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	75.0	
	brothers & sisters	-	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	75.0	
	wife	-	75.0	25.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	87.5	12.5	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	
	employer superior	-	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	
	friends	-	62.5	-	-	-	-	25.0	87.5	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	87.5	-	-	-	12.5	-	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	75.0	-	-	-	12.5	12.5	100	
	neighbour	-	75.0	-	-	-	25.0	-	100	
	in the market	-	62.5	-	-	-	25.0	12.5	100	
	religious men	-	87.5	-	-	-	12.5	-	100	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	-	62.5	-	-	-	-	-	62.5	
	politics	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	



Table 75 Arabic sample [old female uneducated] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K.S.A</u>	<u>K.S.T</u>	<u>A.S.T</u>	<u>K,A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	Father	50.0	50.0	-	-	-	-	100	2
	mother	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	children	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Miscellaneous	friends	-	-	50.0	-	-	50.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	-	50.0	-	-	50.0	100	
	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	50.0	-	-	50.0	100	
	neighbour in the market	-	-	-	-	50.0	50.0	100	
Different topics	religions men	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

**Table 76** Turkmanish sample (young male educated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K S T</u>	<u>A S T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	-	1.0	99.0	-	-	-	-	100	99
	mother	-	-	99.0	-	-	-	-	99.0	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	-	1.0	36.4	-	-	-	-	37.4	
	children	-	-	28.3	-	-	-	-	28.3	
At work	writing a private letter	-	86.9	1.0	-	-	5.0	-	92.9	
	co-worker	-	38.4	3.0	-	1.0	10.1	8.0	60.5	
	employer superior	-	45.4	-	-	-	5.0	1.0	51.4	
	Friends	1.0	6.1	21.2	-	-	50.5	21.2	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	13.1	26.3	-	1.0	38.4	15.1	93.9	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	5.0	28.3	-	-	51.5	14.1	98.9	
	neighbour	-	2.0	56.5	-	1.0	33.3	7.0	99.8	
	in the market	-	5.0	30.3	-	1.0	42.4	15.1	93.8	
	religious men	1.0	15.1	26.3	-	2.0	28.3	7.0	79.7	
	poetry	-	48.5	8.0	-	-	15.1	1.0	72.6	
Different topics	science	-	44.4	6.0	-	-	13.1	-	63.5	
	religion	-	47.5	10.1	1.0	-	19.2	4.0	81.8	
	politics	-	55.5	3.0	-	-	11.1	1.0	70.6	
	sports	-	42.4	12.1	-	-	28.3	4.0	86.8	
	professions	-	34.3	12.1	1.0	-	25.2	7.0	79.6	

Table 77 Turkmanish sample [young female educated] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	Father	-	2.9	92.9	-	-	-	-	95.8	70
	mother	1.4	1.4	94.3	-	-	-	-	97.1	
	brothers & sisters	-	2.9	95.7	-	-	-	-	98.6	
	husband	-	4.3	24.3	-	-	-	-	28.6	
	children	-	4.3	22.9	-	-	-	-	27.2	
At work	writing a private letter	-	85.7	1.4	-	-	-	-	87.1	
	co-worker	-	12.9	1.4	-	-	24.3	2.9	41.5	
	employer superior	-	38.6	-	-	-	1.4	1.4	41.4	
	friends	1.4	12.9	51.4	-	1.4	30.0	2.9	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	1.4	18.6	44.3	-	1.4	24.3	5.7	95.7	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	1.4	7.1	45.7	-	2.9	32.9	7.1	97.1	
	neighbour	1.4	10.0	64.3	-	1.4	18.6	4.3	100	
	in the market	1.4	11.4	57.1	-	1.4	25.7	2.9	99.9	
	religious men	1.4	4.3	24.3	-	1.4	10.0	-	41.4	
	poetry	-	58.6	14.3	-	-	11.4	-	84.3	
Different topics	science	-	54.3	14.3	-	-	10.0	-	78.6	
	religion	-	52.9	18.6	-	1.4	15.7	1.4	90.0	
	politics	-	52.9	10.0	-	-	10.0	-	72.9	
	sports	-	44.3	17.1	-	-	12.9	-	74.3	
	professions	-	38.6	17.1	-	-	12.9	-	68.6	



Table 78 Turkmanish sample (young female uneducated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	5
	mother	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	20.0	-	80.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	-	40.0	-	20.0	20.0	20.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	-	40.0	-	20.0	20.0	20.0	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	40.0	-	20.0	20.0	20.0	100	
	neighbour	-	-	80.0	-	20.0	-	-	100	
	in the market	-	-	80.0	-	20.0	-	-	100	
	religious men	-	-	40.0	-	-	-	-	40.0	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	-	-	20.0	-	20.0	-	-	40.0	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Table 79 Turkmanish sample (middle male educated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,8,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	Father	-	2.3	95.3	-	-	-	-	97.6	43
	mother	-	-	97.6	-	-	-	-	97.6	
	brothers & sisters	-	4.6	95.3	-	-	-	-	99.9	
	wife	-	4.6	95.3	-	-	-	-	99.9	
	children	-	16.3	81.4	-	-	-	-	97.7	
At work	writing a private letter	-	90.7	2.3	-	-	4.6	-	97.6	
	co-worker	-	34.9	2.3	-	-	18.6	30.2	86.0	
	employer superior	-	67.4	-	-	-	2.3	2.3	72.0	
	friends	-	7.0	16.3	-	-	32.5	44.2	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	9.3	16.3	-	-	27.3	34.9	87.8	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	2.3	20.9	-	-	32.5	41.9	97.6	
	neighbour	2.3	4.6	58.1	-	9.3	18.6	7.0	99.9	
	in the market	-	2.3	25.6	-	2.3	27.9	41.9	100	
	religious men	2.3	7.0	46.5	-	4.6	18.6	16.3	95.3	
	poetry	-	23.2	4.6	-	-	13.9	4.6	46.3	
Different topics	science	-	25.5	9.3	-	-	7.0	4.6	46.4	
	religion	-	16.3	16.3	-	2.3	25.5	9.3	69.7	
	politics	-	20.9	2.3	-	-	4.6	-	27.8	
	sports	-	13.9	4.6	-	-	9.3	-	27.8	
	professions	-	20.9	16.3	-	-	18.6	13.9	69.7	

Table 80 Turkmanish sample (middle male uneducated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & I	A & I	K, A & I	Total	Nos
At home	Father	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	5
	mother	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	-	40.0	-	-	-	20.0	20.0	80.0	
	employer superior	-	60.0	-	-	-	-	-	60.0	
	friends	-	-	40.0	-	-	40.0	20.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	-	20.0	-	-	40.0	40.0	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	20.0	-	-	40.0	40.0	100	
	neighbour	-	-	80.0	-	20.0	-	-	100	
	in the market	-	-	40.0	-	-	20.0	40.0	100	
	religious men	-	20.0	60.0	-	-	20.0	-	100	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	20.0	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	-	20.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	40.0	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	20.0	



**Table 81** Turkmanish sample (middle female educated) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	Father	-	11.1	88.9	-	-	-	-	100	9
	mother	11.1	-	88.9	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	-	-	88.9	-	-	-	-	88.9	
	husband	-	11.1	88.9	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	11.1	77.8	-	-	-	-	88.9	
	writing a private letter	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	
At work	co-worker	-	22.2	-	-	-	22.2	-	44.4	
	employer superior	-	33.3	-	-	-	11.1	-	44.4	
	Friends	-	-	55.6	-	-	22.2	22.2	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	-	44.4	-	11.1	22.2	22.2	99.8	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	44.4	-	11.1	22.2	22.2	99.9	
	neighbour	11.1	-	77.8	-	-	-	11.1	100	
	in the market	-	-	44.4	-	-	22.2	33.3	99.9	
	religious men	11.1	-	55.6	-	-	-	-	66.7	
Different topics	poetry	-	55.6	11.1	-	-	11.1	-	77.8	
	science	-	22.2	11.1	-	-	22.2	-	55.5	
	religion	-	11.1	33.3	-	-	33.3	-	77.7	
	politics	-	22.2	-	-	-	11.1	-	33.3	
	sports	-	-	11.1	-	-	11.1	-	22.2	
	professions	-	-	11.1	-	-	22.2	-	33.3	
		-	-		-	-		-		

Table 82 Turkmanish sample (middle female uneducated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, 8,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K S T	A S T	K, A S T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	12
	mother	-	-	91.7	-	-	-	-	91.7	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	8.3	-	91.7	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	8.3	-	91.7	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	-	66.7	-	33.3	-	-	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	8.3	-	66.7	-	16.7	-	-	91.7	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	66.7	-	25.0	-	-	91.7	
	neighbour	8.3	-	83.3	-	8.3	-	-	99.9	
	in the market	-	-	66.7	-	25.0	-	-	91.7	
	religious men	8.3	-	50.0	-	8.3	-	-	66.6	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	8.3	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	41.6	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Table 83 Turkmanish sample (old male educated) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,5, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	-	90.0	-	-	-	-	90.0	10
	mother	-	-	90.0	-	-	-	-	90.0	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife	-	10.0	90.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	10.0	90.0	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	30.0	10.0	-	-	30.0	10.0	80.0	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	10.0	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	10.0	-	-	-	30.0	60.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	10.0	20.0	-	10.0	20.0	40.0	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	10.0	-	-	-	30.0	60.0	100	
	neighbour	-	10.0	70.0	-	-	-	20.0	100	
	in the market	-	-	30.0	-	10.0	20.0	40.0	100	
	religious men	-	10.0	50.0	-	-	10.0	20.0	90.0	
	poetry	-	10.0	-	-	10.0	20.0	10.0	50.0	
Different topics	science	-	10.0	-	-	-	10.0	-	20.0	
	religion	-	10.0	20.0	-	-	30.0	20.0	80.0	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	20.0	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	20.0	
	professions	-	-	10.0	-	-	20.0	10.0	40.0	







Table 86 Kurdish Sample [government official] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,  
B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	Father	87.5	-	12.5	-	-	-	-	100	24
	mother	79.2	-	20.8	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	75.0	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	91.7	
	wife/husband	75.0	-	4.2	-	-	-	-	79.2	
At work	children	70.8	-	4.2	-	-	-	-	75.0	
	writing a private letter	8.3	33.3	-	50.0	-	-	-	91.6	
	co-worker	12.5	41.7	-	25.0	-	-	16.7	95.9	
	employer superior	16.7	75.0	-	4.2	-	-	-	95.9	
Miscellaneous	friends	20.8	4.2	4.2	16.6	4.2	-	50.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	62.5	-	4.2	4.2	8.3	-	12.5	91.7	
	traditional Islamic feasts	37.5	4.2	4.2	4.2	12.5	-	33.3	95.9	
	neighbour in the market	66.7	-	12.5	-	8.3	-	8.3	95.8	
Different topics	religious men	58.3	-	-	8.3	12.5	4.2	37.5	95.8	
	poetry	41.7	4.2	-	4.2	-	-	16.7	79.2	
	science	20.8	8.3	-	20.8	-	-	-	66.7	
	religion	50.0	4.2	-	8.3	-	-	-	37.4	
	politics	25.0	16.7	-	16.7	-	-	8.3	79.2	
	sports	37.5	8.3	-	4.2	-	-	-	45.9	
	professions	33.3	-	-	8.3	-	-	4.2	58.3	
					12.5	4.2	-	4.2	54.2	





Table 88 Kurdish Sample (industrial worker) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K S A	K S T	A S T	K, A S T	Total	Nos
At home	father	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	10
	mother	90.0	-	10.0	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	writing a private letter	-	30.0	-	30.0	-	-	-	60.0	
	co-worker	10.0	20.0	-	30.0	-	-	40.0	100	
	employer superior	10.0	90.0	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	friends	30.0	-	-	40.0	-	-	30.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	80.0	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	40.0	-	-	20.0	-	-	40.0	100	
	neighbour	80.0	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	100	
	in the market	20.0	-	-	30.0	-	-	50.0	100	
	religious men	80.0	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	90.0	
	poetry	30.0	10.0	-	10.0	-	-	-	50.0	
Different topics	science	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	
	religion	80.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	80.0	
	politics	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	
	sports	20.0	-	-	10.0	-	-	-	30.0	
	professions	20.0	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	40.0	

Table 89 Kurdish Sample [self-employed] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	94.4	-	2.8	-	-	-	-	97.2	36
	mother	91.7	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	94.5	
	brothers & sisters	94.4	-	2.8	-	-	-	-	97.2	
	wife/husband	83.3	2.8	8.3	-	-	-	-	94.4	
	children	88.9	-	5.6	-	-	-	-	94.5	
At work	writing a private letter	16.7	22.2	22.2	-	-	-	-	61.1	
	co-worker	13.9	2.8	-	8.3	11.1	-	30.6	66.7	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	27.8	-	-	16.7	16.7	-	36.1	97.2	
Miscellaneous	festival & on nat. occ.	77.7	-	-	5.6	5.6	-	11.1	100	
	traditional Islamic feasts	36.1	-	-	2.8	11.1	-	44.4	94.4	
	neighbour	72.2	-	-	5.6	11.1	-	11.1	100	
	in the market	30.6	-	2.8	8.3	16.7	-	41.6	100	
	religious men	86.1	-	2.8	2.8	-	-	2.8	94.5	
Different topics	poetry	22.2	-	-	11.1	-	-	-	33.3	
	science	-	-	-	5.6	-	-	-	5.6	
	religion	66.7	2.8	-	8.3	2.8	-	5.6	86.2	
	politics	-	2.8	-	2.8	-	-	-	5.6	
	sports	5.6	2.8	-	2.8	-	-	-	11.2	
	professions	41.7	-	-	11.1	5.6	-	19.4	77.8	



**Table 90** Kurdish Sample (retired) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,8,c,d),  
(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	Father	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	15
	mother	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	93.3	-	6.7	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	86.7	-	13.3	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	66.7	-	13.3	-	-	-	-	80.0	
	writing a private letter	6.7	-	-	40.0	-	-	6.7	53.4	
At work	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	26.7	-	-	13.3	-	-	53.3	93.3	
	festival & on nat. occ.	66.7	-	-	6.7	-	-	26.6	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	33.3	-	-	13.3	6.7	-	46.7	100	
	neighbour	80.0	-	6.7	6.7	-	-	6.7	100	
	in the market	33.3	-	-	-	20.0	-	40.0	93.3	
	religious men	60.0	-	6.7	6.7	-	-	13.3	86.7	
Different topics	poetry	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	
	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	66.7	-	-	-	6.7	-	13.3	86.7	
	politics	-	-	-	6.7	-	-	6.7	13.4	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	6.7	-	-	-	6.7	-	13.3	26.7	

**Table 91** Kurdish Sample (housewife) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d)  
(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	87.9	1.7	8.6	-	-	-	-	98.2	58
	mother	87.9	1.7	10.3	-	-	-	-	99.9	
	brothers & sisters	89.6	-	10.3	-	-	-	-	99.9	
	husband	84.5	-	10.3	-	-	-	-	94.8	
	children	82.7	-	6.9	-	-	-	-	89.6	
At work	writing a private letter	1.7	6.9	-	3.4	-	-	-	12.0	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	60.3	-	3.4	1.7	22.4	-	12.0	99.8	
Miscellaneous	festival & on nat. occ.	82.7	-	1.7	-	12.0	-	3.4	99.8	
	traditional Islamic feasts	63.8	-	-	1.7	27.5	1.7	5.2	99.9	
	neighbour	75.9	1.7	3.4	1.7	12.0	1.7	3.4	99.8	
	in the market	65.5	-	1.7	1.7	17.2	-	5.2	91.3	
	religious men	48.3	-	1.7	-	3.4	-	1.7	55.1	
Different topics	poetry	10.3	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	12.0	
	science	3.4	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	5.1	
	religion	56.9	3.4	3.4	1.7	3.4	-	1.7	70.5	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	
	professions	3.4	-	3.4	-	1.7	-	-	8.5	

