The Sociopolitical Changes and the Foreign Language Planning and Policy in KRI: The Case of English Language

Momen Yaseen M. Amin

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
English Language Teaching

Eastern Mediterranean University
August 2021
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

———————————————
Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language Teaching.

———————————————
Prof. Dr. Javanshir Shibliyev
Chair, Department of Foreign Language Education

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language Teaching.

———————————————
Prof. Dr. Javanshir Shibliyev
Supervisor

Examining Committee
———————————————

1. Prof. Dr. Necdet Osam   ———————————————

2. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Sağın Şimşek   ———————————————

3. Prof. Dr. Javanshir Shibliyev   ———————————————

4. Prof. Dr. Şehnaz Şahinkarakaş   ———————————————

5. Asst. Prof. Dr. Fatoş Erozan   ———————————————

ABSTRACT

The current thesis presents a detailed study on language planning and policy in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) vis-à-vis the role of English. The topic is formulated under the framework of social action theory which infers that each ethnic group strives to be represented in terms of language rights and standardization and, as a result, language becomes a domain where groups contend to assert their power. The research pursues a mix-method design to consider the linguistic landscape from different perspectives, including a critical socio-historical approach. Considering the socio-political developments, both top-down and bottom-up approaches in planning language policy were adopted.

The questionnaires were used to analyse the Kurdish students' responses towards using English as a medium of instruction. Besides, the attitudes of Kurdish parents of the region were also recorded in the study. Further, the correlation analysis reveals that Kurdish parents hold positive attitudes; however, they have been influenced by religious and national factors. It has been revealed that Kurdish parents confer more importance on studies in Kurdish or religion than on English language education. The major argument in this thesis aims to overview a reliable or valid image of linguistic landscape and presents a transformative language planning and policy to Kurdish authorities, as an alternative to the current situation of LL.

The transformative language planning and policy, which promotes pertinent guidelines to reform and redesign the language planning and policy, can be congenial for planning a new language policy to this region. The critical analysis of relevant documents to

language planning and policy reveals that there is an unsystematic framework of linguistic landscape in the region, and the efforts couldn't meet the expectations of changing socio-economic episodes of the region.

ÖZ

Yapılan tez çalışmasında, Irak Kurdistan Bölgesi'ndeki (KRI) dil planlaması ve dil politikası hakkında ayrıntılı bir çalışma sunulmaktadır. Bu tezin ileriki bölümlerinde 1991 yılında Kuzey Irak Bölgesel Kürt Yönetimine geri verilen coğrafyadaki dil planlamasına -ki bu planlama örtük olarak yapılmıştır-irdeleyici bir biçimde ele alınacaktır. Tez çalışması Sosyal Eylem Kuramını temel almış ve çalışmayı bu kuramından hareketle oluşturulmuştur. Bu bakımdan tez çalışmasında dil planlaması ve politikaları, özellikle İngilizce eğitiminin geçirmiş ve geçirmekte olduğu kimi gelişmeler ışığında incelenmesi gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Tez çalışmasının araştırma deseni Karma Yöntem ile kurgulanmış, DilselGörünümleri farklı bakış açılarından ve irdeleyici Tarihsel Toplumdilbilim yaklaşımı ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çalışmada bölgedeki dil planlamasına yönelik belgeler, anayasal, hükümet, meclis yanında siyasi partiler ve basın bağlamında incelenmiştir. Araştırmacı çalışmasında güncel bağlamdaki dil politikaları üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Çalışmada bürokratik ve bürokratik olmayan, anayasallaşma, resmileşme, ölçünleşme ve yasama bağlamında bağımsız olmayan bir devletin, dil siyasalarını incelemiş, ve yapılan dil planlamalarının herhangi bir sistem odağına sahip olmadığını saptamıştır.

Çalışmada Kürt ortaokul öğrencilerinin İngilizce eğitiminin olumlu ve olumsuz yanlarına yönelik davranışsal, zihinsel ve duygusal durumlarını öğrenmek için sormaca uygulanmıştır. Yapılan değerlendirmelerde Kürt öğrencilerin İngilizce eğitimine yönelik olumlu tutum sergiledikleri belirlenmiştir. Bunun yanında, eşdeşleme (correlation) çalışması sonucunda öğrenci velilerinin İngilizce'ye yönelik

olumlu tutumları olmasına karşın, dini ve ulusalcılık/ulusçuluk bağlamında ciddi etki altında oldukları da belirlenmiştir. Elde edilen sonuçlar doğrultusunda öğrenci aileleri, İngilizce eğitimi yerine Kürtçe'ye büyük önem verdikleri ve Kürtçe ile din bağlamında çalışılmasının büyük anlam ifade ettiği vurgulanmıştır.

Bu çalışmadaki temel amaç geçerli ve güvenilir bir dilsel görünümün yapılması yanında, Kürt yetkililere dönüşümsel dil planlaması ve siyasalarını dil eğitimi bağlamında ortaya kayabilmektir. Dönüşümsel dil planlamasının yenilikçi ve yeniden tasarlayıcılık gibi bir dizi aşaması bulunduğu bilinmektedir. Tam da bu bakımdan, dönüşümsel dil planlaması söz konusu coğrafyada yeni bir dil planlaması için uyumlaştırıcı bir rol oynayacağı düşünüşmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dil Planlama ve Dil Siyasası, Dilsel Görünüm, İngilizce Eğitim, Kuzey Irak Özerk Bölge.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I would like to praise and thank God, the Almighty, who has granted countless blessing, knowledge, and opportunity to the writer, so that I have been finally able to accomplish the thesis.

I would like to record my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Javanshir Shibliyev for his supervision, advice, and guidance from the very early stage of this thesis as well as giving me extraordinary experiences throughout the work. Above all and the most needed, he provided me constant encouragement and support in various ways. His ideas, experiences, and passions has truly inspires and enrich my growth as a student, I am indebted to him more than he knows.

I would like to acknowledge the members of my graduate committee for their advice and guidance, most especially Prof. Dr. Necdet Osam for all his advice and encouragement, and special thanks go to Asst. Prof. Dr. Fatoş EROZAN for her crucial contribution to this study.

My appreciation is also due to the Head, staff and students of the Department of English language teaching at EMU. Their encouragements in the past six years have greatly supported my personal and professional development. Without their unwavering commitment to the field, the fight against injustices could have suffered greatly.

My warmest appreciation is due to the soul my of father, and my beloved mother, Khawar Ali, she made my life with all what she could. And my biggest thanks to my

TABLE CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBRIVIATIONS

EFL   English as Foreign Language

IC   Iraqi Constitution

KP   Kurdistan Parliament

KRG   Kurdistan Regional Government

KRI   Kurdistan Region of Iraq

LPP   Language planning policy

MP   Member of Parliament

NECI   New English Curriculum for Iraq

SLP   Submitted Project Law

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Presentation

The introductory chapter of the thesis includes a general overview to describe the title 'Language policy in Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI) in the light of recent sociopolitical developments with emphasis of English language education policy.' thus, the researcher presents the background of the study in the first position to explain and describe the context and present appropriate information about the political, cultural, and social history of Kurdish nation-state, and the KRI as an autonomous region in the north of Iraq. Besides, the researcher elaborates on some of the major linguistic issues in addition to the changes in the languages' positions in this region under different perspectives. These perspectives include constitutionalization, and officialization of language. Further, the researcher presents the problem through empirical and contextual assumptions to explain the current linguistic landscape, top-down, and bottom-up concerns in language education in terms of standardization of Kurdish language, alphabetic change, and English language education policy. Finally, the researcher presents the objectives and significances of the research and proposes operational definitions of the concepts and the terms.

1.2 Background of the Study

Iraqi Kurdistan or what the official laws of Iraq concluded (Kurdistan region of Iraq KRI) is an autonomous region located in the north of Iraq. The region has faced different kinds of historical, sociopolitical and sociocultural challenges throughout the

history. It is a multicultural region with the estimated population of six million and one to two million from other parts of Iraq, Syria and Iran live in the refugee campuses, or in the cities of the region. Kurds are battling between two different struggles; first battle is being fought for independence since one century and the second battle is being for autonomy. In continuation to the second battle, Baath regime of Iraq derives its power through Arabization, genocide, chemical massive attacks and Anfal operations. The Iraqi no-fly zones over most of KRI after March 1991 enabled the Kurds to experiment with self-governance and this led to the establishment. The Iraqi government recognized the autonomy of the Kurds after the fall of Saddam Hussein, with a new constitution which the draft was passed in September 2017 although there were mixed reactions from the global community. The Kurdistan Region largely escaped the privations of the last years of ex-regime's rule and the chaos that followed this user in 2003 and built a democracy with better economic performance than the rest of Iraq.

In KRI, the diversity of religion can be noted. Many of the Kurds are Muslims who mostly belong to Saff'i school and Sufism, with adherents of Shia among Feyli Kurds. Besides, the religious minorities such as Christianity which is professed by Assyrians and Armenians, Yezidis, the Yarsan (Ahl-e Haqq or Kakai) and Zoroastrianism. Although the previous surge and mobilization in Kurdish nationalist have impacted negotiations with the central Iraqi government on various political formations and identities of the Iraqi state, the emergence of socio-political and socio-economic realities during post-elections and the formation of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in 1992 consolidated Kurdish nationalism in Iraq as a project for an independent Kurdish state (Wahab, 2017).

Kurds speak Kurdish language, which is one of the official languages in Iraq (Iraqi constitution, 2005) (See Appendix F). Kurdish language has four main dialects: South, North, centrals and Gorani/Hawrami dialects. The huge population of the region live in Erbil-the capital- and Sulaimaniyah who speak central dialect (Sorani), one fourth of population live in Duhok and speak North Kurdish dialect (Badini), and some around 100,000 people live in Halabja who speak Hawrami.

Since 1991, Kurdistan region has embraced the educational framework. Accordingly, the framework divided the education system into; primary (1-6), secondary (1-3), preparatory (4-6), and after the central exam of grade 6 (either scientific or literary) the students are admitted into diploma (two years in technical and educational institutions), or Bachelor (four years in colleges of universities). In addition to the academic acquisition, there are industrial, commercial, arts and agricultural schools, known as Vocational Secondary Education. The vocational secondary constitutes of the same 3 years duration after 3 years of the first cycle of secondary education (Dizayee, 2015). The medium of instruction was primarily Kurdish as the first official language in education and high education. Meanwhile, the students study Arabic and English languages during their primary grade 4. Further, Arabic language was adopted as the language of instruction in colleges of law, Islamic studies, engineering, agriculture, banking, management, and accounting. In contrast, English language acts as a second language in the studies of medicine, excluding of English language departments in colleges of Art, Languages, Translation, and Education. Also, the students of Arts and Languages could be admitted to departments of Persian/Farsi, French and German.

After the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, which the regime changed, the semi-democracy system interweaved, and the sociopolitical situation of Iraq and Kurdistan region has been substituted. The metamorphosis of sociopolitical situation in the regime greatly influenced the education system. The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG),adopted a new system of education through a series of conferences and deliberations. Currently, the educational system in Kurdistan Region consists of: The basic educational system which is 1-12 academic education, and, vocational secondary education (industrial, commercial, agricultural, and nursing). The higher education, on the other hand, consists of institutions (diploma holders) and universities (Bachelor holders). The main reforms in higher educational system of Kurdistan region established various semi-private and private institutions and universities. Contemporarily, there are 15 state and 18 private universities in this region, and many institutions in both private and state sectors.

1.3 The Statement of the Problem

Language policy can be defined as a composition of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). According to McCarty (2011) it is a complex sociocultural process [and as] modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power. And it defined as the deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes (Cooper, 1989). Conventionally, there are two dimensions of language planning: First, Corpus Planning deals with norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and the standardization of spelling. Second, status Planning deals with the initial choice of language, including attitudes toward alternative languages and the political implications of various choices (Kloss, 1969;

Bright, 1992). Spolsky (2004) argues that language and language policy exist in highly complex, interacting, and dynamic contexts, and the modification in any part of which may have correlated effects (and causes) on the other part.

For Kurds in Kurdistan region of Iraq, the struggle for rights inside Iraq, Middle East, Asia, and world becomes goal. So, one cannot neglect the people's struggles and confrontations. A close observation at the history of Kurds in the region, despite of chemical bombardments, Anfal operations, and fighting against terrorism, it's clear that they suffered a lot during the process of Arabization. Therefore, language is an absolute element in nation building and dealing with several challenges inside Iraq and Kurdistan region. It is also noteworthy that there are some internal challenges that become serious threat to the language in this region. It is observed that language plays a crucial role in building a nation. Indeed, building of nation may not be practical enough by enforcing one language as it leads to destruction of a nation's culture or development. It is also true that during the inception of French Republic, the language policies have been enforced through National State Ideology. This was also to ensure that congruence among the political, cultural and linguistic dimensions of a nation. In order to avoid the political turmoil, the government had passed various acts that did not consider foreign or minority languages. Although there are some changes in Kurdistan language policy, there has been sufficient damage done to Kurdish (Sheyholislami, 2009).

Currently, Kurdish language is embraced as a medium in education system, government documents or public instructions, media, and cultural domains in the region due to political influence. However, the critical examination of language position in the region infer that despite the efforts of government, parliament and

Kurdish language academy couldn't met the expectations of the Kurdish people due to lack of linguistic awareness among the people. Any language which does not have a policy or a plan in place will be at great risk (Saeed & Jukil, 2018). Iraqi constitution (2005) finalized that both Arabic and Kurdish are official languages in the country, and the official language in the region is Kurdish language. However, it is argued that despite of regulations, laws arranging, governmental and institutional efforts, still there is no standard language in the region, i.e., the authority. It is due to internal conflicts that has obstructed the standardization of one of the dialects (North/Badini, Central/Sorani, and Gorani/Hawrami dialects) in the region. Therefore, the concept of 'standard language' is a serious concern for the region (Tofiq, 2007; Jamza, 2014; Nawxosh, 2010; Amin, 2017; Saeed & Jukil, 2018). Evidently, the absence of standard language indicates that the authority did not stringently implement the language policy. For instance, the study of Kurdish language 'Kurdology' is a compulsory course in the first year of higher education. However, the researcher, during his five years of experience in teaching at state and private universities in the region, has observed that the students of higher education face many challenges in the course and they do not even appreciate the course. One of the most serious concerns with regards to language in this region is the implementation of two different alphabet. Hence, the bureaucracy, political party outlets and media agencies use both Kurdish (Arabic/Persian/Aramaic) and Latin alphabet, while people through educational system learn only Kurdish alphabet and few numbers of people in the region can understand and use Latin one.

Language, one of the main sociocultural domains, cannot stand against the waves of technology and globalization. Meanwhile, in addition to the acceptance of all technological or globalization efficacy and influences, it is judicious to modulate or

reengineer the language efficiency to cope with these serious waves. Even though, Kurdish language has been centralized as the medium of instruction in state schools by the Ministry of Education (MOE), the policymakers could not cope with this decision. It is due to the globalization English language wherein it is termed as an international and global language one side, and the national position of Kurdish language on the other hand. English language has now unfurled itself into a global language and the global community has accepted it as common or vernacular language. According to Nettle & Romaine (2000), it becomes the formal language of media around the world (Crystal, 2003). Likewise, with having a close look at ecology and diffusion of the English language in the twentieth century, it is evident that there is an enormous increase in the number of speakers of this language. The increase in number may be ascertained to the globalization and the global presence of the US, especially in the Middle East and the Arabic world. Under the influence of this hegemony, the definition of globalization has been changed, and now people around the world use "Americanization" and "McDonaldization" instead of it (Erling, 2002 and Zughoul, 2003). Ostensibly, since 2003, the government order on language use in Kurdistan region changed dramatically, form (Kurdish -1st, Arabic-2nd, Persian-3rd, English-4th, French-5th and German-6th) to (Kurdish -1st, English-2nd, Arabic-3rd, Persian-4th, French-5th and German-6th), and the number of private universities, institutions and language centers increased due to the demand of the people to learn English language. Besides, there are serious concerns about marginalizing the official language and attempting to replace it with English language in particular.

Spolsky (2004) claims that one of the concerns of language planning and policy is the choice of language as the medium of instruction at schools. The academic year of

2017-2018 was the first year of my son "Areen" to enter school in Sulaimaniya city, I admitted him in a state school which the medium of instruction for all courses (despite of Kurdish course) was English languages, but, in the second year of his study 2018-2019, and in the same school, we realized that the newly nominated minister of education (MOE) decided not to apply English, and the state schools must apply Kurdish language as the medium of instruction. Hence, what happened to "Areen", leads to the fact that the region challenges with having no systematic language planning and policy.

This thesis encompasses the analysis of what have been stated; mainly the problems of having no standard language, struggle of Kurdish and Latin alphabet, and English language acquisition planning in the region. Thus, the researcher has to go through the government, institutional and parliamentary documents about the language policy and planning in the region, to draw a historical and sociopolitical framework to realize what have been done, what are the main reasons, and examine the attitudes of Kurdish secondary learners and their parents towards English language education policy, and finally an overview the English language teaching methods and reforms in the English curriculum in the region.

1.4 The Objective of the Study

This study aims to provide a sociohistorical contextualization of the position of language policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), identifying the impact of sociopolitical power on the application of the Iraqi constitution (2005) article which states that Arabic language and Kurdish language are official languages in this country. Further it aims at explaining the attempts of the movements of standardizing the Kurdish language, the efforts of alphabetic change, explaining the position of English

language as the foreign language in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). It aims at describing the institutional processes of teaching and learning English language in governmental and private sectors. Further, this study aims to explain the language situation vis-à-vis recent developments in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and the emphasis is placed on English language education policy through the analysis of the methods of English language teaching, English language curriculum and processes of becoming English language teacher in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). Thus, the thesis attempts to find answers to the following questions:

RQ1. What is the current language planning policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in terms of status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning?

RQ2. What are the changes of discourse over the Kurdistan region's language planning and policy in the light recent socio-political developments?

RQ3. What attitudes do Kurdish secondary school students hold towards English language education policy?

RQ4. What attitudes do Kurdish parents hold towards English language education policy?

1.5 The Significance of the Research

The foremost objective of this thesis is to critically analyze the language planning and policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), the analysis of the sociopolitical conditions in the light of recent socio-political developments. The thesis will examine the significance of relationship among staff of language academy, linguists, and policy-makers. The researcher investigates if the role of Kurdish language academy is marginalized due to two the main reasons: the politicization of all aspects of the life in this region, in particular the academy, and the underestimated roleplaying of linguists

themselves. In regard to main problems that have been stated in thesis, the researcher highlights the reasons behind the failing attempts for standardizing language in this region, and ideological efforts to change the Kurdish alphabet, and unsystematic implementations of two Kurdish alphabet at the same time. the researcher infers that there is a lack of academic relationship between language teachers and policy makers in the region, which plays a crucial role in updating the language planning and policy. Another objective of this thesis is to analyze the attitudes of Kurdish learners and people toward English language education policy with respect to the English language acquisition planning in Kurdistan region. It must be highlighted that, within the current situation, the concerns about language choice as a medium of instruction in schools of this region are serious, and one can learn that the recent English language education policy failed and problematized the issue. The researcher has drafted a framework for designing a new language planning and policy for Kurdistan region. In the recent past, it is legislated under the constitution of Iraq (2005) and the bylaws of political parties, rather than government and lawful framework. Although, The researcher shows that the efforts and considerations about language planning and policy are stocked and unsystematic, I recognize preference probabilities for re-designing the language policy in the region based on so-called modern framework.

It is evident that technology is universal, and the influence of English language as a global language cannot be ignored. So, the researcher suggests an alternative for policymakers and the suggested alternative includes dealing with English language popularity rather than accepting its hegemony. I do remember very well the day of submitting my thesis proposal to my supervisor, when he asked, why this title, I answered "this is my responsibility to raise public awareness about language policy in

my homeland", following to the Fairclough's (2001) statement 'Increase consciousness of how a language contributes to the domination of some people on others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation'. Finally, the thesis is designed based on the objective that the venerable implications can be extracted from it, in order to redefine the position of English language in the region, as an international language, or as a global language. The better recommendation of English language will help the authority of the region to save their official national-state languages and find a better way to deal with the foreign languages, rather than accepting the hegemony.

1.6 Research Design

The thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one is an introduction which sets the statement of the problem, research questions and hypothesis, the objective of the research, the significance of the research, limitations, and delimitations. Chapter two reviews the definitions of language planning and policy, and categorizes the components, levels, procedures, theories and models of language planning and policy, and surveys the linguistic landscape in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), review of English language acquisition planning in Iraq and Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). In chapter three, the methodologies followed in the study, which reviews the research questions of the study, participants' profile, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedure are presented. Chapter four is a discussion of the results and findings of the study. This chapter is comprised of two main parts; section one, deals with the analyses of English language education policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and attitudes of Kurdish students and parents towards English. The section two deals with the research question dealing with document analysis in terms of top-down and bottom-up attitudes, which provides critical analysis of official

and governmental documents of KRG towards language planning and policy in the region. Finally, chapter five gives the conclusions and the recommendations of the research, followed by references and appendixes.

1.7 Definition of Terms and Concepts

1. Language: Although language should not be reified and seen as an independent entity from the speakers, it can be a visualized system which represents the totality of what all its speakers do. In this thesis, the concept of language is understood as an instrument for both inclusion and exclusion. The crucial role of language can be seen in building the society of life of human being. (Wright, 2016:7) In fact, in the communities far away from democratic values, the language functions as an indicator of social stratification construed via non-linguistic resources. On the other hand, the language manifests itself as a power in the democratic countries.

2. Language acquisition planning: It is as a core type of language planning and in the recent thesis it is defined as "refers to organized efforts to promote the learning of language" (Cooper, 1989), and language teaching and learning has come to be a core element of LPP research (Johnson, 2013; Menken & García, 2010). Language acquisition planning LAP, both as research and as a political area, has gone through several paradigmatic shifts. Siiner, Hult, and Kupisch (2020) supports the idea of other contributors which they critically analyze language planning as discursive practice. Wherein the problem that language acquisition planning aims to solve is given by historical and political context—and where sometimes, in a changed sociopolitical situation. It is also argued that yesterday's solution may become tomorrow's problem.

3. The Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) is a constitutionally recognized semiautonomous region in northern Iraq with a population of 6 million. Its government (the KRG), based in Erbil, has the right, under the Iraqi constitution of 2005, (See Appendix F) to exercise legislative, executive, and judicial powers except in what is listed therein as exclusive powers of the federal authorities.

Chapter 2

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE POLICY: THE OCETICAL AND COMPARITIVE BACKGROUND

2.1 Presentation

Chapter two, provides in-depth clarification about the language planning and policy, including, terminology definitions, typologies, and the significance of having language planning and policy for a nation-state, besides of highlighting the major components, levels, and procedures of language planning and policy. The researcher also present some of the critical engagements with the abundant literature review about what have been done throughout the last decades in terms of framing and implementing the models of language planning and policy. Since 1960, the frameworks presented to share theories, and viewpoints of famous linguists about the development of language planning and policy. In the second section of the recent chapter, the researcher contributes to language planning and policy in Kurdistan region of Iraq KRI as the context of his study. Thereby, the literature review will also explain the linguistic landscape of the region about the three major languages used by Kurdish speakers, Kurdish language and concerns about standardization and the alphabetic change, Arabic language hegemony and Arabization, next to, the position of English language and language education in this region. Finally, the researcher extends the discussion regarding the evolving nature of language planning and policy in KRI, apart from recon of the LPP in the region.

2.2 Various Definitions of Language Planning and Policy

Language planning and policy is not just a stage to start but a device to drive or an umbrella to shake. It can be defined as issues related to the language of human being from historical ages to recent time. Planning languages or a language leads to finding and following appropriate theories, models, viewpoints and perspectives, through different levels and stages, and based on various components and types, which can be manage in a framework of policy making.

LPLP, as a typical noun phrase, has two different denotative meanings. In the first level, it refers to the actual language planning practices, which is more often than not done by governments, institutions or organizations, etc. Just as Kaplan & Baldauf (1997, p15) noted, "In one sense, our knowledge of language planning is probably as old as recorded human history as it is a part of how people use language." In the second level, LPLP signifies an independent academic discipline whose primary task is to study those actual language planning practices. According to Wright (2004), LPLP as a recognized subject of academic research can be traced back to the Post-Second World War time with a history of no more than sixty years. Human language planning has a long history. However, after the Second World War, language planning was established as a recognized professional course in universities. The real academic research of language planning started roughly in 1960s. The definition of LPLP varies from scholar to scholar, depending on their viewpoint of this discipline. Cooper (1989, p30-31) listed as many as twelve and abroad by the time of his writing. However, there is no need to review these definitions one by one, but some well known scholars whose definitions could be considered as representatives of dominant ideas of LPLP research at that time. The chosen definitions are listed as following: definitions after the

publication of Haugen's 1959 article. "Language planning is deliberate language change; that is, changes in the system of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes......for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision" (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971, p 29)

One of the issues that deserve scrutiny is the issue pertaining to the scope of language planning. In other words, it hard to figure out the accurate nuances related to the process of language planning, As Shohamy (2006) notes, language policy may focus on such specific issues as the number of hours should be given to the acquisition of a specific course and the list of languages to be taught and the way to be used for their teaching. In fact, this is the prerogative of the language acquisition planning which directly deals with the target language needs and the associated methodological issues. Further, Lo Bianca (2010:152) defines the language planning and policy as "a situated activity, whose specific history and local circumstances influence what is regarded as a language problem, and whose political dynamics determine which language problems are given policy treatment".

One of the debatable questions that emerged is "can language be politiciezed, and/or can be planned?" mainly the concept can be conceived as a landscape for all policy-making and decision-making trends. Rubin (1971) illustrates Language planning and policy as a decision making about language". Further he defines language planning and policy "as an activity whereby goals are established, means are selected and out-comes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner" (p. 218). Besides, for many scholars, language planning and policy is a collection of activities that regulate and improve existing languages from broader communication leveled to region, nation,

and international platforms. They argue that with emergence of any problem related to language practice, there must be a solution mechanism, base of conscious basics, and any efforts in language planning and policy must impact the others' behaviors with respect to education or acquisition, and functions of language codes. Meanwhile, in the previous century, linguists and language researchers updated their assumptions on the concept with reference to the role of authority leading to the socialization of language in the area of sociolinguistics (Thombum, 1965; Robert 1971, 1973; Tauli, 1974; Cooper, 1989; Tollefson, 1991; Boombert, 1996; Kaplan & Balduf, 1997).

The definitions of language planning and policy assume to be up-to-date, thereby, the language researchers reframes their assumptions in the conceptualization of the field, Thus, the critical conceptualization need to be balanced with the recognition that the language policies can play a crucial and integral part in promotion, maintenance, and revitalization of minority and indigenous languages around the world (Johnson, 2013). Finally, language planning and policy can be defined as the top-down and bottom-up frameworks of language from higher to lower levels of society, i.e., the involvement and roles of all inhabitants in relation to language use and language practice must be taken into consideration. For instance, in relation to Middle East contexts of Kurdistan Region in Iraq in particular, which this study carried out in, the role of authority and political parties in the evolution of language is very crucial. It is noteworthy that the authorities or political parties through their official and shadow media must propagate the absolute role of Kurdish Language Academy (KAL), therefore, in different sections of the thesis the issue will be clarified more.

2.3 The Relationship Between Language Planning and Language Policy

Most would agree that language policy and language planning are closely related but they are different exercises. Schiffman (1996) believes that language policy subsumes language planning, while some others including Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) argue that language planning subsumes language policy. Hence, to cope with the contradictions in the field, the thesis determines to follow language planning and policy order. Language planning and policy can be defined as a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997:xi). According to McCarty (2011:16), it is a complex sociocultural process [and as] modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power. Besides, it defined as the deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes (Cooper, 1989:8). Traditionally, there are two dimensions of language planning: Corpus planning dealing with norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and the standardization of spelling, and the Status Planning dealing with the initial choice of language, including attitudes toward alternative languages and the political implications of various choices (Kloss, 1969; Bright, 1992). Spolsky (2004) argues that LPP exists in a highly complex, interacting, and dynamic contexts. As most definitions reiterate, the drive for initiating and realizing the process of language policy planning is to purposefully affect the process of language management. As some researchers emphasize that the process is overtly realized by authorities who take decisions on status planning (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: xi; Shohamy, 2006: 49). In other words, the governments decide which language should be used by citizens. In fact, this is true for all administrative levels

that regulate language use in various domains. These administrative levels may include educational institutions, municipalities, community groups, etc. Moreover, the decisions concerning language policy and language planning are directly related. The decisions may not be constrained only to language ideas, beliefs about language, language laws or by-laws but also the decisions taken in the direction of language management with regard to society and in the actual language practices in the field.

2.4 Primary Foundations of Language Planning Policy LPP

2.4.1 Language Planning Policy and Officialization

The most widespread definition of an official language is conditioned to have specific features. The most vital feature that it needs to possess is having a special legal status in the country or state. In other words, in accordance with the jurisdiction in force in the country, it, as an official language must be used in official correspondence, in government affairs, in the parliament, in the courts and business. This implies that official language refers not to the language used by people in their everyday life as language laws cannot oblige citizens to use a certain variety; it just refers to the variety to be used by the government in such domains as judiciary, legislature, and/or administration (McArthur 1998). However, this does not imply that the number of official languages is restricted in number. In fact, only nation states stick to the principle of 'one country – one official language. In other words, there are countries where two or more languages of the indigenous minorities are empowered to have 'official' status and have access to the government affairs in their own languages. Suffice to mention that many countries in the world fail to have de-jure designated official countries; instead, they possess de-facto official languages. In fact, English is an official language in about fifty countries (Plonski etal, 2013). Among de-facto official languages are French, Spanish, Arabic, etc.

One of the vital points to be mentioned here is the relationship between an official language and a national language. Socio-linguistically speaking, the discrete point here lies in the affective referential dimension rather that pure referential one or, more specifically, in the ideological dimension. As a matter of fact, a national language is defined as "the language of a political, cultural and social unit" which is "developed and used as a symbol of national unity" (Comrie, 2002). Concerning the functions that a national language usually possesses; one can specify two main functions. On the one hand, its mission is to designate the whole nation, and, on the other hand, it has a unificatory or unifying function as it is used to cement the ethnic group or groups. However, the official language is usually stripped of such functions and it us used for 'formal' or 'government business'. In other words, an official language functions for utilitarian rather than symbolic purposes. This does not imply that languages are restricted to have either 'official' or 'national' functions since there can be languages which may fulfill both functions at the same time.

Needless to mention that language planning and its implementation is a matter of economics. In fact, no matter how strong they are in terms of their aspirations and motivation to have an official language, many minorities fail to realize their ambitions to have their language as an official language due to economic constrains. For instance, it took Azerbaijan more than ten years just to shift from Cyrillic based alphabet to modified Latin as the young democracy had more vital problems in establishing its statehood (Shibliyev 2005).

Our survey of the related literature revealed that national language in many countries is served one important purpose: having a single national language to symbolize the unity of the whole nation. Therefore, they see their language as a vital element for

nationhood and independence and use their language in their separatist movements. In other words, language has played a vital political part in their struggle to establish their national identity and to secure their independence.

2.4.2 Language Planning Policy and Standardization

The history of Standardization as an umbrella term dates back to the period when first academies were established to create standard forms of languages although standardization as a socio-economic phenomenon date from the early decades of the previous century.

As Nikolovski (2015) notes, "standardization of a language is design of or search for orthographic and grammar rule common for all the users of a language, tending to expand its use in as many areas of human life as possible" (p. 5). As was mentioned above, the history of standardization dates back to the period when ancient Greeks or Latins thought of standardizing their grammar as it was argued that a language has no grammar; it is not language at all. The force that this argument was driven from in France centuries ago, for instance was the motivation to encourage "the competition of the French language with the Ancient Greek and the Latin language as well as for its enriching, improving and accurate defining on the grounds of the latter ones" (Nikolovski, 2015). It was also motivated by their wish "to transform the "barbarian and vulgar" French language into an elegant and noble language" (Ferguson, 1996).