Table 92 Kurdish Sample [student] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,5,6,B,c,d],  
.(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	Father	98.0	-	0.6	-	-	-	-	98.6	154
	mother	91.6	0.6	7.8	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	98.7	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	
	children	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	
	writing a private letter	63.6	8.4	-	27.3	-	-	-	99.3	
At work	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	75.3	-	-	11.7	3.2	-	8.4	98.6	
	festival & on nat. occ.	74.7	1.3	-	14.3	3.2	-	3.9	97.4	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic Feasts	68.8	0.6	-	15.6	3.9	-	10.4	99.3	
	neighbour	75.3	1.3	1.3	11.0	3.2	-	7.8	99.9	
	in the market	59.7	0.6	-	23.4	4.5	-	11.7	99.9	
	religious men	54.5	0.6	-	4.5	1.3	-	3.9	64.8	
	poetry	61.7	11.0	-	24.0	-	-	0.6	97.3	
	science	72.7	9.7	-	12.9	-	-	0.6	95.9	
Different topics	religion	64.9	11.7	-	18.8	-	-	0.6	96.0	
	politics	40.3	8.7	-	7.1	-	-	0.6	57.7	
	sports	75.3	9.0	-	8.4	0.6	-	1.3	94.6	
	professions	61.7	7.1	-	8.4	-	-	1.3	78.5	



Table 93

Arabic Sample [government official] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,  
B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	79
	mother	-	97.5	2.5	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	96.2	-	-	-	-	-	96.2	
	wife/husband	1.3	79.7	-	-	-	-	-	81.0	
At work	children	-	79.7	-	-	-	-	-	79.7	
	writing a private letter	-	88.6	-	-	-	-	-	88.6	
	co-worker	-	91.1	-	1.3	-	1.3	2.5	96.2	
	employer superior	-	92.4	-	-	-	-	-	92.4	
Miscellaneous	friends	-	78.5	-	-	-	13.9	5.0	97.4	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	88.6	-	1.3	-	5.0	3.8	98.7	
	traditional Islamic feasts	-	81.0	-	1.3	-	7.6	5.0	94.9	
	neighbour	-	81.0	1.3	2.5	-	10.1	1.3	96.2	
Different topics	in the market	-	82.3	-	-	-	12.6	2.5	97.4	
	religious men	-	73.4	-	-	-	2.5	-	75.9	
	poetry	-	41.8	-	-	-	-	-	41.8	
	science	-	27.8	-	-	-	-	-	27.8	
Different topics	religion	-	77.2	-	-	-	-	-	77.2	
	politics	-	91.1	-	-	-	-	-	91.1	
	sports	-	31.6	-	-	-	-	-	31.6	
	professions	-	30.4	-	-	-	-	-	30.4	

Table 94 Arabic Sample [teacher] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d],  
[13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	97.4	2.6	-	-	-	-	100	38
	mother	-	97.4	2.6	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	97.4	-	-	-	-	-	97.4	
	wife/husband	-	78.9	2.6	-	-	-	-	81.5	
	children	-	78.9	-	-	-	-	-	78.9	
At work	writing a private letter	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	co-worker	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	employer superior	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	friends	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	94.7	-	-	-	-	-	94.7	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	97.4	-	-	-	-	-	97.4	
	neighbour	-	92.2	2.6	-	-	2.6	-	97.4	
	in the market	-	94.7	2.6	-	-	2.6	-	99.9	
	religious men	-	60.5	2.6	-	-	-	-	63.1	
	poetry	-	94.7	-	-	-	-	-	94.7	
Different topics	science	-	97.4	-	-	-	-	-	97.4	
	religion	-	81.6	-	-	-	-	-	81.6	
	politics	-	94.7	-	-	-	-	-	94.7	
	sports	-	68.4	-	-	-	-	-	68.4	
	professions	-	65.8	-	-	-	-	-	65.8	

Table 95

Arabic Sample [industrial worker] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,  
B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
	Father	-	96.3	3.7	-	-	-	-	100	27
	mother	-	96.3	3.7	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	-	96.3	3.7	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	81.5	3.7	-	-	-	-	85.2	
	children	-	77.8	3.7	-	-	-	-	81.5	
	writing a private letter	-	63.0	-	-	-	-	-	63.0	
At work	co-worker	-	85.2	-	-	-	-	11.1	96.3	
	employer superior	-	96.3	-	-	-	-	-	96.3	
	friends	-	66.7	-	3.7	-	7.4	18.5	96.3	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	85.2	-	-	-	-	11.1	96.3	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	74.0	-	-	-	7.4	14.8	96.2	
	neighbour	-	81.5	-	-	-	3.7	14.8	100	
	in the market	-	77.8	-	-	-	3.7	18.5	100	
	religious men	3.7	85.2	-	3.7	-	-	-	92.6	
Different topics	poetry	-	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	
	science	-	7.4	-	-	-	-	-	7.4	
	religion	-	77.8	-	-	-	-	3.7	81.5	
	politics	-	88.9	-	-	-	-	-	88.9	
	sports	-	37.0	-	-	-	-	-	37.0	
	professions	-	59.3	-	-	-	-	-	59.3	



**Table 96** Arabic Sample (self-employed) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K S A</u>	<u>K S T</u>	<u>A S T</u>	<u>K, A S T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	12
	mother	-	83.3	16.7	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	91.7	8.3	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	83.3	8.3	-	-	-	-	91.6	
At work	children	-	91.6	-	-	-	-	-	91.6	
	writing a private letter	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	
	co-worker	-	50.0	-	-	-	16.7	-	66.7	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Miscellaneous	friends	-	58.3	-	-	-	33.3	8.3	99.9	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	91.7	-	-	-	8.3	-	100	
	traditional Islamic feasts	-	50.0	-	-	-	41.7	8.3	100	
	neighbour in the market	-	58.3	-	-	-	41.7	-	100	
Different topics	religious men	-	41.7	8.3	-	-	41.7	8.3	100	
	poetry	-	50.0	8.3	-	-	16.7	8.3	83.3	
	science	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	
	religion	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	
	politics	-	66.7	-	-	-	8.3	-	75.0	
	sports	-	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	8.3	
	professions	-	-	-	-	-	8.3	-	8.3	
		-	66.7	-	-	-	16.7	-	83.4	

Table 97 Arabic Sample (retired) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d),  
(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	93.3	6.7	-	-	-	-	100	15
	mother	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	80.0	13.3	-	-	-	-	93.3	
	children	-	86.6	6.7	-	-	-	-	93.3	
At work	writing a private letter	-	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	40.0	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	66.6	-	6.7	-	6.7	20.0	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	93.3	-	-	-	6.7	-	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	66.7	-	-	-	6.7	6.7	80.1	
	neighbour	-	73.3	-	6.7	-	20.0	-	100	
	in the market	-	73.3	-	6.7	-	20.0	-	100	
	religious men	-	80.0	-	-	-	13.3	-	93.3	
	poetry	-	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	6.7	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	-	86.7	-	-	-	-	-	86.7	
	politics	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	
	sports	-	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	13.3	
	professions	-	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	13.3	

Table 98 Arabic Sample (housewife) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d),  
[13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	3.2	90.0	3.2	-	-	-	-	96.4	31
	mother	3.2	83.9	12.9	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	3.2	87.1	9.7	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	3.2	80.6	6.4	-	-	-	-	90.2	
	children	-	80.6	6.4	-	-	-	-	87.0	
At work	writing a private letter	-	29.0	-	-	-	-	-	29.0	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	67.7	-	9.7	-	12.9	9.7	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	64.5	-	6.4	-	9.7	6.4	87.0	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	64.5	3.2	9.7	-	16.1	6.4	99.9	
	neighbour	3.2	64.5	9.7	6.4	-	16.1	-	99.9	
	in the market	3.2	67.7	6.4	6.4	-	9.7	6.4	99.8	
	religious men	-	71.0	3.2	-	-	-	-	74.2	
	poetry	-	9.7	-	-	-	-	-	9.7	
Different topics	science	-	12.9	-	-	-	-	-	12.9	
	religion	-	61.3	-	-	-	-	-	61.3	
	politics	-	6.4	-	-	-	-	-	6.4	
	sports	-	9.7	-	-	-	-	-	9.7	
	professions	-	9.7	-	-	-	-	-	9.7	



Table 99

Arabic Sample [student] responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d],  
[13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	97.2	-	-	-	-	-	97.2	36
	mother	-	97.2	2.8	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	2.8	
	children	-	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	2.8	
At work	writing a private letter	-	94.4	-	-	-	-	-	94.4	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	75.0	-	2.8	-	11.1	8.3	97.2	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	86.2	-	2.8	-	5.5	5.5	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	83.3	-	2.8	-	2.8	8.3	97.2	
	neighbour	-	80.6	5.5	2.8	-	8.3	2.8	100	
	in the market	-	75.0	-	2.8	-	8.3	13.9	100	
	religious men	-	61.1	-	2.8	-	8.3	-	72.2	
	poetry	-	91.7	-	-	-	-	-	91.7	
Different topics	science	-	94.4	-	-	-	-	-	94.4	
	religion	-	91.7	-	-	-	-	-	91.7	
	politics	-	94.4	-	-	-	-	-	94.4	
	sports	-	88.9	-	-	-	2.8	-	91.7	
	professions	-	77.8	-	-	-	-	-	77.8	

**Table 100** Turkmanish Sample (government official) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d), (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	father	-	2.0	98.0	-	-	-	-	100	51
	mother	2.0	2.0	96.0	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	-	3.9	96.1	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	2.0	68.6	-	-	-	-	70.6	
	children	-	9.8	52.9	-	-	-	-	62.7	
	writing a private letter	-	94.1	-	-	-	5.9	-	100	
At work	co-worker	-	51.0	-	-	-	23.5	23.5	98.0	
	employer superior	-	92.2	-	-	-	2.0	6.0	100	
	friends	-	11.8	13.7	-	-	35.3	39.2	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	17.6	13.7	-	2.0	31.4	29.4	94.1	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	19.6	-	-	41.2	33.3	94.1	
	neighbour	2.0	3.9	58.8	-	3.9	23.5	7.8	99.9	
	in the market	-	5.9	27.4	-	2.0	33.4	31.3	100	
	religious men	3.9	7.8	27.4	-	3.9	13.7	15.7	72.4	
Different topics	poetry	-	33.3	7.8	-	-	19.6	3.9	64.6	
	science	-	31.4	5.9	-	-	11.8	2.0	51.1	
	religion	-	27.4	9.8	-	-	27.4	9.8	74.4	
	politics	-	35.3	2.0	-	-	5.9	2.0	45.2	
	sports	-	19.6	7.8	-	-	17.6	2.0	47.0	
	professions	-	15.7	5.9	-	-	25.5	9.8	56.9	

Table 101 Turkmanish Sample (teacher) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d) (13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)														
Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A		K & T		A & T		K, A & T		Total	Nos
At home	father	-	5.8	90.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96.2	52
	mother	-	-	96.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96.2	
	brothers & sisters	-	3.8	96.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	9.6	59.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69.2	
	children	-	9.6	51.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61.5	
At work	writing a private letter	-	86.5	3.8	-	-	-	9.6	-	-	-	-	99.9	
	co-worker	-	46.2	7.7	-	-	1.9	38.5	3.8	-	-	-	98.1	
	employer superior	-	86.5	-	-	-	-	11.6	-	-	-	-	98.1	
	friends	1.9	9.6	25.0	-	-	-	55.8	7.7	-	-	-	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	17.3	30.8	-	-	1.9	34.6	9.6	-	-	-	94.2	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	11.5	21.2	-	-	3.8	46.2	13.5	-	-	-	96.2	
	neighbour	-	7.7	50.0	-	-	1.9	36.5	3.8	-	-	-	99.9	
	in the market	-	11.5	32.7	-	-	1.9	48.1	5.8	-	-	-	100	
	religious men	1.9	11.5	30.8	-	-	1.9	26.9	3.8	-	-	-	76.8	
	poetry	-	51.9	7.7	-	-	-	19.2	1.9	-	-	-	80.7	
Different topics	science	-	59.6	7.7	-	-	-	19.2	-	-	-	-	86.5	
	religion	-	46.2	9.6	1.9	-	-	32.7	-	-	-	-	90.4	
	politics	-	44.2	7.7	-	-	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	76.9	
	sports	-	36.5	5.8	-	-	-	38.5	1.9	-	-	-	82.7	
	professions	-	36.5	9.6	1.9	-	-	34.6	-	-	-	-	82.6	



Table 102

Turkmenish Sample (industrial worker) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	father	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	15
	mother	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	-	86.7	-	-	-	-	86.7	
	children	-	-	86.7	-	-	-	-	86.7	
At work	writing a private letter	-	80.0	-	-	-	-	-	80.0	
	co-worker	-	53.3	-	-	-	26.7	20.0	100	
	employer superior	-	93.3	-	-	-	6.7	-	100	
	friends	-	6.7	13.3	-	-	46.7	33.3	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	20.0	6.7	-	-	33.3	33.3	93.3	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic Feasts	-	6.7	13.3	-	-	53.3	26.7	100	
	neighbour	-	-	66.7	-	13.3	6.7	13.3	100	
	in the market	-	6.7	13.3	-	-	40.0	40.0	100	
	religious men	-	13.3	40.0	-	-	13.3	13.3	99.9	
	poetry	-	20.0	6.7	-	-	6.7	-	33.4	
Different topics	science	-	6.7	6.7	-	-	-	-	13.4	
	religion	-	13.3	6.7	-	-	6.7	13.3	40.0	
	politics	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	
	sports	-	13.3	-	-	-	-	6.7	20.0	
	professions	-	13.3	13.3	-	-	6.7	13.3	46.6	

**Table 103** Turkmenish Sample (self-employed) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6, B,c,d], [13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8]

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K S A</u>	<u>K S T</u>	<u>A S T</u>	<u>K, A S T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
At home	father	-	-	92.9	-	-	-	-	92.9	14
	mother	-	-	92.9	-	-	-	-	92.9	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	-	92.9	-	-	-	-	92.9	
	children	-	-	92.9	-	-	-	-	92.9	
At work	writing a private letter	-	64.3	-	-	-	7.1	-	71.4	
	co-worker	-	-	14.3	-	-	7.1	64.3	85.7	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	-	21.4	-	-	14.3	64.3	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	-	28.6	-	7.1	21.4	42.9	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	-	14.3	-	-	14.3	71.4	100	
	neighbour	-	7.1	78.6	-	7.1	7.1	-	99.9	
	in the market	-	-	28.6	-	7.1	7.1	57.2	100	
	religious men	-	14.3	64.3	-	7.1	7.1	7.1	99.9	
	poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Different topics	science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	religion	-	21.4	14.3	-	7.1	7.1	28.6	78.5	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	professions	-	-	28.6	-	-	-	50.0	78.6	

**Table 104** Turkmanish Sample (retired) responses to Questions [12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d],  
(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	father	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	13
	mother	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	wife/husband	-	15.4	84.6	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	-	15.4	84.6	-	-	-	-	100	
	writing a private letter	-	69.2	7.7	-	-	7.7	7.7	92.3	
At work	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	7.7	-	-	-	38.5	53.8	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	-	7.7	15.4	-	-	30.8	46.1	100	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	7.7	7.7	-	-	38.5	46.1	100	
	neighbour	-	7.7	53.8	-	-	15.4	23.1	100	
	in the market	-	-	30.8	-	-	23.1	46.1	100	
	religious men	-	7.7	53.8	-	-	7.7	23.1	92.3	
Different topics	poetry	-	15.4	-	-	7.7	7.7	-	30.8	
	science	-	15.4	7.7	-	-	7.7	-	30.8	
	religion	-	7.7	30.8	-	-	23.1	7.7	69.3	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	15.4	-	15.4	
	sports	-	-	7.7	-	-	15.4	-	23.1	
	professions	-	-	7.7	-	-	15.4	7.7	30.8	

Table 105 Turkmanish Sample (housewife) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,8,c,d),  
(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

Domains	To:	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	K & A	K & T	A & T	K, A & T	Total	Nos
At home	Father	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	31
	mother	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	brothers & sisters	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	
	husband	3.2	-	96.8	-	-	-	-	100	
	children	3.2	-	90.3	-	-	-	-	93.5	
At work	writing a private letter	-	29.0	-	-	-	-	-	29.0	
	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	-	-	64.5	-	19.3	6.5	9.7	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	3.2	-	51.6	-	12.9	12.9	13.9	91.3	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	-	3.2	54.8	-	22.6	9.7	6.5	96.8	
	neighbour	3.2	-	83.9	-	9.7	-	3.2	100	
	in the market	-	-	71.0	-	16.1	-	9.7	96.8	
	religious men	3.2	-	51.6	-	6.5	-	-	61.3	
	poetry	-	6.5	3.2	-	-	3.2	-	12.9	
Different topics	science	-	-	3.2	-	-	3.2	-	6.4	
	religion	3.2	-	25.8	-	6.5	3.2	-	38.7	
	politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	sports	-	-	6.5	-	-	-	-	6.5	
	professions	-	-	6.5	-	-	-	-	6.5	



Table 106 Turkmanish Sample (student) responses to Questions (12 A1,2,3,4,6,B,c,d),  
(13-1,3,5,6,7,8,10-1,3,5,6,7,8)

<u>Domains</u>	<u>To:</u>	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>K &amp; A</u>	<u>K &amp; T</u>	<u>A &amp; T</u>	<u>K, A &amp; T</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
	father	-	1.3	97.4	-	-	-	-	98.7	77
	mother	2.6	-	97.4	-	-	-	-	100	
At home	brothers & sisters	1.3	-	97.4	-	-	-	-	98.7	
	wife/husband	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	1.3	
	children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	writing a private letter	-	98.7	1.3	-	-	-	-	100	
At work	co-worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	employer superior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	friends	1.3	7.8	48.0	-	-	37.7	5.2	100	
	festival & on nat. occ.	1.3	13.0	51.9	-	-	27.3	3.9	97.4	
Miscellaneous	traditional Islamic feasts	1.3	3.9	54.5	-	-	36.4	2.6	98.7	
	neighbour	1.3	5.2	71.4	-	-	18.2	3.9	100	
	in the market	1.3	5.2	54.5	-	-	35.1	3.9	100	
	religious men	-	10.4	22.1	-	-	19.5	1.3	53.3	
	poetry	-	72.7	14.3	-	-	9.1	-	96.1	
	science	-	74.0	13.0	-	-	9.1	-	96.1	
Different topics	religion	-	67.5	18.2	-	-	10.4	-	96.1	
	politics	-	74.0	7.8	-	-	5.2	-	87.0	
	sports	-	63.6	22.1	-	-	11.7	-	97.4	
	professions	-	53.2	19.5	-	-	13.0	-	85.7	

## 5.5 Language attitudes in Kirkuk

The essential aspect of a linguistic situation is concerned with the attitudes and beliefs that people have with regard to languages. The analysis of the relevant data collected from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk provides valuable information for judging how the respondents feel about the languages concerned and their roles and use in the community. Expressed attitudes, however, may consciously or unconsciously differ from underlying attitudes. Language attitudes are usually closely connected with non-language attitudes. In particular, they may reflect ethnic or cultural biases. Nevertheless some sort of generalisation can be made about community language attitudes. These may be stated as positive/negative evaluations of individual languages or groups of languages with regard to such dimensions as loyalty, prestige, aesthetics, utility, etc. In addition to comprising an integral part of a linguistic situation, language attitudes are important in other areas as well. Through the analysis of language attitudes in a community one can draw a line to show a direction of change in linguistic situations. Attitude data is particularly valuable for language planning and language teaching, as an aid in predicting response to directed change.

A description of language attitudes in Kirkuk is given below, based on personal observations, interviews with Kurds, Arabs, Turkmen and other inhabitants of the town, and reference to the literature. This largely impressionistic

description is followed by the presentation of the relevant data derived from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk.

The language attitudes may be organised as follows:

5.5.1 Kurdish attitudes toward the Kurdish language.

5.5.2 Kurdish attitudes toward other languages.

5.5.3 Non-Kurdish attitudes toward the Kurdish and other languages.

The following categories will be taken into account in examining the language attitudes of the samples in Kirkuk.

Category 1: The language is excellent, beautiful, useful, [positive] children must be educated in it at schools and others should always use it for their daily lives, TV, radio programmes ought to use it.

Category 2: The language is officially and professionally [positive] very good, important and has a valuable literature, I can understand it so I want the same for my children.

Category 3: The language is a native language, a mother [positive] tongue, language of the nation, language of Islam, language of the country, so children should speak it fluently and learn it for better understanding among the people of the community in order to insure their future.

Category 4: The language is difficult, rather bad, ugly, has [negative] no particular advantages, not official language of the country, so one would not bother to learn it.

It is obvious that the description of each category was kept rather crude on purpose since it was felt that a more subtle phrasing would not produce the desired results, namely to make individual think about his own position in relation to the languages around him. It may also seem that undue emphasis was placed on the professional aspect of language but one must remember that most people tend to evaluate non-native languages in terms of their usefulness in the environment and not for their aesthetic value.

To obtain the ratings for each respondent, the scales were arranged according to the native language and then their attitudes towards the other languages were rated on the scale outlined above.

One of the basic issues in the assessment of the sociolinguistic situation in Kirkuk is the status of Kurdish in the minds of the Kurdish inhabitants of Kirkuk in general. The presupposition that Kurdish is a language on equal status with Arabic and appropriate language for use in the community can be expected to have a great influence upon the Kirkukian Kurdish attitudes towards Kurdish and other languages. Among Kirkukian Kurds 93.3 percent do like to speak always Kurdish. The sample, indeed, was quite decisive in indicating its



attitudes towards the native language. Each group of the other samples holds its own native language in very high esteem too, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 107     Distribution of the sample as a whole according to the attitudes of the speakers toward the native language: Q. 15

	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos.</u>
Kurdish sample	93.3	6.1	99.4	357
Arabic sample	97.5	2.1	99.6	239
Turkmanish sample	75.1	23.8	98.9	257
Other sample	62.2	35.5	97.7	45

The motivation for a positive response to this question is likely to differ for the groups involved. For Kurdish speaking Kirkukians it has to do with preserving something which is their own, a part of their way of life and identity. The table presented above offers a summary of the results obtained from the attitudinal rating of the sample population. The detailed ratings of attitudes of each group towards its own native language and to the other languages indicate that both Kurdish and Arabic respondents have stronger attitudes to maintain their native languages than speakers of Turkmanish. The Kurdish respondents' feelings towards

Kurdish and its role and function in Kirkukian society elicit self reports of sociolinguistic behaviour which indicate ideological commitment to Kurdish, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 108    Distribution of language attitudes of respondents  
according to native language: Qns. 17, 18, 19

<u>Native language: Kurdish</u>	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	96.1	3.4	99.5	357
Arabic	12.9	85.7	98.6	
Turkmanish	5.3	92.7	98.0	

Native language: Arabic

<u>Attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	1.3	96.2	97.5	239
Arabic	98.3	1.7	100	
Turkmanish	3.3	94.6	97.9	

Native language: Turkmanish

<u>Attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	6.2	90.3	96.5	257
Arabic	45.1	53.3	98.4	
Turkmanish	77.8	21.0	98.8	

The above tables examine the language attitudes of the respondents in general. Now the language attitudes in Kirkuk will be examined in conjunction with some non-linguistic variables such as age, sex, education level and socioeconomic

status of respondents. The age of the Kurdish respondents in Kirkuk was found to make a significant degree of difference with regard to their attitudes toward maintaining the native language. The results indicate that the old age group respondents constitutes the age group with the highest percentage of positive attitudes towards maintaining the Kurdish language, while the other age groups were not so. On the other hand, the oldest age group (along with the youngest age group) has the lowest degree of negative attitudes toward maintaining the native language, as can be seen in the following tables:

Table 109      Distribution of language attitudes of Kurdish sample according to age group of respondents

Native language: Kurdish

<u>Age group: young</u>	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	86.7	13.3	100	249
Arabic	8.4	85.4	93.8	
Turkmanish	10.2	88.2	98.4	

Age group: middle

<u>Attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	83.3	16.7	100	90
Arabic	8.9	84.4	93.3	
Turkmanish	13.3	83.3	96.6	

Native language: Kurdish

<u>Age group: old</u>	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	96.9	3.1	100	18
Arabic	3.1	96.9	100	
Turkmanish	3.1	96.9	100	

The high percentage of positive attitudes to the maintenance of the Kurdish language by the senior citizens among Kirkukian Kurds follows most generally from their having a greater concern for tradition and the cultural inheritance of Kurdish people. The results obtained, however, show that the non-Kurdish respondents will not generally have the positive attitudes towards the Kurdish language. Since only 5.3 percent of the Arabic sample and 13.0 percent of the Turkmanish sample have positive attitudes toward the Kurdish language, the tables below show that the Turkmanish sample respondents have a high degree [50.7%] of positive attitudes towards Arabic in comparison with the Kurdish sample respondents towards the same language [only 8.9 percent.]

Table 110      Distribution of language attitudes of Arabic sample according to age group of respondents

Native language: Arabic

<u>Age group: young</u>	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	3.6	91.0	94.5	166
Arabic	94.6	5.4	100	
Turkmanish	5.4	91.6	97.0	



Native language: ArabicAge group: middle

	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	5.3	91.2	96.5	57
Arabic	93.0	7.0	100	
Turkmanish	8.8	87.7	96.5	

Native language: ArabicAge group: oldAttitude toward:

Kurdish	-	100	100	16
Arabic	100	-	100	
Turkmanish	-	100	100	

Table 111      Distribution of language attitudes of Turkmanish  
sample according to age group of respondents

Native language: TurkmanishAge group: young

	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	3.4	95.4	98.8	174
Arabic	38.5	60.9	99.4	
Turkmanish	70.1	29.3	99.4	

Native language: TurkmanishAge group: middleAttitude toward:

Kurdish	13.0	85.5	98.5	69
Arabic	50.7	47.8	98.5	
Turkmanish	72.5	26.0	98.5	

Native language: Turkmanish

<u>Age group: old</u>	%	%	%	
<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	-	100	100	14
Arabic	7.1	92.9	100	
Turkmanish	92.9	7.1	100	

A comparison between the speakers' attitudes of different groups and subgroups will be expected to reveal a clear picture of the linguistic situation in Kirkuk.

It seems that among young Kurdish respondents unexpectedly a significantly higher percentage of the males have a higher degree of positive attitudes toward the Kurdish language than do the females in Kirkuk. One might tentatively say that the young Kurdish men in Kirkuk adopt extreme positions with regard to language attitudes more often than the young Kurdish women do [94.5 percent of the young males have positive attitudes versus 79.1 percent of the young females]. This may well be a result of political upheavals which involve more young men than young women. The following tables show some comparison of attitudes between the speakers of Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish of the sample according to sex and age group of respondents. It will be seen later that the situation is exactly the contrary among young Türkmans.

Table 112      Distribution of language attitudes of Kurdish  
sample speakers according to sex and age group  
of respondents Q. 19

Native language: Kurdish

Sex: male; Age group: young

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	94.5	5.5	100	163
Arabic	4.9	92.6	97.5	
Turkmanish	7.4	90.2	97.6	

Native language: Kurdish

Sex: female; Age group: young

Attitude toward:

Kurdish	79.1	20.9	100	86
Arabic	11.6	86.0	97.6	
Turkmanish	12.8	86.0	98.8	

Native language: Kurdish

Sex: male; Age group: middle

Attitude toward:

Kurdish	86.2	13.8	100	58
Arabic	12.1	84.5	96.6	
Turkmanish	17.2	79.3	96.5	

Native language: KurdishSex: female; Age group: middle

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>% positive</u>	<u>% negative</u>	<u>% total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	87.5	9.4	96.9	32
Arabic	3.1	93.8	96.9	
Turkmanish	15.6	81.3	96.9	

Native language: KurdishSex: male; Age group: oldAttitude toward:

Kurdish	93.3	6.7	100	15
Arabic	6.7	93.3	100	
Turkmanish	6.7	93.3	100	

Native language: KurdishSex: female; Age group: oldAttitude toward:

Kurdish	100	-	100	3
Arabic	-	100	100	
Turkmanish	-	100	100	

The Kurdish sample, however, was quite decisive in indicating its clear attitudes among both male and female, young and old towards other languages which it is in frequent contact, particularly Arabic. The result is linguistically very interesting since Kurdish samples hold the Kurdish language in very high esteem, in spite of the fact that Arabic was [and is] the official language of the country and



the Islamic religion actively propagated in this town. In other words it is the language of greater prestige, but nevertheless the results obtained from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk show that such attitudes have helped the Kurdish language to keep its characteristics as an independent language to a remarkable extent. The high percentages which indicated negative attitudes among the Kurdish sample toward Arabic and Turkmanish and vice versa must be taken into account as significant within the entire framework of multilingual communication in the town of Kirkuk.

Further comparison of attitudes (the tables below) indicates that the Turkmanish sample particularly among the younger generation has relatively a high percentage of positive attitudes [50.5%] toward Arabic and a low percentage of positive attitudes toward the native language [61.6%]. This kind of attitude may be taken as an indication of direction of change from the Turkmanish to the Arabic language. In other words the linguistic situation in Kirkuk with regard to Turkmanish may be changed over a period of time.

Table 113      Distribution of language attitudes of Turkmanish  
sample speakers according to sex and age group  
of respondents Q. 18

Native language: Turkmanish

Sex: male; Age group: young

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	2.0	97.0	99.0	99
Arabic	50.5	49.5	100	
Turkmanish	61.6	37.4	99.0	

Native language: TurkmanishSex: female; Age group: young

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>% positive</u>	<u>% negative</u>	<u>% total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	5.3	93.3	98.6	75
Arabic	26.7	73.3	100	
Turkmanish	69.3	30.7	100	

Native language: TurkmanishSex: male; Age group: middleAttitude toward:

Kurdish	12.5	87.5	100	48
Arabic	52.1	47.9	100	
Turkmanish	62.5	37.5	100	

Native language: TurkmanishSex: female; Age group: middleAttitude toward:

Kurdish	9.5	85.7	95.2	21
Arabic	38.1	57.1	95.2	
Turkmanish	76.2	19.0	95.2	

Native language: TurkmanishSex: male; Age group: oldAttitude toward:

Kurdish	-	100	100	12
Arabic	8.3	91.7	100	
Turkmanish	91.7	8.3	100	

Native language: Turkmanish

Sex: female; Age group: old

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>% positive</u>	<u>% negative</u>	<u>% total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	-	100	100	2
Arabic	-	100	100	
Turkmanish	100	-	100	

As far as the Arabic sample is concerned, the results obtained indicate that the respondents have a high degree of negative attitudes towards both Kurdish and Turkmanish with the greatest degree of positive attitudes toward the native language, as the table below shows.