What concerns the degree of standardization, as Ferguson (1996) suggests, "the distinctive feature for standardization…which enables differentiating H (high) degree meaning high level of standardization from L (low) state which means starting point or low level of standardization. In other words, the criterion for standardization here involves designing of grammar rules, lexis, phonetic or orthographic norms. This

implies that the work on standardization may involve various language fields, one of which is the script or alphabet. It implies either creating a completely new writing system or adopting/adapting a new system while dropping using the existing scripts. This is conditioned by social, political and other factors. There can also be cases when various scripts can be used by one and the same language. For instance, the Azerbaijani language had to use three alphabets within the last one hundred years: modified Arabic alphabet, modified Latin, modified Cyrillic and modified Latin again (Shibliyev 2005). These processes were not restricted with alphabetical change; it also involved permanent inevitable orthographic changes.

Standardization focuses on vocabulary corpus as well. This process is also conditioned by specific socio-political imperatives and specific aim of the stakeholders. The processes taking place in Azerbaijani language reform provides a very clear picture of this. For instance, during the twenties of the previous century after the Bolshevik revolution, lexicalization process involved getting rid of words of Arabic and Persian origin and borrowing words from Russian or via Russian while in late nineties when Azerbaijan obtained its independence and the process of lexicalization resumed, the motivation was to get rid of Russian words and borrow words from English directly without using Russian as a donor language. It should also be noted that dialects can serve an effective source for language enrichment in terms of lexis.

One of the domains that standardization involves is the use of standard language in education. It can be either a second language also a foreign language. Moreover, standardization stipulates using the standard variety in various domains including public life, jurisdiction and legislation. Therefore, it deals with language norms used in various registers. In fact, as Nikolovski (2015) notes, standardization "encompasses

design of legislative and legal corpus of laws and amendments to the constitutional ones which would provide it with legal status and official use (p.6).

Linguists also note that the use of a specific language as a lingua franca in the process of standardization can serve a transition stage as it takes time to design all the corpus of the language which is subjected to standardization (Nikolovski, 2015).

Thus, it can be concluded that the standard variety of a language is usually designed as a unitary referential variant which originates either from its dialects or from just one of the dialects with will later be used in all fields and domains. In general, standardization aims to provide cultural, political, and social cohesion on the territory where it is used. It could also be fallacy to think that standardization encompasses its written form only as standard variety is also used in oral communication.

2.4.3 Language Planning Policy and Vernacularization

In general terms, vernacularization is a process when want to restore their native language to a language that is commonly used as a spoken variety. Our literature survey shows that there have been rare examples of successful vernacularization although many of such attempts have failed. For instance, attempts in Peru to revitalize Quechua have not completely reached its aim and it remains a provincial language whereas revitalization or vernacularization if the Hebrew language is a truly success story. There seems to be various factors that may contribute to the success or failure of the process of vernacularization. In other words, the whole process can be visualized provided that a proper nexus analysis is implemented. As, Sabino (2018) notes, "Languaging also communicates demographic and sociocultural identities, ideological stances, alliances, affiliations, and sympathies" (p. 101). It is also believed that this happens not only due to expectations for both paradigmatic and syntagmatic

patterning, rather due to rich memory which contains previously negotiated sociocultural associations reflecting the asymmetric frequencies that characterize social interaction. As Sabino (2013) mentions, vernacularization depends on the perception of boundaries of various types. In fact, once these the existence of such boundaries are realized, "linguistic choice signals the sociocultural locations of the groups, networks, and organizations that individuals claim or reject, strengthening or undermining group cohesiveness" (Sabino 2013:x).in other words, vernacularization can be characterized as a social process when the probabilities which contribute to the user's linguistic choice become similar and mutually accessible.

Bakhtin (1981:293) defines vernacularization as a process which enables a linguistic choice to reflect "the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life." Similarly, (Blommaert 2005:131) defines Vernacularization as something which reflects the "densely layered historicity of discourse".

The surveyed literature revealed three types of barriers can be identified in vernacularization: economic, social, and political. Binzel et al (2020), for instance, focus on the historical event which promoted the use of the vernacular – the Protestant Reformation of 1517 to see the role of these barriers. They believe that the mentioned reformation helped reduce the economic and political barriers to vernacularisation.

2.4.4 Language Planning Policy and Graphization

Graphization is the stage that most of the languages have to deal with. It is especially inevitable when there is a need to create an alphabet, to adopt or to adapt one. In other words, graphization is a stage or period when languages need to take decisions in developing, selecting and/or modifying. It is also directly related to ongoing modifications or orthographic conventions for a written language. More specifically,

it involves the writing system, letters, numbers, etc. In this regard, Ferguson (1968) dwells on his two observations concerning the adoption of a writing system one of which is the fact that "the use of writing adds another variety of the language to the community's repertory" (p.29). Moreover, according to the writer, written language is seen as a secondary to spoken language as grammatical system of a language and phonological structures in most cases require conventions that significantly differ from the spoken variety. This might be one of the reasons for people to consider that the written variety is real one whereas the spoken one which is used in the everyday life is 'corrupted'. But it is also a fact that the written mode is more conservative whereas the spoken variety is liable to change. This view is criticized on the grounds that such a view "ignores the possibility that isolated relic areas of the language may be less innovative than the written form or the written language may have been based on a divergent variety of the spoken language".

Depending on the deriving political ideology of language and specific socio-economic and psychological imperatives of the context, corpus planners have to take decisions whether to change the writing system or keep using the existing with some modifications. For instance, the collapse of the Soviet Empire resulted in the emergence of dozens of 'new' language realities. Some languages became de-jure and de-facto official languages whereas some others became smaller dolls in the Russian 'matryoshkas'. More specifically, Azerbaijan immediately started replacing the Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin one whereas Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan it was not that easy due to their ethnic-demographic structures. Suffice to mention that when the Soviet Union collapsed, only 40% of Kazakhs who lived in Kazakhstan could speak their native language. In fact, Kazakhs were in minority in their own country due the

assimilation policy being carried out by Russians. On the other hand, some ethnic groups of the Soviet Union were 'more equal' and they were allowed to use their writing systems during the Soviet period (Armenian and Georgians). Therefore, they kept using their writing systems even after the empire collapsed. The situation with writing systems is rather difficult minorities in Russia as many of them are threatened or completely assimilated (for more detailed analysis see Shibliyev 2005).

2.5 Why Language Planning and Policy?

Language policing and planning (LPP) is one of the fastest growing sub-disciplines in applied linguistics. The LPP field was formed in the early 1960s by language scholars interested in solving the language problems of new, developing and/or post-colonial nations. The end of colonialism, the impact of the Second World War and the emergence of newly independent nation-states were all a correlated historical phenomenon which created the general need for reconstruction, development, and modernization for all the countries of the world. Language planning and policy propose to solve many problems and conflicts in these states: Such as the multilingual geographical spread that may cause miscommunication between people of the same nation, language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their codes.

Language planning is important to a country for several reasons; Firstly, language planning is important to ensure that a language corpus can function in contemporary society in terms of terminology, or vocabulary, to meet present needs, e.g., technological, or scientific needs. Thus, Cooper (1989) describes corpus planning as intervention to make sure a language has the needed terminology to function in necessary capacities. The second reason is to establish the status of a language within

a country and in relation to other countries in the world, for instance, it establishes whether a country will have one national language or two and which those two might be. As an example, South Africa effected status planning by determining that both Afrikaans and English would be official languages. Also, language planning is important to a country is that language planning determines how language or languages will be acquired, or taught, in the national educational systems. Acquisition planning comprises acquisition of national, second, and foreign languages.

Further, LPP is necessary to standardize and modernize the languages spoken in a country, to control how people of a country speak, write, or express his thoughts, to avoid inter-state communication barrier in multi-lingual countries like India. Finally, it's important to know that there are main factors that influence language planning, such as social, psychological factor, demographic, linguistic, political factor, pedagogical factors, cultural, and economic factors.

Wright (2004) demonstrates that, the history of the politics of Nation state building reveals how the conscious promotion of language convergence was part of the development of the nation state. To shed light on the crucial role of language planning and policy, he then, argues that the national language plays crucial roles in the process of nation building. Firstly, it becomes the medium of communication which permits the nation to function efficiently in its political and economic life as democracy evolves. Secondly, a unified language is viable to promote cohesion, allowing the nation to nurture a shared culture. Thirdly, if it can be demonstrated that the language of the group is both different from that of neighbors and with some measure of inner cohesion, this can be used as one of the arguments in any bid to be treated as a separate

nation. Therefore, language planning and policy helps the policy makers and politicians to promote the national roles in a significant way.

2.6 Researching Language Planning and Policy

From mid twentieth century, the research in the area of language policy has progressed extensively. As reflected in the following sections, the recent developments in the field of language policy and planning research enquiry have significantly contributed to both theory and empirical methodological framework. It is through various research studies and their favorable outcome; the contours of the epistemology can clearly be seen. As mentioned by Kaplan and Baldhauf (1998), the field of language policy and its planning started emerging in early 1960s as a special field of enquiry as a reaction to the challenges that post-colonial faced. In other words, the newly independent countries had a necessity to explore solution to their language management problems to deal with their nation-building processes. In fact, their urgent task was to design language policy which would include both linguistic and political elements. They had to take decisions on status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning. It is inferred that this phenomena triggered the need to frame language policy planning research.

Another important point that needs to be mentioned is that positivism as a dominating thought in sociology of that epoch led the emergence of a model, the rational model which presented multilingualism as something problematic)Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 405). On the other hand, some researchers including Fishman (Fishman et al., 1968) considered language policy and planning as an element for state-establishing in the post-colonial societies.

Although these Post-modern theories arose as a response to positivism, which attempted evaluate language policies from the perspectives of sociocultural, sociopolitical, sociohistorical and socioeconomic impact, following the framework by (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 406). On the other hand, some of the researchers (Tollefson, 1991, 1995: Pennycook, 1989) implied about issues in language inequalities and there are extensive debates on these concerns. It should also be mentioned that this has stayed a popular method to explain how language policy is implemented andapplied and managed in different societies.

The expression and demonstration of ruling elites are language policies. These policies are the apparition of those social classes that are impressed and motivated by the intent to protect and prove their own socio-political and economic advantages. As the individuals' position is at the lowest end of the social stratification, they are confined by certain ideology which is a governing power at all levels.

Nowadays, the research about language planning and policy shares the common scope with the field of language ecology. Moreover, a lot of significance is attached to such topics as endangered languages. In fact, there have been many comprehensive research studies carried out during the recent three decades with the focus on language change, language shift and endangered languages (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Skutnabb- Kangas, 2000; Romaine, 2006; Nettle and Romaine, 2002; Mühlhäusler, 1996). It is also believed that some languages, especially English, has a huge impact on languages that have been in contact with. It has been noted that, because of this impact some languages have been lost forever while many others are on the verge of extinction. For instance, Crystal (1997) notes the devastating role of Portuguese in the extinction of languages in Brazil. The same seems to be true in the case of Belarus by Russia

(Brown, 2007). According to Maher (2003), Japanese LPP is a real threat for the Ainu language. Moreover, Ricento (2000) proposed a paradigm which could be taken as critical theory methods in correlation with language ecology.

2.7 Components of Language Planning and Policy (LPP)

Policies may have important effects on language usage in the community when it is used by top-down agencies like government. Often, the outcomes of these macro levels planning are the far-reaching outcomes for population subjects' law-making regarding the language usage. The main Components of LPP have been defined by some research studies:

2.7.1 Status Planning

Ferguson (2006) infers that this component aims at addressing the language functions. In fact, it assigns roles obliges languages to have various roles in the society. In other words, it implies on which language or languages must be used in official correspondence or in education. The language situation planning seldom is designed by language planners and it is seen as the politician's job. Decisions on status planning is usually reflected and overtly stated in various legal documents like the constitution of the country, provisions of law, by-laws, etc. In other words, these official documents indicate the functions of languages (Lo Bianco, 2004; Kale, 1990).

2.7.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning of language has implied to modify the code or the structure of identified language (Ferguson 2006, p.21). In fact, corpus planning activities which are undertaken by linguists appear as grammar rules, standard lexical items, spelling rules, manuals, and pronunciation guides (Lo Bianco 2004, p.742; Ferguson 2006, p.21). On the other hand, similar to status planning, decisions on corpus planning are based on political considerations rather than linguistic. (Ferguson 2006, p. 21)

According to Haugen (1983), there are different kinds of LPP sets; implementation, norm selecting, codification, and functional elaboration. Selecting and operating are understood as situation planning jobs, while organization, coding and explanation are understood as the processes of corpus planning.

2.7.3 Acquisition Planning

One of the main components of language planning and policy is dealing with acquiring the language, acquisition planning covers all elements of language in terms of mother-tongue, L2, EFL, and SLA. It also deals with the attempts to motivate learning processes includes building proficiency in language. It concerns with language pedagogy in all aspects, therefore, the methods of teaching language, opportunities and influences to facilitate the learning will be covered. It runs in the educational and academic contexts such as university, institution, schools, and language centers. The policy-makers who are responsible of educational policy decide about acquisition planning for the state-nations.

2.7.4 Prestige Planning

One of the issues considered thoroughly through language planning is the prestige of language and community's attitude towards the multilingual communities. Prestige of a language is determined by several indicators one of which is the level of richness of its literature. This implies that there is a direct relationship between the richness of the literature and the prestige of the language: the richer the literature of the language, the bigger its prestige. The second indicator is thought to lie be the level of its modernization. It means that the more modernized the language is, it has more chance to be considered prestigious. The global presence of the language is also an important element in defining its prestige. In this aspect, minority languages in the community are unlikely to be prestigious.

Finally, it is people who enhance the prestige of a language. Although some of these factors seem hard to verify or refute due to the lack of empirical data, the arguments like people learn Russian because Lenin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky spoke it or they want to learn English to read Shakespeare's tragedies and Hemingway's short stories or novels in the original can be used to support Kloss's (1968) view.

Attitude of authorities towards bilingualism also seems to be an important descriptor. It is very important with this respect to define if it is the promoted or tolerated bilingualism. Besides, the degree of distance between the languages used in the community must be accounted for analyzing multilingual communities. It is important to examine if the languages are typologically or genealogically close or distant. This can be of significant help in dealing with the level of language interference and assimilation. On the other hand, indigenousness of a language is a descriptor that cannot be discarded. This can be crucial in analyzing colonial and post-colonial settings when massive relocations of ethnic groups violated the natural, or table language balance in the region. Such a situation was identified in the regime of Tsarist and Communist Russia. The attitudes towards linguistic stability are seen as an important descriptor. In this context, it is implied that the immigrant societies consider language shift something natural while in stable or older societies attitude of language loyalty is natural. The categorization of language policies and classification of language situation with its related issues are thoroughly considered by Kloss (1968) and they have been used by his followers even though some his inferences have been criticized by Schiffman (1996, p.33).

Prestige planning is a relatively new element in language policy planning. In fact, many researchers do not combine it with other elements of language policy planning

like status planning, corpus planning and language in education planning. There are also researchers who deal with it indirectly. Thus, to be more specific, prestige planning implies taking actions directed towards the promotion of language image in the society. This is important for contexts where the local official language is undervalued and a foreign language which is not more than a foreign language experiences huge prestige. In such cases, governments feel obliged to promote the official language by using various methods. It is also noteworthy that researchers fail to have commonly accepted view in terms of the need for it or about its effectiveness or fairness.

One of the examples for language planning can be the one mentioned by Ager (2005). Referring to the specific cases, Ager (2005) mentions three separate activities pertaining to prestige planning in various contexts. The first context is Québec where prestige is associated with ethnic identity whose language was intended to promote. The second context was Wales where prestige planning was used to designate the method of implementation and manipulation of the language policy. The final context is Malaysia which was directly related to motivation and the activities taken by the language planners themselves. Ager's (2005) evidence shows that various factors including motivation significantly contribute to language policy planning.

Prestige planning may have implications for minority language rights as well. Personal narrative provided by Ingram (2004) can serve a valid support on this view. Referring to the narrative, it can be said that individuals are able to influence the prestige of languages.

2.8 Other Typologies of LPP

2.8.1 Language-in-Education Planning

As it was mentioned above, language–in–education planning or language acquisition planning (these two terms are used here reciprocally) deals with the ways how language should be managed in education. Similar to status planning, this is a highly politisized domain. In other words, this domain is typically selected as an application site for language policies. Decisions to be taken here will cover a wide range of activities like including the variety to be used as a standard language. This is rather important since language does not serve only for communication purposes. More importantly, language is a symbol of cultural unity. In fact, this makes language an important political construct which are used by politicians to achieve their political aims (see Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 2006).

Various steps concerning language acquisition planning have been proposed. For instance, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 125), there should be five steps which concern for language–in–education policy and implementation: curriculum, personnel, materials, community, and evaluation. In this regard, there seems to be a need to evaluate the difference between language training and language education as proposed by critical language theorists. As a matter of fact, one of the foremost objectives of teaching language to students is achieving some mark of bilingualism (Romaine 1989; Li Wei 2000). Language education pays attention to enhancing the students' acquaintance about their culture, surroundings and it also helps in bringing transformation in their contemporary world.

Approaches to Goals		1. Policy Planning (on form) Goals	2. Cultivation Planning (on function) Goals	Levels Planning Processes and Goals					
				Macro		Meso		Micro	
				Awareness of Goals					
				Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert
Productive Goals	1. Status Planning (about society)	Status Standardization ▪ Officialization ▪ Nationalisation ▪ Proscription	Status Planning Revival ▪ Restoration ▪ Revitalisation ▪ Reversal Maintenance Interlingual Communication ▪ International ▪ Intra-national Spread						
	2. Corpus Planning (about language)	Standardization Corpus ▪ Graphization ▪ Grammatication ▪ Lexication Auxiliary Code ▪ Graphization ▪ Grammatication ▪ Lexication	Corpus Elaboration Lexical Modernization Stylistic Modernization Renovation ▪ Purification ▪ Reform ▪ Stylistic simplification ▪ Terminological unification Internationalization						
	3. Language-in-Education Planning (about learning)	Policy Development Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy Methods & Materials Policy Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	Acquisition Planning Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign / Second Language Shift						
Receptive Goal	4. Prestige Planning (about image)	Language Promotion ▪ Official/Government ▪ Institutional ▪ Pressure group ▪ Individual	Intellectualization ▪ Language of Science ▪ Language of Professions ▪ Language of High Culture ▪ Language of Diplomacy						

Figure 1: An Evolving Framework for Language Planning Goals by Levels and Awareness (Baldauf, 2005)

Spolsky (2018) argues that the significant aspects of language codification or structure depend on the factors like diversification in language, time spent on language teaching in a week, medium of instruction, language and education levels. The extensive factors include were interposed courses (initiating in one language and s constantly advancing to another) or maintenance programs (starting in one and moving to two). The divergences of language may be considered as vernacular or regional dialects and the official national language and the interaction between vernacular and national language.

It is also noticed that there are numerous factors that impact the evolution of vernacular language to the recognized national level language. It may be observed that the British Empire implemented English language model in India during 19th century (Evans

2002), and the main purpose was to provide elementary education in English and gradually progressing towards the higher education. The research studies in Africa and other parts of the continent infer that the duration of education in local language differed from one another but there was a common consensus that ideally six years in vernacular medium of instruction will help in achieving desired academic results (Heugh 2005; Walter 2003).However, there are some contradictory French and Portuguese inferences that imply that the academic pursuance must be in a Foreign language or global language from the elementary level of education. . Indeed, there are various contractions in terms of academic achievements and the vernacular mode of education. Although, it depends on the language receptivity of the students or the students' inclination to learn language. There is also an assumption that the students in elementary education level may acquire any new language comfortably as they acquire native language without any difficulty. It is also evident that this assumption is true in case of a few students, but majority of the students may not be successful in achieving the educational success through a new language (Walter 2003).

2.8.2 Explicit and Implicit LPP

Literature review revealed that governments differ from each other in their way whether language policies are implicitly or explicitly reflected in the official documents. Explicit language policy planning can be openly stated in the official documents and supported by legal institutions. For instance, national constitutions may have a special paragraph about the official language and the roles assigned for minority languages. This can be further stipulated in language laws and by-laws. This is called explicit language policy planning. However, language policy planning is not reflected in many contexts. In other words, there are documents to stipulate the roles that languages. They do not have any provisions pertaining to language management.

However, language management system functions 'naturally' and automatically'. In fact, this is true for many English speaking countries (Lo Bianco, 1987, 1990). This implies that these countries have implicit language policy planning. It could also be seen that, instead of 'explicit' or 'implicit' language policy planning, researchers may also use 'overt' and covert' language planning.

Thus, as Spolsky (2004) and Huws (2006) infer, there can be declarations which will be rather hard to implement and even if they are implemented, they may not yield complete success. It is also true that, as Spolsky (2004) mentions, implicit or covert language planning policies are hard to describe due to their covertness. The language policy carried out in Czech Republic before 1990s can used as a support. More specifically, the fact is that the Czech did not have sufficient support for the minority language, Romani. It was assumed that because of the covertness, the Czech government did not succeed in providing enough situations planning for the Romani language (Neustupný and Nekvapil, 2003:270). As Fishman (2001: 454) points out, "...an anti-minority-languages policy, because it delegitimizes such languages by studiously ignoring them and, thereby, not allowing them to be placed on the agenda of supportable general values" (Fishman, 2001: 454)

2.8.3 Language Engineering

The concept of language engineering is not new. In fact, it began to appear in the literature after the World War 2 and its attempt to establish it as a discipline goes back to 1960s. However, until now, the concept has not been accepted by many researchers. Tose researchers were Ferguson (1968), Fishman (1968, 1974), Rubin & Jernudd, (1971), Fox (1975), Neustupný (1974), Haugen (1983) who were followed by Nahir (1984), Haarmann (1990), Hornberger (1994) and many others. In fact, the framework

for language policy adopted for 'language engineering' fails to be specific and distinct, rather it shares many concepts with other related fields. It should also be noted that it is too rare now to see any reference to language engineering. It seems that in the nearest future the concept will completely been forgotten.

2.9 Stages and Functions in Language Planning

These steps or stages in corpus development are also seen as paralleled by policy development, and some analysts enumerate these steps in language policy planning (Eastman 1983:12):

Formulation: setting the goals of the policy. (Domains, timetables, territorial extent, etc.)

Codification: setting out strategies for the practical achievement of the goals; setting up a legal mechanism to embody the changes and goals in the legal records.

Elaboration: seeing that the language(s) involved may be extended into the arenas specified by the policy goals. In many cases this may mean that it is necessary to develop new registers where none previously existed.

Implementation: providing the authorative backbone (including financial rewards and resources) to achieve the goals, and the motivation for the use of the language of the policy by the people affected. (``Carrot and Stick") May be dependent on funding, always a sticky issue. (My own feeling [HS] is that implementation is always the 'Achilles' Heel' of language planning--the weakest link, the area where it is most likely to fail.)

2.10 Factors Influencing Language Planning Policy

As language is an open system, it is quite open to the process that goes on behind it. There can also be factors related to linguistic factors as well. Concerning linguistic factors, it should be mentioned that such factors are those needed to be taken into account on the part of a specific language regarding other languages. in relation to other languages. This is directly related to the status and characters of that specific language and similarities between languages. This usually happens when a specific community should decide which language to prefer to deal with. There are cases when English can be preferred referring to the simplicity of the characters it used. This implies that such languages as Chinese or Japanese would not be preferred due to the complicated characters that they possess.

Besides linguistic factors, the status that languages enjoy may influence in taking decisions of which language to prefer. This feature may significantly contribute to the fact that most of the multilingual countries give preference to European languages rather than the languages with no status or lower-level status.

Genealogical and typological factors may also contribute to the choice. In other words, similarities between languages or having a common origin are also vitally important. In fact, lack of adequate vocabulary for mundane utility can be rectified by a proper language planning which is directly related to status planning. Moreover, status-wise it has a lot to do with both the level of development and its literary traditions.

The role of political factors in language policy planning cannot be underestimated. In fact, the starting point for any analysis of the factors contributing to language policy planning would be more meaningful if it is the point of departure since they are the

constructs that are directly related to the overall policy of the country where the government is the main stakeholder and chief agent in the process of language planning. Their role in language planning and implementations of the related steps are utmost important as provide material resources without which the plan cannot be realized let alone their willingness to do so. It is also true that their driving force for it could be maintaining political stability as it is the case in Nigeria where to maintain political stability the central government has sidestepped from selecting one of the indigenous languages as the official language as this could result in geo-political conflicts. Another example could be South Africa where the policy of segregations was supported by the language policy.

As it was mentioned above, when language planning is carried by political considerations which aim at to give the citizens the feeling unity through language and to use their demographic advantage for gaining political power. Temitope (2011) finds the role of the political factor quite crucial one in language planning 'because the existing political structure determines the direction to be taken in language planning in any given society". It needs to mention that huge effect of political factors on language planning is quite evident when bilingual education or minority language education is under consideration. Here we deal language in education policy which determines the language of instruction in various levels of education where socio-demographic factors are involved. This is very important as language planning institutions deal with not only with both the majority language and the minority languages. To have a better picture of these provisions, suffice to have a brief look at the language situation in Tanzania (see 2.21.1.5 for Tanzanian language policy).

Socio-psychological factors are also vitally important in language planning since they are directly related to language attitudes. In fact, it is inevitable that attitudes of both majority language speakers and minority language speakers be seriously considered. In other words, any language planning which overlooks either of them is doomed to fail as acceptance is its indivisible stage. South African case can serve a good example (Temitope, 2011). It is also true that it very hard to assess the relationship between language attitudes and language or variety choice partly because the choices are politically conditioned rather than linguistically. However, the best way to observe the citizens' bilingual behavior seems to be their code-switching or code-mixing phenomena. In other words, our observations of their code-switching can provide information about their language loyalty and in-group solidarity. Moreover, attitudes are related to the ways how languages are distributed in the country and which social meaning is associated with each of these languages. This is very important since various ethnic groups may have not only positive attitudes to other languages but also negative or hostile attitudes. The same can be said pertaining the attitudes of minority groups towards the language of the hegemonial ethnic group and its language. In fact all these things should be taken into consideration when language policy planning in multilingual contexts.

One of the factors that we need to deal with when speaking about language policy planning is religion. This is important as there can be ethnic groups with various religions and giving preference to the language of a specific language may result in serious protests or interethnic clashes. Nigeria can serve an example. One of the ethnic groups of Nigeria, Hausa, is closely associated with Islam. Thus, if the Hausa is selected as an official language, this will be interpreted as imposition n of Islam on all

Nigerians.Similar situation emerged in India when Hindi was designated as an official language in the country and protests of other religious groups followed as Hindi language was directly associated with the Hindi religion.

International factors are also believed to contribute to language policy planning which is directly related to the membership of the country of international and transnational organization. This implies that both continental and international pressures may have serious impact on language planning. The attitudes of African Union which called for rejecting colonial and non-African languages and UNESCO which backed the idea of declaring mother tongue education are believed to be effective in Nigerian language policy planning process. In fact, international factor in liaison with the pedagogical factor which associates quality education with mother tongue played decisive role in various contexts including Nigeria. This is based on the scientifically proven idea that using the child's native language in education in his early years yields positive results. This is justifiable referring to the cognitive abilities of children, but also referring to the need for people to preserve that culture.

As it was mentioned in previous sections, language planning is directly related to economic and financial factors. Therefore, it is important for the planners to calculate the costs since language planning can be financially draining for the country to cope with. In fact, if we refer to the case in Azerbaijan, it took more than ten years to shift from Cyrillic to Latin although the country was ready to allocate all its resources for that purpose (Shibliyev 2005). In short, Temitope (2011) mentions, "The presence of enough financial resources can make a language planning work as its absence can equally make it fail". Along with economic or financial factors, planners need to people or demographic structure of the society. As Temitope mentions, "[I]f the

argument that language is the people who use it is anything to operate by, then it will never fall out of scope to take an examination on the people who use the language to be planned for". In other words, we need to clarify the profiles of the people, both present and past. Such questions may concern specifically the dealings of the people, whether they had been colonized or enslaved, which languages that had been in contact with or what was the direction of borrowings, what their likes and dislikes are, what their present status is, what these people's self-esteem are, what their attitudes towards others are. These and other questions can help create a picture of the people who the language policy planning is for. In fact, as Temitope mentions, "[T] his factor is different from socio-demographic factor in that here we do not concern ourselves only with the numbers of speakers and languages in the place where the planning is to be done".

Our literature also revealed the fact that cultural factor can also influence language planning since practically inseparable from each other as people's beliefs, their ways of life, the traditions, social structure, value systems are crucial for language planning, especially in corpus planning. There can be cases when people may be "against language planning that tends to temper negatively with their mode of expression". Taking culture into account is especially crucial at a macro-level language planning when the country is resided by plentiful people of diverse linguistic backgrounds. In other words, one needs to focus on the culture of the diverse ethnic groups to understand the ranges of divergence and convergence just to predict which of them support or reject during the implementation of the language policy planning.

Finally, there is a need to take time factor into account when cognize the need for language policy planning and decide to implement the plan. This implies that those

who plan the end. Language planners need to see political imbroglio or instability in the society to carry out successful language policy planning. Therefore, time frame for the language policy to take place must be carefully considered. Thus, it can be concluded that all the factors mentioned above are crucial for implementing successful language policy planning.

2.11 Aims of Language Planning Policy

Our literature review informed of various aims that language planners may pursue and, for practicality purposes they can be categorized under three headings. In other words, there can be three objectives that language policy planners may want to pursue: extra-lingual purposes related to linguistic reforms; half-language aims related to change in written structures, orthography and pronunciation, and linguistic purposes related to linguistic changes, including extensions or standardization. Linguistic priorities include changes in the language or languages of language usage which include words representing a limited meaning of linguistics and suggesting restricted language planning. Extra-language goals are cases where a non-language objective is supported by preparing a language issue that may be inexistent, but intentionally developed. Semi-linguistic goals serve linguistic as well as social as political interests and linguistic objectives strive to solve problems of communication.

Approaches *Types (overt – covert)*	1. Policy Planning (on form) Goals	2. Cultivation Planning (on function) Goals
1. Status Planning (about society)	*Status Standardisation* · Officialisation · Nationalisation · Proscription	*Status Planning* Revival · Restoration · Revitalisation · Reversal Maintenance Interlingual Communication · International · Intra-national Spread
2. Corpus Planning (about language)	*Standardisation* Corpus · Graphisation · Grammatication · Lexication Auxiliary Code · Graphisation · Grammatication · Lexication	*Corpus Elaboration* Lexical Modernisation Stylistic Modernisation Renovation · Purification · Reform · Stylistic simplification · Terminological unification Internationalisation
3. Language-in-Education Planning (about learning)	*Policy Development* Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy Methods & Materials Policy Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	*Acquisition Planning* Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign / Second Language Shift
4. Prestige Planning (about image)	*Language Promotion* · Official/Government · Institutional · Pressure group · Individual	*Intellectualisation* · Language of Science · Language of Professions · Language of High Culture

Figure 2: A Framework of Language Planning Goals

2.11.1 Linguistic Aims of LPP

2.11.1.1 Purification

It must he mentioned at the outset that there is little agreement among purisms of what purification or purism is even though too much time elapsed since the definition of the English purist William Barnes who emphasized xenophobic lexical purisms only. After his definition dating back to 1854, the scope of purisms in the definitions has

45

significantly widened including not only inter-linguistic purisms but also intralinguistic ones. However, the constant part of all definitions is the assumption that a certain language contains certain undesirable elements that need to be removed and replaced by the elements of the native character, On the other hand, it is not that easy to define the relationship between language purification and language policy planning since language purification is an act that can also be carried out unconsciously while planning always implies preliminary preparation to certain extents. On the other hand, language policy planning, overtly or covertly, necessitates the government's involvement and this government involvement covers both status planning and corpus planning while purification deals with second one only. It means that the involvement can be implicit or explicit depending on various factors, however, the purification process can proceed without governmental interference, On the other hand, the relationship may be quite elusive since purification can be part of planning, On the contrary, the process of purification can be planned, However, both of them have some common points, the most common one seems to be the fact both purification and planning are mainly societal responses to the issues concerning the structure and the role of language. But what seems common for both is that they, language planning and purification, are directed to solve all linguistic problems so that language could achieve and maintain its proper status as a prestigious code, this does not mean that the relationship between language planning with its various aspects on the one hand and linguistic purification on the other cases when the aspects of planning conflict with purification, it may undergo certain modification. Language purification may yield better result of it were considered in the framework of social psychology of language, the theory of linguistic communication and cultural and intellectual history, Moreover, political ideology is of great importance in understanding language purification,

Therefore, consideration of purism within the theory of the socio-political and psychological impulses that affect language use, language attitudes and language planning is the key to its comprehensive understanding. Purists try to justify their reaction to the intrusion of unwanted linguistic elements with the need for intelligibility and the need to protect the language as part of the native culture from the outside threat or internal disintegration. But, in fact, their fear is often closely associated with some deeply felt insecurity fuel led by the mirthful reaction of foreign observers to a language apparently inundated foreign expressions (Thomas, 1991, pp.45-47).