Table 114      Distribution of language attitudes of Arabic  
sample speakers according to sex and age group  
of respondents Q. 17

Native language: Arabic

Sex: male; Age group: young

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>% positive</u>	<u>% negative</u>	<u>% total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	0.8	98.4	99.2	128
Arabic	99.2	0.8	100	
Turkmanish	5.5	93.7	99.2	

Native language: Arabic

Sex: female; Age group: young

Attitude toward:

Kurdish	5.3	94.7	100	38
Arabic	92.1	7.9	100	
Turkmanish	5.3	94.7	100	

Native language: ArabicSex: male; Age group: middle

<u>Attitude toward:</u>	<u>% positive</u>	<u>% negative</u>	<u>% total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	5.0	90.0	95.0	40
Arabic	92.5	7.5	100	
Turkmanish	10.0	85.0	95.0	

Native language: ArabicSex: female; Age group: middle

<u>Attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	5.9	94.1	100	17
Arabic	94.1	5.9	100	
Turkmanish	5.9	94.1	100	

Native language: ArabicSex: male; Age group: old

<u>Attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	-	100	100	14
Arabic	100	-	100	
Turkmanish	-	100	100	

Native language: ArabicSex: female; Age group: old

<u>Attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	-	100	100	2
Arabic	100	-	100	
Turkmanish	-	100	100	



With regard to the education status of respondents and their attitudes toward the native language and other languages concerned: the results obtained indicate that both educated and uneducated Kurdish respondents have a high commitment and positive attitudes toward the Kurdish language and low commitment and negative attitudes toward the other languages concerned, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 115      Distribution of language attitudes of Kurdish  
sample speakers according to education status  
of respondents Q. 17, 18, 19

educated Kurdish respondents'

<u>attitude toward:</u>	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	93.4	6.6	100	287
Arabic	15.3	77.4	91.7	
Turkmanish	5.6	93.4	99.0	

uneducated Kurdish respondents'

attitude toward:

Kurdish	97.1	2.9	100	70
Arabic	2.9	97.1	100	
Turkmanish	5.7	94.3	100	

Similarly both educated and uneducated Arabic speaking respondents have positive attitudes toward the native language and negative attitudes toward the other languages of the town. Such rigid attitudes from the Arabic speaking

respondents toward the languages spoken by the overwhelming majority of inhabitants of the town indicate that the Arabic speakers are unwilling whatsoever to learn these non-native languages on one hand and an attempt is taking place to supplant them with Arabic on the other hand, as the table below shows.

Table 116     Distribution of language attitudes of Arabic  
sample speakers according to education status  
of respondents Q. 17, 18, 19

<u>educated Arab respondents'</u>				
<u>attitude toward:</u>	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	4.2	93.7	97.9	189
Arabic	97.4	2.1	99.5	
Turkmanish	3.7	96.3	100	

uneducated Arab respondents'

<u>attitude toward:</u>				
Kurdish	8.0	92.0	100	50
Arabic	96.0	4.0	100	
Turkmanish	4.0	96.0	100	

A non-linguistic variable such as the education status of respondents which has no substantial influence with regard to the Kurdish and Arabic sample speaker respondents, it seems to be very effective as far as the Turkmanish sample speaker respondents are concerned. The results obtained show that 48.5 percent of educated Turkmanish sample speaker

respondents has positive attitudes toward Arabic, since only 15.4 percent of uneducated Turkmanish sample speaker respondents has positive attitudes toward the same language. However, 62.8 percent of educated Turkmen has positive attitudes toward the native language versus 96.2 percent of uneducated Turkmen. Both educated and uneducated Turkmen have a high degree of negative attitudes toward the Kurdish language, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 117      Distribution of language attitudes of Turkmanish  
sample speakers according to education status of  
respondents Q. 17, 18, 19

educated Turkman respondents'

<u>attitude toward:</u>	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish	4.8	93.1	97.9	231
Arabic	48.5	51.5	100	
Turkmanish	62.8	37.2	100	

uneducated Turkman respondents'

attitude toward:

Kurdish	7.7	92.3	100	26
Arabic	15.4	84.6	100	
Turkmanish	96.2	3.8	100	

With regard to the socioeconomic status of respondents, the results obtained for the Kurdish population of Kirkuk, in comparison to the Turkmanish speaker respondents, present



a largely different picture of the relationship between attitudes and socioeconomic status of respondents. The most noticeable difference found was that in Kirkuk although all Kurdish speaker respondents with different socioeconomic status have a high degree of positive attitudes toward the native language and negative attitudes toward the other languages which is in contact. Nevertheless the Kurdish government official respondents have a very high degree of positive attitudes toward the Kurdish language [91.7%] and negative attitudes toward Arabic [87.5%] in comparison to Turkman Government official respondents' attitudes toward the mother tongue and the same language respectively 70.6 percent, and 51.0 percent, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 118      Distribution of language attitudes of Kurdish sample speakers according to socioeconomic status of respondents Q. 17, 18, 19

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Attitude toward:</u>								
	<u>Kurdish %</u>			<u>Arabic %</u>			<u>Turkmanish %</u>		
	pos.	neg.	tot.	pos.	neg.	tot.	pos.	neg.	tot. nc
government official	91.7	8.3	100	12.5	87.5	100	8.3	87.5	95.8 24
teacher	94.7	1.8	96.5	17.5	75.4	92.9	-	91.2	91.2 57
industrial worker	90.0	10.0	100	10.0	90.0	100	-	100	100 10
self-employed	88.9	5.6	94.5	-	97.2	97.2	2.8	94.4	97.2 36
retired	93.3	6.7	100	6.7	93.3	100	6.7	93.3	100 15
student	98.7	1.3	100	20.1	79.2	99.3	7.1	92.2	99.3 154
housewife	94.8	5.2	100	-	100	100	6.9	93.1	100 58
unemployed	100	-	100	-	100	100	-	100	100 3



One of the most surprising findings with regard to the Turkmanish sample speakers came out in comparison of degree of attitudes toward the Kurdish language for the occupational categories of the respondents. The results obtained show that among the various occupational categories, industrial workers and retired Turkmen, side by side with the unemployed, showed the greatest degree of negative attitudes toward Kurdish (100%), while the two top occupational groups [ranked according to socio-economic status], the government officials and the teachers, did not, as the following table shows.

Table 119      Distribution of language attitudes of Turkmanish sample speakers according to socio-economic status of respondents Q. 17, 18, 19

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Attitude toward:</u>									
	<u>Kurdish %</u>			<u>Arabic %</u>			<u>Turkmanish %</u>			no
	pos.	neg.	tot.	pos.	neg.	tot.	pos.	neg.	tot.	
government official	7.8	88.2	96.0	47.1	51.0	97.1	70.6	29.4	100	51
teacher	5.8	86.5	92.3	46.1	50.0	96.1	63.5	30.8	94.3	52
industrial worker	-	100	100	33.3	66.7	100	80.0	20.0	100	15
self-employed	7.1	85.7	92.8	42.9	57.1	100	78.6	21.4	100	14
retired	-	100	100	38.5	61.5	100	69.2	30.8	100	13
student	6.5	89.6	96.1	67.5	29.9	97.4	81.8	18.2	100	77
housewife	9.7	90.3	100	-	100	100	100	-	100	31
unemployed	-	100	100	-	100	100	100	-	100	4

It was expected that the only non-Kurdish socio-economic groups with higher prestige would be more sensitive to factors which may well be affecting their upward mobility. But it seems to be that all groups of Arabic and Turkmanish sample speaker respondents are exceptionally antagonistic to the Kurdish language. Therefore no single socio-economic group among these non-Kurdish respondents is strongly committed to Kurdish. The Arabic sample speaker respondents in particular are not committed either to Kurdish or to Turkmanish. What these results say about the attitudinal assimilation of the samples is quite important, as the table below shows.

Table 120     Distribution of language attitudes of Arabic  
sample speakers according to socio-economic  
status of respondents Q. 17, 18, 19

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Attitude toward:</u>									<u>no.</u>
	<u>Kurdish %</u>			<u>Arabic %</u>			<u>Turkmanish %</u>			
	<u>pos.</u>	<u>neg.</u>	<u>tot.</u>	<u>pos.</u>	<u>neg.</u>	<u>tot.</u>	<u>pos.</u>	<u>neg.</u>	<u>tot.</u>	
government official	-	100	100	98.7	1.3	100	2.5	97.5	100	79
teacher	-	92.1	92.1	100	-	100	-	94.7	94.7	38
industrial worker	-	100	100	100	-	100	-	100	100	27
self-employed	-	100	100	100	-	100	-	100	100	12
retired	-	100	100	100	-	100	-	100	100	15
student	5.5	86.1	91.6	100	-	100	8.3	83.3	91.6	36
housewife	3.2	96.8	100	90.3	9.7	100	9.7	90.3	100	31
unemployed	-	100	100	100	-	100	-	100	100	1

There are several other questions in the questionnaire relating to language attitudes, the following, however, seem of direct relevance.

The first of these questions is Question 22: Would you like to have your children educated and taught in only Arabic at school? In the case of language adopted in the educational domain (more specifically, in the schools), the Kurdish speaker respondents have expressed their dissatisfaction with the present language policies adopted in the town. The results obtained indicate that the Kurds of Kirkuk are definitely reject the policy of language of education to be in only Arabic in this town. In other words they are in favour of their children being educated and taught in their own language. So their attitudes on this matter are quite obvious. On the other hand the majority of Turkmanish sample speaker respondents expressed positive feeling and attitudes toward Arabic to be used as the language of education in Kirkuk. In other words they do agree to have their children educated and taught in only Arabic, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 121      Distribution of Kurdish, Turkmanish and other sample speaker respondents with regard to the

	<u>language of education Q. 22</u>			
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish sample	12.3	81.8	94.1	357
Turkmanish sample	69.6	24.9	94.5	257
Other sample	40.0	55.6	95.6	45



The second question concerning the language attitudes is Question 24, that determines which language the respondents consider to be more difficult to learn, Arabic for speakers of Turkmanish and Kurdish or Turkmanish for speakers of Arabic and Kurdish or Kurdish for speakers of Arabic and Turkmanish. The questionnaire allowed only two choices. The results obtained indicate that about two thirds of the Kurdish and Arabic speaking groups and over half of the other languages speaking group respectively have indicated that the two languages, Kurdish and Turkmanish, were equally difficult to learn. On the other hand each of these three groups [Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish] has regarded its own native language as being not difficult to learn. So it is obvious that the majority of the sample population consider Kurdish to be more difficult to learn for speakers of Arabic and Turkmanish, as the table below shows.

Table 122      Which language do you consider more difficult to learn?

	Kurdish for speaker of Arabic & Turk.			Arabic for speaker of Kurdish & Turk.			Turk. for speaker of Kurdish & Arabic			<u>nos</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>tot</u>	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>tot</u>	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>tot</u>	
Kurdish sample	12.6	86.3	98.9	30.0	68.9	98.9	65.5	33.6	99.1	357
Arabic sample	58.2	36.8	95.0	13.8	81.6	95.4	46.4	48.1	94.5	239
Turkmanish sample	51.8	47.1	98.9	32.7	66.1	98.8	22.6	76.3	98.9	257
Other sample	46.7	51.1	97.8	6.7	91.1	97.8	53.3	44.4	97.7	45



The results of this question and the attitudes as shown in the above table may be taken as an indication of the distance between these three languages and their speakers as it is interpreted by the linguistically unsophisticated respondent.

The third question which directly related to language attitudes is Question 25. This question concerns the subjective 'beauty' of these languages. The term 'beauty' was left unspecified so that each respondent could answer according to his own interpretation. Multiple answers were permitted and the results therefore do not add up to 100%. From the results obtained, however, one observation stands out very clearly that Kurdish and Arabic sample speaker respondents have considered their own native languages to be the most beautiful. On the other hand about half of Turkmanish and other languages speaker respondents have selected Arabic as a half of their choice for this purpose, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 123      Which of these languages (Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish) do you consider the most beautiful? Q. 25

	<u>Ranking of languages according to beauty</u>				
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	89.4	8.7	1.4	99.5	357
Arabic sample	0.4	97.1	0.8	98.3	239
Turk. sample	1.9	49.8	47.5	99.2	257
Other sample	-	44.4	-	44.4	45

This sort of attitude toward Arabic from Turkmanish and other sample speaker respondents as shown in the above table may not display the actual underlying feelings of these respondents. These two groups are in very small minorities in Iraq and they might have believed that if they consider their own native languages as more beautiful it will be regarded as an aversion towards Arabic. Such aversion may result in hostile reactions towards speakers of Turkmanish and other languages. This notion, however, was one of the main reasons that led this investigator to use the local languages of the town in order to avoid prejudice during the survey and to obtain the real feelings of the sample population of this town.

The fourth question [Q. 26] asked which of these languages [Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish] do you consider most important for Governmental jobs and other professions in the town of Kirkuk.

All samples agree that Arabic is considered to be the language which professionally is most important in the town of Kirkuk. Arabic is confirmed as an intermediary form [lingua franca] of communication between the various language groups in Kirkuk. As regards Arabic, the recent increases in the Arabic-speaking population in the town [Table 23] and the resulting industrial and commercial expansion, together with the latest transference of a great number of Kurdish officials,

teachers, industrial workers, etc. from this town to other parts of Iraq, particularly southern, and their replacement by exogenous Arabs, confining all official jobs to their hands, have undoubtedly contributed substantially to the high ranking of Arabic, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 124     Which of these languages [Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish] was considered as the most professionally important language in the town of Kirkuk Q. 26

	<u>% Kurdish</u>	<u>% Arabic</u>	<u>% Turkmanish</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Nos</u>
Kurdish sample	18.8	80.7	-	99.2	357
Arabic sample	-	98.7	-	98.7	239
Turkmanish sample	-	98.4	0.8	99.2	257
Other sample	-	97.8	-	97.8	45

With regard to the fifth and final question [Q. 27]

Do you consider people who always speak some other languages than their own language, even with close friends, are snobbish and disloyal to their native language?

This question is considered a control question simply because it determines whether or not the respondents consider persons who use mostly some other languages than their own, even with close friends, are snobbish and disloyal. The question required a 'yes' or 'no' answer; the respondents were given only two choices, either one being somewhat extreme.



Some respondents, however, might not be entirely for or against either choice, but the limitation of the alternatives has forced them to make a precise decision about their attitudes. Such an approach is not always desirable but permitting many alternatives to this type of question means that the respondents will frequently hesitate to make a clear decision or give a vague answer. This, in turn, may lead to misinterpretation of the results obtained. The results obtained, however, show that the Kurdish sample indicated its attitudes in this question more decisively than the rest of the samples. Moreover, less than one-third of the Turkmanish sample speaker respondents indicated that they considered persons who make great use of some other languages than their native language as being snobbish and disloyal; as for the Arabic and other sample speaker respondents more than half held positive views on this question, as the table below shows.

Table 125      Non-native language use as a social indicator of snobbery and group disloyalty Q. 27

	<u>%</u> <u>positive</u>	<u>%</u> <u>negative</u>	<u>%</u> <u>total</u>	<u>nos</u>
Kurdish sample	85.4	13.7	99.1	357
Arabic sample	59.4	38.5	97.9	239
Turkmanish sample	30.4	69.3	99.7	257
Other sample	55.6	42.2	97.8	45



These attitudes on the part of Arabic and Turkmanish sample speaker respondents toward Arabic and Turkmanish respectively (as indicated in the above table) are very understandable, since Turkmen are willing to shift to Arabic and Arabs are hoping to Arabicise other nationalities of the town.

We now turn to the relationship between language attitudes (as discussed above) and language use based on ethnic background in Kirkuk. The results obtained from this study show a clear picture of the correlation between language use and the degree of language attitudes of respondents in Kirkuk. From the first glance at the results of language use and language attitudes, it is readily apparent that those respondents with a higher degree of positive attitudes and commitment to the Kurdish language have, for example, Kurdish as the language of daily life and in most situations, much more than those with lower degree of positive attitudes to the Kurdish language. Conversely, the use of other languages in a particular domain is found to increase as the degree of commitment to Kurdish decreases. As was the case when language use at the place of work was viewed in conjunction with other variables, regardless of the degree of attitudes and commitment, the use of Kurdish in this setting decreases significantly in comparison with the use of Kurdish in the community at large. Correspondingly, the use of Arabic at work in comparison with Arabic in the home increases for respondents with all degrees of positive attitudes

and commitment. Moreover, in the case of language use in the role relationship with the employer superior, the respondents' use of Kurdish decreases drastically. Even persons with a high degree of positive attitudes to Kurdish cannot maintain Kurdish in such a situation. The increase in the use of Arabic is large, the result of speakers of Kurdish and other languages switching to Arabic when speaking to the employer superior in Kirkuk. The official norm being emphasised and used in Kirkuk now is 'speak always and only Arabic'.

As was noted earlier in conjunction with the discussion of language use in Kirkuk, the most drastic decrease in the use of Kurdish was reported by the respondents for the role relationship with employer superior and co-workers. All Kurdish respondents grouped according to positive attitudes report that this is the language use situation in Kirkuk in which the least amount of Kurdish is used. What is most important here is that in spite of the drop in the use of Kurdish in this role relationship the pattern established in other language use situations for the Kurdish sample respondents is maintained; the respondents with a high degree of positive attitudes use Kurdish more often than those with a lower degree of positive attitudes, and those with a high degree of negative attitudes more often than those with a low degree negative attitudes. The positive correlation of language use and language attitudes, on an ethnic basis, in Kirkuk is clear and observable. The configuration of the stratification of language use

is roughly parallel to that of language use according to socio-economic status [see tables 86 - 106, 118], level of education, age and sex [see tables 54 - 85, 112 - 117], a phenomenon which stems from the overriding factors affecting language choice in language use situations in Kirkuk. For example, factors such as the linguistic characteristics of the interlocutors and the domain in which the speech act takes place seem to be of primary importance in determining language choice in any given instance, 'Who speaks what language to whom and when' [Fishman, 1965]. However, that the pattern of the stratification of language use in this case is not merely a result of stratification in linguistic competence [according to commitment to Kurdish] is shown by the configuration of the strata of language use. The closeness in relation to each other do vary and some sub-groups of respondents behave differently according to the variation in the degree of positive attitudes [or socio-economic status or level of education, age, etc.]. Therefore, the hypothesis that language attitudes, as indicated by the degree of positive attitudes to the Kurdish language, do have influence upon language variation in Kirkuk appears to be confirmed by the results of this study.



## 5.6 Language competence in Kirkuk

In the previous section, some additional demographic information such as birthplace, duration of stay in the town of Kirkuk and the previous residence of respondents which might be related to the linguistic competence of the inhabitants of Kirkuk have been presented at length. In this section, the results obtained from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk concerning the Kirkukians' competence in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish will be presented.

A number of question items in the survey questionnaires deal with the competence of the respondents in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish. These question items were concerned specifically with:

5.6.1 The ability to understand Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish.

5.6.2 The ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish.

5.6.3 The ability to read and write Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish.

Although Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen are generally fluent in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish respectively, nevertheless, this ability to speak the native language may be affected by prolonged residence and contact between the speakers of these three different languages of the town. A measure of



the extent of this replacement is to be found in the linguistic survey data of Kirkuk by comparison of the responses to Question 6: What language did you first speak as a child? and Question 11: What language do you now speak best? In addition the Question 9: Which dialect of your mother tongue are you most familiar with? was asked in order to determine the familiarity of the respondents with their native dialects where there are any. 'Native language' may be defined as the language which has been used and understood fully and often in the domain of home during pre-school life.

For 898 of Kirkukian respondents, 357 Kurdish was the first language learned but only 95.5% confirmed that Kurdish is the language best known to them now. 4.5% of the respondents for whom Kurdish was the first language claimed to know either Arabic or Turkmanish as well as or better than their native language.

For 239 respondents, Arabic was the first language learned, 98.3% claimed that Arabic is the language known best to them and 1.7% claimed and confirmed that they know Turkmanish better than their native language.

On the other hand for 257 respondents who claimed that Turkmanish was the first language learned, 85.2% stated that Turkmanish is the language known best and 14.8% confirmed that they know Arabic better than Turkmanish.

None of either Arabic, however, or Turkmanish speakers claimed to know Kurdish better or as well as their native languages. Similarly, with other languages speakers noone indicated knowing neither Kurdish nor Turkmanish better than the native languages concerned, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 126     Distribution of linguistic survey of Kirkuk responses  
according to the first and primary language of  
respondent

<u>First language [Q. 6]</u>	<u>Primary language [Q. 11]</u>					
	Kurdish	Arabic	Turk.	Other	Total	Nos
	%	%	%	%	%	
Kurdish	95.5	1.7	2.8	-	100	357
Arabic	-	98.3	1.7	-	100	239
Turk.	-	14.8	85.2	-	100	257
Other	-	24.4	-	75.6	100	45

The Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen who claimed that they know some other languages better than their native languages, arise in my view mainly from the intermarriages between these different ethnic groups. Moreover, 79.5% of Arabic speaking respondents and 45.5% of Turkmanish speaking respondents have mentioned that they cannot speak Kurdish at all. These latter statements are particularly concerned with the young respondents. Whereas the situations with the middle age and old respondents were not so. 85.2% of Kurdish sample respondents, however, can speak Arabic and 67.2% can speak Turkmanish as well. The extent of competence and the degree

of bilinguality or multilinguality is very difficult to measure precisely. The most interesting question with regard to proficiency involves Arabic. The majority of Kirkukians usually know some Arabic, this confirmed by 85.2% of the Kurdish sample, 90.7% of the Turkmanish sample and 95.6% of other languages speaker sample in their answer to Question 10 concerning their speaking ability in Arabic. But the level of their competence in this language varies from person to person. Such familiarity with Arabic by the overwhelming majority of Kirkukian residents may be due to either the educational system in which Arabic is the language of teaching in this town or as a result of Islamic influence on non-Arabic speakers or because of professional and better-paid employment has largely been confined in the hand of the Government, which requires Arabic. This last is the most likely cause and can be seen more clearly in the answers of the respondents to Question 26 in which 80.7% of the Kurdish sample, 98.4% of the Turkmanish sample, 98.7% of the Arabic sample and 97.8% of the other languages speaker sample have regarded Arabic as the most important language for governmental jobs and professional employment in the town.

The high percentage of bilingualism in Kurdish/Arabic or Turkmanish/Arabic among the Kurdish and Turkmanish speaker respondents correlates with education, since 100% of educated Kurdish males and females are bilingual in Kurdish and Arabic. Similarly, 100% of educated Turkman males and



females are bilingual in Turkmanish and Arabic. In my experience, some educated Kurds have complete command of Arabic and Turkmanish and speak fluent and entirely adequate Arabic and Turkmanish and they are unidentifiable by their accent as not being native Arabic and Turkmanish speakers.

It must be stressed here that with the current official language policy in this town, as it has been observed by this investigator, an adequate competence in languages other than Arabic is not necessarily extensive, this is of course due to the restricted range of the official situations and domains in which these languages are needed and used. As has been mentioned earlier, the extent of education seems to be very closely related to the level of competence in Arabic. Kurds, Turkmen and others by the time they have finished primary school have a good knowledge of Arabic. This statement must not be taken at all to mean that these school students have a complete command and mastery of Arabic. The percentages of non-Arabic speaker respondents among the school students who have finished primary school and are familiar with Arabic was 100% for Kurds, Turkmen and the other languages speakers. It is quite obvious that these school students are identifiable by their accent as non-native speakers of Arabic with few exceptions.

However, the main bases for stratification of language competence in Kirkuk are either ethnic background or age, sex,



education level and socio-economic background of the respondents. The demographic information which has been presented at length above, such as birthplace, duration of stay in the town of Kirkuk and the previous residence of respondents might also be related to the linguistic competence of the inhabitants of Kirkuk. Below competence in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish will be examined in the light of their relationship with all these non-linguistic variables. Ethnic background of the respondents, however, has already been utilised in the discussion of the results for competence in the three main languages of the town mentioned above.

In figures 1, 2, 3 the distribution of one aspect of competence in the languages concerned, the ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish is shown graphically according to age. In these figures the stratification of the ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to age is shown for the Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish samples respectively.

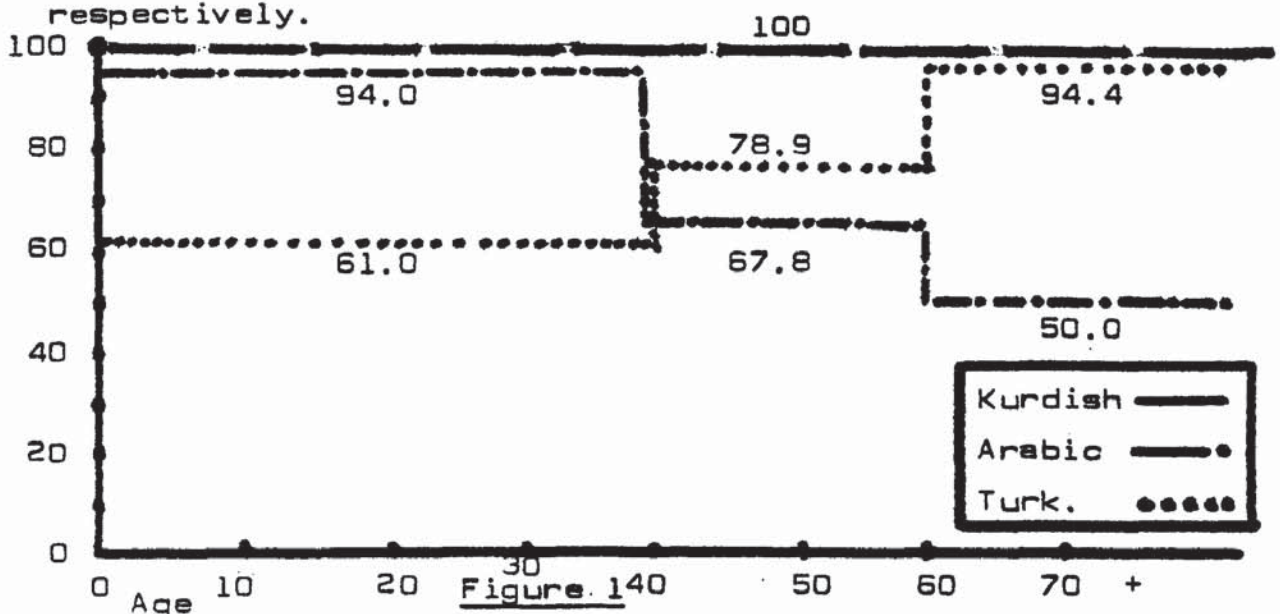


Figure 1  
Kurdish sample ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to age of respondent

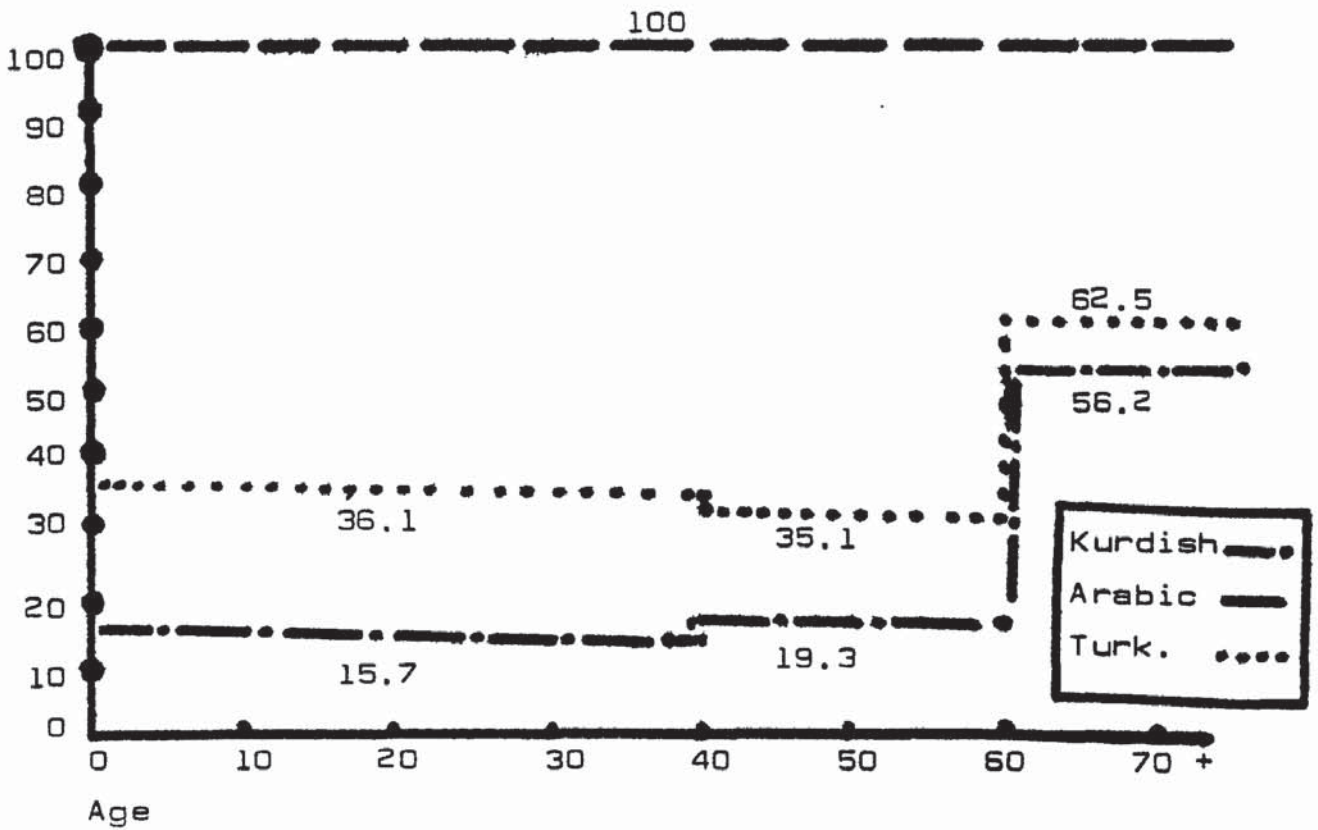


Figure 2

Arabic sample ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish  
according to age of respondent