There exist various types of puristic orientations in terms of the identity of the targets. Their types can roughly be grouped as four such as (i) intralinguistic ones (e.g. dialectalisms and sociolects); (ii) inter- linguistic ones (xenophobic, i.e., directly against all languages indiscriminately and x=phobic, i.e., directed against a certain language only): and (iii) historical (i.e., directed at elements threatening the language's historical continuity) and (iv) aesthetic type which is directed against a particular literary poetic. Depending on the polities, purisms aim to realize various goals including unificatory, prestige, defensive and delimiting. In some cases, two or even three types of them can integrate. For instance, for Turkish purification process, all but the last seem to be the goal at different stages of development. The purification process follows eight but inter-related stages such as recognition of need, identification of targets, censorship, eradication, preventions, replacement, reception, and evaluation (Thomas 1991). These are sequential stages each with its specific function. For instance, the first stage recognizes the fact that there is a need for purification while "it is precisely at the identification stage that decisions are made about what categories of

words are deemed to be desirable" (Thomas. 1991: 86) when the undesirable elements are identified, they need to be removed and their influx should be prevented. Also, the undesirable elements should be replaced by desirable ones. The last stage of the process is evaluation in which the achievement is measured. Purism is never static, i.e., its orientation is conditioned by socio-political context. In other words, the society's approach to purism may change even in a short period of time. Purification process in Turkey can serve as a good example. After the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, linguistic elements of the Arabic or Persian origin were found undesirable and they began to be replaced by the elements sourced from the Russian language. However, after the collapse of the Soviet empire, Russian stopped being a language of power and prestige, consequently, words of English origin became the desired elements. There is a close relationship between purism and standardization. As a matter of fact, purism is one of the responses to the three functions of language (separating solidarity and prestige) that are effective in standardization. Moreover, each of these puristic orientations provides a basis for selecting the corpus of the idiom to the standardized. On the other hand, purism which can occur in all stages of socio political stages of development (beginning with feudalism and proceeding through capitalism, imperialism and socialism) and in all contexts is closely connected with nationalism. In fact, it is nationalism that purism feeds from since both nationalism and purism base their assumptions on otherness. For nationalism the starting point is that each nation has its own specific character and the mission of the national, ideology is to stress all cultural features that differentiate the nation from others, In other words, nationalistic sentiments serve as an accelerator for puristic interventions of the government and the orientation of the intervention is conditioned by nationalist ideology of the society. However, the prevailing orientation in the puristic intervention is never static. Since

purism is an indivisible element of the cultural paradigm, it reflected that the changes provided that there are changes in the cultural paradigm. Nevertheless, there can be cases when peculiarism can be victimized for the sake of pure nationalism. This may happen when the feelings of pan-nationalism prevail. One of the recent examples is the idea of pan-Turkism which is based on creating a pan-Turkish unity by concentrating on common features and erasing the peculiar features that each of the Turkic languages may possess. However, observations show that such a trend already exists. There can be other reasons to avoid purism. Internationalism and cosmopolitanism of political outlook existing in the society are important factors to move away from purism. This is quite evident in the contexts when the aim is to create societies on the basis of certain ideologies. Also, purism can be insignificant when the speech community has no fear about the future of their language since their language's future is guaranteed either overtly or covertly. In other words, constitutional guarantees, the existence of long literary traditions or popularity of the language as a lingua franca lessen their need to get involved into purism to keep its peculiarity and safeguard its future. Also, avoiding purism can be explained by psychological considerations. For instance, the lack of loyalty of native speakers to their language or functional attitudes to language intervention can serve serious constraints for linguistic purification. It should also be mentioned that purism is dictated by socio-political and economic realities of the context. Therefore, any change in the context leads to modifications in the target. The language situation that has been established in the post-Soviet territories can serve a good example. Also, the choice of the purification pattern is dictated by the socio-political realities of the society and the region. For instance, marginal purism, a marginal or ephemeral occurrence in the development of the standard language, that can be more suitable for the Russian language, could be

least effective for other situations. Thus, one of the tasks that a language policy-planning agency is involved in is language purification: prescription of 'correct' usage and the preservation of the language's 'purity'. It is a kind of policy aiming to control where vocabulary sources (external or internal) and syntactic and derivational process being utilized. In many linguistic cultures, it is one or the priority tasks of the community to preserve the purity of language which involves several methods for instance religion and a work on authentication of the language. But in most cases, it takes the form of removing from the language elements that appear to be foreign, or corrupt. or lacking in true authenticity in the linguistic culture in question. Language purification is guided by a belief system. According to Schiffman (l996) in a few communities there's a conviction that there exists somewhere, maybe within the past, or in a specific printed convention, a state of 'purity' that the dialect can aim to, or return to or a conviction that there are individuals with extraordinary information, competent of making decisions about what is unadulterated and what isn't. Also, there are communities who believe that purity of language is something capable to renew or strengthen the moral essential element of the language, its linguistic culture, or its speakers. In some cases, might be linked with those countries that are religious such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, which means if they have protected language (holy) they have protected religion. as something to safeguard the state from disintegration. Most importantly, language purism can be associated with parties, the national visions, and other sociopolitical and sociocultural domains. It must also be mentioned that puristic movements in linguistic culture are never permanent since their occurrence is closely connected with changes in the socio-political domains in the society when there is a need to redefine certain relations. In fact, in most cases, they are scientific. The second task that language policy planning agency is involved in is language revival i.e.,

restoration of an old language to its previous status or the revival of a dead language. It is one of the most difficult tasks that language planners can face as language revival acquires more significant of the time when half of the existing language are doomed to death under the unstoppable expansion of the language of globalization, unfortunately, there are only a few examples for successful revival projects, like the Hebrew language revival.

Language reform facilitation of the use of language through, for example simplification of its vocabulary or spelling system, is among the tasks of many agencies of language policy-planning, especially in newly established democracies. Language policy-planning agencies are also involved in languages standardization. The major point in LS is to ensure that one language or dialect in multilingual community is accepted as the major language of that community for general use. This task is an inevitable task for language without rich literary heritage and for languages without established written forms.

Finally, language policy planning agencies have to deal with lexical modernization, bridging the gap between a language's lexicon and new terminology arising from modem technology which in fact, "requires political, ideological, religious sensitivity and expertise" as Fishman (1983, p.109) mentions, it should be difficult since planning itself is conducted in a particular sociocultural context that conditions the parameters of acceptance, implementation, and diffusion. On other hand, modernization as part of corpus planning is realized in an atmosphere of changing and conflicting loyalties, convictions, interests, values, and outlooks. In other words, an effective planning can be seen as a fine-tuning which is always exposed to tensions and ongoing change. Thus, modernization is extremely sensitive to the constraints of the socio-political

environment. It is also true that the direction of the pressure is dependent on political system in which modernization is being carried out.

The role of people's attention to, reflections of and emotions about language in language policy planning should not be underestimated. Some linguists (Eastman, 1993, p.29) also call this as 'language cultivation' which is actually the same as language planning. In other words, the devised system of language cultivation is equivalent to the formulation of language policy. It is believed that there is a direct relation between language attitudes and culture: when attitudes arise, parallel to this culture expands. It implies that language cultivation and systematic interventions by society in language development progress simultaneously. Language cultivation, in fact, all fields (education. law, medicine, the arts, civic affairs, etc.) since the specialists in these facets of culture see language as useful to the perpetuation of the values they associate with their specific spheres of influence, and it is this aspect of sociolinguistics which comes to the attention of political leaders and educators throughout the globe. That might be the reason that language policy planning thus far has dealt with attitudinal behaviors towards language in terms of loyalty or antipathy and relies on its implementation through reinforcement or prohibition. This can be justifiable since without government sanction, a language policy stands little change.

Considering the role of economics in language policy planning, it has been observed that it is crucial on two ways. First, economic power of the language is directly related with its degree of prestige, i.e., instrumental value which has been touched upon before. Second, it can be useful in both solving language problems to some extent and guiding language change. Economic analysis may be helpful in suggesting the concept of alternative by considering opportunity cost of each alternative. Moreover, since

cost-benefit analysis focuses on the change process, with respect to language, it can be used to assess the consequences of the process of the language change. Besides the concept of alternative or opportunity, economic analysis of linguistic homogeneity or heterogeneity of the nation can provide the language planner with useful data. It is generally assumed that linguistically and culturally homogeneous nations have more chance for economic prosperity. Nevertheless, there is a lack of empirical data to verify or refute this assumption. However, the guiding principle is the preferences of the nation or society because they have to face all the consequences of language change as a result of decisions on language policy. Thus, the survey of the literature concerning the categorization of language policy models, factors to be considered in decision making and stages to be followed in the process of language policy planning underlined the importance of language planning not only for young democracies but also for all nations as an on-going process, whether implicitly or explicitly. To carry out the survey with only those who favour language planning would be too incomplete since there are numerous investigators thinking that language planning will inevitably lead to planning inequality. There are also researchers to believe in effectiveness of language planning since it is the global language or the language of globalization who gives no chance for survival to other languages, however the approach differs one another (Tollefson, 1991).

2.11.1.2 Revival

Bentahila and Davies (1993) argue that language revival necessarily results in transformation of the language. Here one of the main questions seems to be whether the reclaimed language is accepted as an authentic form of the ancestral language or not. It is also important to understand whether it will be viewed as some kind of fabrication or artificial construct. Moreover, it is crucially important to predict how

outsiders will view the reclaimed language and attempts by members of that ethnic group to begin to speak it again. It is also important to clarify why people take up such a difficult responsibility when another language practically meets communication needs. Language planners also need to clarify how regaining knowledge of one's ancestral language serves to re-empower and strengthen the community ties and, finally, helps them to 'forget' the bitter experiences that the community had to experience in the past.

Before we start dealing with the processes concerning language revival and specific cases, it should be important to mention that micro language planning is crucially important in the revival context although the role macro language planning considerations that determine the context within which planners need to operate cannot be underestimated. In fact, language planning in this context typically involves individual learners and users of the language which can be regarded as 'lost' or 'extinct'. As Amery (2001: 142) mentions, "[L] language planning has as much, if not more, to offer in these situations than it does for major world languages".

According to some linguist's language planning is one of the fields where social injustice can be observed. Moreover, as our literature survey shows, this issue has not been duly considered. As Amery (2001) notes, "measures taken to bring about the revival of languages have received little attention in the language planning literature". On the hand, language planning activities have been focused on either preserve of large languages or large languages. In other words, measures concerning language planning have mostly been applied at the expense of smaller languages or even to actively suppress them and reduce linguistic diversity (Tollefson, 1991). This may sound ironic

at the time when one of the 'hot' topics being under discussion in recent years is the issue of language rights (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Our literature survey on this topic revealed that there are cases when language planning measures have been applied in large-scale language revival situations (e.g. French in Quebec, Welsh in Wales, Hebrew). However, as Amery notes, "scant attention has been given to very small-scale ethnic languages and languages where there are few or no remaining speakers". In fact, the discipline of language planning would be very useful in these scarcely documented situations. It is also true that most of the issues that a language with only a small number of native speakers or with no native speaker's face are not different from those faced by a potential national language having many millions of speakers. In other words, issues concerning orthography, ongoing corpus elaboration and modernization are the issues that are faced by all languages, no matter how large or small they are. However, as Amery (2001) mentions, "when it comes to languages that are being revived on the basis of written historical materials in the absence of native speakers, an additional set of problems not considered in the language planning literature must be addressed".

Hebrew language revival process, which started more than 130 years ago with the formation of Hebrew Language Council in Jerusalem whose dream was to revive Hebrew as a language of everyday medium of communication for Jews in Palestine (i.e., vernacularization), can serve a good example to support this. Thus, the idea was driven by the aspirations to vernacularize Hebrew which was preserved as a written form only and was used in religious ceremonies and the process started with corpus planning by 'resurrecting and or creating missing terms' while preserving the Oriental character of the Hebrew language (Fellman (1974: 95). In fact, the council was a short

lived one. However, after 14 years of its dissolution, a new initiative started: Teachers Union initiated seeking a uniform standardized variety that could be used in education. In other words, priority was given to language in education planning. Impetus to the whole process was given when the state of Israel was established. The first step in the direction was language planning was the establishment of the Academy of the Hebrew Language in 1953.

The most important problem that the academy faced was language modernization as Hebrew had ceased to be used as an everyday language for nearly seventeen centuries. Therefore, Amery (2001) notes, 'reviving Hebrew in the state of Israel entailed intensive lexical elaboration'' as there did not exist any terms to designate "household items, foodstuffs, personal effects, etc.' Hebrew language revival was not the only attempt. There were many other attempts, but Hebrew is the only success story that other threatened or extinct languages may want to reiterate.

2.11.1.3 Reform

Among various definitions of language reform, the one proposed by Nahir (1984:113) seems to be the most frequently referred one who defines it as "the deliberate manipulation of language triggered by the need to facilitate language use, often through a simplification of orthography, spelling or lexicon, as well as to serve the underlying political, socio-economical, cultural and ideological tendencies of the community." (1984, p. 113). Our literature survey revealed that there can be differences in terms of the priorities of the specific aims that language planners or language ideologists are guided by. To support this view, the study will focus on some contexts.

For instance, Turkish Language Reform (henceforth TLR) which prioritized simplification and Turkification of orthography and lexicon was a sociopolitical retaking that changed and shaped the path of the Turkish language (Seran, 1993). In fact, it pursued several aims and encompassed nearly all elements or stages of language planning although it started as was started as a language simplification effort by literary figures of the late eighteenth century. However, it gathered momentum during the initial periods of the Turkish Republic in the 1920's and 30's, to become a large-scale, governmentally-administered language planning activity which was carried out to save Turkish from the domination of foreign influences. As a matter of fact, the standard Turkish (or Osmanlica), was the hybrid of three languages which cognizant of a handful of intellectuals, especially in the palace. In other words, Ottoman Turkish (Osmanlica) which was used by the rulers and the elite in their writing was incomprehensible to the masses. This implies that the High variety used by a few percent of Turks was incomprehensible for most Turks who used their Low variety. Such a situation could not be admissible for the young democracy (or republic) that emerged in the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a new Turkish nation began to form and started realizing revolutionary changes among which was language revolution or language mobilization (Dil Inkılabı or Dil Seferberliği). Three distinct directions could be observed in the process: nationalization (that is, Turkification), modernizing and Westernizing. Thus, in 1920s they started developing a modern, westernized Turkish nation with their authentic Turkish language to unify them. One of the practical steps here was alphabetical change (shift from Arabic alphabet to modified Latin) which seemed to yield great success in the rate of literacy. The article Turkey Goes to School published by Maynard Owen Williams in 1929 in National Geographic clearly informs of its

success: "On the bridge itself, boys were selling copies of the new alphabet. On the steamer, with a ten-cent primer in hand, I learned more Turkish in an hour than I had known after a year in the country" (ISSN 0027-9358, Vol. 55, Nº. 1) (January), 1929, págs. 95-108.

Corpus planning was an important element which consisted of purifying and modernizing the vocabulary. These changes in the language would also aid in the movement towards the West from the Islamic Eastern world. The major LP agency was Turk Dil Kurumu (the TDK) 'Turkish Language Association', aided by politicians; teachers, other interested people, and supervised by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself. In fact, the language reform initiated by him was and remain to be a success story.

2.11.1.4 Spread

There are many ways and modes for languages to spread to new territories. This can be realized as a result of military and commercial expansion among others. Religious missionary activity also necessarily entails language use. In fact, 'spreading' of a language requires human agency, and is often orchestrated through an explicit policy for disseminating the language. The presence of English or French through various 'councils' or 'universities' worldwide confirms a pattern of dominant powers exporting their languages. The reality is that these European languages become dominant or 'official' languages in various continents. This usually happens at the expense of local indigenous languages. Suffice to mention here the language situation in Australia, New Zealand, USA (in the countries of so-called inner ring) where English language hegemony have been established at the expense of local languages many of which have completely disappeared. In other words, the act of linguicide has been committed.

Our literature reveals that the great majority of such acts are the result of top-down activities which aim at assimilating minorities. This process was highly effective in the former Soviet Union where the main way to realize language spread was through relocations. Many minority language groups were voluntarily or by force were subjected to relocations. For instance, all Ahiska Turks who used to live as an enclave in Georgia were forced to move to Kazakhstan in 1940s and they are not allowed to return to their homes even today. In fact, Moscow 'solved' in national policies by creating 'melting pots' in various non-Russian republics and the results were devastating for the local nationalities: Russian became a native language for millions of non-Russians. The 'technology' of this process followed a very simple formula: from monolingualism (e.g. Kazakh) to bilingualism (e.g. Kazakh-Russian), and from bilingualism to monolingualism (e.g. Russian, no Kazakh). This was the top- down mechanism of language spread policy for the Soviet Union. In fact, the same traditions are followed in Russia today where many minority languages are either threatened or completely lost (Shibliyev 2005). Thus, these and other facts show that the demands of indigenous groups for their native languages which are envisaged by many UN charters are violated.

In various parts of the globe governments' attitudes towards minorities languages differ. Cobarrubias (1983) has elaborated a taxonomy of policies that a state can adopt towards minority languages. According to his taxonomy, attitudes can be: (a) attempting to kill a language; (b) letting a language die; (c) unsupported coexistence; (d) partial support of specific language functions; (e) adoption as an official language.

Thus, our literature review showed that along these so-called traditional' ways of language dissemination, there are more effective ways one of which is globalization, i.e. globalization of economy, social value system, culture whose lingua franca is English. This implies that if a nation wants to be part of the global language, it needs to have a 'language passport' of English. Mushrooming of EMI colleges and universities in the countries when English is a foreign language cannot be otherwise explained. In other words, education has also become a medium for language expansion and dissemination.

2.11.1.5 Modernization

Modernization of language is a process that covers not only newly emerged nations, although it is the focal point form. In fact, modernization is an ongoing process as it is associated with, reasoned by or conditions by innovations which demand new terms or terminology. Moreover, languages need to elaborate registers for some domains including religious texts, poetry, belles-lettres, etc. In addition, some colonial, post-colonial or even independent countries with their indigenous languages use English or some European languages in education or jurisdiction. Under such diglossic conditions when a foreign language functions to be a high variety, the need for modernization becomes an imperative. In other words, indigenous languages need to 'modernize' in order to compete with the foreign language which occupies the High levels or domains. This implies that educated people need to have various registers in their verbal repertoires which oblige them to code switch or code mix by using linguistic elements pertaining to various foreign languages. In fact, importing foreign elements is not the only way to 'modernize' the language. In many cases languages use their 'internal' resources (i.e., regional or social dialects) for 'donor' purposes for their enrichment or modernization.

As it was mentioned above, it is nearly impossible to introduce changes in all domains or fields simultaneously. In many cases domain change can be introduced gradually. For instance, it may take two years to use the L variety, or it can take one year to shift from exogenous language to indigenous language at a different level of education. Therefore, it would be important to set a realistic timetable.

2.11.1.6 Maintenance

Language maintenance is the continual using of the minority language in spite of the existing of the dominant language (Van Herk, 2012). It is also referred to as "the practice of speaking one's mother tongue through one's lifetime as the only language in daily use" (Veltman 1991). According to Fishman's (2000) a fundamental principle to guarantee language maintenance is by imposing and encouraging people to use it at home and within the community.

Researchers explain language the reasons for language shift and maintenance in various ways. For instance, Veltman (1991) asserted that "language maintenance is the practice of speaking one's mother tongue throughout one's lifetime as the only language in daily use" whereas Van Herk, (2012) referred to language maintenance as the continual of using the minority language in spite of the competition with the dominant language. Overall, language maintenance refers to the idea of transferring the language from one generation to the next. In order the language to be maintained the speakers should effectively transfer the language to the next generation (Ostler, 2011).

2.11.1.7 International Communication

According to Constantinescu (2015:162), language is the basic vector of communication, the communication developing and shaping the languages,

throughout human history" (Constantinescu, 2015). It is also a natural tendency of people to use their own language in communication as using the mother tongue helps the speaker to express himself or herself in a more comfortable way. It also helps understand others better. This is especially important in the contemporary age of globalization when there increasing need to interact with people who live in different parts of the globe and speak different languages. In other words, languages have acquired new functions or authorships. As Constantinescu (2015) mentions, "among the diversity of tools for achieving this cross-cultural communication, using an international language gained ground". In fact, giving preference to the languages as a common language is dependent on many factors or imperatives such as the context of communication, the social, cultural or economic backgrounds of the communicators. This obliges people to give preference to a specific language and the challenge here seems to be the fact that in many countries there can be more than one official languages. On the other hand, international trade in the globalized economical system and huge mobility of people, goods and services has increased the trend towards simplification of communication. Various solutions have been proposed. One of them is reducing the number of languages of the nations at the core of the main language as adopted by the United Nations. This would imply using just six languages as official languages, like Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish (United Nations, 1992). Another solution that was proposed by multinational business structures envisaged using "either the language of the company's country of origin, or a neutral language that allows communication between employees of different cultures". The fact that most companies address target countries by using as few languages as possible whereas many others prefer using English as an international language. There are also companies who use "many languages in order to reach as

many dialogue groups as possible in their local language, adopting a multilingual option" (Grosseck, 2012; Grin, Sfreddo & Vaillancourt, 2013; McKay, 2002).

As it was mentioned above, unprecedented mobility of people and goods brings people from different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds together and this results in adopting a common language of communication is frequently adopted (Rogerson-Revell, 2007; McKay, 2002). As Andersen & Rasmussen (2004) and Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta (2012) point "[I]f the choice for an official/working language of an international institution is based on geo-political reasons, the choice of a multinational corporation for a local language that becomes an international language is conducted by the corporation's business interests". In other words, "the prediction of the dynamics in the international languages preferences is helpful for the political, business or academical environments" as well. Many linguists believe that "the present age changed the global communication paradigm, leading to re-evaluation of the languages role by both formal and informal entities, including ordinary people of different native tongue involved in a spontaneous communication" (Grosse, 2004; Firth, 2009; Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen & Karhunen, 2015).

This section can be concluded the reiteration of the fact that there a need for a reliable international language for communication and the reliable evaluation of the language potential. Inoue (2007) believes that "three factors control the market value of a language: population size, economic power of the speech community, respectively information quantity and culture elaboration, adding as auxiliar factor the size of language territory. In other words, this perspective "takes into account the statistics of native speakers, with a supplementary correlation with second language speakers' statistics". If one sticks to these benchmarks, only a few languages can pretend to enjoy

the status of being international languages. But, as Constantinescu (2015:163) notes, "for language dynamics research, it is more valuable to correlate the potential of a language with more reliable and comparable elements.

2.11.1.8 Stylistic Simplification

In his categorization for the goals and aims of language planning policy, which he identified goals for language planning; Nahir (1984) defined stylistic simplification as "attempts to make text more readable and less complex in lexicon and syntax". Among the attempts in this direction Turkish Language Reform seems to be the most suitable case to serve this purpose. As it was mentioned above, the first attempts by literary figures to stylistically simplify the Turkish language were made in the late 19th century. However, it gathered impetus with the beginning of the republican period when Language Revolution (Dil İnkilabı) initiated and supervised by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was launched. These large scale activities which encompassed the whole territory of Turkey aimed "to save Turkish from domination by foreign influences". The main reason for the change in script (i.e. shift from Arabic to Latin) seemed to be conditioned by low literacy rates as the Arabic script was believed to not to meet phonetic features of the Turkish language and that writing system was hard to acquire. Therefore, simplified or modified Latin was thought to give boost to literacy. There are also linguists who claim that the main motivation here were religious considerations. In addition to script change, such focal points as stylistic simplification and lexical modernization were focused on by reformists. These aspects were very important as many people of those days found the syntactic patterns and terminology quite unintelligible. The following anecdote taken from Akgul (2019:17) may provide a good support for the importance of lexical simplification and vocabulary:

"In 1937, Atatürk visited Sivas High School, and walked into a geometry class.He saw the phrase "Müsellesin zaviyetan-ı dahiletan mecmu'ü yüz seksenderecedir,"

A Turkish sentence written with Arabic terms, in an old geometry book. When he asked what this sentence meant, the students could not explain the meaning. So he went to the blackboard and explained the phrase and all other geometric terms in the pure Turkish language. The sentence simply meant, "The sum of angles inside a triangle is 180 degrees." But when written in unknown Arabic words, there was no other way than memorizing for those students. According to the students, for the first time they understood a geometry fundamental. To resolve the issue further, Atatürk wrote a book on geometry (1937) using terms derived from Turkish verbs and discarding Arabic and Persian nouns and clauses that the Turkish students could not comprehend". (Akgul, A. (2019). The Case of Atatürk Reforms in Early Turkish Republic Between 1923-1946 From an Educational Perspective (Doctoral dissertation).

Another example for stylistic simplification could be the one taken in Japan which "has taken place partly via language reform on a broader scale". In other words, it aimed at "the gradual replacement of classical written style by a vernacular.

2.11.2 Semi and Extra Linguistic Aims of LPP

Our literature review revealed that there is a wide scope of overlapping concepts in the firld of language planning aims. However, a closer look shows that these aims can be characterized as objectives: (a) extra-lingual purposes which are directly related to linguistic reforms; (b) half-language purposes which are related to change in written structures, orthography and pronunciation; and (c) linguistic purposes which are

related to linguistic changes, including extensions or standardization (Rubin, 1971:125).

Linguistic purposes encompass changes in the language or languages of language usage. Therefore, they seem to be directly related to linguistics rather than language planning. On the other hand, extralinguistic purposes are directly related to language planning.

It is also true that "these terms reflect a narrow definition of linguistics and imply a restricted applicability of linguistics to language planning. In other words, as Rubin mentions, "extra-linguistic aims include situations where a non-linguistic goal is aided by planning for a possibly non-existent but deliberately created language problem" whereas "semi-linguistic aims serve both linguistic and social or political aims, and linguistic aims attempt to solve communication problems". As Kennedy (1982) mentions, "Rabin and Rubin appear to be referring to different classes of aims". In fact, Rabin's are close to Kloss's division between status planning which implies planning for functions or uses and corpus planning which implies modifications in the linguistic code and the creation of the corpus. On the other hand, Rubin (1971) attempts to describe how these aims serve such purposes as linguistic, communication, social or political ones.

2.12 Socio-Political Reasons in LPP

2.12.1 Identity Building

Such terms as "identity' and "language" entered the register of language planning in recent years. In other words, were not associated with this field epistemologically as an object of language planning. Bhat (2017) believes that "The attempts of

governments to manipulate these phenomena would have seemed too unsystematic, too natural or too nefarious to merit the word 'planning'". In fact, there are also linguists who find the term 'identity planning unusual. Today, only one of these terms is unusual: identity planning. On the other hand, no one can claim that language planning itself is something new. Fluctuations in focus on language planning seem to depend on the need for it in specific socio-political realities especially when cardinal socio-political developments take place. It was quite reasonable in late 1990s and early 2000s when the field of language policy witnessed 'mushrooming' of many valuable contributions to the field. It was the period when the Communist block collapsed, and tens of independent countries emerged. It was the period when young democracies had to establish their nationhood the indivisible element of which is language identity.

Thus, as Hatoss (2006:290) mentions, "if language planning has grown so common and so noticed, identity planning must be considered as well, because language and identity are interrelated". This absolutely true as it is widely believed that language and identity inter-dependable. Referring to this fact, Hatoss (2006:295) emphasizes several important points one of which is that if we accept that language affects identity, this implies that "an increase in language planning means that planners are having an increasing effect on identity. The second point that Hatoss (2006:296) emphasize is the need for language planners to study the effects of linguistic change on identity since good language planning has to consider side effects. The third point that the Hatoss (2006:121) mentions is that it is obligatory for language planners to study identity planning to accomplish their goals due to the fact that identity affects language. The fourth point to consider, according to the researcher, is the need for language planners to consider language planning as a means as language affects

identity. The final point that Hatoss (2006:122) makes is that "[T]hose wishing to foil the efforts of language planners should consider using identity, and those wishing to foil the efforts of identity planners should consider using language, to accomplish their aims". The points that Hatoss (2006) make are important since they call for knowledge of how language and identity interact.

It is also believed that those who wish to use either language or identity to influence the other one must have a clear idea of all aspects of both language and identity in order to understand if they operate differently or the same way or have differences in terms of their affects. This is also very important since language competence "may be related to identity with different strengths, depending on when it is acquired".

It can be concluded that identity formation process significantly depends on language use which as Hall (2002:32) defines is "a reflexive product of social, historical and political contexts of an individual's lived experiences". In other words, through their language use language community members distinguish themselves from members of other social groups and this insider-outsider image is manifestation of cultural identities which can be seen as indicative of their ethnic identities as well.

2.12.2 Nation Building

Language has a great role in the nation building process and Kurds in Kurdistan are decisive in making their language a symbol of their ethnic identity in their homeland in the Middle East. Language is helpful in achieving the other rights of Kurdish nation and representing the resident management of Kurds in each political exchanging in future. In order to understand the contemporary religious conventions in the region, the researchers have to figure out those especial ethnic realities that are numbed quietly in the core of each of these government instead play in government's games

and play as their hidden or declared doll. In order to investigate those opportunities that are possible to nations, the researchers have to work on their roles that they play nowadays, that language plays as the most important of those ethnics' vision. The representation and activeness of languages means the representation and activeness of the nations that are considered as the foundations of governments. The establishment of independent Kurdistan government could be possible by believing in its abilities' sources like natural, ethnical, lingual, cultural, and political ones.

It has been argued that the connection between a nation and a unique language of its own is not desirable. Kurdistan, as a territorial and cultural nation, has been imagined and defined in terms of a Kurdish language. Sheyholislami (2009) argues "the Kurdish language is arguably the most salient symbol of Kurdish identity, both culturally and politically, because it separates the Kurds from their neighboring nations more readily than any other cultural or physical characteristic". All identities are relational (Sheyholislami, 2009).

Besides, Kurds need to behave wisely in its local issues and have plans to relive national aspects. Moreover, the weakness of against countries ruling and position as Iran has a good impact on achieving Kurd's independent dream. The interference of Iran's rulers in other countries and their internal and external discords can help the independence of Kurdistan's north and west parts as well and wide Kurdistan's geographical area. About that geographical, political, ethnical, lingual, and cultural atmosphere that has created in south Kurdistan, the first step is that Kurdish nation has to identify itself in its own perspective irrespective of other perspectives and be conscious of an official national formation and from no existence comes to existence. It is important for the KRG and the Ministry of Education to abide by as it happened

before due to the lack of systematicity in language acquisition planning. Moreover, authorities need to look at the Kurdish language as the national identity and as one of the major foundational elements of establishing the Kurdistan Independent Government. Further, they have to work towards developing national language in a planned way.