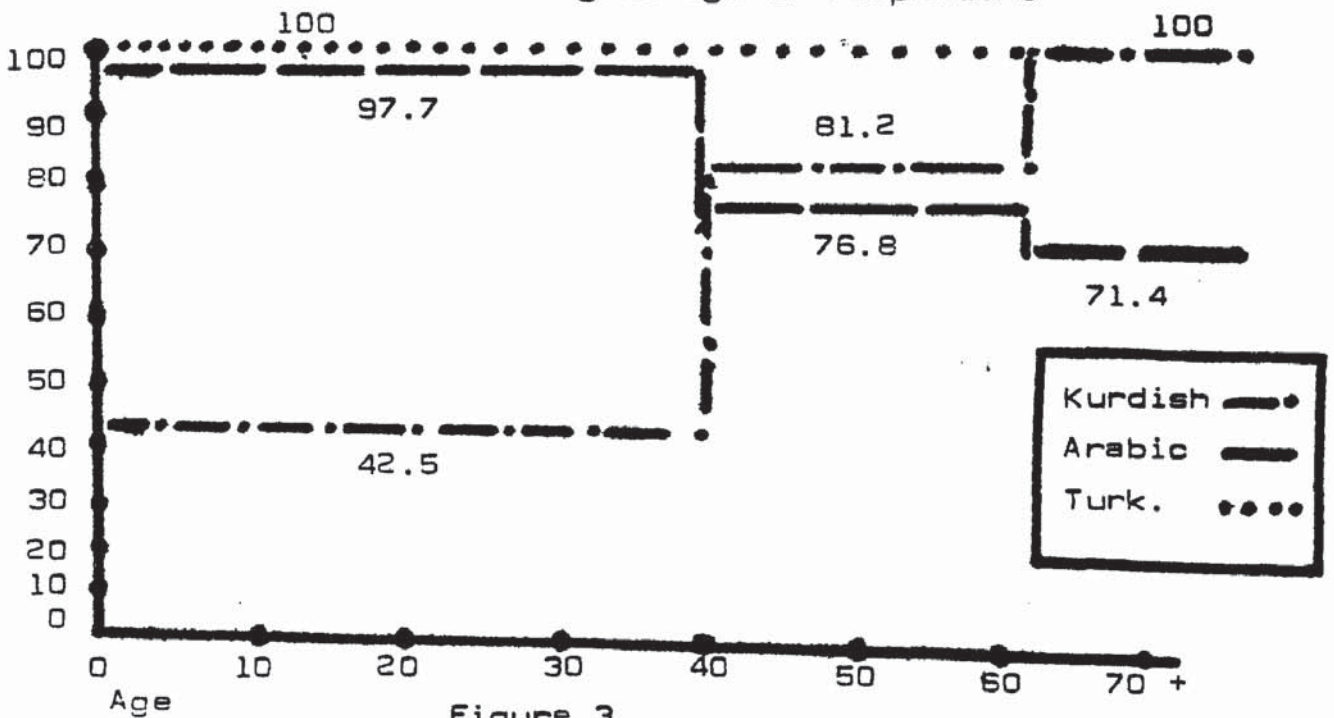


Figure 3

Turkmanish sample ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and  
Turkmanish according to age of respondent

Apart from the native language of respondents, figure 1 shows that the age groups with the highest percentages of Arabic speakers are among the young. For the other age groups, the frequency of Arabic speakers decreases sharply until reaching a low point with over 60 year old age bracket. The first language [native language] of respondents, however, as it was expected remained constant for any age group (100 percent), and would reflect the proportion of each language group in relation to each other for the total population. On the other hand the highest percentages of Turkmanish speakers (as the sample figure 1 shows) are among the senior citizens. For the other age groups, the frequency of Turkmanish speakers decreases also in the same way as the Arabic one, but the process is reversed, since the lowest percentages of Turkmanish speakers are among the young age group Kurds. In figure 2 the distribution of Arabic sample ability to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to age of respondent. It is obvious that the lowest percentages of Kurdish speakers are among the young age group and the frequency of Kurdish speakers increases gradually until reaching a high point with the middle age group, increasing sharply thereafter. In figure 3 the distribution according to the age of those able to speak Kurdish among the Turkmanish sample reflects the fact that the old age group are more familiar with Kurdish than the middle and young age groups. The lowest percentages of Kurdish speakers can be seen among



the young age group Turkmenians. On the other hand the percentages of Arabic speakers in the Turkmanish sample increase as the age of respondents decreases.

The ability to understand Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish was found to be almost universal among Kirkukians. Nevertheless, some demographic sub-groups may show more or less competence in understanding the above-mentioned languages as can be seen in the following tables.

Table 127     Ability of the sample to understand Kurdish,  
Arabic and Turkmanish - according to age of

	<u>respondents</u>			<u>No.</u>
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	
Kurdish sample				
young	100	94.0	64.6	249
middle	100	70.0	86.7	90
old	100	50.0	94.4	18
Arabic sample				
young	28.3	100	47.0	166
middle	38.6	100	43.8	57
old	75.0	100	75.0	16
Turkmanish sample				
young	53.4	97.7	100	174
middle	88.4	81.1	100	69
old	100	71.4	100	14

It is quite obvious that young Kurdish and Turkmanish speakers are more familiar with understanding Arabic than



young Arabs with understanding Kurdish and Turkmanish. On the other hand the old Arabs are more familiar with understanding Kurdish and Turkmanish than the young Arabs do. Moreover, the results obtained indicate that the males in general have more and higher percentages of competence in understanding the languages concerned than the females do. This well may be the result of the fact that males are more in contact with the languages concerned as a part of their occupational necessity than females, since all males have some sort of job, but not all females do. The table below shows the competence of the samples ability to understand Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to sex of respondents.

Table 128     Ability of the samples to understand Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to sex of

	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>respondents</u>		<u>No.</u>
		<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	
Kurdish sample				
male	100	94.0	72.0	236
female	100	69.4	71.1	121
Arabic sample				
male	37.9	100	52.0	182
female	21.0	100	38.6	57
Turkmanish sample				
male	91.2	98.1	100	159
female	55.1	81.6	100	98

The education factor, however, is highly concerned with the competence of non-Arabs in understanding Arabic, since all educated people in Kirkuk can understand Arabic but not all non-educated. On the other hand the interesting and surprising point here is that the percentages of uneducated respondents among Arabs and Turkmen in their competence in understanding Kurdish are much higher than their counterparts educated respondents. It is also true for uneducated Kurds competence in understanding Turkmanish, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 129     Ability of the sample to understand Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to education

<u>status of respondents</u>				
	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Kurdish sample				
educated	100	100	71.4	287
uneducated	100	27.1	77.1	70
Arabic sample				
educated	31.2	100	46.5	189
uneducated	44.0	100	54.0	50
Turkmanish sample				
educated	62.8	100	100	231
uneducated	88.5	19.2	100	26

The distribution of competence in understanding Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to socio-economic status (occupational category) which is given in the following

table indicates that the lowest percentages of understanding Kurdish are found among teachers (7.9%) for an Arabic sample and among school students for Turkmanish sample. The highest percentages of competence in understanding the three main languages of the town can be seen among Kurdish teachers [with the exception of unemployed respondents only three persons].

Table 130     Ability of the sample to understand Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to socio-economic status of respondents (occupational category)

	<u>Kurdish sample</u>				<u>Arabic sample</u>				<u>Turk. sample</u>			
	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	No.
	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	No.	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	No.	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	No.
gov. off.	100	100	91.7	24	32.9	100	49.4	79	80.4	100	100	51
teacher	100	100	93.0	57	7.9	100	31.6	38	59.6	100	100	52
ind.wor.	100	100	70.0	10	44.4	100	48.1	27	73.3	100	100	15
self-em.	100	72.2	91.7	36	66.7	100	66.7	12	85.7	100	100	14
retired	100	100	86.7	15	66.7	100	93.3	15	100	100	100	13
housewife	100	39.7	79.3	58	25.8	100	38.7	31	80.6	41.9	100	31
s.student	100	100	51.3	154	33.3	100	50.0	36	39.0	100	100	77
unempl.	100	100	100	3	100	100	100	1	75.0	75.0	100	4

The results for competence in speaking Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish present almost a homogeneous picture of the linguistic abilities of each ethnic group separately or a heterogeneous picture of the linguistic abilities of the whole population studied. As was reflected in the general and



sociolinguistic background variables, the data on the ability to speak Kurdish show that there is a large non-Kurdish speaking element in Kirkuk: 66.1 percent of the Arabs and 42.4 percent of the Türkmans cannot speak Kurdish at all. In comparison with the Kurdish respondents, Arabic and Turkmanish respondents, however, have much less of an incentive to adapt themselves to the norms and values of sociolinguistic behaviour of the community at large. The competence of Kirkukians in speaking Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to age has been discussed above in detail and shown graphically in figures 1, 2, 3. Now the competence in speaking the main languages of the town of Kirkuk will be presented according to some other non-linguistic variables such as sex, education and socio-economic status of respondents.

The distribution of respondents for their competence in speaking Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to sex indicates the fact that the percentages of males competence in speaking different languages concerned are much higher than females, as can be seen in the following table.



Table 131      Ability of the samples to speak Kurdish, Arabic  
and Turkmanish according to sex of respondents

	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Kurdish sample				
male	100	93.2	68.6	236
female	100	69.4	56.2	121
Arabic sample				
male	37.9	100	52.0	182
female	12.3	100	29.8	57
Turkmanish sample				
male	66.0	96.2	100	159
female	41.8	81.6	100	98

As it has been mentioned in the discussion of competence of respondents in understanding the languages concerned, the education factor, however, once again is greatly related to the linguistic competence of respondents in speaking Arabic. The gap between non-Arabs educated Kirkukians competence in Arabic and educated Kirkukians is very wide. For example, the percentages of Kurdish respondents competence in speaking Arabic are 100 percent for educated versus 24.3 percent for uneducated. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that education factor has nothing to do with the competence of Kirkukian Arabs and Turkmen in speaking Kurdish. On the contrary, the percentages of respondents' competence in uneducated Arabs and Turkmen in speaking Kurdish are higher than . . . educated respondents for the same groups, as the following table shows.

Table 132      Ability of the samples to speak Kurdish, Arabic  
and Turkmanish according to education status of

		<u>respondents</u>			
		%	%	%	
		<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Kurdish					
sample					
educated	100	100	67.6	287	
uneducated	100	24.3	61.4	70	
Arabic					
sample					
educated	17.5	100	36.0	189	
uneducated	18.0	100	44.0	50	
Turkmanish					
sample					
educated	55.4	100	100	231	
uneducated	76.9	7.7	100	26	

With regard to the socio-economic status of respondents [occupational category] and competence in speaking Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish, the results obtained indicate that the Kurdish teachers [with the exception of unemployed respondents - 3 persons] and retired citizens among Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish speaker respondents exhibit the highest levels of competence in speaking the three main languages concerned. As was the case with the competence of the respondents in understanding the different languages of the town according to socio-economic status, once again the Arab teachers exhibit the lowest level of competence in speaking Kurdish (2.6 percent) and Turkmanish (15.8 percent). With regard to the Turkmanish sample, the school students, unexpectedly, exhibit the lowest

level of competence in speaking Kurdish among the various occupational categories of the sample, as the table below shows.

Table 133     Ability of the samples to speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to socio-economic status of respondents

	<u>Kurdish sample</u>				<u>Arabic sample</u>				<u>Turk. sample</u>			
	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	No.
	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.		Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.		Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	
gov.off.	100	100	87.5	24	17.7	100	38.0	79	66.7	100	100	51
teacher	100	100	89.5	57	2.6	100	15.8	38	48.0	100	100	52
ind.wor.	100	90.0	70.0	10	26.0	100	33.3	27	73.3	100	100	15
self-em.	100	69.4	80.6	36	8.3	100	66.7	12	85.7	100	100	14
retired	100	100	86.7	15	46.7	100	66.7	15	92.3	100	100	13
housewife	100	39.7	69.0	58	22.6	100	32.3	31	61.3	41.9	100	31
s.student	100	100	49.4	154	30.6	100	41.7	36	31.2	100	100	77
unempl.	100	100	100	3	100	100	100	1	50.0	75.0	100	4

With regard to the ability of Kirkukians to read and write Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish, the results obtained from the linguistic survey of Kirkuk show that all educated Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen can read and write Arabic to some extent. The degree to which these people are familiar with reading and writing Arabic depends entirely either on the degree and level of education acquired at school or degree of literacy acquired voluntarily through personal attempt. However, the survey indicated that among the Kurds a



relatively high proportion can read and write Kurdish with varying degrees of competence. The percentages of Arabic and Turkmanish speakers who are familiar with the reading and writing of Kurdish are very small and negligible. On the other hand the percentages of those respondents familiar with the reading and writing of Turkmanish among the Kurdish and Arabic speaker respondents are also low. Even the percentages of those respondents familiar with Turkmanish among the Turkmanish sample itself are relatively low too. The ability to read and write Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish by Kirkukian respondents will be examined according to the non-linguistic variables such as age, sex, education and socio-economic status of respondents.

The results obtained, however, indicate that the Kurds are once again the more competent in reading and writing the different languages in use in Kirkuk. Since 100 percent of educated young and old age groups and 94 percent of the middle age group can read and write Kurdish and 34 percent of the latter group can read and write Turkmanish too. Whereas the highest percentages of Arabs who can read and write Kurdish and Turkmanish were found among the educated young group (4 percent for Kurdish and 2 percent for Turkmanish). The other age groups, however, are unable to read and write either Kurdish or Turkmanish. On the other hand the percentages of educated Turkmans able to read and write Turkmanish increases as the age of respondents increases, since 100 percent of educated old age group Turkmanish speaker



respondents can read and write Turkmanish, whereas 56.2 percent of educated young Turkmenians can do so. The highest percentage of educated Turkmanish speaker respondents able to read and write Kurdish was found among the old age group Turkmanish speaker respondents too (40 percent), as can be seen in the following table.

Table 134     Ability of the samples to read and write Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to age of respondents

	<u>%</u> <u>Kurdish</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Arabic</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Turk.</u>	<u>No.</u>
Kurdish sample				
young	92.4	92.4	10.4	249 (educated & uneducated)
middle	52.2	55.5	18.9	90
old	38.9	38.9	27.8	18
Arabic sample				
young	3.6	91.0	1.8	166 (educated & uneducated)
middle	-	70.2	-	57
old	-	37.5	-	16
Turkmanish sample				
young	10.3	97.1	54.6	174 (educated & uneducated)
middle	5.8	75.4	42.0	69
old	28.6	71.4	71.4	14

As far as the sex of respondents and competence in reading and writing different languages of the town of Kirkuk are concerned, the results obtained indicate that the males in general have higher percentages of competence in reading and writing Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish. This is

mainly due to the fact that the number of educated males is higher than the females. On the other hand the Kurdish males have higher percentages of competence in reading and writing different languages of the town than Arab and Turkman males do. This competence in reading and writing among Kurds, in my view, is due to the fact that Arabic is the official language of the country and education at present, and Turkish (Turkmanish is a dialect of this language) was the language used officially in the schools and in the government offices under the Ottoman empire, with consequences and effect upon the latter Kurdish generation; Kurdish is a result of political upheavals. On the other hand the percentage of educated Kurdish females' competence in reading and writing the native language is much higher than the percentage of educated Turkman females' competence in reading and writing the mother tongue, as the following table shows.

<u>Table 135      Ability of the samples to read and write Kurdish,</u>				
<u>Arabic and Turkmanish according to sex of respondents</u>				
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>
	<u>Kurdish</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turk.</u>	
Kurdish sample				
male	89.8	90.2	19.0	236 (educated & uneducated)
female	59.5	61.1	2.5	121
Arabic sample				
male	2.7	83.5	0.5	182 =
female	1.7	64.9	3.5	57
Turkmanish sample				
male	11.3	95.6	57.2	159 =
female	8.2	80.6	43.9	98

The competence of respondents in reading and writing Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to socio-economic status [occupational categories] varies from group to group. For reading and writing Kurdish, for example, the percentages of respondents in the Arabic and Turkmanish samples were found to be very low, since neither the government officials nor the teachers in the Arabic sample can read and write Kurdish at all. The percentages of those able to read and write Kurdish among the Arabic sample are very small and negligible. The Kurds, however, relatively exhibit the highest levels of competence in reading and writing Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish. The two highest levels of competence in reading and writing these three main languages were found among the government officials and teachers. So the level of competence in reading and writing increases among the Kurdish sample as the socio-economic status of the respondent increases; whereas for the other two groups (Arabic and Turkmanish) the levels of competence in reading and writing Kurdish increases as the socio-economic status of the respondent decreases. Moreover, in the Turkmanish sample the highest level of competence in reading and writing Kurdish was found among the retired Turkmanish group (30.8 percent). Since the acquisition of this active skill has been voluntary, and not, as for reading and writing Arabic, merely a result of receiving a basic education, the level of competence in reading and writing Kurdish indicates actual



behaviour and attitudes to a certain extent. The table below shows the ability of the samples to read and write the languages concerned in Kirkuk according to the socio-economic status of the respondents.