2.12.3 Ethnicity

Fishman (1975:355) sees ethnicity as manifestation of such sociocultural units as ethnic group and nation which are used to define people who share distinct cultural and social values. According to Foucault (2002), "common values in speech communities are culturally and socially expressed and communicated by people via their current discursive practices". In fact, this makes "discursive practices part of the accepted cultural values which are culturally transmitted through generations as social heritage". It is also mentioned by sociolinguists that ethnicity and nationality which are marked by geopolitical borders are distinguishable. Also, when dealing with the definition of an ethnic group, Fishman refers to it "as a speech community which consists of local residents of a land who may live there for generations, but a nation is a new phenomenon which is only perceivable within the internationally accepted geopolitical border of a country".

2.12.4 Visibility Among the Nations

Language policy and language planning which are used interchangeably in sociolinguistics studies as connected entities, refer to a government's purposeful efforts that affect the application, structure as well as the acquisition of a language in a speech community (Cooper, 1989). Thus, a language policy is implemented to cause preplanned changes in the society concerned. Although language planning is considered as quite a recent discipline in language studies, it has long been practiced

as part of a government activity in empires throughout history (Spolsky, 2004). As examples of language policies in the 20th century, one can refer to language programs in Iran (Sadeghi, 2001), Malaysia (Rajandran, 2008; Gill, 2005), and very recently after the shift of power, Hong Kong (Lai, 2011). The results of language planning and policy programs are often seen in the modification of linguistic behavior of some groups of people. The reasons for the program differ from one country to another, a common one is to maintain nationalizing efforts, and another is to implement language modernization or to acquire a new language or languages deemed important for nationhood (Dakhir and Abid, 2011). Although different researchers may define language policy differently, all of them are generally agreed on the main purposes behind it – that of status planning and corpus planning (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Cooper 1989). Status planning deals with the promotion of a vernacular as the formal or official language of a country. In most times, it is carried out for de-colonization purposes by the newly established independent states in order to promote the feeling of patriotism among their people (Dakhir and Abid, 2011). Status planning may result in the advent of a language to establish a national identity in independent countries (ibid). Corpus planning, on the other hand, as a linguistic activity, tends to modify a language in terms of its phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. Thus, corpus planning is perceived as a language policy with a direction towards modernization and standardization. Corpus planning is viewed as a complement to status planning (Wright, 2004; Cooper, 1989))

One of the topics that need special emphasis when dealing with ethnicity is the dichotomy of cultural identity and social identity. Although such a dichotomy may seem groundless, there are researchers who consider them as to something

71

distinguishable. For instance, according to Sugita (2000), cultural identity implies "the connection between people who are united based on their common history and common cultural practices which are performed by using their mother tongue. On the other hand, social identity "is defined an embodiment of social practices that are institutionalized by legislatures and are the results of power relations and dominant ideologies in societies which again are mostly performed via the medium of language" (p. 177).

As Spolsky (2004:2153) notes, "the individual members of the society are… are involved in some discursive practices that are an amalgam of their ethnic identity and their national identity" referring to the idea that they "belong to specific cultural group as well as of being the citizen of a particular polity". Thus, it can be said that linguistics ecology, as an umbrella term, covers both the cultural and social identities of the language users.

Another important point that deserves special treatment is the extent to which governmental policies impact identity construction of people. This is especially important when language programs which are in fact, governmental policies are used as tools of power that generally reflect the dominant ideologies. In other words, such programs are usually imposed on societies and are directed towards identity constructed as wished by them. For instance, some researchers (e.g. Brown 2005; Javadi and Javadi 2008) find out that the local identities succeed and are not susceptible with linguistic globalization in cases when ethnic groups have an opportunity to use their mother tongues.

It is also evident that ethnicity and nationality can still coexist in harmony and enrich each other's culture. For instance, the Kurds as an ethnic group who live in the Middle East illustrate how local identities may grow in parallel to national identities in Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. A Kurdish can be a citizen of Turkey by nationality, but he may be different from his cousins who may live in Iran, Iraq or Syria. They are members of the same ethnic group, they may communicate using the Kurdish language as their mother tongue, and practice common beliefs and customs are culturally transmitted to them. However, a Kurdish citizen of Turkey may study Turkish at an educational center in Istanbul or may utilize Turkish whenever he has contact with an official organization in Turkey. He may be Turkish in nationality and have full access to the country's beliefs and culture, being well versed in matters that ranged from the country's technological advancement to the country's athletic or sports achievements. In comparison, the linguistic ecology can be quite different for his imaginary cousin in Iran. In his educational domain, the Iranian Kurdish may study in the Persian language as it is the formal language of the country and whoever he works for or whenever he has to communicate with a national organization in Iran, he utilizes Persian. Thus, as Foucalt (2002) notes, "these different language applications or discursive practices of an ethnic group reflect how prevailing ideologies could permeate and modify ethnic identities and this act is reinforced by national legislatures of countries in the form of language policies". Suffice to mention that the discourse itself is heavily influences by such factors as the user's identity, ideology, belief, traditions and power relations in the community. Moreover, institutional, political, cultural and historical settings have huge impact on the social context (Widdowson, 2007, Fairclough, 2001). Thus, in can be concluded that when top-down language

73

policies are imposed, they incite new ideological values as expressed by the prevailing discursive practices and as a result may contribute to identity formation.

2.13 Levels of Language Planning and Policy

Literature review reveals that the researchers deal with various levels of language policy planning. The terms like 'macro', 'meso' and 'micro' seem to be quite suitable for levels. In general, macro-level components are top-down activities since they are driven by the government whereas meso-level components directed to a specific group and this makes it more limited than the macro-level language policy planning (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). In fact, for a meso-level group of language policy planning, local government initiatives are executive organs. In fact, it is the local government initiatives that comprise a part of the meso-level group of language policy planning and is the implementations of top-down policies by administrative authorities and bodies. On the other hand, micro-level language policy planning which is open to bottom-up influences is a small-scale one. In fact, it can be characterized as institutional level or family level language policy planning. In conclusion, macro-level planning can be characterized as top-down since it contains national policies whereas meso-level and micro-level language policy planning contains initiatives of the local governments or individuals.

2.14 Procedures of Language Planning and Policy (LPP)

Four procedural steps of language policy planning are widely used: formulation, codification, elaboration, and implementation (Eastman 1983). Formulation of the language policy, the initial stage, is a process of deliberation and decision-making based on number of social, economic, and political factors of policy formulation. The most important political factor in language policy formation is the goal of the nation or state formulating the policy. The diversity in the social and political context is the

key element to understand the models of language policy planning. By analyzing all polities underlying a given language policy, one can identify an acceptable language policy model. However, it does not mean that one and the same model can be effectively used if the polities are analogical in various contexts. Moreover, each language policy model may have its own priorities formulated in a way that is peculiar to it. For instance, the guiding parameters in Australian language policy are formulated as enrichment, economics, equally, and external but South African language policy aims at promoting national unity, enriching democracy, promoting multilingualism, respect for and tolerance towards linguistic and cultural diversity, further elaboration, and modernization of the African languages (Philipson, 2003, p. 68). The stage that follows formulation of the language policy is its codification. Though it refers to the technical preparation of the decided-upon policy, codification involves paying attention to the feelings, attitudes, values, loyalties, preferences, and practices of both the policy-makers and the recipients of the policy as well. (Laser, 1998). The main aim when a language policy is codified is that the planner engineers the language in such a way that it could successfully meet the users' linguistic requirements so that their language could be a reflection of who they are: who they have been as well as who they will be (Eastman 1983; Imer 1998; Fishman 1983). In short, codification is a stage when strategies are set out for the practical achievement of the goals. Elaboration of the policy implies finding out if the language or languages involved may be extended into the areas specified by the policy goals. Its aim, for instance, is to see if orthography is detailed enough and adaptable enough to accommodate new words and borrowings or if the writing system fits available techniques of printing, handwriting, and graphics. Once "the particular language that has been decided upon and codified has to be kept so as to retain its integrity as well as continue the goals of the policy" (Eastman,

1983:8). This aspect of language policy is generally realized a language academy or language-planning agency. Finally, the implementation of language policy is the procedure, which is applied to achieve the change in language that enables the policy objectives to come true. Implementation deals with how a plan is put into an action to achieve a stated goal. In other words, it implies that providing the authoritative backbone to achieve the goals and motivation for the use of the language of the policy by the people. It goes without saying that much depends on how people's motivation and their attitude about the plan are intensified. This issue will also be deliberated in the coming sections. As mentioned before, language policy planning is usually carried out by language planning agencies like academies or special committees endowed with distinct functions. These functions are conventionally broken down into sociolinguistic tasks of language planning depending upon the objectives of types of plans to be implemented in the related literature, five objective of language planning have been focused on. It seems to be reasonable to deal with some of them more in detail.

2.15 Models of Language Planning and Policy (LPP)

At the very outset, it is important to define conceptually some terms that will frequently be used in this section, Most importantly one should distinguish language policy from language planning, Language policy can be defined as a set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community's relationship to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential whereas language planning is a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication in a community, typically by directing the development of language. A view to 'policy-planning' is presented by Eastman (1983). According to Eastman (1983:7-8), language planning has two major components one of which is the policy to be followed while

the other one the choice of language or languages to which the policy relates. The third component of planning, the evaluation of both policy and choice, seems to be a minor component. In its turn, language policies follow through distinct stages as formulation, codification, elaboration and implementation. Also, there have been attempts to draw equation between status planning and policy on the one hand, and, between corpus planning and planning on the other. With reference to the above mentioned views, the one proposed by Schiffman (1996: 3) seems to be more acceptable as a working definition. However, the definition appears to have some drawbacks. First, the acceptance of a certain policy is the position taken by the state in terms of status and corpus of language either implicitly or explicitly. Second, language policy is carried out deliberately and purposefully to certain aims. The concern for language planning is implementation or realization of language policy and it should be mentioned that practical implementation can pass unobservable since some status seems to lack overt language plans. As the need of language policies it should be mentioned that taking a certain language policy. Either implicitly or explicitly, is conditioned by many linguistic and extra linguistic factors. Linguistic justification for language policies can be explained at different stages of development. Nations used to determine on one of the dialects and raise to the level of language by standardization. However, standardization of language should follow by its modernization. Otherwise, it may not meet the language requirements of the society. Linguistic purism is also a kind of language policy since it aims to control both internal and external sources of vocabulary. On the other hand, it would be too naive to expect these processes free of policies as these processes are heavily influenced by sociopolitical realities.

Corpus planning is carried out in France, Turkey and of former Soviet Union. The concerns on types of language policies are that two of them are widely practiced: overt and covert. Overt language is the de jure, which is explicit, formalized and codified while the covert language policy is the one which is de facto, i.e. implicit. The problem with these two types of language policy is that many researchers (and policy-makers) have considered the nominal value of the overt and explicit formulations and statements while ignoring what actually happen down in the field. The lack of overt language policy about a certain Language does not mean that the language lacks covert language policy as well. In continuation, having a covert language policy does not mean that language in that given country is neutral. For instance, there is no overt language policy regarding the English language. The language policy pursued in the United States may unlikely be thought to be neutral since minority languages have no other choice than be processed in the melting pot. Therefore, it is rather difficult to rely on overt statements since covert aspects of the society's culture are more defining. Thus, based on internal and external variables, nations adopt and pursue various language policy models though they are not always explicit. Moreover, in some cases, the implementation of certain models does not fit any of the models described in the literature. More often, language policy models differ from each other from the point of view of overtness or covertness, ideologies that they base on, motivations, etc. In this section, the aim is to analyze some of these and other issues. In some cases, language policy models are easily defined. For instance, French language policy is said to be centrist and reflects the nature of a centralized political system or the country as it promotes unilingual policy. On the other hand, as Schiffman (1996) mentions that the language policy of United States is laissez faire because it considers itself as a monolingual. However, a careful observation into the language diversity in US reveals

that the US is a multilingual nation. There has also been a case when a nation has tried to transplant a language model adopted and carried out by another nation. For instance, India, considering admittedly the multilingual character of the former Soviet Union, tried to implement the policy that was being carried out there but with very little success. However, the typology of language policy models would be too simplistic if models in transition were not considered. In other words, there can exist models that represent a sequence of policies and these policies may include ranging the autocratic centrist and the accommodational (even limited) policy. The existence of these three models in transition can be explained by three kinds or historical developments such as the autocratic and monarchic with it high 'democratic' with separation of powers and postmodern and postcolonial with emerging nations (Schifman, 1996, p.1).

On the other hand, it is not easy to typologies language policies due to some serious constraints. First, there can be (in fact is) a mismatch between a given polity and linguistic situation. Moreover, there can be a mismatch between the policies that stated and the one which is practiced. Such discrepancy may often be explained by the changes taking place in the society. One may also add here the fact that there can be nonconformity between languages policies and polities that the former has been designed for. Second, the existence of a certain type of theories on language policy may not be restricted to the features of local administration, nation states or provinces in a federal country as the researchers found in Russian Republic. Finally, it is also a fallacy to link language policy with various cultural or national developments. The review of literature shows that only a minimal literature focuses on language policy typologies. The reason for this can be explained by other factors and practical or economic considerations since in many cases language policies in multilingual

countries are framed in order to avoid ambiguities caused due to multilingual variance in population and also to achieve administrative efficacy in the state.

There is one more general point to be mentioned before addressing various views of language situations in multilingual situations. The issue of overall approach to language policy, by using the descriptive framework given by Kloss (1968), three overall approaches can be selected; the first of them is promotive versus tolerance paradigm. The policies that aim at promoting language or languages provide constitutional support and infrastructure/resources and specifying their domain of use. On the contrary, even though tolerance policy allows the use of language of language, they do not devote material resources, or they do not specify the domains reserved or it. The only advantage of the language is that it is tolerated, not banned altogether. There can be a mixed type of language policy when the minority language is tolerated and not to ensure smooth functioning of polity or bureaucracy. The second overall approach is based on egalitarian versus restricted paradigm. "This implies that some language policies may treat all minority languages equally without discriminating them and placing all citizens without exception on equal grounds. The last approach to language policies concerns jurisdictional limitations. As mentioned above, some policies may promote certain languages to he used in certain domains, but some other policies may just tolerate them. Legal rights may be preserved for some languages, while others may be deprived from such a legal protection. Thus, one can speak of two types of rights: personal and territorial. In other words, the government may give autonomy to the individuals to opt for specific language or languages in certain situations or territories.

2.15.1 Frameworks of LPP

Literature review reveals that language planning is considered to be on-going activity. This implies that the planners need to have a framework to follow. In fact, there is sufficient research done in this area: many models and frameworks have emerged during last five decades. In fact, Haugen seems to be one among the pioneers in the field. It was more than five decades when he presented his models (see Haugen (1966, 1969, and 1983). He was followed by many researchers who made great contributions to the theory and practice language policy planning. In fact, the last three decades of the previous century witnessed many interesting frameworks and models (see Fishman, Das Gupta, Jernudd and Rubin 1971; Ferguson 1968; Kloss 1969; Stewart 1968; Rabin 1971; Jernudd 1973; Chumbow 1987; Haarmann 1990; Cooper 1989; Neustupný 1974; Nahir 1984) Accordingly, new researchers found new impetus during the recent two decades of this century (see Spolsky 2004; Hornberger 2006). Many sociolinguists contributed to the theory of language policy or language planning with their valuable ideas. In this section, some of these ideas (in frameworks) will be touched upon:

2.15.1.1 Ferguson's Framework of LPP (1966)

Ferguson's (1966) approach seems to be corresponding with Stewart since, as Schiffman (1996) infers that it may be an initiative to see if the principles of sociolinguistic might be adopted for comparing different categories of policy. (p. 37)". Ferguson (1966) distinguishes between major languages (Lmaj), minor languages (Lmin) and languages of special status (Lspec).

According to his classification, a major language is the one, which is being natively spoken by more than twenty-five percent of the population or more than one million

people. Also, it must be an official language of the nation. The last criterion is that half of the student population belonging secondary school must have the same language in their education. These criteria seem to be somehow vague and not evident, if the language must meet all the criteria or just one of them to be considered as a major language. The applicability of these criteria may cause certain constraints with regard to small multilingual societies. But to verify or refute it, one may need solid empirical data. For Ferguson (1966), a language can be thought to be a minor one (Lmin) if 25 percent of the citizens speak with it, but by no less than 5 per cent or 100,000 speakers. Besides, it must be used as a medium of instruction above the first years of primary school (1 of 12). The main concerns for the languages that have special status is that (Lspec), they may not be refrained by not considering under the earlier mentioned features. It is also observed that such languages are used as medium to achieve the purpose of religion or literature, also, to be called a minority language, it must be extensively used by the local population and it must be used across the age groups of the specific population. Haugen and Neustupny's Framework of LPP (1966)

Haugen's (1966) model consisting of four stages (norm selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration) correlates with four aspects of language development from dialect to language. Meanwhile, the model suggested by Neustupny (1970) differs from that of Haugen's that emphasizes "language-cultivation" as a distinct stage in which it covers differentiations of registers based on appropriateness, correctness or acceptable style. As a matter of fact, Fishman (1974) finds the difference between views of Haugen and Neustupny (1970) reconcilable. It must also be mentioned that the model proposed by Haugen has widely been considered in the literature on language policy planning though new dimensions to the model have been

added. It is also interesting to note that Haugen seems demonstrate the new version that he proposed is in harmony with the distinction emphasized by Kloss that exemplifies the relationship bewteen status planning and corpus planning. Besides Cobarrubias (1983:5) explored the relations between Kloss's viewpoints and Haugen's framework".

2.15.1.2 Rubin's Framework of LPP (1971)

For Rubin (1971:221), evaluation is a "...process through which information might be provided to help determine which kinds of decisions seem to be the best of several alternatives." In all language planning activities, evaluation is important as it provides the variables and alternatives in fact-finding, planning and implementation. The evaluator can help in the planning process by seeking to "identify and construct alternative goals, strategies and proposed outcomes" (p. 222). The significance of language planning evaluation can be seen in several domains while it couldn't be done in a systematic way for any contexts. However, evolution of language planning must be clear and avoid vague conditions, (Weiss, 1966)

2.15.1.3 Stewart's Frameworks of LPP (1972)

Stewart (1972, 1968) also attempted to typologize multilingualism as there exists many common points between the typology given by Kloss and that of Stewart', the latter seems to be more detailed. Stewart's (1972) (1968) sociolinguistic typology that elaborates on the derivation of multilingual nature of a nation based on the certain features like Vitality, Autonomy. Historicity, and Standardization. The sociolinguistic typology also considers the seven variety of language (Pidgin, Artificial, Classic, Creole, Dialect, Vernacular Standard), and ten functions (Broad communication, School, Religious affairs, Literature, Capital, Formal/official communication, Group Educational, Global). The specification of degree and the usage of linguistic structures

in the specific communities of a nation pertaining to the number of speakers (The highest number of speakers is from Class I that comprises 75 percent of the population and the Class IV being the lowest comprises only 5 Percent) is the final factor of importance in Stewart's typology.

2.15.1.4 Cobarrubias's Framework of LPP (1983)

Cobarrubias (1983:5) seems to be quite pessimistic about Kloss's distinction and Haugen's model. In other words, the researcher believes that both Kloss's distinction and Haugen's model or even their combination fails to be effective in language-planning theory. He suggests that there is a need for well-confirmed hypotheses. In other words, a theory of language planning must consist of a set of hypotheses. Cobarrubias (1983) believed that the new paradigm would have explanatory power which is one of the crucial aims of language planning.

2.15.1.5 Neustupny and Jemudd's Frameworks of LPP (1983)

Neustupny and Jemudd extended their inquiry further to include the idea of 'language correction'. Neustupny (1983:1) outlines three important aspects of language correction: i) it provides a suitable framework for a theory which integrates language planning with grammatical linguistics; ii) the concept of correction allows the integration of micro linguistic and Macro linguistic approaches; and iii) the concept of correction implies that the ultimate location of all language problems lies in discourse. He further adds: "Language problems are not the abstract characteristics of language systems but a set of 'inadequacies' actually perceived in communication process", (Ibid: 3). Also, Jemudd and Neustupny (1983) divide the correction process into two types: the simple and organized correction types. The "simple correction" considers discourse of incorrect lexical selection, and "organized correction" stands in macro-

level. Thus, "organized correction" deals with a language system and "simple correction" deals with individual discourse

2.15.1.6 Schiffman's Framework of LPP (1996)

According to Schiffman (1996. pp.49-50) infers that in order to understand the categorization of policies, the researchers may focus on catalogue or the coherence (or lack of them) between the policy and sociolinguistic reality. In this regard, there may exist various configurations and the policies with a (near) perfect fit when monolingual speech communities have a monolingual policy. Also, there may be policies which concentrate only on registers of the H-variety while ignoring diglossic particularly L-variety as in Singapore. Among the policies, there can be ones that establish rights liar varieties that few users have any proficiency at, as it is the case in Finland for Swedish. Moreover, one can witness "policies that divide the H-registers between a 'local' language and a 'foreign' language, the latter having a long-standing domination over its registers by virtue of local consensually" (e.g. India) (Schiffman, 1996, p.49). Also, there are policies that place two (or more) H-variety codes on an equal basis, but, at the same time, ignore L-variety repertoires (e.g. Flemish in Belgium or French in Canada). In some cases, policies recognize territorial rights for certain languages, with gradience in the distribution of registers (and assumed repertoires) based on the size of the populations (e.g. the former Soviet Union). But, the argument that the gradience in the distribution was based on the size of the population, seems to be not very convincing since, some indigenous ethnic groups with more population than in some republics did not deserve being an official language in their territories. For instance, though the numbers of Tatars surpass Estonians, Lithuanians, or Armenians, they were only limited vial autonomous structure only. Finally, there are policies that monopolize all registers for one variety, ignoring the registers, and thwarting the development of

H-variety registers in competition with the monopolistic language (e.g. France). Thus, preference to a model can be explained by the amalgamation of various socio-political and psychological factors with various underlying ideological speculations. In other words, model choice may seem like an end product, but it might be very important to analyze the factors and approaches that led to the choice. However, the number of hooks or articles that attempts to thoroughly concentrate on the process, from the initial stage to the decision making, of the stages taken and ideologies followed are innumerous. Eastman's (1983) seems to be one among the first that covers all topics concerning language policy and language planning policies from the initial stage to its evaluation. This makes the work worth to treat separately.

Eastman (1983: 3) provides step by step procedure of language planning process that might lead to taking decisions in language policy of the community. The initial stage seems to be the one when the planner involves the gathering of data for making decisions about which language and languages are the best in certain situations which have to do with developing the technical tools for choosing among alternative decisions. Eastman (1983: 3) states that language planning should necessarily be future oriented since the idea in language planning is to enhance communication with and between nations to encourage feelings of national unity and group cooperation. However, the problem with such a formulation of the task is that it seems to scope only a limited number of tasks to adopt a certain language policy model. Some nationalistic ideologies seem to be overlooked.

Language policy decisions are taken by authorities, either governmental or with particular aims in mind. That concerns the role of language planners. "They have ethical and moral as well as linguistic obligations when they make recommendations

about whit call or should be done about the language" as Eastman (1983: 4) mentions. The ethical role in language planning, especially in status planning, is of great significance. This implies that language planners whose intention is to allocate or reallocate functions to a language in a speech community that are the sub products of existing historical and socio-political developments, rigorous decisions or planned changes that bear ethical responsibilities. It must also be mentioned that the allocation or reallocation of certain functions to certain languages are limited with status planning. In fact, assigning functions to specific languages conform with or conditioned by factors that lie beyond linguistics.

In fact, it is the extra-linguistic factors that lead to the change in language corpus to meet languages requirements to realize specific language functions. However, status-planning decisions are prerequisites for corpus planning. In other words, decisions concerning corpus planning are unlikely to take place before governments take status planning decisions. Concerning the agents of language policy planning, it needs to be mentioned that both individuals and institutions like language academies can be involved. In fact, the prerogative of language academies seems to be mainly the decisions on corpus planning whereas individuals are more involved in status planning. Accademia Della Crusca, was the first academy to deal with language planning issues that was founded in 1582 and its aim was to eliminate the impurities of language varieties (Cobarrubias 1983). It must be mentioned that since 1582, language purism, an important ingredient of language entrenchment, has been one of the focal points in most language academies or institutions whose main concern is to safeguard language purity. Also in most of the cases, "purifications" efforts have been focused on lexical elaboration of the language in question.

2.15.1.7 Spolsky's Framework of LPP (2016)

Language policy which takes the role of an interdisciplinary discipline is in close and direct contact with social sciences. Thereby, the national language policy of each nation is found to be the consequences of the complex interaction of political, cultural, religious, educational, and economic domains (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000). While Spolsky considers the time language policy came into existence, he (2004) proposes that four fundamental and co-existing factors will motivate the language policy of modern independent nation states. The four proposed factors are national ideology, the role of English as a global language, a nation's sociolinguistic situation, and an increasing interest in the rights of linguistic minorities. In a response and as a sort of reaction to what Spolsky (2004) proposes in terms of this theoretical model which he finds it necessary to be tested against actual cases, this research work tries to introduce Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) as a tempting and actual case.

First theory: For Spolsky (2009) the following four common and co-existing forces drive language policies at the national level:

  • National (or ethnic) ideology or claims of identity.

  • The role of English as a global language.

  • A nation's sociolinguistic situation; and

  • An increasing interest in linguistic rights within the human and civil rights framework.

Second theory: The relevant part of the addition to Spolsky's theory concentrates on non-linguistic pressures on language management in Portuguese and French colonies after independence. The gist of the theory revolves around the non-linguistic factors and the effects of colonialism or any other forces that controlled a nation and continue

to show up even after independence. Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) which is a state within a state (Bengio, 2012: ix) faced many internal and external obstacles during the initial transition of Iraq to a colonial state (Natali, 2005: 26) and continued till the beginning of the twenty-first century when Kurds had to cast off the sorry image and witnessed a profound transformation.

Third theory: It deals with what Spolsky himself calls self-management, an individual who modifies his or her language repertoire usually by learning a new language. It accounts for private language schools, and the way that some parents hire tutors for their children. In the case of Kurdistan, it is likely to be nonlinguistic problems that interfere with working out a satisfactory language policy (Spolsky, 2018).

2.15.2 Neo-classical Frameworks of LPP

Tollefson (1991, p.2) believes that the importance of language in human social organization is arbitrary' rather than inevitable. On the other hand, as language is deeply rooted in the socio-political and economic structure of the society, its importance seems quite natural, and language policies are considered to be the expressions of natural assumptions about language in a given society. Tollefson (1991) considers LPP as a mechanized factor that can be used not only for control of labour and but also for control of Male policy. Moreover, the importance of language policy is a basic key to grow the developed country (p.10). Tollefson (1991) approaches language policy from different angles including ideology and hegemony. He severely criticizes those who propose that learning one single language can be a common-sense solution to the communication problems of multilingual societies on the assumption that monolingualism can be seen as a solution to the linguistic inequality. In other words, he does not agree with those who argue that if the linguistic minorities learn

89

the dominant language, then they will not stiffer economic and social inequality. This can serve as an example of an ideology, which refers to normally unconscious assumptions that come to be seen as common sense since nowadays language policy is used to sustain existing power relationships, i.e., it is ideological. This might be true as language use affects the distribution of power. The other dimension is that Tollefson approaches to the question of language policy is hegemony (1991, p.16). According to him, since the notions like national identity, loyalty and patriotism are associated with certain language varieties; language is used for social division and social inequality. In other words, language policy planning grams political and economic power to people who speak the preferred variety, 'Thus, language policy is used as a mechanism to locate language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources and language policy is a mechanism through which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use.

Tollefson (1991, p, 22) uses two approaches in his research in terms of language planning ideology: (i) the neoclassical approach and (ii) the historical-structural approach. The most important difference between them is that while the former emphasizes individual's linguistic decisions and the latter emphasizes constraints on individual decision making. According to the historical-structural approach, language policy must be considered as a mechanism, which maintains the interests of the socio-political groups. Therefore, the main purpose in any policy may consider the concerns like the problems of policies and also identifying the mechanisms serving and undermining particular political and economic interests. This makes language-planning institutions an inseparable part of the political economy. What concerns explanations for language planning and policy decisions is, they may refer to a wide

range of historical considerations such as the country's role in the international division of labour the country's level of socioeconomic development, the political organization of decision making and the role of language in broader social policy. The historical-structural approach aims at finding out the reasons for different degrees and types of motivation and their effects on acquisition. It assumes that motivation is determined by broader socio-political factors including economic interests associated with different language varieties, ideological support for language learning and access to quality education. Therefore, the historical structural approach aims at focusing on analysis of conditions under which language come to be an identifying characteristics of a group or distinct linguistic groups to be transformed into a unified group to lose its identifying power. Besides, the constraints of the ideology of language upon planned attempts to change language structure and identifying the way how language groups perceive the role of language planning bodies, and what factors account for varying perceptions are but part of focal points if the historical-structural approach.

The guiding paradigm in language policy research, according to the neoclassical approach, is considering language planning as the generous arm of the state which serves the national interests and, consequently, the neoclassical theory misses altogether the role that language policy plays in exploitation. So, the best way to eradicate inequality created by language policy planning could be the commitment to democracy which means that the usage of mother tongue in such domains as at work mid in school. The distinguishing feature of this perspective is that it is absolutely different from the use of the mother tongue as an indicator of ethnicity that separates language from the questions of power and domination. On the contrary, when committed to democracy, language would be viewed as parallel to other social factors

(e.g. gender, race) which deserves legal protection by governments and thus become something to "measure social justice by the extent to which societies ensure that individuals may use their mother tongue for education and employment" (Tollefson, 1991: 2011).

2.16 Institutions and First Publications Leading to Language Planning

2.16.1 French Academy

As the subtitle implies, this section will deal with the role of language academies and also touch upon some seminal works that could be considered as milestones in the direction of language planning. One of these academies is French Academy (Académie Française), which was established in 1634. In fact, it has been functioning for almost five hundred years although it had to stop functioning for a short period of time during the French Revolution. The academy whose membership was restricted with just forty members was established to pursue the aim of maintaining "standards of literary taste and to establish the literary language". The academy was believed to be conservative and close to innovations in both literary content and form. It is also fact that the French Academy has enjoyed huge among European literary academies.

2.16.2 Turkish Linguistic Association

Our literature survey revealed that Turkish Linguistic Association (or Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti) which was founded in 1932 made significant contributions to the languages planning endeavors. In fact, two years later it was updated as Türk Dili Araştirma Kurumu. As ilker (2008) notes, reflecting "reflecting the society's interest in purging the Turkish Language of its numerous borrowed Arabic and Persian words, the institution undertook purposeful steps. Many years later in 1982, the society was made

subordinate to the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu whose mission is to 'oversee the cultural, linguistic, and historical societies'.

The scope of activities that the society has carried out include convening linguistic congresses, publishing the journal Türk Dili, preparing dictionaries and other works concerning Turkish and Turkic languages. Although the activities carried out by the society are approved by many scholars, there are also scholars who find them quite populist. The main argument here seems to be the fact that unlike similar societies in Turkey, "the activities of the Turkish Linguistic Society have not been led by scholars". It is also claimed that "The society has also been at the center of recurring and intense national debates over language reform, most recently over the degree to which vast numbers of neologisms… should be introduced into the Turkish language (often over the objections of many politicians and scholars)" (ilker, 2008:87).