Table 136     Ability of the samples to read and write Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish according to socio-economic status of respondent

	<u>Kurdish sample</u>				<u>Arabic sample</u>				<u>Turk. sample</u>			
	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	No.
	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	No.	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	No.	Kurd.	Arab.	Turk.	No.
gov. off.	100	100	16.7	24	-	92.4	1.3	79	5.9	100	54.9	51
teacher	98.2	100	21.0	57	-	100	-	38	9.6	100	63.5	52
ind.wor.	60.0	70.0	-	10	3.7	70.4	-	27	-	80.0	26.7	15
self-em.	58.3	63.9	11.1	36	-	33.3	-	12	14.3	92.9	42.9	14
retired	53.3	53.3	26.7	15	-	46.7	6.7	15	30.8	100	92.3	13
housewife	8.6	19.0	1.7	58	3.2	35.5	3.2	31	-	38.7	9.7	31
s.student	100	100	2.0	154	11.1	100	2.8	36	15.6	100	61.0	77
unempl.	100	100	-	3	-	100	-	1	-	75.0	50.0	4

With regard to the competence and language variation in Kirkuk both the domain configuration and the socio-economic characteristics of the population and the sociolinguistics of the population in Kirkuk often allow for three possibilities in any one language use situation; either Kurdish/Arabic or Turkmanish. The sociolinguistic characteristics of the population provide for a high percentage of Kurdish-Arabic bilinguals, Kurdish-Turkmanish bilinguals, Turkmanish-Arabic

bilinguals or Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish multilinguals. The domain configuration in Kirkuk also provides for a duality or multi-language variation. In some domains it has been pointed out that one can expect either Kurdish, Arabic or Turkmanish, especially when factors external to the community are involved.

The level of analysis in the discussion of language variation mentioned below is not concerned with language variation on the plane of the community as a whole, but rather with the language choice of a given individual Kirkukian. In any one situation a Kurdish-Arabic, Kurdish-Turkmanish, Turkmanish-Arabic bilingual or multilingual are often faced with making a choice between using one of these languages. The criteria that usually provide (either consciously or unconsciously) the basis in a particular speech set, for example, the linguistic characteristics of the interlocutor and the language appropriate for the domain in which the speech act takes place, will allow for either language. As a result language choice is then determined largely by the language attitudes of the speaker. Such situations appear to have their origin in the conflict in Kirkuk between various norms and attitudes towards socio-linguistic behaviour whereby the operative factors are the attitudes associated with traditional diglossic patterns of language variation, the Kurdish language commitment, and the recent pressure to use more Arabic which the new language policy adopters exert on Kurdish and Turkmanish speakers.

On the one hand, these situations arise when an expansive trend of Kurdish by the Kurds creates the possibility of using Kurdish in a situation which, according to the traditional diglossic pattern of language use in Kirkuk, should be an Arabic language situation. The effect of the Kurdish language movement in bringing about a change in language attitudes is clearly at work here. For example, in two separate speech acts in Kirkuk involving a non-Kurdish school headmaster and two Kirkukian Kurdish teachers, one Kurdish teacher will speak Kurdish with the school headmaster while the other will speak Arabic. The one speaking Arabic is acting in accordance with the traditional formality diglossic norms and values (no longer universally accepted by Kirkukian Kurds), i.e. according to his attitudes towards Kurdish and Arabic. The other, speaking Kurdish (although the headmaster has not a full competence in the Kurdish language), does so because of his high degree of positive attitudes towards the use of Kurdish in that situation; he believes that he is in his community and native land, so he finds no reason whatsoever to give up speaking his own native language with the school headmaster.

The primary factor in determining language choice when the Kirkukian Kurdish initiates a speech act is whether or not the sociolinguistic characteristics of his interlocutor are known to him. If the interlocutor is known to him, then the possibilities for language choice are obvious. However, when the interlocutor's sociolinguistic characteristics are not



known to him and the physical appearance, the dress and the activities of the interlocutor do not help to make clear his identity, then the appropriate language to use in this instance may well be either Arabic or the language of the physical location of the speech act. One reason for this may be that the formality or informality of initiating a conversation with an unknown person (age, sex and likely socio-economic status may be the factors which add to the formality and informality of the speech act) lead the Kirkukian Kurdish to choose the least marked language, i.e. Arabic. The attitudes of Kirkukian Kurdish would mediate in such a case since the Kirkukian Kurd knows he can safely use Arabic with everyone in Kirkuk, whereas the use of Kurdish or Turkmanish here may prolong the ambiguity of the situation. The standard reply of monolinguals unable to understand Kurdish, Kurdi nazānim, I do not know Kurdish, makes communication not possible and discontinuity, uncertainty and tension in the speech act unavoidable.

In instances where the non-Kurdish interlocutor addresses the Kirkukian Kurd in Kurdish, the fact that the interlocutor has a complete competence in Kurdish and he is either a Kurdish-Arabic or Turkmanish-Kurdish bilingual has already been made explicit by that act. If the interlocutor is known by the Kirkukian Kurd, then Kurdish is most likely to be the language appropriate for use with other Kurdish speakers. In instances where the interlocutor is a known bilingual, but superior in socio-economic status to the

Kirkukian Kurd, the most probable choice for the language of response will be the language used by the interlocutor himself, or Arabic. Once again language attitudes play a mediating role in such instances, an Arabic response being made possible on the basis that an official norm calls for Arabic with socio-economic superiors. The other most commonly encountered possibility is that the interlocutor is not known by the Kirkukian Kurd and is of approximately the same socio-economic status. As is the case when a known bilingual addresses the Kirkukian Kurd in Kurdish, here again Kurdish is the most appropriate and most likely language of response.

In instances where either Arabic or Turkmanish is the language used by the interlocutor to address the Kirkukian Kurd there also appear to be three major factors which help to determine which language the Kirkukian Kurd will respond in. When a known bilingual with only little command of Kurdish addresses the Kirkukian Kurd in Kurdish there are two possibilities. Either the Kirkukian Kurd replies in Arabic or Turkmanish, or he maintains his use of Kurdish. Whether the reply is made in Arabic or Turkmanish or Kurdish is decided largely by the attitudes of the Kirkukian Kurd, since the situational norms allow either language in this situation. This means that the Kirkukian Kurd may use Kurdish because of his desire to maintain his use of Kurdish in the community at large, or to show his acceptance of the interlocutor as being one of those sharing with him brotherhood and nativity. On



the other hand, if the Kirkukian Kurd knows that this bilingual with little command of the Kurdish language has a negative attitude towards Kurdish, then he may use Arabic as the language of response out of deference to the interlocutor [and his own low commitment to Kurdish], or he may use Kurdish to show his disapproval as a typical indication of a highly committed bilingual.

The last two possibilities, a known monolingual or an unknown interlocutor, both entail the use of Arabic as the language of response in most cases. It is rarely the case that a Kirkukian Kurd will respond in Kurdish after being directly addressed in either Arabic or Turkmanish by a known monolingual. The use of Kurdish with monolinguals appears to be more indirect, such as when two Kurdish speakers maintain the use of Kurdish when a monolingual is present, dropping only momentarily into Arabic or Turkmanish now and again when the monolingual addresses one or the other of the two bilingual speakers. In instances where an unknown interlocutor addresses a Kirkukian Kurd in either Arabic or Turkmanish, the probability is greatest that the Kirkukian Kurd will also reply in either Arabic or Turkmanish. Moreover, it is often enough the case that the interlocutor is himself an active Kurdish-Arabic or Kurdish-Turkmanish bilingual. If that is so then the Kirkukian Kurd will most likely be made aware of that fact by the Kurdish accent in the Arabic or Turkmanish of his interlocutor, and then respond in Kurdish. In fact, this is to a large degree an example of the Kirkukian Kurd



wanting to bring congruence to the speech act (sensing a Kurdish-speaking interlocutor and switching the conversation to Kurdish]; however, it is also attitudinal in part; if he is a Kurd, then you must speak Kurdish with him.

## 6.1 Summary and Conclusions

### 6.1.1 Summary

This study has attempted to discuss, describe and analyse in detail certain kinds of problems that are related to the linguistic situation that exist at present in the town of Kirkuk, north eastern Iraq.

The major task of the study, however, was concerned particularly with the following areas:

First, the relationship existing between ethnic background and language usage and language loyalty in Kirkuk.

Second, the attitude of Kirkukians towards language maintenance and language shift in Kirkuk.

Third and final area studied was the communicative competence of the individual Kurdish-Arabic, Kurdish-Turkmanish or Arabic-Turkmanish bilingual or Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmanish multilingual speaker including the degree to which such a speaker is a bilingual or multilingual and the extent of bilingualism and multilingualism in different domains and situations in Kirkuk.

#### 6.1.1.1 Description of the problem

In the light of the social factors affecting language stability and language shift in much of the developing world, what has sociolinguistics to say about Kirkuk, as a bilingual

or multilingual city where there are simultaneous economic, social and political developments in progress? In order to be able to answer this question, we must first answer the following questions which have been raised earlier in the previous chapters, either directly or indirectly.

First, is there any correlation between education, stratification of the socio-economic factors, other demographic variables and non-native language competence, performance, attitudes and language choice in Kirkuk?

Second, is there any significant retreat by the Kurdish and Turkmanish speakers of the town, in the sense that by giving up their languages completely and shifting to Arabic? or

Third, will this shift eventually lead to a diglossic speech community where Kurdish and Turkmanish will be the low vehicle of intimate usage and Arabic the high vehicle of formal usage?

Fourth, in the light of the final results obtained from this study, what kind of language planning and educational strategies should be followed to obtain an optimal linguistic situation in this town?

Fifth, is there any contrast between the findings of the linguistic situation in this town and present day European and non-European situations of languages in contact?

Sixth and final question, what kind of contribution can this study make to the sociolinguistic theory in the domain of languages in contact?



From the detailed description given in Chapter Five, certain more general characteristics of language use and linguistic situation in Kirkuk became quite clear. In this final chapter, however, the linguistic situation in this town will be reviewed in the light of these characteristics and the factors concerned.

#### 6.1.1.2 Domains of language use in Kirkuk

As has been pointed out earlier in Chapter Two, speech event is regarded as a basic unit of data in sociolinguistics. The situation, however, comprises the components of the speech event with the exception of code. In general, then, situations are used to refer to classes of speech events characterised by similar language behaviour. The linguistic situation in a community may be described in terms of a few very abstract situations which have been referred to by Fishman as domains. Fishman has defined domains as those 'institutionally relevant spheres of social interaction in which certain value clusters are behaviourally implemented. Domains are similar to the sociologists' situations but take into account behaviour, as well as structure' (Fishman 1971: 17).

The validity of domain analysis, however, derives from the fact that language use is not determined independently situation by situation, but rather reflects certain general features which underlie sets of behavioural norms.

Therefore, a set of these general features may be abstracted from the linguistic situation, such that each is associated with a particular language. Use of a language in a particular situation is determined by the extent to which its associated feature is present in that situation. Despite the diversity of the population in Kirkuk, it was found that there were a number of domains of language use in the town in which one language was usually predominant.

The domains used for this purpose, however, are:  
 [1] the home, [2] the neighbourhood, [3] the place of work, [4] the school, [5] the friends, [6] the national and traditional occasions, [7] the mosque, [8] the religion, [9] the market, [10] the politics, [11] the different topics, [12] the literacy. These domains reflect the institutional structure of community life pertinent to sociolinguistic behaviour. The areas of dominance of the three languages, which can be seen in Figure 4 are institutionally reasonable clusters of situations. That is, Arabic is the language most frequently mentioned for the schools, politics, the place of work and literacy, whereas Kurdish and Turkmanish for other domains such as Kurdish and Turkmanish home respectively. Generally speaking, code switching behaviour among Kurkukian Kurds, for example, tends to be predictable from these situational contexts. One can easily predict that a Kurdish person who has been talking in Arabic with his employer superior in the place of work will automatically

Figure 4 A dominance configuration of language use in Kirkuk

Ethnic groups	Domains											
	Home	Neigh.	Work	School	Friends	Nat.Occ.	Mosque	Rel.	Market	Pol.	D.Top.	Lit.
Kurds	K	KTA	AKT	AKT	KTA	KAT	AKT	KAT	KAT	AK	KAT	AK
Arabs	A	ATK	ATK	A	ATK	ATK	ATK	ATK	ATK	A	A	A
Turkmen	T	TAK	ATK	ATK	ATK	ATK	ATK	TAK	TAK	A	ATK	A

K	=	Kurdish
A	=	Arabic
T	=	Turkmanish



shift to Kurdish as soon as he enters the home domain and that is will be the language he will continue to speak. This is due to the fact that Arabic has not penetrated the Kurdish speakers' home domain in Kirkuk.

A basic sociolinguistic principle is that in an heterogeneous speech community, with varying degrees of linguistic diversity and social complexity [such as Kirkuk], speakers interact using different speech varieties drawn from a repertoire of choices which, for the most part, are not going to be random. On the contrary, the distribution of usage of these choices would be determined by several factors in the social communicative systems of the community. The language repertoire of the community must be considered, instead of a single variety of code. This is due to the fact, as Hymes pointed out, that 'no normal person, and no normal community, is limited to a single style of speech, to an unchanging monotony that would preclude indication of respect, insolence, mock seriousness, humour, role distance, and intimacy by switching from one mode of speech to another' [Hymes 1974:30]. With regard to the domain analysis, the basic distinction could be made is that of the old Arab inhabitants of the town and the young and newcomers. The old Arabs, generally speaking, tend to be familiar with the local values and norms of language use in Kirkuk, whereas the young and newcomers are not. Arabic is associated with Islam, education and officiality. Therefore, it is widely used in

other situations in accordance with the repertoire rule. However, in general, the repertoire rule is concerned with the possibility and the domain analysis with behaviour norms.

#### 6.1.1.3 The factors affecting the linguistic situation and language choice in Kirkuk

The linguistic situation in Kirkuk, as described synchronically in Chapter Five, appears to be relatively stable so far. However, it is obvious that as a result of current simultaneous economic, social and political development which are taking place at present in this town will result in a somewhat different situation in the future. The linguistic situations may best be described in terms of a linguistic repertoire [the codes used in the community], a situation repertoire [the situation occurring in the community], and the factors which determine the pairing of code and situation for each speech event, as well as the attitudes of the community toward languages and language use.

The choice of implicational scales for representing change in language choice leaves unsolved the problem of how alternation between old and new forms affects the communicative strategies of the speakers involved in change. Nevertheless, Robins has argued and stated that the factors affecting the linguistic situation and causing the language change are either internal or external.

'Internal causes of linguistic changes lie in the nature of the transmission of speech habits from one generation to another. External causes of linguistic change are the contacts between the speakers of different languages, of the sort that occur when a foreign language is imposed on people by conquest or by political or cultural domination, or when cultural and other factors produce a high degree of bilingualism between adjacent speech areas'

[Robins 1968: 299]

Therefore, accordingly the factors affecting the linguistic situation and language use in Kirkuk will be discussed briefly below.