Turkish language policy and language policy which involved all important stages, elements and procedures, can serve a good example. In fact, Turkish Language Reform, which "aimed at making the Turkish language at once a 'symbol of external distinction and internal cohesion' (Reagan and Schreffler, 2005:122), "Turkish language reform essentially consisted of two undertakings: the change of the script from Arabic to Latin, and the modernization and renovation of the lexicon (Doançay-Aktuna, 1995: 227). It is also a fact that, as Robinson (1988:3) mentions, "Language planning may affect all areas of language use but typically concentrates on the more observable ones". For instance,

"Turkish was written for centuries with the Arabic alphabet, which does not represent vowels. Since Turkish has eight vowels, writing with the Arabic alphabet was very

difficult, and, in the 1920s, Ataturk responded to this problem by mandating that Turkish be written using the Roman alphabet (p.3).

Another example for corpus planning is the policy of *The Turkish Linguistic Society* which "pursues the continued codification and standardization of Turkish through the elimination of Arabic and Persian influences" (Robinson (1988:4).

2.16.3 William Caxton (1422-1491) Printing Press

As was mentioned above, not only official organizations like language academies, but also individual men of letters, diplomats or writer's contributed significantly to language planning with their publications. One of such individuals was William Caxton who is believed to be the first to introduce a printing press into England in 1476. In fact, he, as a printer was the first English retailer of printed books (BBC, 2002). What makes Caxton different from his compatriots is the fact that unlike others, he published books not only in Latin, but Caxton also in English. The other point about him was the fact that in most cases Caxton's texts became the standard as there did not exists any spelling rules then.

2.16.4 Robert Cawdrey (1609) Alphabetical Table of English

Among the individuals who significantly contributed to language planning is believed to occupy a special place. In fact, the Alphabetical table which was published in 1604 is considered to be the first monolingual dictionary in English. In his table, Cawdrey provided headwords with their brief definition consisting of a few words or synonyms. Moreover, Cawdrey indicated the etymology of the entries. As a matter of fact, "Cawdrey added material to each of its three later editions (1609, 1613, 1617), ultimately to define over 3200 words, but did not vary his method". As Siemens (1994) rightly notes, although the Table may seem "small and unsophisticated by today's

standards, the Table was the largest dictionary of its type at the time and, when viewed in the full context of Early Modern English lexicography, it exemplifies the movement from words lists and glosses to dictionaries which more closely resemble those of today".

Cawdrey started working in this direction when he was as a schoolmaster and his main concern was didactic as he hoped to provide the meanings and fixed forms of the many difficult words that would be encountered both in the writing and the speech of the time. A closer look at his table shows that he borrowed his entries and methods including Latin-English dictionaries. The didactic passages were also taken from diverse sources. Concerning the registers, the scope of his sources covered religious, legal, scientific and literary domains. Some researchers believe that he should not be considered a complier of other researchers' information as "he brings to the Table the rationale of a lexicographer concerned with producing a unified, systematic, and usable work". Therefore, researchers believe that Cawdrey has put his imprint upon all the materials that he used as a source.

2.16.5 Wenker's Study of German Local Dialects (1887)

A German linguist Georg Wenker (1852 – 1911) was among the researchers in the past who deserves special treatment due to his contributions to sociolinguistics, especially dialectology. He was among the first linguists who started documenting geographical dialects in the late nineteenth century. In fact, he, as one of the pioneers in the field, contributed to it with "several groundbreaking publications, most notably, the Deutscher Sprachatlas".

The way he way he started to map the spoken dialect and the methodology he used deserves attention. He prepared a list off sentences in Standard German asked the

informants to transcribe in regional dialects. In fact, for ten years (1877-1887) Wenker managed to survey the whole country (45,000 entries). Each battery of his questionnaire consisted of forty sentences which was arranged with the principle of 'from simple to difficult'. His items "offered multiple points from which the local dialect could emerge".

According to researchers, the main problem with Wenker's project was the size of the corpus collected throughout Germany. To find a solution to this problem, had to "confine to analyzing the variation of only a small number of certain words and within a small area as well". On the other hand, he had a difficulty in publishing maps. As a result, he had to make maps by hand. Nevertheless, he continued collecting data even after his maps were published. In fact, it took more than forty years for his dream to come true. It was 1926 when his complete atlas was published.

According to the researchers, Wenker's data was rich in terms of phonological and word-structure information whereas they are "too limited in terms of lexical and syntactic variants". To sum up, it can be said that Wenker's project which terminated in 1956 resulted in in over 16,000 hand-drawn maps and his "pioneering work… set the foundation for many successors".

2.16.6 Joseph Wright's English Dialectal Dictionary (1896-1905)

Our final focal point in this section is The English Dialect Dictionary which was compiled by Joseph Wright (1855–1930) and Elizabeth Mary Wright (1863-1958). The most striking feature of this dictionary is that it is the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use. In fact, the compilation and printing partly funded by Joseph Wright, a philologist at the University of Oxford. Its content "was issued progressively as 28 parts in the six volumes with publication dates of 1898, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904

and 1905. As the researchers note, "due to the scale of the work … and the period in which the information was gathered, it is regarded… as a standard work in the historical study of dialect".

2.17 Issues Related to Language Planning and Policy (LPP)

2.17.1 Language Planning and Attitudes

Language has been regarded as a fundamental element of human society. Hence, language learning is argued by some scholars as an important part of human race; and the learning of language allows every individual to learn not only the uniqueness of the target language, but to also learn about its culture. Everyone speaks one language or the other and the language is used to communicate meanings to one another. Hence, in the process of learning new languages, there are rules one needs to abide with. The people understand the fact that every language has codes and signs, and these codes and signs are very important in order to be conversant with the target language. Notwithstanding, as scholars have argued in many language studies, learning a specific language is also an avenue to learn about the native speakers of the language.

In the contemporary world, English has become very prominent; in fact, it can be argued that it has become language of global communication. Across the globe today, English is used for mutual communication, and this has made the language have some linguistic hegemony over other languages to a greater extent. Learning a foreign language, it is essential to note that some factors are involved: the interest, attitudes, worry, learning result, talent, brilliance, personal identity, age etc. These important components should be observed while teaching and learning a foreign language. However, there is an important factor to be considered in language learning, that is, the attitude of the students.

In this regard, this study examines the attitude of the students towards learning as it comprises the language learning too. Essentially, it examines the Secondary English students of the Kurdish region of Iraq and their attitudes towards learning English are evaluated. In the process of achieving this, three components are brought under focus: the cognitive, emotional, and behavioural components. In addition, it examines the demographic status of the students in terms of their course of study, gender, year of study, and the attitude they display while studying English.

According to Kara (2009), the attitude of the students towards learning English plays a very prominent role on the student's achievements in learning and their character. Some scholars have concluded that the students who develop positive attitudes towards learning language perform excellently than those whose attitudes are negative towards learning.

Hence, erroneous idea prompts the students to develop negative attitudes towards learning and this includes, worry, low self-esteem, lack of confidence, lack of motivation, and nervousness (Victori and Lockhart, 1995). Alhmali (2007) opines that for some students, the efficacy of learning is to achieve higher academic grade and be successful in their exam. Even some teachers never consider the fact that the students should learn to know rather than learning to pass their exam. This situation has compelled the students to only develop the attitude of being successful academically even if at the end of their study, they have no idea of what they have learnt so far.

This has contributed to the student's negative attitudes towards learning foreign language. Some teachers have not developed the best strategy for students to learn with great interest and enthusiasm. But there is a need to look into the students' personality,

98

such as interest to learn, motivation, cognitive, behavior and the confidence developed towards learning. For example, Orafi and Borg (2009) explain about the situation in Libya's English curriculum which was developed in the year 2000; they opine that the curriculum brings about crucial development while comparing it to the old one.

In this sense, the curriculum must be suitable for the students' use. Orafi and Birg (2009) maintain that English must be appropriate for both teachers and students. Hence, this curriculum has not been used for its purpose because the curriculum does not depict the feelings and opinions of the teachers. However, the critical questions here is that how do some students have academic success in language learning than other students despite sitting in the same classroom and listen to the teacher? The issue of the students' attitudes towards learning a foreign language is brought under focus by Gardner (1985). He maintains that the attitude of students while learning a foreign language plays a very significant role in their performance; and this influences their behavioural and cognitive condition.

This section evaluates some existing opinions and texts regarding attitude towards language learning. Many studies have been carried out regarding attitudes of learners towards language learning (Alhami, 2007). Hence, the attitude of the learners plays a very important role in the way they are able to assimilate. Generally, every language has its own general rules that determine if the learners will be able to cope or not. In this sense, positive attitude towards learning is very crucial. Saidat (2010) infers that, in the past five decades, the attitudes of the students towards learning foreign language has seriously been brought under focus by many scholars and researchers. Hence, there have not been sufficient resources about this topic especially about Kurdish-Iraqi students. In order to develop healthy and rewarding interpersonal relationships among

the people, learning a foreign langue becomes very essential. In this regard, this study examines the learners' attitude towards learning English in secondary education of Kurdish Iraq.

The language psychologists have claimed that there are various definitions of attitude in different contexts and views (Alhami, 2007). According to the Planned Behaviour Theory of Montano and Kasprzyk:

Attitude is determined by the individual's beliefs about outcomes or attributes of performing the behavior (behavioral beliefs), weighted by evaluations of those outcomes or attributes. Thus, a person who holds strong beliefs that positively valued outcomes will result from performing the behavior will have a positive attitude toward the behavior. Conversely, a person who holds strong beliefs that negatively valued outcomes will result from the behavior will have a negative attitude (Montano and Kasprzyk, 2008:71).

Further, Gardner (1985) opines that attitude can be described as an evaluation that happens as a result of response based on some various actions and events that occur around and this is influenced by the belief that every individual has. Wende (1991) also gives a clear definition of attitude when he divides the term into three different segments: (1) Cognitive (2) Affective (3) Behavioural. The cognitive has to do with the opinion, idea, or standpoint about the attitude object. The affective has to do with the whim, intuition or feeling of an individual about an object that she or he may/not have interest in. The behavioural depicts the propensity to apply a specific learning behaviour or characteristic. Reid (2003) postulates that "Attitudes are important to us because they cannot be neatly separated from study" (33). Thus, attitude plays a very

crucial role in affecting language learning (Visser, 2008). Being successful in language learning does not only depend on the intelligence but the attitudes of the students towards learning. In this regard, it is very important to approach the learning process from the psychological and social angle rather than approaching it from the academic perspective. Kiptui and Mbugua (2009) claim that showing negative attitude towards learning English is related to the affective component in which the students' performance is affected by their psychological state that was reflected in secondary students of Kenya. Therefore, attitude determines the level at which students are going to learn the target language. If the attitude is negative towards learning, it is obvious the students are not going to succeed in their learning process. If the students have positive attitude towards learning, there is a high probability that the students will blend in the learning process as quickly as possible.

2.17.2 Language Planning and Ideology

In most cases, decisions in language planning have been guided by ideological (to some extend a technological) principles or in some cases lexical elaboration may be from "a major part of any policy's technological aspect since it is concerned with practical problems that affect the implementation of the plan's underlying ideology as expressed by language" (Eastman, 1983: 98) or new vocabularies not previously available in the planned language. However, the question that arises in this regard is whether the influx of technologies will go in pace with the creation of terminologies in the language, in many cases, unfortunately, technology is imported with its 'original' terminologies, nevertheless, modernization has been attached huge importance due to its ideological characteristics. Turkey's language reforms which aimed at both modernization and purification can be a good example. Turk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Linguistic Society, here forth TDK) formed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in

1932, charged educators with the task of language reforms impelling them to carry out an alphabetical reform as an initial step, and 'turkify' the language by getting rid of unwanted foreign element, since the guiding ideology was westernization numerous loan words of European origin were not subjected to discrimination.

Language policy implemented in the former Soviet Union may serve as another convincing example, guided by the ideology of Russification and how alphabetical reform was carried out as an initial step, the Central Asian Republics and Azerbaijan dropped their Arable script in favor of Latin, on the one hand. This decreases the literacy of local people of the Arab language, the language of Islam and to isolate literally Turkish nations. The next step was to get rid of the Latin script in favor of Cyrillic, which was thought to be a crucial point for achieving the purpose of Russification. In fact, it had far reaching consequences which will be dealt with in the consequent sections. Thus, the above-mentioned examples clearly index at two crucial aspects of language planning, (mostly, status planning). In fact, it is basically done by non-linguists, i.e., by politicians or those who were assigned to take top-down decisions. Moreover, the driven motivation was to take decisions that would conform to ideologies of elite class or, at least could be a reaction to the existing ideologies of the power elite and other constituent groups. In fact, two 'sides' have to be mentioned in this regard. One 'side' will be those who bear the responsibility for status decisions whereas the other one is the preferred approach regarding several groups of language which are influenced by them. However, even though there is a direct relationship between status planning decisions and ideological issues, it is rather difficult to propose a framework or a model that would conform to the ideologies that purport to provide explanations or predict various types of ideology impact on language change.

Despite the fact that it is ideologies that of the underlying influence on language policy planning, the issue has not been thoroughly investigated. The reason seems to be in the fact that exceptionally all language ideologies contain value judgments and are prompted by a specific approach or methodology that status planning decisions leads to ethical concerns. In this regard, some typical ideologies which deserve special treatment have been dealt with.

One of these ideologies is linguistic assimilation. The underlying meaning of this ideology is that t the speakers belonging to minority languages must be efficient while communicating in the native or dominant language and administration in the dominant language since it attaches the linguistic superiority. In such a situation, any deliberation on linguistic equality seems to be irrelevant. The ideology of linguistic assimilation seems to be prevalent in many places of the globe. The language policy implemented in the former Soviet Union is a good example for linguistic assimilation that resulted into many languages.

Language pluralism can be said to be the most democratic linguistic ideology since it implies 'peaceful' coexistence of various ethnic groups with their ethnic languages. Moreover, it implies that these ethnic groups have equal rights to maintain and develop their ethnic languages along with other groups. In other words, linguistic pluralism implies that every language should be treated as a separate and autonomous entity which deserves respect as much as other languages do. Literature review reveals various types or forms of pluralism depending on the top-down attitudes to them. There can be cases when the attitudes towards pluralism are neutral. In other words, they just tolerate their existence. There can be rare cases where pluralism motivated both morally and materially. It is very unfortunate that there can also be cases where

minority languages are limited in functions or completely prohibited. Vernacularization, a process of -restoration and elaboration- of a local language and its officialized statue and it is also widely practiced linguistic ideology. Under vernacularization, there can be several processes. In some cases, vernacularization, as a linguistic ideology, may revolve around a dead language or restoration of a classical language. In some other cases, it may promote the local or indigenous language as an official status and its standardization may follow. Numerous examples can be provided, but the most impressive one seems to be the revival of Hebrew wherein many existing languages today are under the threat of extinction. Finally, internationalization can be said to be linguistic ideology involving the adoption of wider communication either as an official language (as in some African or Asian countries) or as a language of linguistic globalization is displacing indigenous language from such an important domain as education. The spawn of universities or colleges with English as a medium of instruction in many parts of the globe is an evident fact. It would be interesting to investigate the impact that English makes on indigenous language in the domains of science and terminology in particular. The issue of linguistic ideology can be understood better if the issue of the official attitudes toward other languages including the languages of minorities in a given area were treated since it clearly shows how status planning issues are associated with political considerations. Many researchers, including Cobarrubias (1983), fond that the official attitudes play an important role. The reason behind it is not only the fact that a certain language is elevated to the rank of an official language. It is equally important that by obtaining the new status the local or indigenous language widens its domains of use. The official attitudes towards languages can be placed on the continuum ranging between 'attempting to kill a language' and "adoption as an official language'. Three

more official attitudes letting the language die'. -unsporting coexistence' and partial support of specific language functions come in between. Though the given taxonomy of official attitudes is not exhaustive, it can be modified and applied in analyzing various language situations efficiently. As it implies no matter what kind of ideology that the state or government bases its language policy on, no matter what official attitude toward a language is, no nation is empowered to control all languages. The reverse may also be true when every state or nation is empowered to control some language functions. This is usually explained by the fact that some linguistic rights (e.g. to speak any language at home) are natural, but while others (e.g. to use some languages in education in some countries) are contractual. In general, this means that the linguistic ideology is a combination of both restricted factual pluralism and contractually legalized assimilation. Thus, since contractual pluralism is better than natural pluralism, it is implied that natural pluralism is better than assimilation. There is a point that must be made clear. No matter what ideology the language policy model is based on, no matter how sensible the plan looks, no matter how much resources have been used. The language policy is unlikely be a successful if the community in question is reluctant to perceive the purposes and recommendations put forward by politicians or educators. Therefore, there is a need to evaluate the plan's guiding policy so that necessary corrections or modifications could be made as an on-going process. On the other hand, the status is dependent on many factors and many of these factors are beyond the competence of the planner. The role of a language is multifaceted. In other words, "the faces of language status are demographic, economic, cultural, social, political, and judicial" (Kachru, 1983:174), It goes without saying that effective language planning must be based on reliable information, comprehensive treatment of each alternative and predicting outcome that will appear during the course of language

policy implementation. However, one should clearly distinguish two different things: language policy planning and global consideration of all language changes. In other words, it must be acknowledged that "changes in language may be the result of many causes, only one of which can be called `planning'" (Rubin, 1983, p.329). Also, it would not be quite true to assume that language policy planning is being done by new or developing nations, whereas for the developed/older nations, there is no need for it.

In practice, language planning as an on-going process is being carried out irrespective of the age of democracy. Language planning legal acts taken by old Europe can serve as a good example. Moreover, it would be wrong to believe that language policy decisions are prerogative of multilingual communities. In fact, the great majority of societies, including monolingual, newly developed, developed and countries with classical languages started reconsidering the language situation vis-à-vis the status of minority languages. There were also attempts to modify their status or assign them different functions. Another aspect that can be observed in evaluating language planning is assigning new domains for them. For instance, education is one of these domains. However, it is not quite clear, if it is a part of official language planning or if it is a result of some spontaneous decisions. Such chaos seems to occur in young democracies. Otherwise, it is difficult to believe that, as it was mentioned before, the spawn of English medium universities and colleges is the result of thorough language policy planning by governments or educational authorities for such a situation is pregnant for unpredictable consequences for the indigenous languages. It is the education system, especially universities, whose role in transferring knowledge and technology (terminology and scientific jargon) should not be underestimated. If we assume that language is not static or permanent, language in it is inevitable. Since

changes are inevitable, there is a need to reconsider language policy decisions permanently. In other words, language planning and language change must be closely interrelated. As Ferguson (1983: 32) mentions, "efforts devoted to language planning and studies of language-planning processes have generally been well separated from systematic studies of language change". Two clear-cut directions can be observed in this regard. On the one hand, language planners seem to be impatient with their attempts to make sense of the processes vis-à-vis language change focus on the impacts of language planning. It is also true that fundamental research of language change has made the process of language planning doubtful. This is supported by the assumptions that language planning attempts were far away being appropriate to the ultimate changes taking place in the language change. There are researchers who find language planning useless unless it affects language change. All these imply that there are some problems with the epistemology of the field of language policy planning. In other words, the process itself (the theory of language change) has not been grounded since it fails to allow us to see the outcomes of language planning process.

Thus, Ferguson (1983) approaches the question from two perspectives. One of them concerns planning in planning in the speech community while the other one is planning in language itself. The first perspective is considering the changes that have been observed in the language situation in societies that speak English in various ways throughout history whereas the second perspective can be exemplified as studying the structure of the varieties of language dealing with the most general classification of language change. Ferguson (1983: 34) mentions a two-field division which were discussed in the previous centuries. Accordingly, all changes are (a) exceptionalness of sound laws that take place in language; (b) loan words which source from one of

the dialects of the same language or from a different language. The matter is that this view has been criticized despite the fact that it could serve as a guide for research studies or it could be used as a framework for further analysis. The researcher has considered briefly Labov's (1972, 2000) classification of changes from above and changes from below. Orthographic, or other change as Ferguson (1983: 34) mentions, thus, Ferguson (1983) mention two types of language change one of which is allocating functions to language whereas the other one concerns language structure itself. Consequently, they can be looked at the same two perspectives. On the one hand, one can plan changes in the Functions or the use of different varieties within the speech community (status planning). Ferguson (1983:39) believes that there is a need for LPP. In this regard, he finds two strategies useful. The first one is taking language planning actions right away when a significant problem is detected, and later our actions can be monitored. The second strategy could be analysing recent cases of language planning and only after that interpret outcomes and use the further language planning activities. In fact, for each of these strategies, the processes of planning and change are learnt directly. What concerns is the classifications of language functions defined by UNESCO and one can observe ten categories of them. Referring to Eastman (1983: 5), they can be summarized briefly as follows: (i) Indigenous language, (ii) Lingua franca, (iii) Mother tongue, (iv) National language, (v) Official language, (vi) Pidgin language, (vii) Regional language, (ix) Vernacular language, and (x) World language. It must also be mentioned at the outset that official language policies are often based on decisions about what languages are to be designated as national, official, and world languages whereas the other language situations arise instinctively or naturally. Thus, as it is observed above, three components of language policy planning are observed: (1) the policy to be followed; (2) the choice of language or languages to which the

policy relates, and (3) the evaluation of both policy (in all its aspects) and choice. Conclusively, the evaluation of a language policy is an on-going procedure that starts when a plan has been put into effect. What makes it on-going procedure is the fact that the changes can be made wherever necessary. These changes may be necessitated by the need to revise the orthography, update the vocabulary, extend the standard or any other language to wider areas than previously, and make some changes in a language for ease in printing.

2.17.3 Language Planning and Religion

Language planning policy has an intrinsic connection with all cultural diversities and religious domains. Although language is the factor of communication, it can be seen in connection with religion and this enables the case and role of language to be broader. Liddiocat (2012) argues that in the religious domain, language is often viewed as having more than a communicative function and languages themselves may have the status of holy artifacts. This attribution of holiness plays a significant role in language planning for religion. In addition to the crucial role of language in religious activities, it can be seen that the attribution of language and religion is a center of formation of community and identity. Salway and Rotta (2018) believe that the right to maintain and develop an identity, including the use of language and the practice of religion, is also recognized in international law as a fundamental pillar of protection for national minorities. All religions have a language associated with them and the acquisition of that language plays a part in the practice of that religion though God is believed to be omniscient. In the relation to language and religion, the concept of "language holiness" emerged. Arabic language is the language of Islam, and this stamen crossed the borders of nations and communities to deal with this language as the holly language i.e., language and its' alphabet, right, practice, grammar and use leads to generalization of

the language. Such language is revered as holy languages due to this association. However, they became unintelligible to the laity who spoke the languages of the masses. Contrary to the researchers' expectations, it tightened the grip of the holy language in its original form over its associated religion. Understanding a religion involves learning its associated language in most cases (Saraswathi, 2020).

Regarding the language planning and policy and religion in Arab world, it may be seen that the Arabic language becomes an abstract language used in the areas under the Islamic authority, especially in the religious field. Consequently, the local languages had lost their position, especially in the religious sphere. As the result of following Islam by Kurds, the Kurdish language became one of those languages. However, the Kurdish language was not up to the level of expression of the religious sacredness, or what we talked about and called it "language holiness". Kurdish political discourse, which represents a system of independent Emirates, had not been able to progress an internal religious heritage which depends on the local language.

To Support the idea that Lashkry (2015) developed, it is seen that with the advent of Sufism and spread among the Islamic societies - including the Kurds - changed the status of languages in the religious sphere. In the next section of the current chapter, it is ascertained that, Kurds, in the Hawraman region, follow this kind of Sufism, and they do not use Arabic language in their religious practices, therein, they express their Sufism beliefs in their native language Hawrami and in the frame of "Shyikhana Songs" and they carry out all their speeches, ideas and beliefs in this language.

2.17.4 Language Planning and Multilingualism

Kloss (1968) was one of the first sociolinguists to provide a complete description of multilingual communities which can he used as framework in analyzing language

situation of a specific community. According to his definition, speech community is the community which native-mother language used as daily language by at least 97 per cent of population. Kloss (1968) distinguishes three major types of mother tongues as i) monolingual type; ii) hi/trilingual type and iii) multilingual type.

One of the variables in describing multilingual communities is the several of varieties used by people. Kloss (1968) finds no relationship in-between the government and people based on this, he categorizes four types, namely, (a) fully monolingual citizenry, (h) diglossic citizenry, (c) bilingual citizenry, and (d) tri/multilingual citizenry. What concerns the second and the third tongue is, they can be featured by voluntary activities (without any pressure by explicit reasons to apply it or them), and proceeding with functions of the diverse (i.e., various elements of various verities). Further, National Core Community can be of various types. For instance, there can be a bilingual community with an only one official language or one numerically inferior community. Besides, there may be cases when someone appreciates language policy in any circumstances.

Kloss (1968) also has dealt with the types of personal and impersonal bilingualism as very important descriptors. Personal bilingualism, in its turn, can be observed in three main forms as i) unnatural bilingualism (which emerges as a result of mixed marriages or neighbourhood); ii) voluntary bilingualism (which emerges as a result of private effort, and iii) decreed bilingualism (which is forced by the state. Against the population); impersonal bilingualism occurs when things not people are bilingual (e.g.: application forms, postage stamps, official public notices).

Thus, legal status of languages is also important descriptors in describing multilingual communities in delaying with legal status, it is important to define if the language is official/national language for the whole state or if it is promoted in education or other domains. In addition, it is important to find out if it is tolerated or prohibited by the authorities and the argument of population involved. There can be cases when the language spoken by certain segments of the population.

2.18 Some Remarks on LPP and the Impact of Globalisation

According to Philipson (2003), being an integral part of social that all states engage - when creating societal conditions that permit some languages to thrive and cause others to die on; and when ratifying human rights instruments in which language rights are specified (p. 13)". Though many governments do not have a special committee or a department to deal with language policy issues, most of them are involved in decisions that affect language policies. This can be under the pretext of culture by pursuing a policy to maintain and foster the national heritage, and to create films, music, and literature in local languages in the face of change, internationalization, and increasing commercialization. The same can be said about commerce (e.g. using different languages), foreign affairs (e.g. promoting the national language abroad), education (e.g. using certain languages in schools or universities) and research (providing the scientific community with the competence of certain languages or communicating scientific findings in the local languages. Phillipson's (2003) main concern seems to be the unstoppable expansion of the global language at the expense of others and dooming the world into monolingualism. Moreover, such an expansion is not quite natural. Phillipson believes that it has led to the consequences of narcotic power but it is not yet evident. "As with the drugs trade, in its legal and illegal branches, there are major commercial interests involved in the global English language

industry" mentions Philipson (2003, p.16). Although English serves the cause of international communication relatively well, and brings success to its users, it can also cause a threat to other languages and cultures. It is a key to many opportunities due to its socio-political and economic power. It is contradictory enough that the great majority of the world population does not know English at all, many decisions affecting the entire world's population are taken in English. The world moving towards monolingualism or trying to establish the ideology of language hegemony or dominance are not the phenomena or dream that appeared all of the sudden. Phillipson (2003, pp.7.48) provides a through treatment of the history of language policy decision-making process with heavy reliance on the guiding ideology. Another point to make in this respect is that English is not the only language to enjoy linguistic superiority since there existed ideologies glorying French, Spanish, or Russian in different periods of their history. However, scientifically, any language has the potential to serve any purpose, provided it has enough extralinguistic power (socio-political and economic) since there is no direct link between the use of language and its structure.

Phillipson (2003, p.69) suggests that fundamental language policy is an integral part of general social policy which should be seen language as a resource, but not as a problem. Besides, the right for language must be a fundamental human right. On the other hand, the state has to facilitate, coordinate, and initiate strategies geared to the promotion and protection of the language rights of the citizens of the country. Not coercion, but persuasion, encouragement, and incentives are considered to be the appropriate policy stances in the highly sensitive area of language practices and language usage. It must also be assumed that no language is superior to any other and

such issues, a language policy development and implementation are time consuming endeavors. Moreover, one should also bear in mind that implementation involves not just the allocation of huge resources. For instance, although France spends a figure of $1 billion a year on various schemes to promote French culture and language, French will unlikely pretend to position itself as a language of globalization (Phillipson, 2003, p.69). Moreover, the English language already second in importance to British economy after North Sea Oil, and the income generated in education and language services in the UK is estimated at 13 billion euros (Philipson, 2003, p.77). Such trends can be observed in all spheres including research, science, culture, and education. This means the Expansion of English takes place at the expense of other languages removing them from their natural habitat. As a matter of fact, having become less 'foreign' in various parts of the globe, English has acquired internal functions. For instance, English has become not only a compulsory lesson among schools' subjects, but its relevance has to be elevated into higher and further education. Moreover, Proficiency in English is required for many types of employment even in the local job market. It is evident that the entertainment sector is being engaged in importing and accommodating English let alone political elite who seem proud to increase the influx of loan words. Such an expansion of the language of globalization forced those who favor linguodiversity and protection of local languages to propose counterbalance language policies. The ecology of language paradigm can be seen as a result of the tension between expansionist and resistance language policies.

Thus, the two paradigms are believed (Philipson 2003:161) to differ in many ways. Firstly, the Diffusion of English is believed to base in monolingualism and linguistic genocide. In continuation, Ecology of language paradigm is based on multilingualism

and linguistic diversity. Therefore, the former promotes subtractive learning of dominant languages, but the latter promotes additive foreign/second language learning. Secondly, the Diffusion of English emphasizes on linguistic, cultural and media imperialism while Ecology of languages paradigm emphasizes on equality in communication. This might be the reason that the Diffusion of English advocates for Americanization and homogenization of world culture but, Ecology of Languages paradigm advocates for maintenance and exchange of cultures. Thirdly, the Diffusion of English paradigm stands for ideological globalization and internationalization (i.e. capitalism and hierarchization), however, Ecology of Languages paradigm stands for ideological localization and exchange (i.e., economic democratization). Finally, the Diffusion of English paradigm is believed to aim at rationalization based on science and technology whereas Ecology of Languages paradigm at human rights perspective and holistic integrative values. It must be mentioned that the mentioned above comparisons are not comprehensive since there are other dimensions that comparisons can be carried upon. The proposed paradigms with parameters can be used as a conceptual framework to analyze many dilemmas and complexities of language policy in various contexts.

2.19 Language Planning Policy Practices in the World

2.19.1 Classical Language Planning Policy Practices

2.19.1.1 Norwegian Language Planning

As our literature survey reveals, Norwegian language policy is one of the most frequently referred language situations. One of the reasons for this seems to be the fact that it can serve a model to reflect the whole epistemology of language policy planning. Thus, when Norway regained its independence in 1814 from Denmark after four centuries in 1814, there was a typical diglossic situation in Norway in terms of both

115

languages and regional dialects. In other words, the language situation in the country could be characterized: Danish as the H language and a range of Norwegian dialects as the L varieties, but no standard Norwegian language. As with other typical contexts, educated people and the elite class used Danish in formal situation (with their Norwegian accent) whereas uneducated people and those who lived in rural places used various Norwegian dialects. Under such conditions, the Norwegian government had two alternative routes: either to use standard Danish as an official language or create a standard Norwegian based on various Norwegian dialects. From economic perspectives, using Danish was advantageous since there would not be any need to spend a huge sum of material resources to codify grammars or dictionaries. However, from the symbolic perspective, it would be unacceptable to use Danish, "the language of H domains and of the 'oppressors' from whom Norway had gained independence". Thus, the Norwegian language planners faced a dilemma that would have symbolic and economic consequences.

Choosing Standard Danish would not be easy as it was not used widely for informal interaction. Moreover, people's attitudes towards Danish negative. stile. "On the other hand, choosing a variety from among the regional Norwegian dialects raised problems relating to the form and new functions required of a standard language" (Holmes & Wilson, 2017). In short, the Norwegian government would have to select a dialect to codify and define elaborate it functionally. In fact, it would require huge work, let alone dealing coping with people's attitudes.

As Holmes & Wilson (2017) note, Norwegian language planners undertook two approaches to develop the standard Norwegian variety. One of them was selecting "a variety based on Danish, with some orthographic and morphological modifications

based on educated urban Norwegian speech". In fact, this variety resulted in Bokmål. The other approach was creating a standard Norwegian variety which was based on quite a wide range of local (Norwegian) regional dialects. Initially, it was called Landsmål which means language of the country, but later it was renamed as Nynorsk which means 'new Norwegian'. The latter choice "which involved amalgamating features from several dialects, is the most intriguing from a linguistic point of view".

Concerning narratives on Norwegian language planning and attitudes towards it, it can be noted that the issues concerning language standardization became the center of hot debates and contradicting voices. In fact, "no standard of spoken Norwegian is officially sanctioned, and Norway still has a wide range of dialects". What can be observed now is that "the high status of Norwegian dialects is reflected in the standardization principle for Norwegian Nynorsk spelling that favours forms which are widespread in spoken Norwegian". In other words, "the two written standards of Norwegian have their own separate standardisation, and the long-term goal of Norwegian language politics is no longer the fusion of the two standards into one".

In order to have a clear picture of the present language situation, there seems to be need to brief specific reforms carried out during the recent century on of which is the 1927 reform which "was the starting point for the implementation of the long-term goal of Norwegian language planning in the 20th century: to fuse the two written standards into one". The draft proposal which was backed by the government caused hot debates in the parliament. Although it was adopted after "the government had to threaten to resign in order to get a majority of votes in favour of the reform", the spelling reform "was quite popular with the public". In fact, it is one of the milestones in Norwegian language planning. This spelling reform was later followed by two

reforms in 1938 and in 1959 both of which aimed at fusion of the two varieties based on spoken Norwegian. To reach this language planners introduced two-level hierarchy of spelling in the 1938 reform, for both varieties and made them "compulsory for public administration and teachers in school, whereas the subordinate forms (in brackets) were allowable for pupils in school and the general public". Besides that, they identified subordinate which were typically forms common to both. In fact, the subordinate forms represented spoken Norwegian to a greater extent.

Inauguration of the Norwegian Language Council (NLC) in 1972 can be an important event. Its advisory board "had broad representation from both non-government language organizations and academics from Norwegian universities. It aimed "to seek consensus in the field of language politics and language planning". As a matter of fact, the idea of fusion of Norwegian Nynorsk (NN) and Norwegian Bokmål (NB) was officially abandoned in 2002 and three years later, a new Language Council of Norway which can be characterized as a governmental expert body under the Norwegian Ministry of Church and Culture was established. It had "had a broad range of tasks in the field of language politics, including language in the Norwegian public sector, in schools, in higher education, and in the private sector and business". Among the scope of this council are working on with lexicography, terminology, dictionaries for school use and making minor spelling changes in both Norwegian Nynorsk and Norwegian Bokmål.

One of the most recent reforms taken in the Norwegian language policy was the one which was taken in 2005 Norwegian Bokmål. In fact, it abolished the two-level hierarchy adopted in 1938 and seven years later, the two-level system was also abolished in standard Norwegian Nynorsk. As "the methodology used in the 2012

reform was new to public, …the board of experts who planned the reform did not only include learned scholars from the field of Norwegian linguistics, but also members representing schools and the media". On the other hand, thanks to digitization initiatives in the country, the collected rich empirical data which formed the basis of a reform aiming at reducing spelling variants". Moreover, as Holmes & Wilson (2017) notes, "the process included consecutive public response, both during the working process of the expert board and in an extensive public hearing on the final recommendation". In general terms, it can be said that both 2005 Norwegian Bokmål standard and the 2012 Norwegian Nynorsk standard include spelling variants. But, the "main standardisation principles for both Norwegian Bokmål and Norwegian Nynorsk in today's Norwegian language planning include stability, tradition, and uniformity and user friendliness in addition to usage".

2.19.1.2 Hungarian Language Policy

Hungarian language policy differs from many other countries. What makes it different is the fact that Hungary has a covert language policy. In other words, the official status of the Hungarian language is not stipulated by the Constitution of the country. Moreover, Hungary does not have any comprehensive language law. In fact, there lack any law which would prescribe its use in state administration. On the other hand, there specific provisions which regulate the use of Hungarian "on consumer protection and advertisements" or in "economic advertisements, shop trade-signs and communiqués of public interest". These specific language acts even emphasis the importance of using Hungarian in advertisements or in the public space. For instance, one can read in the preamble of the 2001 Act on the presentation in Hungarian of economic advertisements, shop trade-signs and communiqués of public interest:

> *"The Hungarian language is the most important manifestation of our national existence, it expresses our national affiliation and constitutes the most important vehicle of Hungarian culture, science and information.*

> *This is why its protection, its transmission to our descendants, the preservation of its adaptability and themaintenance of a sound linguistic environment constitute the common responsibility of the present generations."*
> *(Hatoss: 2006)*

The 2001 Act also states that "its provisions do not affect commercial advertisements and inscriptions formulated in one of the minority languages in settlements where the given linguistic minority has established a minority self-government". More specifically, minority languages are regulated by the given act on the rights of national and ethnic minorities in a comprehensive way.

Our literature survey on Hungarian language revealed the fact that only less than half of the population living in the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy spoke Hungarian as his/her native language before WWI and this was a serious hurdle for establishing a Hungarian-language administration politically and linguistically. When the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed, "the still multilingual Hungarian Kingdom reorganised itself with an exclusive Hungarian-language dominance". As it is noted by Hatoss (2006), "the supplanting of minority languages from public life was raised to the level of conscious state policy". One of the facilitating factors here was "the fact that the minority communities living now in Hungary had generally left their original home region before the development of a standard literary language…" On the hand, voluntary and involuntary relocations facilitated the process of assimilation of the minority languages. In fact, due to relocations, minority communities were destroyed, their identity was weakened, and all these realities accelerated their assimilation process. In fact, there were certain attempts to recognize some rights and seemingly supports in intergenerational transmission and "the development of an educational basis, cultural assimilation and the diminution of the role of minority

languages continued". As a result, most minority communities admit dual or multiple ethnic identities. In other words, "their ties to the Hungarian culture and language are as strong as (or sometimes stronger than) their original nationality ties".

2.19.1.3 Turkish Language Reform

As it was mentioned in the previous sections, during the pre-republican, i.e., during the Ottoman Turkish period, there was a diglossic situation in the country. On the one hand, there was High Turkish which was used by the palace and the elite which was not intelligible for the absolute majority of the population (Osmanlıca) and the low variety of Turkish, which was used by uneducated majority, on the other. Ottoman Turkish was the variety used "as the administrative and literary language of the Ottoman Empire". This situation could not be tolerated by the young Turkish republic and in 1928, Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk initiated language reforms which was accepted by people as a revolutionary act. As was mentioned before, the Reform concerned status planning, corpus planning and language acquisition planning. In fact, a closer look at the activities carried out during that period, one could observe the elements of prestige as well: there were activities which were directly oriented towards elevating the prestige of the Turkish language. The starting point for the reform was replacing the Ottoman Turkish alphabet was replaced with a Latin alphabet which aimed at served political, spiritual and other ends. In terms of corpus planning, the Turkish Language Association (TDK) which was established in 1932, initiated "a language reform to replace loanwords of Arabic and Persian origin with Turkish equivalents". A bilingual Ottoman-Turkish/Pure Turkish dictionary which published by TDK in 1935 documented the results of the reform. The reform in corpus planning concerning purification activities executed serious impact on language use. People could easily guess the age of the speaker referring to the vocabulary that he or she

uses: older people tend to use words of Arabic or Persian origin while younger generation used either 'pure' Turkish words, or words of European origin. It is also a fact, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's speech to the new Parliament in 1927 which used a style of Ottoman "translated three times into modern Turkish (1963, 1986, 1995).

As was mentioned in the previous sections, corpus planning or language modification is an ongoing process, therefore, "the past few decades have seen the continuing work of the TDK to coin new Turkish words to express new concepts and technologies as they enter the language". Due to the process of linguistic globalization whole language is English, most of these words, especially information technology terms, originate from English.

2.19.1.4 German Language Planning

Germany is a typical example of a nation state which is both conceptually and institutionally monolingual. In fact, according to a survey carried out in Germany in 2008, 90.2% of respondents had German as their sole mother tongue (Eichinger et al. 2009, 54). In fact, German is dominant in education, administration, politics, the judiciary, in short, in all spheres of life. Another tendency is trying to give strong preference to the standard variety and trying to use regional as little as possible. That must be one of the reasons why "dialectal competence gradually decreases from older to younger age groups" (Eichinger at al. 2009, 14-15). In other words, regional dialect (or regiolect) converges into the articulation norm of the standard variety (Schmidt 2017, 108). Researchers believe that "due to the devaluation of the dialect, as well as to the extensive spread of the standard variety, more and more people from 1970 onwards acquired the standard variety as their first language and thus 'inner

multilingualism' … has shrunk increasingly in favour of 'monovarietal competence' Schmidt 2017, 134). They claim that "there have always been other languages".

At the time when the state was founded, groups of people with different cultures, different traditions and different languages already lived in certain areas of the German territory. In the course of the establishment of the state and of the nationwide unification on the linguistic level, "the speakers of these languages came to be perceived as linguistic minorities and gradually shifted to the use of German" (Stevenson et al. 2018-17). Researchers identify four autochthonous minority languages and one regional language: (1) Danish; (2) Frisian; (3) Sorbian; (4) Romani; and (5) Low German. It is not quite clear here why Low German is indicated as a language rather than a German dialect.

In terms of language management, one can speak of a few subsidiary laws which indicate the official status of the German language. For instance, "Paragraph 23 (Section 1) of the Administrative Procedure Act stipulates German as the language of public administration" whereas Paragraph 184 (Section 1) of Courts Act "states that German is the language used in court". In fact, "the role of German is not mentioned in the Constitution" which implies that they carry out covert or de-facto language policy. This absence is also explained by researchers referring to the fact that "the dominant position of German is perceived as normal and unnecessary to mention" (Marten 2016, 145). Another reason seems to be the fact that "during the time of National Socialism there was substantial ideologically motivated abuse of language and language policy in order to manipulate the population, obscure atrocities and assert claims of power over neighboring countries". Finally, it was assumed that in the federal Germany any individual citizen enjoyed "cultural sovereignty … with regard

to legislation in the field of culture and education". Laakso et al. (2016, 67) believe that this system of 'predominance of the principle of territoriality' makes it impossible to have a single language policy.

Marten (2016: 145) characterizes the German policy as "laisser-faire" or non-interventionist regarding language legislation. It is believed that "this attitude is in evidence not only at the official level, but across the population as a whole".

It is believed that "only the autochthonous minority languages benefit from special regulations aimed at their protection" since most regulations focus on minority languages rather than the majority language. In other words, Article 3 of the Basic Law forbids discrimination based on someone's language. On the other hand, both the Federal Election Law and the Law on Political Parties … include "passages that single out the national minorities for special treatment". His especially true when the international and European level obligations taken by Germany is considered. Researchers find two of them utmost important. One of them concerns the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the Council of Europe. There is the also European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages which includes commitment of towards their minority languages.

Besides these regulations concerning the national minorities, there are minority-specific laws. For instance, there is a Law which recognizes Frisian and its use on bilingual town signs. Moreover, Paragraph 184 of the local bylaw gives Sorbs the right to use their mother tongue in court within the regions of Sorbian population.

In terms of corpus planning or language modification, there is an official regulation in the area of Orthography. In order to effectively manage with issues like this, the Council for German Orthography which consisted of 41 members from 7 countries has been set. All members were from language-related fields and represented different social spheres. Among the scope of the Council's functions are observing the development of written language and language change, proposing adjustments, creating the wording of the regulation, etc. It should also be noted that such aspects of the language as grammar or lexis are not controlled or regulated by any public authorities.

One of the areas that needs language-related regulations for Germany is the issue of immigrants, more specifically the process of their naturalization and acquisition of German by the immigrants. In fact, there are provisions both for and children. For instance, Article 43 states that "courses should offer foreigners an introduction to the language, legal system, culture, and history of Germany". Moreover, Article 44a "stipulates compulsory attendance in cases where a foreigner who is eligible to attend is not able to communicate orally in a simple way in the German language". Although there are also a few regulations concerning the heritage languages, the learning and the teaching of these "languages are often seen by majority language speakers and by policy makers as obstacles to integration and as a threat to the national identity".

2.19.1.5 Tanzanian Language Planning

Our choice of the Tanzanian language policy planning justifiable referring to the fact that "the Tanzanian experience is a typical case that illustrates how language policy and planning is a site of struggle - for cultural influence, economic dominance, and political control" (Rugemalira 2013:111). As a matter of fact when carrying out

purposeful intrusions into language management in multilingual situations, "it is neither practicable nor desirable for the state to nurture and promote all languages spoken within its borders, as advocated by human-rights protagonists (Mkude 2002:76).

Rugemalira (2013:112) believes that when examining "the case of the Tanzanian struggle for linguistic independence in this wider perspective," … it is important "to determine the extent to which this national struggle has been swept up into the global forces of neoliberalism"… "and why multilingualism should fall victim to these forces".

A very brief insights into the historical background enable us to state some important points especially chronological timelines. Thus, Germans ruled Tanzania first (1985-1919) it was handed over to British after the First World War (1919-1961). roughout (1990-1963). Therefore, it is believed that "it was English rather than German that got entrenched as the language of power pitted against Swahili, the language of wider communication, and about 150 other ethnic community languages" (Rugemalira 2013:114). This was quite obvious in both the decisions and practices vis-à-vis the language of government administration and education. It is also believed that "the Germans made considerable use of Swahili in administration and the education system whereas the British run an English administration and education system with only slight concessions to Swahili in both sectors" (Rubagumya 1990; Qorro 2012).

The establishment of the Inter-territorial Swahili Language Committee in 1930 to co-ordinate and harmonize the development and use of the language across the British East Africa territories… was one of the most significant steps in language planning

(Rugemalira 2013:115). In fact, a triglossic language situation had already been established by the time of Tanganyika's independence in 1961 and its union with Zanzibar to form Tanzania in 1964. The post-independence experience can be characterized with "the establishment and arguably a strengthening of i) the position of English vis a vis that of Kiswahili, and ii) the position of Kiswahili vis-a-vis that of the ethnic community languages" (Rugemalira 2013:116).

When dealing with manifestations of a language policy, it should be mentioned that, as a rule, the policy aims at giving the desired direction of change in the language use in the society and working out the strategies that would enable that change. As a matter of fact, the policy constitutes the basis for framing laws and regulations.

Concerning government practices in this direction, there is a need to mention the declaration of Swahili as "the national language and also official language in conjunction with English". It is argued that "the 'national language' title is empty of content when juxtaposed to the 'official language' title" as "....a national language is the official language of government and public affairs". In other words, "if a national language shares its official position with a 'foreign' language then a justification for the situation ought to be provided in a language policy that also sets out the roadmap for the eventual removal of that foreign language from its usurped position". From this angle, it can be claimed that Tanzania lacks such policy. Another problematic issues here is that, if we understands a national language as something having its cultural roots among the people of that nation and so it is also used as an official language, in that sense we need to talk about more than one language for triglossic Tanzania. In practice this implies that Swahili's which functions as a national language may systematically replace other languages in various domains. This, in fact, received

127

negatives connotations from various languages. On the other hand, as Rugemalira (2013:119) notes, "it became a matter of pride for the younger generation to speak Swahili rather than the Ethnic Community Languages (ECLs). In fact, knowledge of Swahili has become an indication of literacy and it started competing with English and ECLs and 2012 census reaffirmed the fact that the ECLs were suppressed.

Language use for political purposes was especially obvious during the election companies when political parties need to express their attitudes towards language-related issues. For instance, according to the election rules, only Swahili could be used as a campaign language and there is necessity to use an interpreter in situations then the audience do not understand Swahili (Section 2.1k).

According to Blommaert (2002), there is 'a single historical thread… to the 'development' of Kiswahili (Kiswahili is the name of the language and the word 'Swahili' is an adjective-MY)" and "all… that resulted in a larger spread, an increase of grammatical description or standardization, or literary production, are captured under the term 'development'. Literature review of that history also reveal that by 1930 the same target areas for language development were selected. In fact, all activities were aimed at producing Swahili teaching materials and language standardization in terms of grammar, lexicography and orthography. It is believed that the main reason for this modernization was the priority given to the language acquisition policy as "education had to be 'Tanzanian', that is, based upon Ujamaa principles and open to all Tanzanian citizens" (Morrison 1976:255). In fact, the process of modernization became an ongoing process as it "it was realized that in order to be able to teach in Kiswahili at a high level of scientific sophistication, adequate equivalent Kiswahili terminology would be required" (Blommaert 2002: 254). Concerning the sources of

vocabulary enrichment, various sources and ways are used. But, as with other cases, English has been a priority. It is also believed that "English has in fact been used by the Tanzanian Government as an argument to delay the introduction of Kiswahili as a medium of higher education". Moreover, there have been attempts to categorize Kiswahili as a 'developing' language and compare it with such 'developed' countries as English, French or German (Massamba 1987). Therefore, there are voices who argue for the need of modernization. As a matter of fact, there is a belief that Kiswahili has become 'Africanized' as a scientific object. That might be one of the reasons to conceive Kiswahili "as a motor of national development and as the language of liberation and Africanhood, from 1974/1975 onwards attitudes towards its fiercest enemy, English, changed" (Blommaert 2002:356). However, due to the need for foreign economic support, English started having more prestige, and a result, there was no way to reject English. It was quite inevitable, since "The linguistic ideology governing Tanzanian linguistics after 1967 dictated a close connection between language and socio-economic structures" (Blommaert 2002:356)

Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004) describe Tanzanian language policies as 'confusing', 'contradictory', and 'ambiguous'. For instance, Kiswahili defined as the national language whereas both Kiswahili and English are official languages. Moreover, as Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004) claim, "the issue of language has… disappeared from the constitution in Tanzania". However, when it comes to practice in the classroom, learners have serious problems in learning academic content since a foreign language is used as the language of instruction from secondary school onwards. This happens despite the fact that, according to the official language in education policy in Tanzania, the medium of instruction in pre-primary schools is

Kiswahili, and English is a compulsory subject. Moreover, according to the Constitution (Subsection 2), "Recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages". All these imply that as from the very first day when Tanzania obtained its independence, "a policy of bilingualism-Swahili and English-had been promoted, it is likely that the situation in relation to Swahili would have remained static and the building of a united nation would have proved correspondingly difficult". (Harries, 1967)

To conclude this section, it can be said that Tanzania had to decide on the language to be chosen as an official national language from over a hundred indigenous languages. This was very serious decision as each language was associated with a particular tribe; therefore, decisions would have simply provoked discontent, if not inter-tribal warfare. On the other hand, choosing English for a newly independent country would be problematic due to the symbolic value that a national or official language needed to possess. Again, using Swahili had some reasons. On the one hand, it the choice was pragmatic since Swahili was in use at some levels of education. On the other hand, there were ideological reasons as well as "Swahili had served as the lingua franca of the anti-colonial political movement for independence" (Holmes & Wilson (2017:125).

2.19.2 Recent Language Planning Practices/Attempts in the World

2.19.2.1 Irish LPP

Our literature review revealed that Irish language policy planning has been considered from various perspectives by using different conceptual frameworks frameworks. For instane, Walsh (2012) argues that "the existing conceptual framework of 'language

policy' should be expanded to include perspectives from the emerging field of 'language governance'" referring to the idea that 'language governance' "pays attention to the multi-faceted internal and external contexts in which institutions and organisations seek to develop language policy". To this end, Walsh (2012) combines both perspectives: language governance and elements of language policy approach and applies them to Ireland's Official Languages Act 2003, which promotes the use of the Irish language for official purposes.

In fact, the present situation with the Irish language is quite critical. Just slightly over 40.8 % of the population of the Republic of Ireland believe that they are capable of speaking Irish (Census of 2006). One of the dactors that contribute to this relatively high percentage owes to fact Irish is a core school subject at primary and secondary level. The situation becomes more critical when it turns out that only 1.8 per cent of the Irish population were reported to speak Irish daily outside the education system (Central Statistics Office 2007). This implies that Irish continues to decline. To stop that trend, various attempts have been carried out. One of them has aimed at 'revival' or 're-gaelicisation' which refers to the policy of policy of bilingualism. As Walsh (2012) mentions, during this thirty-year period the Official Languages Act was signed into law (2003) which "granted constitutional recognition as both the national language, and an official language". In fact, it categorized public bodies' into three sets including (1) Direct obligations (which cover mainly written material, e.g., annual reports, public correspondence, etc.); (2) Obligations based on regulations (which relate to signage, stationery, advertisements, etc.); (3), Obligations based on language schemes. A language scheme here implies is "a statutory internal language plan drawn up by the public body outlining how it will augment its services in Irish over an agreed

timeframe" (Walsh and McLeod 2008: 27). The scope of these schemes is quite wide as it includes written and oral communication with the public, websites, publications, Irish language classes, training and recruitment, monitoring and publicising of the scheme, etc. As Walsh (2012) states, "The primary concern in examining the schemes relates to language beliefs, and also to explicit and implicit policy, which itself provides an insight into what people really believe about language".

Walsh (2012) speaks of some conflicting issues in the texts of the 2007 schemes. The researcher mentions that "one such ideological conflict with potentially serious consequences for the effectiveness of governance is the tension between the covert promotion of the ideology of 'the few words' and the provision of high-quality services in Irish to fluent speakers of the language". Moreover, Walsh (2012) believes that "the contradictions often at the heart of language policy and the complexity of beliefs and ideologies which may circulate within a governance framework".

Another perspective that Irish language policy planning has been considered is from the perspective of competing discourses on ethnocultural membership and language ownership (McCubbin, 2010).

In his research McCubbin (2010) considers Irish-language policy from the perspective of competing discourses on ethnocultural membership and language ownership. Moreover, the paper discusses the extent to which competing discourses are "associated with a sense of 'Irishness' influence the formulation of recent Irish language policy at institutional and national levels". To this end, a huge corpus of materials of public discourse (e.g., public statements, policy documents, newspaper articles about language, immigration and identity) has been examined.

According to the data provided in Council of Europe's (2007, 27) VALEUR Project listed Ireland is one of the most multilingual countries with 158 'additional languages' (i.e., languages, apart from the official, national or dominant language(s)). This ethnolinguistic diversity in the country seems to oblige local language planners to work out ways of attempts to promote the Irish language both domestically and internationally. The Official Languages Act (2003) which aims at ensuring "better availability and a higher standard of public services through Irish', seems to serve to this end. Moreover, the Irish Government has worked out a 20-year strategic plan to increase societal bilingualism in Irish and English. As (McCubbin, 2010) notes, "Legislative protection for Irish and the implementation of policies to support and encourage its use are a reflection of both its constitutional status as the national and first official language of Ireland and of the widespread importance attributed to it as a symbol of national identity…".

According to (McCubbin, 2010), believe that diglossic models of language use are not quite relevant for the Irish case due to the fact that "ethnic identification and language behaviour fail to correspond". According to MORI Ireland (2004) survey, less than forty percent of the respondents were found to "attribute personal importance to the actual speaking of Irish as an expression of Irish ethnicity". It was also found out that nearly ninety per cent of the respondents consider Irish a symbol of identity and cultural distinctiveness. On the other, there seems to be no correlation between ethnocultural identification and language behavior as the use of Irish rapidly decline. In other words, as (McCubbin, 2010) notes, the relationship between ethnic identification and language behaviour in Ireland is weak" …although "dominant public discourse still portrays ownership of the Irish language in ethnically essentialist

terms. Such discourse is rooted in ideologies about the limited utility or relevance of the language to modern-day life".

One of the perspectives that language policy and planning in the Irish case is considering the language as a cultural heritage both in the north and the south (McDermott 2011). Withing this perspective, McDermott, P. (2011) focuses on specific issues that language planners face in Ireland: (1) the dominant societal role of the English language; (2) the perceptions of Irish; (3) "the position of the language as a 'rural', as opposed to 'urban', community language". McDermott (2011) starts with a short historical overview of the relationship between the English language and the Irish language in policy where he also deals with the short history of the Irish language in Ireland. It turns out that the Irish language which was brought to Ireland around 500 BC by the Celts became the primary means of communication between people on the island by the Middle Ages. The milestones in the history can be such historical facts as the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland with may be resulted in significant linguistic and cultural shifts. Nevertheless, "Gaelic maintained its status as the most commonly used vernacular on the island until the 1600s". It is also a fact that Irish was still commonly used by the 19th century although it had no political, social or economic power. These functions were held by English due to the policies which aimed at establishing English as a dominant feature of Irish society.

This trend started reversing in the 19th century when a cultural interest in Irish began to flourish among middleclass intellectuals who aimed at raising "the profile of a regional Irish culture within an overarching framework of British identity". The newly emerged organizations significantly contributed to this process by promoting "the language through cultural festivals, the arts, language classes and the publication of

materials in Irish" (McDermott 2011). In fact, the same period was characterized by a rise in Irish political nationalism and the Irish language was became a symbol within the nationalist movement. In short, the period can be characerized as a period when Irish was established as a symbol of identity at the backgroung of declining the number of people who used it as a native language.

Partitioning of Ireland in 1921 created a new language situation which could require a dichotomy in language planning. As a result, the six counties remain part of the UK and are referred to as Northern Ireland. On the other, a large minority in Northern Ireland identify themselves as Irish. As a matter of fact, the split had a profound linguistic effect on both sides of the border. The consequences were marginalization of Irish and lack of recognition as an official language in the south. The dramatic drop in native speakers led the government to set out revivalist policies. To this end, the 1937 constitution envisaged Irish as the first official language and the national language, whereas English was declared as a second official language.

Concerning the role of Irish in the south, it can be noted that it became a symbolic marker of resistance and made its supporters take mobilized measures like establishing a privately funded Irish-medium immersion primary school. On the other hand, the region witnessed violent clashes or conflicts. It is believed that only in the 1990s "the situation for the Irish language community in the North began to improve, as various lobbying groups were successful in raising the profile of the language vis-à-vis the British government" (McDermott 2011).

The final perspective that can be depicted in our literature review is considering the case from language revival perspective. The supporters of this perspective (O'Rourke

& Walsh 2020) believe that there is a need to consider the sociolinguistic story through the new speaker lens as "new speakers of Irish have existed throughout history, and language contact between Irish and other languages… in the context of cultural and linguistic change is a well-attested phenomenon". In other words, they favor for considering situation from the new speakers' position rather than focusing on monolinguistic discourses. They base their assumptions on the fact that the number of Irish speakers who live beyond the Gaeltacht is more than those who live within its borders and this leads researchers to focus on their ideologies and practices. In fact, for researchers 'new speakers' are those who 'who choose to devote time to Irish and commit to its use'. Thus, by focusing new speakers, they "sought to foreground issues of modernity and globalisation, take new directions in research on minority languages more broadly and more specifically provide an account of what it means to speak Irish in the 21st Century". It also needs to be mentioned that the term 'new speaker' originates in research on the revitalisation of minority languages in Europe.

As O'Rourke & Walsh (2020) note, with the aim of saving some languages, in fact, they tried to hinder their modernization and economic development. This implies that the political and economic needs of the speakers are completely ignored and, as a result, such communities remain marginalized. All these lead to the reality that Irish parents have to scarify their language for their children's economic and social future. According to O'Rourke & Walsh (2020), "it is against this background, then, that tensions sometimes emerge around the new speaker category and the place that new speakers have in language revitalisation projects". They justify their view with the fact that in many language revitalisation projects, new speakers emerge as a result of language policy initiatives in education. They also underline the fact that schooling

may not lead to active use of the language beyond the education system. Therefore, it is important that the Irish government exercise "its authority to change the structure of the language market in order to enhance the symbolic, cultural and economic value attached to competence to speak Irish and in doing so change the rules of social mobility in Ireland".

2.19.2.2 Gelic

The research study carried out by Phipps & Fassetta (2015) seems to occupy a specific place among the articles devoted to the language policy planning of the Gaelic language. In fact, the paper attempts "to provide a theoretical basis for language diversity in Scotland in the context of the post-devolution political landscape". The time can be characterized with the attempts to work out a strategy for Scotland's Languages and to initiate language planning. In fact, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act of 2005 was adopted in 2005. The Act secured:

> *"The status of the Gaelic language as an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language, including the functions of preparing a national Gaelic language plan, of requiring certain public authorities to prepare and publish Gaelic language plans in connection with the exercise of their functions and to maintain and implement such plans, and of issuing guidance in relation to Gaelic education. " (Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005: 1)*

As a matter of fact, The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act is a unique legislative act in the Scottish parliament which aims to protect languages. The Act is believed to ignite wider policy discussions of both Gaelic and other languages which are taught as academic subjects and those taught as community languages. Some researchers believe that "Wales and the Republic of Ireland are already a long way ahead of the game in terms of their language planning and policy (Grin 1996a; Grin 1996b; Nic Craith 1996) compared to the Gaelic language. In fact, it was in 2010 when the Scottish Government published its own Gaelic Language Plan which requires "requires public bodies to

develop language plans and to intervene with Gaelic in their institutional contexts to begin to create bilingual public contexts".

Phipps & Fassetta (2015) believe that the Gaelic language planning activity and the activities taken in that direction tend to change the public discourse around diversity and languages. The most important issue seems to the public attitude in the form of a fear of social disorder provided that other languages may gain power and status. According to the researchers, "within this context the debates about the role of languages other than Scots or English, but especially other than Gaelic, have been somewhat side-lined at a policy level and remain entirely placed, with the exception of Gaelic, within the portfolio for education". Moreover, it is also believed that any reference to the phrase 'Language Politics in Scotland' may lead to debates about the so-called indigenous languages, other languages or aspects of multilingualism which are thought to belong to a different symbolic order.

Referring to the conference organized by the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 2006, Phipps & Fassetta (2015) points at 'worrying trends in the learning of languages in the formal education sector. All these negative trends take place despite the fact that "The Scottish Executive has invested substantial sums in language teaching in Scottish schools – much more, pro rata, than is spent in England". The data provided by the researchers show that the number of Scottish secondary school students who take examination in modern languages at Higher level consistently fall. Moreover, there is a significant decrease in the numbers of students who take more than one foreign language. (Royal Society of Edinburgh 2006: 2). These facts imply that there are serious problems with language diversity and language education in Scotland.

Concerning government's strategies, one of the key words seem to be 'Scotland as a multi-lingual society'. Whithin this paradigm, the Scottish Government's strategy for English for Speakers of Other Languages has a vision for all Scottish residents whose native language is not English to have access to high quality language provision. Moreover, according to SNP Manifesto (2009: 16-17), "in line with developing a secure and sustainable future for Gaelic", proposals are being taken for a languages baccalaureate aimed at encouraging more of our young people to study European and other languages in secondary school". On the other hand, strategic planning in terms of languages is thought to be a a grassroots endeavor.

One of the dimensions to be considered regarding to the present Scottish context is the policy on migration since has become a destination for a huge number of asylum seekers and this influx has created a new demographic and linguistic situation. This linguistic reality is thought to be politically pertinent with the establishment of a ministerial portfolio for Learning, Science and Scotland's Languages in 2012. Moreover, as Phipps & Fassetta (2015) mention, debates on migration provide "a basis for a discussion of the insecurities and aspirations of a nation actively debating its future and the possibility of independence and including languages formally in the activities of the Scottish Government". Another document to be referred to in this regard is the 2013 Scottish Government's white paper Scotland's Future which places emphasis on the revitalisation of Gaelic reiterates its official recognition on the one hand, and makes no mention of migrant cultures and languages, on the other.