#### Education

The degree of literacy in Kirkuk is directly related to education. Education as it was seen in Chapter Five that the demographic variable most clearly related to differences in language use (particularly the use of Arabic) was education. The most significant differences are in situation and linguistic repertoire. That is, non-educated Kurds and Turkmen do not normally know Arabic, nor do they participate in those situations most clearly associated with the use of Arabic, i.e. literacy and the schools. This does not affect the domain analysis since to say that Arabic is associated with the education domain in Kirkuk does not imply at all that all, or even most non-Arab Kirkukians know Arabic or are educated. It must be stressed here that the education factor has nothing



to do with either linguistic repertoire of Arabs and Turkmen of the town in Kurdish or Kurds and Arabs of the town in Turkmanish. Arabic is regarded as both an important subject and medium of instruction in Kirkukian schools. Therefore, with the diffusion of education more and more under present circumstances the chance of dominance of Arabic in this town will be great and the chance for creation a pidgin language is not possible.

### Sex and age

Differences in language behaviour may be related to some other variables, such as sex and age. However, differences in language behaviour related to age and sex largely reflect the differing educational level of the various age and sex sub-groups. Where they do not, the differences are related to differences in situation repertoires. For example, men are more active in the market than women in Kirkuk, and consequently are more likely to know and use the languages particularly restricted to that aspect of life. Many studies have been carried out in different parts of the world and have confirmed this assumption. For example, Lieberman (1965) discerned from Canadian census data that male French Canadians in Montreal consistently showed a higher rate of French-English bilingualism and a higher rate of increase in the proportion of bilingual speakers than women between the 1920s and the 1960s. This was so because in Montreal during this period, English was the language

necessary for occupational mobility, while French was the language of the home and most other non-occupational domains [cited in Scherer & Giles, 1979: 120]. Although men and women in this study showed generally similar attitudes toward the use of languages, nevertheless the Turkman women in particular have expressed a higher degree of positive attitudes toward the use of Arabic than the Kurdish women. This might well be due to the fact that these Turkman females are mostly educated and consequently have access and desire to penetrate all aspects of life, particularly the occupational aspect. Therefore, they appear to be no more linguistically conservative and no much reason to retain their traditional behaviour in preference to innovation as it does happen with those uneducated women whose lives are restricted to their domestic role. However, among the educated Kurdish women exactly the opposite tendency has been observed. The Kurdish men and women showed equally very high degrees of negative attitudes toward the use of Arabic and positive attitudes toward the mother tongue.

Unfortunately, apart from some general observations made by some writers, there is no available information concerning the language use at different stages and periods in Kirkuk. Such invaluable information that will enable necessary generational differences to be compared. Nevertheless, the synchronic linguistic differences may throw light on the linguistic situation and language choice in Kirkuk.

On the other hand, the linguistic situation in Kirkuk as it has been described in Chapter Five suggests that, in general, the younger generation non-Arabs makes more use of Arabic than the older one. This may well be due to the fact that the young are more likely to be educated than the old group. Moreover, the young Turkmen showed a greater degree of positive attitudes toward the use of Arabic than the old group Turkmen and negative attitudes toward the mother tongue. Unlike Turkmen, the young Kurds although they make more use of Arabic than the older group, they nevertheless expressed (along with the old group) a greater degree of positive attitudes toward the mother tongue and negative attitudes toward the use of Arabic. Furthermore, the study of parents and children's use of languages showed a similar pattern of language use and language attitudes as those between the old and young age groups.

### Urbanisation

The urban communities are generally more complex than the rural communities and consequently have a wider variety of situations and greater degree of role compartmentalisation. They also tend to be, generally speaking, more heterogeneous and to have a higher level of education. For this reason, however, some linguists, for example Haugen 1969, came to conclusions that the language of those living in urban areas tend to be more amenable to language shift than those living in rural areas. In other words, urbanisation is a factor



affecting the linguistic situation and language use in Kirkuk.

### Migration

The current policy and recent tendency in bringing a large number of immigrant Arabs into the town and the province of Kirkuk [particularly the areas surrounding the town] and confining all official jobs in the hands of the members of the ethnic group to which they belong may well be a factor in preferring the Arabic language over the use of other languages in this town. This may be so because these newcomers are unfamiliar with or insensitive to the local values and norms of the community at large, especially if they are all monolinguals. However, in many heterogeneous communities where two or more ethnic groups are living together, the common and general assumption is that the minority assimilation to a majority culture. Nevertheless, as a result of uprisings the ethnic and linguistic nationalism in various parts of the world in the last fifty years, the trend against linguistic assimilation has been reversed. So, there are many instances in recent history of majority assimilation to a dominant minority language, especially on the African continent, from which information could be gleaned (Scherer & Giles, 1979: 121). Nevertheless, this new influx may well have a great impact on the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk.

### Industrialisation

As was reported earlier in Chapter One, Kirkuk is a heavily industrialised town, since it is a major centre of the Iraq petroleum industry. This kind of industry has contributed substantially to the town's considerable growth and development since World War One. For this reason, however, the construction of this town and its component ethnic groups have been given special care and more attention. Moreover, the availability of wealth, more jobs and good pay, in addition to the geographical position of the town have encouraged people to come to the town either as a result of planned or unplanned move and to settle down as permanent dwellers. This economic boom and the outsiders' influx (mostly with peasants or peasant-workers background) will affect remarkably the social structure of the town on the one hand and the languages concerned and linguistic situation on the other.

### Centralisation

The major and most important factor which may have influence on the language use and linguistic situation in Kirkuk is centralisation. In spite of the fact that all historical evidence suggests that Kurdish is the language of indigenous inhabitants of Kirkuk with a great tradition, and the Iraqi provisional constitution recognises Kurdish as the second official language of the country as a whole,

nevertheless, the official policy adopted now in this town regards Arabic as the only official language to be used in Kirkuk, not only for official functions, but also for the daily life purposes. However, as the Iraqi government is practising a modern system of ruling the country in the sense that they are not only controlling the country physically, as the traditional rulers, for example the Ottoman empire have done in the past, but also they are interfering with all aspects of life by exercising certain policy to impose and achieve a certain ideology. The language emphasised to fulfil such endeavours to achieve the social and political goals in this linguistically and ethnically heterogeneous town is mainly Arabic. Therefore, Arabic is not only orientated by the local authorities to be used officially and unofficially, but also has been given greatest role and status by the central government. Therefore, the dominance of Arabic in the media: radio, television, press, etc. is quite obvious and indisputable. The process of propagating Arabic in this town is similar to those which have taken place to propagate English in Wales and Scotland in its early stages and establishment. Therefore, the impact of this factor on linguistic situation in Kirkuk seems to be greater than the other factors mentioned above. Moreover, Arabic was put forward not only to become a *lingua franca* in this speech community as a whole, but also to function as a high vehicle of formal usage and the other languages as low vehicle of intimate and an informal usage in the diglossic situations of the town.



#### 6.1.1.4 Kurdish language stability in Kirkuk

The factors affecting the linguistic situation in general and the language choice in Kirkuk have been discussed briefly in the previous section. However, despite the fact that Arabic is regarded as an official language, being orientated and given a prestigious status, in Kirkuk. Nevertheless, the Kurdish language has survived and kept its characteristics as an independent language to be used by all Kirkukian Kurds, regardless of their socio-economic status, to a remarkable extent. The question which may be raised here is that, what is unique about this language in order not to undergo the language shift to the present time?

In the light of the detailed description of the linguistic situation in Kirkuk and in the view of this writer, the stability of the Kurdish language in this town is due to the following factors.

1. The Kurds believe that they are indigenous inhabitants of Kirkuk, and therefore they have a very strong feeling and pragmatic attitudes toward the maintaining of the Kurdish language as a primary marker of ethnic group identity.
2. The Kurdish peasants and peasant workers' children who have had an opportunity to get an education and eventually to become professionals and bureaucrats of the town have never disassociated themselves or cut off their relationships

with the kin and relatives who are still peasants or peasant-workers in the province of Kirkuk or elsewhere. On the contrary, by virtue of their new positions they were able either to offer the members of these relatives and kin jobs in their offices or to assist them to find jobs in other industrial areas of the town. In short, therefore, the network chain connecting the Kurds of the town with the Kurds outside the town, i.e. in the province has never been broken down. So, despite the social mobility of a great number of these Kurds, generally speaking, they have never changed their language or got ready to change it in all circumstances. On the contrary, these Kurds are always proud of their language and identify themselves with it. Therefore, by doing so they have preserved the Kurdish language to a remarkable extent.

3. All historical evidence indicates that the local Kurd chiefs were the real masters of this town and province of Kirkuk. This, however, has strengthened the moral of the Kurds in this town to a considerable degree, not only to not abandon their language but also to reinforce their position as a part of the Kurdish nation.

4. After the Iraqi revolution in 1958; the tribal system in Iraq has relatively broken down. The influence and the role of local Kurd chiefs (Aghas) has become less important in Kirkuk. Therefore, a new horizon has appeared, this was

the uprising of Kurdish nationalism and the Kurdish movement in their amazing power. In other words, the power of local Kurd chiefs has been transferred to this new movement. This new uprising, however, not only has tightened up the relationships between the Kirkukian Kurds and their language but also connected them with the Kurds in other parts of Iraqi Kurdistan and elsewhere.

5. The intermarriages between the Kurds of the town and the other ethnic groups is very rare and very limited. Moreover, even those Kurds married to non-Kurds, the dominant language in the domain of home will be the language of the husband's parents. Therefore, the Kurdish language has been preserved in this way.

6. The type of Kurdish/Arabic or Kurdish/Turkmanish bilingualism is non-reciprocal bilingualism. On the other hand, the Kurds are very cautious when they are engaged in a bilingual conversation. They are aware of the consequences of acquiring the second or the third language without being very careful. Therefore, they believe that the extent of bilingualism or multilingualism must not be, at any price, at the expense of their mother tongue.

7. The official language policy adopted so far in Kirkuk and the language use in schools, in the media, radio, television, press, etc., are of a fact-denying and therefore a self-defeating type, in the



sense that Arabic is given priority and more attention at the expense of the others on the one hand and the way that this language is used on the other; this made Kirkukian Kurds, however, more aware of the consequences and to pay more attention to their language.

8. Finally, it must be said here that by virtue of the 1958 revolution in Iraq the process of national revival proceeded and deepened further. Therefore, the Kurdish language is recognised as an official language to be used in Iraqi Kurdistan as a first language and in Iraq in general as a second official language of the country. This recognition of Kurdish by the Iraqi authorities has helped publication of a great number of books in this language. Indeed, the Kirkukian Kurds, in particular poets, literateurs, historians, etc., have played a great role in this matter. Consequently, the Kurdish language has flourished in this period in Kirkuk, as well as elsewhere. For this reason and the reasons discussed earlier in Chapter One, the Kurdish language has resisted any drastic or substantial shift to take place toward Arabic or other languages so far in Kirkuk.

On these bases, therefore, even under present circumstances it is expected that the ultimate outlook for the Kurdish language maintenance in Kirkuk will remain stable.

#### 6.1.1.5 Future of Turkmanish

With regard to the Turkmanish language there is evidence that Arabic is replacing Turkmanish in some areas, most notably as the language of education, literacy and the government offices. Moreover, as Arabic propagates in the socio-economic life of the inhabitants of this town and the willingness of the younger generation Turkmen to accept this fact, as the result of the analysis of the data concerned shows. Then some change will be expected and therefore the future of Turkmanish stability in this town is very much in doubt.

The outcome, if the present circumstances remain unchanged, is that there is likely to be an increasing shift towards Arabic and perhaps this shift will lead to the point where Arabic may prevail even in intimate domains and situations in Kirkuk.

#### 6.1.1.6 Heterogeneity and language planning in Kirkuk

The intention of language planning in general must not be on the grounds to extend directly the influence of one language over the others. One aspect of the language planning, however, must deal with how people are educated with the choice of instrument for education and with how the chosen medium can be more efficient, which includes enabling it to deal with information more adequately along a 'rising scale of

intellectualisation'. On these bases, therefore, the heterogeneous sociolinguistic composition of classrooms in Kirkukian communities must be recognised. So, the application of the same programme will not be successful for all children, of different ethnic background, present in these classrooms. The education planner, however, should consider this fact and must not treat all Kirkukian communities as linguistically homogeneous.

Alternatively, each ethnic group must be given either an equal opportunity to choose the language which accords with the attitudes of its members in relation to the language of education required or a complete multilingual programme should be designed in a way to account for all aspects of the sociolinguistic complexity of Kirkukian speech communities. Otherwise, an optimal linguistic situation in this town cannot be achieved at all.

#### 6.1.1.7 The contrast between the findings of this study and the study of languages in contact in Europe

As a result of the discussion above, one thing comes out very clearly, and that is no significant correlation between the non-native language competence, use and language attitudes based on the socio-economic status of respondents [occupational category] can be established. Therefore, in Kirkuk, the person ranking high according to socio-economic



status with high degrees of attitudes do not necessarily have a high degree of non-native language use and performance and vice versa. The educated Kurds and Turkmen, however, were of course more exposed to non-native language (for example to Arabic) in the domains of schools, government offices, etc. and thus, had a higher degree of competence and performance in Arabic than those who had no education. The lack of a correlation between language competence, use and language attitudes based on the socio-economic status of the respondents speaks to some extent for the linguistic sophistication of the sample population. The results obtained indicated that the attitudes towards the language of one's environment were independent of income, education or occupation, as well as the ability to use these languages. In other words, the use of non-native languages is in no way limited to certain socio-economic strata. This, of course, is in opposition to one of the findings reported by Susan Gal in her study of social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria, 1979, in which she proved that there is a significant and a remarkable degree of relationship between the economic and social changes in the town of Oberwart, Austria and choice between German and Hungarian. In other words, the bilingual Hungarians of this town shift to German as soon as the process of social change, from peasantry to industrialised worker, takes place.

This study, however, proved that the ethnic background of Kirkukian Kurds, for example, is the major factor in preserving and maintaining Kurdish in most domains and situations in Kirkuk. Therefore, the urbanisation, industrialisation and other demographic and socio-economic factors which have been a major cause of linguistic change and language choice in western Europe [Susan Gal, 1979] have, so far, had no significant impact on the linguistic situation and language choice as far as the Kirkukian Kurds are concerned.

#### 6.1.1.8 This study and sociolinguistic theory

It is commonplace today to say there is a positive correlation between the socio-economic factors and the language choice in Europe and the United States of America. On the other hand, when two or more languages are in contact the common assumption is that the minority assimilation to the majority culture. However, when the results of the detailed description of the linguistic situation in the town of Kirkuk contradict the above assumptions, of course, these new findings and information will contribute substantially to the sociolinguistic theory in the domain of languages in contact. The findings are entirely different from the previous case studies on the one hand and also

the subject of sociolinguistics on the other hand is still new.

### 6.1.2 Conclusions

The sociolinguistic investigation of this bilingual or multilingual community has proved that there is no substantial correlation between the non-native language competence, use and language attitudes based on the socio-economic status of the sample population in Kirkuk. The areas studied, however, showed that they were generally independent of each other, and each one, by itself, constitutes a valuable means to examine the sociolinguistic structure of a multilingual population. Furthermore, it was found that the ethnic background of Kirkukians and language competence, use and attitudes were highly correlated. Therefore, there is no doubt in the investigator's mind that linguistic situations and language choice in middle eastern societies should be analysed and described by middle eastern advanced sociolinguists and according to their categories, terms and sense. And not according to categories and terms taken for granted in analysing the similar languages in contact situations in Europe and elsewhere.



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