Thus, as was mentioned above, language insecuirities seem to be one of the important topics vis-à-vis influx of asylum seekers and its consequences for language functioning and education policies. As Phipps & Fassetta (2015), the first issue in this regard is the

'security' of Gaelic and Scots. Within that context, when universities in Scotland is considered, "Gaelic and Scots have recently been accorded significant research status [through the Gaelic language planning activities and projects such as the Scots Language Corpus]". On the other hand, insecurities with language policies can be observed at the social inclusion level. The fact that during the recent decade, students 'move from mixed in terms of background to being largely composed of young women who are privately educated' can be used to support this idea. Also, insecurities can be observed at the level of global mobilities. Therefore, universities in Scotland have developed strategies for internationalization. As a matter of fact, such a context makes the government and universities think about linguistic inclusion and this is thought to be a problem. According to the Scottish Government's 2013 Pupil Census, "if a policy were to be elaborated based on the size of the speaking population, then the main languages to be taught in Scotland would be: Polish, Urdu, Punjabi, Scots, Arabic, Cantonese". Finally, insecurities relating to modern languages in Scotland also pertain at the level of language management. It can be noted in this regard that except for Gaelic, the attitude to languages is largely laissez faire.

2.19.2.3 Welsh LPP

Welsh, a Brittonic language of the Celtic language family spoken natively in Wales, in England and in Y Wladfa (Argentina) it has historically been known in English as 'British', 'Cambrian', 'Cambric' and 'Cymric'. (De Bres, 2008). Referring to 2011 Census, it can be said that only 19.0% of the population of Wales can speak Welsh. However, according to 2020 reports, 29.1% of the population of Wales is proficient in Welsh and 16.3% of this 29.1% was reported to use Welsh in their daily life.

In 2011, the Welsh language was given an official status in Wales, making it the only de jure official language in all parts of the United Kingdom, with English being de facto official by The Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (The National Archieves, May, 2016). This implies that both Welsh and English are de jure official languages. In fact, the government has worked out plans to increase the number of Welsh speaker's up to one million by 2050. It is also reported that "since 1980, there has been an increase in the number of children attending Welsh-medium schools and a decrease in those going to Welsh bilingual and dual-medium schools" (The National Archieves, May, 2018).

Prior to Welsh Language Measure 2011, the Welsh Assembly approved a set of measures directed towards the use of the Welsh language. Concerning the Welsh Language Measures of 2011, it worked out a serious of measures. The scope of these measures was quite wide. Firstly, it was politically important as it confirmed the official status of the Welsh language. Among the measures were:

- Creating "a new system of placing duties on bodies to provide services through the medium of Welsh",

- Creating "a Welsh Language Commissioner with strong enforcement powers to protect the rights of Welsh-speaking people to access services through the medium of Welsh",

- Establishing a Welsh Language Tribunal,

- Giving "individuals and bodies the right to appeal decisions made in relation to the provision of services through the medium of Welsh",

- Creating "a Welsh Language Partnership Council to advise Government on its strategy in relation to the Welsh language",

- Allowing "for an official investigation by the Welsh Language
Commissioner of instances where there is an attempt to interfere with the
freedom of Welsh-speaking people to use the language with one another"
(Welsh Language Bill, 2017).

As Phipps & Fassetta (2015) mention, public reactions towards the measures were not unanimous. There were people who supported them referring to the symbolic value of the Welsh language for them. They seem to believe that the official status of the Welsh language will help to "improve the quality and quantity of services available through the medium of Welsh". In fact, the legislation was characterized by the supporters "as an important and historic step forward for the language, its speakers and for the nation." On the other hand, there were people who expressed the disconsent referring to the fact that "it doesn't give language rights to the people of Wales in every aspect of their lives".

2.19.2.4 Catalan LPP

Our literature review of various language policies seems to be deficient unless Catalan language policy planning is considered. One of the reasons for this could be it's seemingly similarity with the case in question. Thus, Catalan or also know as Carche, is a Western Romance language derived from Vulgar Latin (Wheeler, 2010). In fact, Catalan is the official language of Andorra, and also, a co-official language of three autonomous communities in Spain (Catalonia, the Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands). Moreover, it also has semi-official status in Italy (the Italian comune of Alghero). Besides this, it is spoken in France and in such areas in Spain (Aragon and Murcia). Catalan is believed to evolve from from Vulgar Latin in the Middle Ages and reached its literary revival pick in the early 1900s.

According to Károly (2008), "Catalan has been institutionalized as an official language, language of education, and language of mass media" during the period that lapsed after democracy was established in 1975. In fact, institutionalization of Catalan as an official language and language of education has increased its prestige significantly. Although the reaching of Catalan is compulsory in the public education system of Catalania, using Spanish is allowed in certain circumstances (Károly, 2008).

Data concerning the situation of the Catalan language enable to have a clear idea of how language policy is in practice. Thus, referring to the information provided the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (2013), it can be said that "the Catalan language is the second most commonly used in Catalonia, after Spanish, as a native or self-defining language: 7% of the population self-identifies with both Catalan and Spanish equally, 36.4% with Catalan and 47.5% only Spanish". One of the reasons for this relative success is the material support by the local government. In other words, Catalonia's official Autonomous government is reported to spend part of its annual budget on the promotion of the use of Catalan in Catalonia and in other territories. Nevertheless, researchers also speak of language shift processes in these territories. For instance, in France (in the Northern Catalonia), Catalan had to experience the trend that other minority languages have to follow which implies that most of the speakers who speak Catalan as their native language are above the age of sixty and this may lead to its extinction after a generation of speakers.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LANGUAGES IN KURDISTAN REGION OF IRAQ

3.1 Presentation

The third chapter covers the language situation in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and provides a historical background about the languages and dialects in the region.

3.2 Kurds

Kurds, the largest minority in the world, are a large nation with a long history. According to (BBC Research Center, 2020) their approximate number is 25-35 million. They originate from the Medes, as their current national anthem indicates. However, Kurds has been living in Kurdistan since the dawn of history. There was another group of Kurds who immigrated to Kurdistan in the tenth century BC and lived in it, including the Medes. The two groups blended together to form the present Kurdish nation. In fact, the geography where Kurds live, 'Kurdistan', is located in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran and shares borders with these four countries. As mentioned above, Kurds are minority groups in all these countries despite their significant numbers. In other words, the research deals with nations with many wings: Iraqi Kurdistan (South), Iranian Kurdistan (East), Syrian Kurdistan (West) and Turkish Kurdistan (North). It should be noted that they are disseminated to dozens of countries in huge numbers (BBC, 2020)
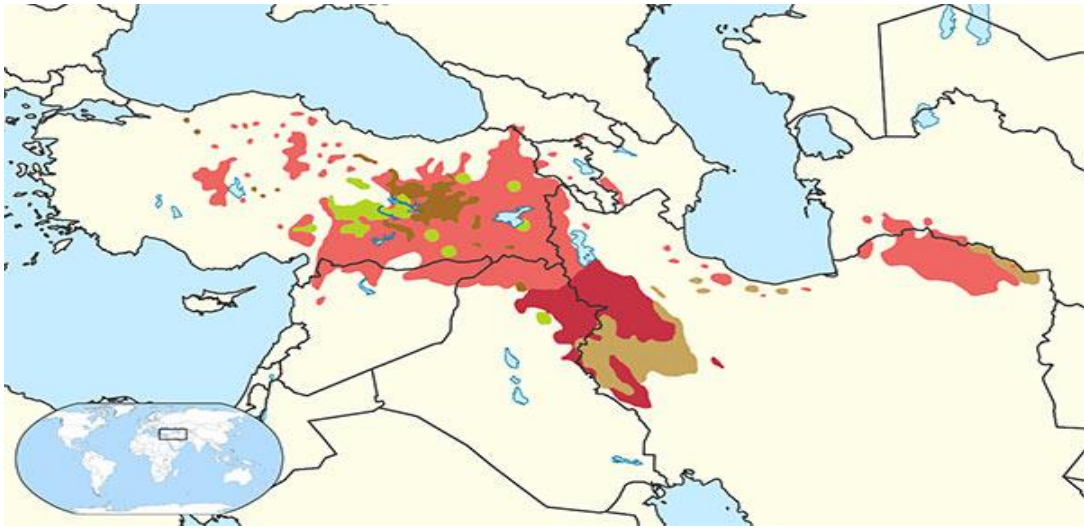
Figure 3: Kurdish Language Map – CAL

The Kurds of Iraq are the largest ethnic minority in this country, about 25% of the country's population, estimated to be six million. Kurds speak Kurdish language, which belongs to the Indo-Iranian group of languages (Edmunds, 1957), and they usually speak a second language after the mother tongue: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and many others. According to Sharafmana (1981), there are four main dialects in the Kurdish language: the northern Kurmanji, the southern Kurmanji, the Central Kurdish, and the Zazaki dialect. Bildisi in Sharafnama (1981). However, Haig (2014) argues that there are five varieties of Kurdish language; Kurmanji, Southern Kurdish, Central Kurdish (Sorani), Zazaki,, and Hawrami (See Figure 1). In fact, the political circumstances and the socio-historical development of Kurdish society have naturally changed the position of these dialects within the mainstream of spoken Kurdish, on the one hand, and in relation to the standard Kurdish, on the other.

3.3 Historical Development of the KRG in the State of IRAQ

The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) is the official executive body of the autonomous Kurdistan Region of northern Iraq. The cabinet is selected by the majority party or list who also select the prime minister of the Iraqi Kurdish polity. The

145

president is directly elected by the electorate of the region and is the head of the cabinet and chief of state who delegates executive powers to the cabinet. The prime minister is traditionally the head of the legislative body but also shares executive powers with the president. The President of Kurdistan Region is also the commander-in-chief of the Peshmerga Armed Forces.

In the aftermath of the Gulf War in 1990-1991, Iraqi Kurds finally achieved real autonomy when the Coalition Forces led by the U.S. and U.K. enforced a no-fly zone in Iraqi Kurdistan. This prevented the Iraqi Government forces under Saddam Hussein to continue the genocide against the Kurds and allowed them to institute self-government.

In 1992, the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, an alliance of political parties, held parliamentary and presidential elections and established the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), a new autonomous Government of Kurdistan in Iraq. Although Kurds had been skilled at guerilla warfare throughout history, they were unprepared for self-government.

From mid-2013 to mid-2014, the KRG "built up their own defenses by creating a security belt stretching more than 1,000 km (600 miles) from the Iranian border all the way to Syria - skirting around Mosul, a city of 2 million people they appear[ed] to have no intention of fighting for." In August 2014, ISIL attacked the Kurds.

On 1 July 2014, Masoud Barzani announced that "Iraq's Kurds will hold an independence referendum within months." In September, the 2017 Kurdistan Region independence referendum was held regarding Kurdish independence from Iraq. 92% of Iraqi Kurds participating in the referendum voted in favor of independence. The

146

referendum was regarded as illegal by the federal government in Baghdad, and on 6 November, Iraq's Supreme Federal Court ruled that no Iraqi province was allowed to secede in order to preserve the unity of Iraq. On 14 November, the KRG announced it would respect the Supreme Federal Court's ruling, stating that "this decision must become a basis for starting an inclusive national dialogue between (Kurdish authorities in) Erbil and Baghdad to resolve all disputes".

3.4 The Main Constitutions and the Place of Languages: The Amendments on the Linguistic Matters

3.4.1 Iraqi Constitution (1925)

The (Iraqi Basic Law) of 1925 is considered one of the emerging constitutions, because it focuses on human rights and the fundamental freedoms that are preserved. The law, even if they differ in nationality, religion, and language, and that personal freedom is safeguarded for all, and that property rights are respected and other basic rights guaranteed by this constitution to the Iraqi people. And the Iraqi constitution of 1925 spoke in the second chapter about (the king and his rights), and in the third chapter it talked about the (legislative authority) and considered it entrusted to the National Assembly with the king, and that the National Assembly consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the legislative authority has the right to make laws, amend and repeal them. The 1925 constitution, in Chapter Four, talks about (the formation of Iraqi ministries) and the number of state ministers, and that the Council of Ministers is in charge of managing state affairs. In Chapter Five, the 1925 constitution talked about (the judiciary) and the division of courts, specifying the manner of establishing courts, their places of convening, their degrees, divisions, and competencies, how to monitor them, and the implementation of their rulings, and that all trials must be conducted in public. Regarding the administration of the Iraqi region,

the constitution of 1925 divided Iraq into administrative regions and required the designation of these regions, their types, names, the manner of establishing and the competence of their employees and their titles by a special law. As for the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters, the 1925 constitution spoke of upholding laws and rulings and changing the provisions of the Basic Law and the general articles related to this constitution. Note that the type of government is considered a monarchy and is restricted by the constitution.

Regarding the position of language and speakers of language in Iraq, the constitution (1925) article (17) concluded that: "Arabic is the official language, except as provided by a special law", Also in Article (6) presents that, "There is no difference between Iraqis in rights before the law, even if they differ in nationality, religion, and language." However, nothing mentioned about the other minorities and other languages spoken by Iraqi people such as Kurdish, Turkmen.

3.4.2 Iraqi Constitution (1970)

Although the interim constitution of 1968 promised the Iraqi people to establish a permanent constitution for the country, this did not happen and this constitution was amended four times until the so-called (Revolution Command Council) decided to issue the interim constitution for the year 1970, which stipulated in the first article that That Iraq aims (to achieve a single Arab state and establish a socialist system).

By extrapolating the events of the period that coincided with the issuance and application of this constitution, we know that the ruling authority did everything in its power to achieve Arab disharmony and conspiracy against Arab countries. Chapter Three of this Constitution stipulates (basic rights and duties), including considering (citizens equal before the law, without distinction based on gender, race, language,

social origin, or religion), and (equal opportunities for all citizens are guaranteed within the limits of the law), and (The accused is innocent until proven guilty), (the right to defense is sacred at all stages of investigation and trial), (human dignity is inviolable, and it is forbidden to practice any kind of physical or psychological torture), and (homes are inviolable and may not be entered or searched, except in accordance with the rules specified by law), (a citizen may not be prevented from traveling outside the country), (freedom of religions and beliefs and the practice of religious rites are guaranteed), and (the constitution guarantees freedom of opinion, publication, assembly, demonstration, and the establishment of political parties, trade unions and associations). All of these basic rights the ruling authority sought to prevent from the Iraqi people, to exercise domination over the citizens, and to ban any partisan, political or economic activity that is not compatible with the interests of the ruling authority on the pretext that it contradicts the goals of the people!! As stated in Article (36) of this Constitution. The constitution of 1970 defined in the second chapter the features of the (National Council), which was given negligible powers to be a puppet of the so-called (Revolution Command Council).

Article (1) of the constitution presents that; Iraqi citizens are equal before the law, without discrimination based on gender, race, language, social origin, or religion. Also, in Article (7), the Iraqi constitution (1970) concluded that: "The Arabic language is the official language". However, the constitution highlights that "The Kurdish language shall be an official language alongside the Arabic language in the Kurdish region."

3.4.3 Interim Constitution (2004)

The Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period also called the Transitional Administrative Law or TAL, was Iraq's provisional constitution following the 2003 Iraq War. It was signed on March 8, 2004, by the Iraqi Governing Council. It came into effect on June 28, 2004, following the official transfer of power from the Coalition Provisional Authority (a division of the United States Department of Defense) to a sovereign Iraqi government. A lengthy provision emphasizes that police, investigators, or other governmental authorities may not violate the "sanctity of private residences."

Iraqis are also guaranteed the right to "education, health care, and social security." The right to possess, bear, buy, or sell arms is subject to "licensure issued in accordance with the law."

The right to citizenship is detailed and prominent within the chapter on fundamental rights. Eight provisions govern who is and isn't a citizen. Any Iraqi whose citizenship was withdrawn for political, religious, racial, or sectarian reasons has the right to reclaim his Iraqi citizenship, and each Iraqi is guaranteed the right to carry more than one citizenship. Revolutionary Command Council Decree 666, which in 1980 banned citizenship in Iraq for Ajam, Iraqis of Persian origin, is explicitly annulled.

Part of the Law of Administration's explicit rejection of Iraq's former racist policy (also explicitly referenced) is embodied in the wording "The federal system shall be based upon geographic and historical realities and the separation of powers, and not upon origin, race, ethnicity, nationality, or confession."

In Article (1), it defines itself as; This Law shall be called the "Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period," and the phrase "this Law" wherever it appears in this legislation shall mean the "Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period." And "Gender-specific language shall apply equally to male and female."

Article (9) of Iraqi Interim constitution (2004) provided for language situation in Iraq, it stipulates that:

The Arabic language and the Kurdish language are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turcoman, Syriac, or Armenian, in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions, shall be guaranteed. The scope of the term "official language" and the means of applying the provisions of this Article shall be defined by law and shall include:

1. Publication of the official gazette, in the two languages,

2. Speech and expression in official settings, such as the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, courts, and official conferences, in either of the two languages,

3. Recognition and publication of official documents and correspondence in the two languages.

4. Opening schools that teach in the two languages, in accordance with educational guidelines,

5. Use of both languages in any other settings enjoined by the principle of equality (such as bank notes, passports, and stamps).

6. Use of both languages in the federal institutions and agencies in the Kurdistan region.

3.4.4 Iraqi Constitution (2005)

The Constitution of the Republic of Iraq is the fundamental law of Iraq. The first constitution came into force in 1925. The current constitution was adopted on September 18, 2005, by the Transitional National Assembly of Iraq, and confirmed by constitutional referendum, held on October 15, 2005. It was published on December 28, 2005, in the Official Gazette of Iraq (No. 4012), in Arabic original, and thus came into force. Official translation for international use (in English language) was produced in cooperation between Iraqi state authorities and the United Nation's Office for Constitutional Support. Since 2006, several proposals for adoption of various constitutional amendments were initiated.

In the preamble of the constitution, the Iraqi people say: "We, the people of Iraq, of all components and across the spectrum, have taken upon ourselves to decide freely and by choice to unite our future, to take lessons from yesterday for tomorrow, and to enact this permanent Constitution, through the values and ideals of the heavenly messages and the findings of science and man's civilization. The adherence to this Constitution preserves for Iraq its free union of people, of land, and of sovereignty."

Article (4) of the Iraqi constitution (2005) stipulates that: "The Arabic language and the Kurdish language are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Assyrian, and Armenian shall be guaranteed in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions."

The item (2) of the same article presents that: The scope of the term "official language" and the means of applying the provisions of this article shall be defined by a law and shall include:

A. Publication of the Official Gazette, in the two languages:

B. Speech, conversation, and expression in official domains, such as the Council of Representatives, the Council of Ministers, courts, and official conferences, in either of the two languages:

C. Recognition and publication of official documents and correspondence in the two languages:

D. Opening schools that teach the two languages, in accordance with the educational guidelines:

E. Use of both languages in any matter enjoined by the principle of equality such as bank notes, passports, and stamps.

In other items of article (4) it presents that,

> *"The federal and official institutions and agencies in the Kurdistan region shall use both languages. And the Turkomen language and the Syriac language are two other official languages in the administrative units in which they constitute density of population. Also, each region or governorate may adopt any other local language as an additional official language if the majority of its population so decides in a general referendum".*

3.5 The Draft Constitution of KRI and the Linguistic Implications of Language (s) and Education

The Article (1) of the draft defines Kurdistan region of Iraq as, "The Iraqi Kurdistan Region is a region within the Federal State of Iraq. It is a democratic republic with a parliamentary political system that is based on political pluralism, the principle of

separation of powers, and the peaceful transfer of power through direct, general, and periodic elections that use a secret ballot."

Article (5) presents that, "The people of the Kurdistan Region are composed of Kurds, Turkmens, Arabs, Chaldo-Assyrian-Syriacs, Armenians and others who are citizens of Kurdistan."

Regarding the position of languages in KRI, the article (14) of draft of the constitution, illustrates that, "Kurdish and Arabic shall be the two official languages of the Kurdistan Region. This Constitution guarantees the right of the citizens of the Kurdistan Region to educate their children in their mother tongue, including Turkmen, Assyrian, and Armenian, in the government's educational institutions and in accordance with pedagogical guidelines." In other items of the same article the draft constitution of Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI) concluded that, along with Kurdish and Arabic, Turkmen and Assyrian shall be official languages in administrative districts that are densely populated by speakers of Turkmen and Assyrian. This shall be regulated by law. And, concerning the official language, Article 4 of the Federal Constitution shall be adopted wherever the re-exists a legal possibility to apply its provisions in the Kurdistan Region.

3.6 Kurdish Language

There are different classifications of Kurdish language varieties, but the following one can be seen as the accepted one:

3.6.1 North Kurdish (Kurmanji)

This dialect is mostly spoken by Kurds in Turkey, Syria, northern Iraqi Kurdistan, the Kurds of Khorasan, and the northwestern borders of Iran, and it is divided into local

dialects. It is noted that the region that its inhabitants speak in this dialect is the cross-section shared by many regions or a contact zone, with the exception of the Kurds in Khorasan, because they were deported from Kurdistan to Khorasan at the time of the Iranian kings. The number of speakers of this dialect is more than the number of speakers of any other dialects (Ludwig, 2008; Gernot, 1975; White, 2002; Michael, 2009).

3.6.2 Central Kurdish (Nawerast)

It is a fallacy to mistakenly call it Sorani in relation to Soran region speaking one of the local dialects of Central Kurdish, due to the abundance of Kurdish literary production in this dialect. The central Kurdish is divided into the following local dialects. The speakers of this dialect live in a contact zone in central Kurdistan, and the speakers of this dialect are scattered in Iran and Iraq (Christine, 2012; Joyce, 2000).

3.6.3 South Kurdish (Xwaru)

Southern Kurdish is a Kurdish group of languages/varieties predominantly spoken in western Iran and eastern Iraq. In Iran, it is spoken in the provinces of Kermanshah and Ilam. In Iraq, it is spoken in the region of Khanaqin (Xaneqîn), all the way to Mandali, Pehle. It is also the dialect of the populous Kurdish Kakayî-Kakavand tribe near Kirkuk and most Yarsani Kurds in Kermanshah province.

3.6.4 Zazaki

Zazaki is a group of North-western Iranian varieties spoken by groups of Iranian and Iraqi citizens in the southernmost parts of Iranian Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). It is classified as a member of the Zazai branch of the North-western Iranian languages.

Often referred to as 'Zaza' or 'Zazaki' in academic literature in Europe and the US, the Kirmanjki dialect of the Kurdish language is spoken by an important section of the Kurds within Turkey's borders. Kirmanjki became a written language quite late and due to the longstanding language-related prohibitions and obstacles in Turkey, the number of Kirmanji speakers has been decreasing considerably over the years. According to UNESCO, Kirmanjki is now an endangered language. This chapter focuses on the issue of different designations used to describe Kirmanjki, places where it is spoken and the current language policies in Turkey that affect its development. In addition, the difficulties that Kirmanjki is facing in the contemporary period and its precarious future are discussed.

3.6.5 Hawrami Speakers (Hawraman)

Hawrami speakers live in Hawraman. Hawraman, is a multicultural mountainous region in the border line of Iraq (500 km to Baghdad) and Iran (400 km to Tehran) located within three provinces of both countries.

The population of Hawraman estimated to be 600-700 thousand. In order to acquire an accurate picture about the number, there is a need to refer to the demographic data of provinces, districts, and villages in both the countries. In fact, the Hawrami speakers in Kirmansha province are 300 thousand and the number of those living in Kurdistan province of Iran is about 200 thousand. Further, in Iraq, 60 thousand of Hawrami native speakers live mainly in Halabja, and about 15 thousand live in other provinces. The number of those living in Europe is estimated as 25 thousand. (see Figure 2)

Hawrami people mostly are Sunni Muslims who adherent Shafiʿi School. Besides the other ancient religion with adherents from Hawraman is Zoroastrianism which they have annual celebration in the middle of winter in Hawraman village.

Hawrami men of letters like Saydi, Mirza Paveiy, Besarani, and Khanai Qubad have exerted huge impact on Kurdish literary traditions. Hawrami citizens have made significant contribution to Kurdish politics, academia, governance, etc. For instance, Abdul Karim Mudarris is considered to be the second Shafiʿi of the nation. Mustafa Zellmi with his innovative ideas is described as the modernist and influential Islamic scholar in the world whose books have been used in hundreds of international universities. In fact, he has many followers among authors, writers, poets, scholars, and political figures.

Figure 4: Hawrami Speakers in Iraq and Iran (Naqshbandi and Miraki, 2018)

In continuation to the exodus of Hawrami speakers from their region, a retired teacher from Tawela translated translated the Qur'an from Arabic into Hawrami. Although the number keeps declining, Hawrami people continue using their own native dialect. It should also be mentioned that the Hawrami dialect, one of the four dialects of Kurdish language, differs from the mainstream Kurdish language due to the corpus, grammar, phonology, and domains of use. In fact, contrary to Kurdish and Persian/Farsi languages, Hawrami is grammatically gendered with each verb, noun, and adjective

157

assigned either male or female positions. There are three main dialects of Hawrami. One of them is "Takht and Shamiyan" dialect whose speakers live mainly in Hawraman village, Dzli, Mariwan, Zellm and Khurmal in both Iraq (East) and Iraq (South) sides of Kurdistan, while the second one is the "Hawrami Jawaro" dialect, the Hawrami speakers of this dialect mainly live in Kurdistan province of Iran (Sanandaj), and Kamiyaran, the region devided into West Jawaro and East Jawaro, includes; Besaran, Tangisar, Awiyhang, Hwiya, Paygalan. Finally, the third one is the "Hawrami Lihon" dialect, this dialect is spoken in Kermanshah province of Iran (Kermanshah), districts of Paveh, Newswd, Nodsheh, Tawella, Balkha and Biyara in Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

3.7 Language Situation in KRI

Historians and researchers are not unanimous in the history of the Kurdish language, and therefore, there are many speculations about it. Now, 40 million Kurds in the world speak different Kurdish varieties. In fact, Kurds who have been divided into four parts remain as one of the stateless nations in the heart of the Middle East. Therefore, establishing contacts among various groups of Kurds has always been problematic and difficult. Despite the borders erected to separate them, since the end of 1970s, Kurds have attempted to establish connections among different varieties (Shakeli, 2013).

3.7.1 Kurdish Language in KRI

In this section, the focal point is on Kurdish language in the different Iraqi reigns. As of 1940s, documents of the Iraqi government were written in Arabic and in all government sectors Arabic language was the official language. But in the literary and educational domains, efforts were taken to use Kurdish language. Shakir Fattah in 1940 published the "Khurmal Newspaper" in Kurdish language. In addition, he relived and renewed a great number of different expressions of Sharazoor region.

158

Within this juncture of historical developments, it is important to focus on the linguistic landscape vis-à-vis socio-political changes in the Kurdish language. Now, there are two major players in social issues: those countries which are officially recognized in the international level, and those nations which are defined as the citizen of those countries. Kurds as a great nation and an active player have played a great role in the social political changes in The Middle East. Tremendous social, political, economic, and historical changes occurred in those areas in 90s. These changes have had a huge impact on cultural and linguistic domains. These changes influenced the position of both Kurdish and Arabic languages and in the level of their language structure. In addition, these changes followed informal and indirect way and have long-lasting effects on maintenance and reliving Kurdish language. The development of national language could strengthen the chance of achieving the Kurdistan's independent. Also, it could change the Kurdish people from a natural people to a cultural people or a nation who has its own government and its especial language that be asserted in the regional and international levels.

The economic, politic, scientific, and military power of the speakers' languages has a great role in protecting and strengthening or destroying and weakening of the languages. In this regard, the dominance of Arabs, Turks, and Persians in the previous centuries besides establishing the new governments, the languages reflected superiority and power that the related countries might experience. Kurds as nation and Kurdish as their language could not have any privilege.

The official and/or the national language had and have an ideology that its major goal is to give price and importance to the superpower's nation and language and stand against other minor nations that demand for citizenship as Kurd nation???. The

unequal competition among mother tongues, or the school, government, media, street, job, languages and require improving the level of proficiency strengthen, maintain them, and protect from them from decay.

3.7.2 Arabic Language in KRI

According to Iraqi Constitution (2005), Arabic and Kurdish languages are two official languages in Iraq, and the right of all Iraqis is reserved in teaching their children in their native language as Turkmen and Syrian in the government's official offices based on educational rules or in any other language in the privates teaching sectors. The Arabic language is considered one of the most prolific languages in terms of linguistic material. In the dictionary of Ibn Manzur (Lisan al-Arab), which was composed in the thirteenth century AD, there are more than eighty thousand articles. The number of letters in the Arabic language is twenty-eight written letters, and a number of linguists believe that it is necessary to add one more letter ('hamza') to the list of letters of the language, so that the number is twenty-nine letters.

The spread of the Islamic religion had a direct and indirect effect on raising the status and status of the Arabic language, as it became the language of science, literature, and politics for long years in the lands ruled by Muslims. In addition, the Arabic language had a great influence on a number of other languages throughout the Islamic world, such as Persian and Turkish, Kurdish, Berber, Malay, Urdu, Albanian, Indonesian, and some South African languages such as Swahili, Hausa, Amharic, Tajiki and Somali, in addition to some European languages, especially Portuguese, Spanish,, Sicilian, and Maltese, and they are taught in an official or optional number of Maltese countries.

It is considered that Islam entered the country of the Kurds, during the reign of Caliph Omar bin Al-Khattab, the Kurdish conquerors joined, and after their entry into Islam,

they were eager to read, memorize and understand the Qur'an, and hadiths of the Prophet.

Before 1970s in all governorates, including those inhabited by Kurds, the medium of education was Arabic only exceptionally. However, after the declaration of an agreement (March 11, 1970) between the Iraqi government and the Kurds, the Kurdish language was adopted to be the language of instruction in educational system. Late, in 1975, educational institutions in schools began to change the curriculum to the Kurdish language – somewhere, except for the Arabic and English language subjects - with some remaining on teaching in Arabic.

Since, the uprising of Kurds in 1991 and the withdrawal of the Iraqi government from the Kurdistan region, Kurds hold control over their regions, they started initiating serious changes in both corpus planning, especially vocabulary and in the curriculum in the Kurdish language. As a response to the interest of the Kurds in their mother tongue in educational institutions, and Arabic language was taught at all academic levels as an independent subject, starting from fourth grade of primary school, parallel to the keen interest in introducing Kurdish as a language of medium of instruction, many Arabic language departments in the universities of the Kurdistan region were established. Nowadays, there are more than twenty special departments for the Arabic language in the universities of the region.

In addition to a number of colleges and departments of Islamic studies in which study and teaching are in the Arabic language and not in any other language. In addition to a large number of Sharia science schools affiliated with the Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education, all of which also study in the

Arabic language, and instructions have been issued by the Ministry of Higher Education to oblige the faculties of human sciences to introduce a course on scientific conversation in the Arabic language for the first sophomores, in their departments, to encourage students to learn the Arabic language. Hence, the Arabic language course is also taught in other departments such as law, administration. and accounting. But, as a whole, the position of Arabic language has been somehow weakened due to some historical (e.g., oppressions of the previous regime in the period of 1970-2003), conflict between the Kurdistan Regional Government KRG and Baghdad, the popularity of English language, as the result of technology and globalization, etc.

3.7.3 English Language Position in KRI

Nowadays, the English language has become a worldwide language used by hundreds of millions of people as a means of communication all over the world. As Zughoul (2003) states, Asian countries generally and the Middle East especially have responded to the improving the necessity of communicative movements in a faster way in the English language as a foreign language. The same is true for Kurdish students who still have serious problems in using the English language communicatively at secondary and high schools. Besides, it is also evident that students in Kurdistan Region need to learn the English language especially speaking skills because they need speaking to communicate, interact, and give and receive data. In this context, Kurdistan Regional Government KRG (2007) decided to develop a new curriculum of English language which is called (Sunrise) for secondary and high schools with a focus on the four essential skills: writing, reading, listening, and speaking. (Amin, 2017)

In 1991, Kurdistan region government adopted a new framework for the different levels of education. In accordance with the framework, the primary level covers 6

grades (1-6) after which secondary level starts (1-3). This phase is followed by the preparatory phase (4-6). In fact, upon the results of the central exam of grade 6 where students need to choose between science path or humanities, the students are awarded with diplomas (two years in technical and educational institutions), or bachelor's degrees (four years in colleges of universities). In addition, there are also industrial, commercial, arts and agricultural schools, known as Vocational Secondary Education, which takes 3 years to finish (Dezae, 2017). The language of instruction is mainly Kurdish as an official language in education and higher education, while teaching of Arabic and English starts in primary grade 4. Further, Arabic language is the language of instruction in colleges of law, Islamic studies, engineering, agriculture, banking, management, and accounting, besides Arabic departments. On the contrary, English as a support language is used in medicine, excluding of English language departments in colleges of Art, Languages, Translation, and Education. Besides, the students are admitted to departments of Persian/Farsi, French and German in colleges of Art and Languages.

After the US invasion on Iraq in 2003, which resulted in regime change, the sociopolitical situation of Iraq and Kurdistan region underwent serious transformations. One of the sectors which have been involved in this change was educational system. It is noticed that the KRG has been taking many initiatives in order to enhance quality of education since 2007.Consequnetly, KRG reformed the education system in schools by introducing English language as a subject and medium of instruction. Besides, it also encouraged creative thinking among the students by making it a part of school curriculum. Officially, the website of KRG called Sunrise for Kurdistan implied that English Language may be used to write the English course

and it was implemented in primary and secondary schools. Kurdistan regional government KRG has adopted a new system, currently the educational system which consists of the basic educational system and vocational secondary education (industrial, commercial, agricultural, and nursing). The higher education, on the other hand, consists of institutions (diploma holders) and universities (Bachelor holders). The main reform on higher educational system of Kurdistan region was the establishment of various semi-private and private institutions and universities; currently there are 15 state and 18 private universities in this region, and tens of institutions in both sectors.

Language Curriculum Units, the Kurdistan Regional Government (Grades 1-9)

Languages, literature and communication	Grades								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Weekly hours								
Kurdish (mother tongue)	10	10	10	5	5	5	4	4	4
Arabic	0	0	0	4	4	4	4	4	4
English	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	5	5

School Year Length and Weekly Contact Period (Grades 1-9)

Languages (School Subjects)	Grades						Grades		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	28 Weeks x 6 Days = 168 days a year						32 x 6 = 192		
Kurdish (mother tongue)	280 h/y	280	280	140	140	140	128	128	4
Arabic	0	0	0	112	112	112	128	128	128
English	84	84	84	140	140	140	160	160	160

Language Curriculum Units, the Kurdistan Regional Government (Grades 10-12)

Languages (School Subjects)	Grades		
	10	11	12
	Science and Literary Track (29-35 Weeks/y)		
Kurdish (mother tongue)	4	4	4
Arabic	4	4	4
English	5	5	5

Figure 5: English Language Learning in Kurdistan Region (Sofi Karim, 2015)

Although Kurds in Iraq have Arabic language as an official language, they seem to prefer English language rather than Arabic (Hasan, 2013; Walker, 2013; Dunlop, 2015; Sofi Karim, 2015). Kurdish children in the region start studying English from pre-school stages. In all state schools, English language is an obligatory course from grade one to 12K (secondary school) as a daily course with 3-6 hours a week. Observations show that the educational system places more emphasis on English rather than other foreign languages in institutions and universities). English language course remains as compulsory in all colleges as a foundations course. In fact, the popularity of English language in Kurdistan region is more than other parts of Iraq, and the power of English as an international language covers all sectors of education in the region. (See Figure 4).

The popularity of English language in (KRI) is especially felt in the private sector of educational system in the region. In fact, since 2007, several private kindergartens (pre-schools), schools, institutions, colleges, and language centers have been where the language of instruction is English.

The Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) and Scientific Research and the Ministry of Education (MOE) are responsible for educational policy and language education policy in this region. Currently, MOHE supervises 17 public universities and 15 private ones including various technical institutes which are spread all over the cities of the Kurdistan Region while supervises over 3000 state secondary and prep schools with more than a hundred private and international schools. The Ministry of Education (MOE) directs essential and auxiliary instruction, and the second ministry which is responsible for higher education in this region (MHE) runs college and establishment-level training. State-funded colleges do not charge fee for education, and they furnish

understudies from external urban areas with offices with complimentary quarters and enhancements (Amin, 2020). As mentioned above, in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) from the 1st grade of school and kindergartens learners of English languages have increased dramatically, so the demand of state and private institutions and schools for English language teachers has increased in almost all schools, institutions, and universities in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) use the English as a medium of instructions. In (KRI), there are five different levels of colleges at state universities which award their graduates with teaching certificates that allow them to teach the English language at the language colleges in state universities (both public and private), College of Art in all state universities, College of Basic Education (in all state universities), College of Education and Human Sciences in some state universities, and College of English Language Teaching in private universities.

3.8 Vernacular and Foreign Language(s) Policies in KRG

3.8.1 Primary Education

The KRG has two ministries that address education. The MOE administers primary and secondary education, while the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MHE) administers university level education. Additionally, the private sector has become increasingly involved at all levels of the educational system. SABIS, a Lebanese private education provider and one of the largest actors in the Region's private education sector, has opened three Choueifat international private schools in Erbil and Slemani, and recently opened SABIS University in Erbil. Like many other industries, private schools and universities are eligible for Kurdistan Board of Investment licensing, and since 2006 have invested $668 million into 16 BOI licensed education projects. In addition to private schools and universities, the MOE

has entered into public-private partnerships with SABIS, leveraging their expertise to operate seven public-private international schools.

Iraq's educational system uses the terms primary to specify the grades 1-6; intermediate (stages 1, 2, & 3) to indicate grades 7, 8, and 9; and secondary (stages 4, 5, & 6) to identify grades 10, 11, and 12. The educational system in Kurdistan uses the K-12 designation, and basic education is grades (1-9), and secondary education is grades (10- 12). For the sake of consistency, the K-12 designation will be used in this paper. Overall, the educational system in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq emphasizes the English language more than Iraq's educational system does. In the basic education in KRI, English teaching starts from the first grade with three hours a week. In Iraq's educational system, English does not start until the third grade of the basic school. Additionally, in six grades, devoted hours for English in KRI's basic and secondary education exceed allocated hours for English in Iraq's basic and secondary education except for the grade 12. KRI's school year length and weekly contact period are more than Iraq's.

3.8.2 Secondary Education

Students attend Secondary School from 10-12th grades. In Iraq there are two categories of Secondary Schools: General and Vocational. General schools offer a well-rounded education with a Literary/Humanities track and Scientific track. There are three branches of Vocational schools: Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial. Agricultural schools prepare students for a job in the crops-raising field; Industrial schools prepare students for a job in auto machinery, metal work, or in other industrial sectors; and Commercial prepares students for a job in business administration or accounting. Students are eligible for graduation in the twelfth grade. To complete

167

Secondary School and receive a certificate of completion, each student must take a Baccalaureate exam. If a student does not pass this exam on attempt one, he/she is able to attend school for one more year and try to pass it again. If the student does not pass the exam a second time, he/she is not eligible to attend any other college or school. This strict education policy is what leads many teenagers to the streets, vulnerable to terrorism groups, as they have no ability to get a job or produce an income.

Secondary education consists of two phases, each 3 years. The first three years constitute intermediate school, leading to the baccalaureate from the third level, and the remaining three years constitute a preparatory stage leading to the baccalaureate level of the sixth.

According to the Ministry of Education, secondary schooling in Iraq faces severe problems, such as a lack of infrastructure of schools and educational institutions, a lack of qualified teachers, the failure of the curricula to follow the developments of the global academic standards and a lack of textbooks and teaching aids. Some pupils in secondary education have only one textbook available to be used by five or six students.

Before 1990, the educational system in Iraq was one of the best in the Middle East. Conflicts, wars, and economic sanctions since that time have had a seriously negative effect. Northern Iraq has not suffered as much due to rehabilitation and reconstruction programs organized through UN agencies, but major problems such as a lack of resources, security threats, uneven immigration causing poor student to teacher ratios, and corruption still exist here. Illiteracy is a major obstacle with almost 22% of the adult population in Iraq never attending school.

Education in Iraq is administered by the Ministry of Education and is free from primary to higher education. Curriculum is generally Western-based, but also includes religious studies and the language of instruction is Arabic. There are 6 years of compulsory primary education, followed by an examination to be admitted to secondary school. Secondary schools are a three-year program with a two-year course in preparation for entrance to college. To enter higher education, a national examination must be passed.

The school system of the Kurdistan region has adopted the new programme called "Sunrise" since 2005. This new programme needs to be evaluated and assessed in order to ensure that the curriculum is effective for promoting the learner's English skills.

English in secondary schools in KRI is daily must course, the estimations of rapid growth in future enrollment presented the KRG with a considerable challenge. Grades 7 to 9 will most likely grow the fastest. The average class size of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in urban areas is 42 students (see Figure 4), which is large by international standards. In the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, the average class size varies between 21 and 24 in grades 7-9 (OECD, 2009). No country among the 65 countries that took part in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) went beyond more than an average of 40 students per class in secondary schools. Some of the countries that participated in PISA were Middle Eastern and/or Arab countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Israel, Jordan, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkey.

3.8.3 Tertiary Education

There are currently a total of 250,000 students enrolled in the 18 public universities and 13 private universities and dozens of technical institutions of the Kurdistan

Region. The vast majority of these students attend public universities, which tend to be much larger than private universities and do not charge tuition. Most of the universities in the Region are very new: with the exception of Salahaddin University, nearly all of the local universities are less than two decades old. However, because of the Region's stability, Kurdistan's universities are drawing higher-level professors and students from historically more prestigious universities in Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul. While this process is providing the universities a boost in competitiveness, it also places further stress on the capacity of the Region's higher education system.

The Region's universities are increasingly looking internationally to bring their operations and academics to global standards. Students are doing the same, in order to increase competitiveness with international businesses and gain global insight. AUIS, for example, is pursing academic accreditation in the US, and has academic relationships with premier universities in the US, including Stanford and UCLA. UKH, similarly, has international partner universities in London and throughout the UK. Universities have historically taught in Kurdish, Arabic, and English, but growing demand for English proficiency has led many universities to teach entirely in English. Finally, the MHE encourages international exchange though its 'Human Capacity Development Program,' which is designed to send recent graduates from Kurdish public universities and complete postgraduate coursework in international universities, to further improve their international intelligence, language skills, and professional abilities. Almost the language of instruction in private universities and institutions is English, besides of having English department in all universities and institutions. The demand of people is growing.

As mentioned above, in Iraqi Kurdistan from the 1st year of school and kindergartens learners of English languages increased dramatically, so the demand of state and private institutions and schools for English language teachers increased as well, almost schools, institutions and universities in Iraqi Kurdistan use the English as medium of instructions.

In Iraqi Kurdistan above all of the training programs and courses, there are five different levels of colleges at state universities that their graduates will get certifications and teach English language:

1. College of Languages in state universities (Available in all state and private universities)

2. College of Art (Available in all state universities)

3. College of Basic Education (Available in all state universities).

4. College of Education and Human Sciences (Available in some state universities).

5. College of English language teaching (Available in private universities).

The ministry of higher education in KRG concluded that all MA and PhD candidates must hold English language proficiency certificate to complete their study, and having IELTS, TOFEL, PTE, or English language certificate is must for obtaining scientific title and promotions in Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

3.9 Functions of Language in Language Planning

3.9.1 Unificatory

In Hornberger's framework of language planning goals, types, and approaches, authenticity and unification both fall primarily within corpus cultivation planning, or

language planning directed toward "the cultivation of a language...'s form for additional functions" (1994: 80); and more specifically, they fall within what Cooper has called renovation, which "permits language codes to serve old functions in new ways" (1989: 154). As we will see below, however, both unification and authenticity extend beyond corpus cultivation planning into other language planning dimensions as well. Unification in the sense we use it here goes beyond Nahir's original definition of "terminological unification" as "establishing unified terminologies ... in order to reduce communicative ambiguity, especially in the technological and scientific domains" (1984: 308). Here we take unification to mean not only lexical terminological unification, but also the orthographic, morphological, and syntactic unification of the language for additional functions, involving aspects of both standardization and graphization.2 Thus, unification entails corpus policy planning in addition to corpus cultivation planning (Hornberger, 1994).

By definition, unification of a language entails the manipulation of the language corpus. It also frequently involves explicit efforts to establish the revised (and 'authentic') variety of the language as the norm. However, for certain regional or interest groups, attempts to promote the new variety may lead to the perception that their own ('authentic') variety is under attack. Hornberger (1998)

Defending Quechua's autonomy not only includes adopting an objective stance toward analyzing it, but also seeking ways to build its range of use. The Peruvian linguists/bilingual education specialists called for a stance which would seek to make Quechua a vehicle of national communication, not only in the schools, but also in the university, on television, in the newspapers, and in government offices (1987: 13). They were also conscious of sustaining and promoting Quechua use at an international

172

level. They suggested that the use of the three vowel alphabet could contribute to Quechua unification/standardization at both the national and the international level, since it is understandable not only in Cusco, Puno, and so on, but also where only three vowels are pronounced (e.g. in Alto Napo (Peru) and in Ecuador; Jung and López, 1987: 590).

According to Hornberger (1998), the unification/standardization of Quechua was recognized as a desirable goal for sustaining and promoting its use at national and international levels, but such a goal was also perceived to embody a potential threat to local and regional ethnic and political affiliations and solidarity.

3.9.2 Separatist

According to Holmes & Wilson (2017), Separatist it must set the nation off from surrounding nations. It should be an appropriate symbol of separate national identity. For instance, the national language of Pakistan and official languages in many parts of India, the Delhi dialect has become the basis of Modern Standard Hindi and Modern Standard Urdu. Grammatically, Hindi and Urdu are the same language, Hindustani, but they differ in their literary and academic vocabulary. Hindi tends to adopt Sanskrit words and purges literary words borrowed from Persian, while Urdu does the opposite. In essence, apart from their scripts, the lexicon is what distinguishes Urdu and Hindi. There are additional Indo-Aryan languages that are counted as Hindi but are not the same as Hindustani. They are considered Hindi languages but may not be close to the Delhi dialect.

Also, In Catalan, there are three cases: Valencian language secessionism, or blaverism, appeared during the democratic transition at the end of the 1970s, after the fall of Francoism. It is supported by some conservative and usually Castilian-speaking circles

of the Valencian society, which are branded as "post-Francoist" by partisans of Catalan unity. It has variable impact in the population: Valencian people usually name their language "Valencian" but are divided about the unity of Catalan: some people agree in that "Valencian" is just the regional name for "Catalan" but other people think that "Valencian" would be a distinct language from "Catalan". Blaverism has no impact in the scientific community of linguists. Valencian institutions and Valencian partisans of Catalan unity use the official norm of Catalan (as codified by Institut d'Estudis Catalans and Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua), while "Blavers" (partisans of blaverism) mostly write Valencian using a spin-off, nonstandard system called "normes del Puig".

Balearic language secessionism is quite marginal and is supported by a few cultural groups. It has very little impact in the population. It is included in a wider (but unorganized) tendency called "gonellisme", which struggles against the standardization of Catalan. In Franja de Ponent (a Catalan-speaking strip in eastern Aragon), language secessionism is quite marginal. It appeared during the 2000s. It is supported only by a fraction of the already minority pro-Aragonese movements, who overstate a so-called Aragonese ancestry in the Catalan spoken in Aragon.

3.10 The Evolving Nature of Language Planning and Policy in KRI

3.10.1 Top-down Bottom-Up Approaches of LPP

The former is that type of language planning LPP that is related to citizens with the authority, i.e., language cannot be excluded form laws and bylaws of the power. (Buldauf, 1982; Kaplan, 1989). In general, language planning has been portrayed as being done from within an objective, ideologically neutral. In addition, Bottom up language planning may occur without centralized promotion or funding. Tollefson

(1981) points out those initiatives are loosely coupled. Implementation units act independently, each reflecting its own perspective. Kaplan (1989) says that bottom-up LP is grassroots, its purposes and goals are identified by the populace rather than by the government and that local knowledge and values are respected. In addition, along with Canagarajah (2005), I would argue that the speech community is defined by local knowledge.

3.10.2 Trends of Language Planning and Policy of in KRI

Kurdish language has become the medium of education, administrative documents, and records for cultural aspects of Kurdistan region of Iraq as a result of Kurdish political developments, there is still more to be done to fill the gaps that exist due to the lack of linguistic awareness at all levels (Saeed and Jukil, 2018). However, the unconscious plans to deal with language policy in the region must be respected.

In Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI), the first position of life sectors owned by politics, from fighting to independency to finding their own identity Kurds became involved units of politics, thus, the role of politics in language planning and policy can be demonstrated as first effectiveness dimension. There are more than thirty political parties in KRI which have been established based on nationalism, secularism, religious, reformism, etc. Although in the bylaws of Kurdish political parties it can be noted that they devoted several articles in relation to language, Jambaz (2014, p. 56) expresses his sorrow and disappointment at having no appropriate plan to take care of the Kurdish language to be properly used even after the Kurdish uprising in 1991 until now all over Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). As a matter of fact, the Kurdish language has not been used as a formal language. Besides of politics, Sabir (2008, p.110) considers economic support as an influential factor for any language to be able not to

retreat behind other stronger languages. Occupation, commerce, migration, religion, and the economy are some of the factors beyond the spread of language (Jambaz, 2014, p.60).

Kurdistan region of Iraq KRI has been involved in economics since the establishment and globalization of oil in the region in 2007. Therein, the popularity of English language emerged as an international language as language became essential tool for business and economics due to with the presence of international companies, organizations, and opening consulates worldwide. However, Kurdish authorities couldn't cope with language policy in the region. Tofiq (2007, p.57) notes that during the Baath regime before 2003, learning the Arabic language leads to more job opportunities and parents were always worried about finding a better future for their children. Accordingly, they found that learning Arabic is necessary for employment. However, Saeed & Jukil (2018) argue that in KRI there is no space for such economic policy in terms of serving Kurdish language, and the people try to speak Arabic and English because of their customers. Besides, as the other sectors like religion, media, and law, there are different involvements of language like the Holy Quran and religious resources have been translated and interpreted into Kurdish language, in mosques, churches, and temples, language has great influences to adherents. Further, in about 200 TV channels, 100 radio stations, 400-500 journals of the region, Kurdish language respected in a good manner. Accordingly, language policy or management refers to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually, but not necessarily, written in a formal document, about language use (Spolsky, 2004, p.14). In the law sector, the role of Kurdish language has been marginalized because courts and legal centers still follow the ancient Arabic laws of Iraq. The official statements,

contract, bylaws, law-projects, and legal documents are drafted in Arabic language rather than Kurdish language. As a matter of fact, the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) has witnessed a lot of changes and events throughout its struggle for its own independent state particularly after the institution of the Iraqi Republic Constitution after the fall of the previous Ba''ath regime. Anyhow, what follows shows the mechanisms and the procedures that have been adopted in different domains of law. (Saeed and Jukil, 2018)

Chapter 4

METHOD

4.1 Presentation

In chapter four, the methodologies of the research are presented, along with explanation of the context of the study which is Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), the research questions will be shared, and demographical details of the participants and population of the study will be presented. The chapter, in fact, is divided into three sections. In section one the instruments for data collection are introduced.

Specifically, as the main data collection instruments, questionnaires for both students and their parents will be presented with their justifications. It will also provide information about the backgrounds of the participants. This chapter will also deal with the ways for data analysis and interpretation. In order to have better insights into the linguistic situation of the region, the chapter will mention such data sources as political, legal documents and political discourse. Finally, the limitations and delimitations will be touched upon.

4.2 Context

To avoid reduplications, this chapter will attempt to provide short information about the context with emphasis on socio-political and linguistic perspectives. In fact, Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI), a multicultural and mult-religious autonomous region located in the north of Iraq, has had to face different kinds of historical, sociopolitical, and sociocultural challenges throughout the history. Along with six million Kurds who

live in the autonomous region, one to two million people from other parts of Iraq, Syria and Iran live in refugee campuses, or in other cities of the region. Throughout their history, Kurds oscillated between two different struggles, on the one hand, they fought for independence through the previous century, on the other hand. They had to fight for autonomy, otherwise they had to give in and to get assimilated by Arabs. They preferred to withstand against assimilation and Arabization, therefore, they had to face terrible atrocities by the Baath regime. As a result of introducing no fly zones over most of KRI territories in 1991, Kurds had a chance to experience self-governance, and the autonomous region was de facto established. However, the Iraqi government recognized the autonomy of the Kurds only after the fall of Saddam Hussein when a new constitution was adopted in 2017. This legislative act perceived mixed reactions internationally. In fact, this even enabled the Kurds to establish their political, economic, and social institutions and to build their parliamentary democracy.

In terms of their religion, Kurds are Muslims and belong mostly to Saffʻi school and Sufism, with the adherents of Shia among Feyli Kurds. There are also Christian minorities professed by Assyrians and Armenians, Yezidis, the Yarsan (Ahl-e Haqq or Kakai) and Zoroastrianism. Kurdish language is one of the official languages in Iraq (Iraqi constitution, 2005). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kurdish language has five main regional varieties: South, North, Centrals and Zaza, and Hawrami varieties. In fact, the significant part of the population lives in Erbil, the capital, and Sulaimaniyah represent Central dialect (Sorani) whereas a quarter of the population live in Duhok and speak North Kurdish dialect (Badini). Around 100 thousand Kurds who live in Halabja speaks the Hawrami dialect.(The context of the current study is Kurdistan region of Iraq, the first section considers the attitudes of Kurdish secondary

students and parents towards the English language acquisition planning in the region, and in section two, following both top-down and bottom-up approaches, the critical analysis of government, parliamentary, political parties, media, and public attitudes toward language planning and policy in the region will be demonstrated.) delete: some ideas given here can be moved and absorbed in the introductory chapter, in the research design part of this chapter.

4.3 Research Questions

The present study attempts to find answers to the following questions:

RQ1. What attitudes do Kurdish secondary school students hold towards English language education policy?

RQ2. What attitudes do Kurdish parents hold towards English language education policy?

RQ3. What is the current language planning policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in terms of status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning?

RQ4. What are the changes of discourse over the Kurdistan region's language planning and policy in the light recent socio-political developments?

4.4 Participants

The participants in this study are multi-facetted. They are from members of parliament, teachers and learners. In this regard, Iraqi constitution, Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI)'s draft of constitution, project-law of five members of parliament in KRI was analyzed. Moreover, among the focal points are policies of various political parties on the issues under consideration, government, institutional and non-institutional efforts for resetting language planning with all domains such as status, corpus, acquisition and prestige. In fact, 933 people participated in the research. First, the attitudes of 800

secondary school students (460 male and 340 female) who were studying in K 12 and their age group was 18 and above. These students belonged to both rural and urban schools. Second, as the research seeks to analyze the attitudes of Kurdish parents towards English language education policy in the region, 133 Kurdish parents participated in this research. The population of parents included 79 males and 54 females. In fact, 63 of the parents were parents living in the rural areas while 70 of them were from the urban areas.

4.5 Data Collection Instruments

4.5.1 Questionnaires

In order to get answers to some of the questions above, the current study used two different questionnaires which aimed to get responses regarding the attitudes of Kurdish secondary students towards the English language education policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq KRI.

4.5.1.1 Students' Questionnaire

One of the data collection instruments was the questionnaire adopted from Abidin, et al. (2012) which purported to measure attitudes towards the English language (see Appendix C). The questionnaire consisted of 45 items designed to obtain information about (i) behavioral, (ii) cognitive, and (iii) emotional aspects of attitude and the items were put in a five-point Likert-scale from 'Strongly Disagree' (1) to 'Strongly Agree' (5). To avoid any English language barriers among the respondents, the questionnaire for the Kurdish secondary students in high schools were translated into Kurdish by a legal translator (back translation, see appendixes E). This study used mixed method with the emphasis on descriptive statistics. The questionnaires were administered on the participants, and they answered the questions accordingly. This enabled them to express their opinion about their attitude towards English language education and

acquisition in an accurate manner. As mentioned above, their response to this questionnaire includes their emotion, psychological, cognitive, and behavioral aspects. Part A of the questionnaire aimed to get demographic details of the participants concerning their gender, age, and location in terms of place they live in (rural or urban) and administrative units (Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Duhok or Halabja urban or rural). Regarding the reliability and validity of the questionnaire derived from Abidin, et al. (2012), the researcher conducted pilot study to measure the reliability. Hence, 30 students were randomly selected from the target population.

Further, to investigate the validity of the questionnaire items, the questionnaire was given to two specialists, a psychologist, and an expert in TEFL. They validated that the items of the questionnaire were valid and reliable to investigate the research objectives.

4.5.1.2 People's Questionnaire

People's attitudes towards English language learning were examined by using the questionnaire adopted from Bago (2018)). It was translated into Kurdish language by a legal translator (See Appendixes D). As with the previous questionnaire, Part A purported to obtain information about the demographical details of the participants and their geographical locations (e.g., rural, urban, specific city or settlement). The participants were presented with 14 statements about the advantages of early English language learning and asked to express their level of (dis)agreement with the statements on a five-point Likert scale.

In the second part, the parents were asked to respond to 4 statements about language learning. This was followed by two statements about the role of English and Kurdish language. As with the previous questionnaire, the scales looked in the following way:

1 ('completely disagree'); 2 ('mostly disagree'), 3 ('not sure'), 4 ('mostly agree'), and 5 ('completely agree').

To be sure of the reliability and validity of the questionnaire, the researcher referred to two factor analysis both of which demonstrated high reliability: Factor 1 (―Advantages of English language learning and general statements‖) (α=.889) and Factor 2 (―Disadvantages of English language learning‖) (α=.890).

4.5.2 Document Analysis

To obtain information specific to the research questions, the researcher scrutinized relevant official, legal, and mass media materials. Among them were Iraqi constitution, IKR draft of constitution, proposals of project-law of five members of parliament in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), policies of six political parties on the related issues, government level documents on language policy, various language laws, various documents and narratives about language policy including status planning, corpus planning, language acquisition planning and, finally, prestige planning. The references were officially published documents, the newspaper of (Waqaie of Kurdistan) which is a legal outlet of rules of laws and project laws of the Kurdistan parliament in Iraq.

4.6 Data Collection Procedures

4.6.1 Questionnaires

4.6.1.1 Students' Questionnaire

The data collection procedure, to examine the attitudes of Kurdish secondary students, was proceeded by a team of young activists who work in a Non-Governmental Organization NGO which has branches in cities and districts of the Kurdistan region. As reported by the researcher (see Appendix C), having obtained confirmation of permissions through their organization with the administrative staffs of the schools,

they visited classes. The participants were given 25 minutes to fill in the questionnaire. However, prior to this, the students were informed about the purpose of questionnaire. They were asked to read the questionnaire (if needed to refer to the translation) and state their attitudes. It was also informed that their responses will be kept confidential.

4.6.1.2 People's Questionnaire

Regarding the data collection procedure, to examine the Kurdish people's attitudes, the questionnaire and its translation were uploaded on a Google-Form and the link was posted on social media, so that Kurdish parents could participate voluntarily. Their consent forms had been obtained prior to conducting the questionnaire. As was mentioned above, this questionnaire consisted of, mainly two parts: Background information and specific questions concerning their attitudes.

4.6.2 Document Collection

In order to collect the documents about language planning and policy in Kurdistan region of Iraq, the researcher referred to different sources as officially published documents, the newspaper of (Waqaie Kurdistan) which is a weekly legal outlet of Rules of Laws and project laws of the Kurdistan parliament in Iraq, books, published interviews, and media programs.

4.7 Data Analysis Procedures

4.7.1 Questionnaires

4.7.1.1 Students' Questionnaire

Statistical analysis of the data obtained for the research question 3, which aimed to see the attitudes of Kurdish secondary school learners' attitudes towards English language education policy, was performed on SPSS Version 20.0 statistic software package.

4.7.1.2 People's Questionnaire

The same statistical software package (SPSS Version 20.0 statistic software package) was used to analyze the research question 4 which purported to determine parents' attitudes towards English language education policy.

4.7.2 Document Analysis

As mentioned above, the scrutinized documents were the Iraqi constitution, IKR draft of constitution, project-law of parliament in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), bylaws of six political parties, governmental, institutional, and non-institutional proposals and by-laws concerning language policy planning, including status planning, corpus planning, language in education planning and prestige planning. The documents analyzed to obtain data for research questions 1 and 2 which were related to the current language planning policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), the impact of recent socio-political developments on the Kurdish linguistic landscape in terms of the attitudes of Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) parliament, political parties and media platforms, the recent sociopolitical developments in the attempt to change Kurdish language alphabetic system and language standardization. Finally, to investigate the research question 5 which aimed to see the impact of recent socio-political developments on English language curricula in Kurdistan region, the historical phases of the reform in Iraq and Kurdistan region were analyzed.

Chapter 5

RESULTS

5.1 Presentation

This chapter aims to present the data obtained from the administered questionnaires. As there were two main sources of data, questionnaires and document analysis, this chapter is comprised of two main parts.

Part one deals with the analyses of data concerning English language education policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), attitudes of Kurdish students and parents towards English and Kurdish collected by using various data collection instruments from students and their parents.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the questionnaire was adopted from Abidin et al. (2012). Regarding the reliability and validity of the questionnaire, the resources of the questionnaire, the researchers conducted pilot study to measure the reliability; hence, 30 students were randomly selected from the target population. Further, to investigate the validity of the questionnaire items, the questionnaire was given to two specialists, a psychologist, and an expert in TEFL. They advocated that the items of the questionnaire were valid and reliable to investigate the research objectives.

Altogether, there were 45 items concerning language attitudes in terms of behavioral, cognitive and emotional perspectives. Overall, of these 45 items, 30 were positive and

15 were negative. The items were put in a five-point Likert-scale from 'Strongly Disagree' (1) to 'Strongly Agree' (5). To avoid any unpredictable problems which could be associated with the students' and their parents' English proficiency, all 45 items of the questionnaire were translated into Kurdish language by a legal translator (back translation; see Appendix C and Appendix D). As was indicated in Chapter 3, this study has applied descriptive statistics method for the analysis. Hence, a questionnaire was adapted to measure the given constructs in the research. For reliability and validity purposes, a pilot study was conducted and it involved the random sample size of 30 students.

They were required to present their personal information based on the Likert scale of the questionnaire items. Moreover, supplementary expert view concerning validity considerations was obtained from two specialists, a psychologist and an expert in TEFL. Both of these specialists advocated that the items of the questionnaire were valid and reliable to investigate the research objectives. Also, as was mentioned in Chapter 3, the data was collected by using the questionnaire adapted from Bago (2018). The researcher argued that the questionnaire is valid and reliable, as it has been investigated through a study previously. It aimed to reveal the attitudes of the parents' attitudes towards English language learning. In order to ensure that there are no English language barrier, the questionnaire was translated into Kurdish language by a legal translator and presented to the participants during the data collection sessions. (See Appendix D). The questionnaire enabled the researcher to obtain data pertaining to the participants' background information and the related questions that aimed at defining the parents' attitudes. In fact, in the first part, the participants were asked to

respond to 14 statements about the advantages of early English language learning by opting relevant option on a five-point Likert scale.

The second part, which consisted of 4 statements about language learning, enabled the researcher to obtain data about the issue under consideration. This was followed by two statements about the role of the Kurdish language. Section two, which deals with the research questions related with document analysis in terms of top-down and bottom-up attitudes, provides critical analysis of official and government documents of KRG towards language planning and policy in the region. Therefore, Iraqi constitution, IKR draft of constitution, project-law of five members of parliament in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) were gathered, and the bylaws of six political parties were translated. Besides, the documents pertaining to government, institutional and non-institutional efforts for resetting language planning and policy, alphabetic change and standardization of the language were collected. The references were officially published documents, the newspaper of (Waqaie of Kurdistan) which is a legal outlet of rules of laws and project laws of the Kurdistan parliament in Iraq.

5.2 Data Analysis

5.2.1 Attitudes of Kurdish Students Towards English Language Education

The participants of the study included 800 students and among them 460 were male and 340 were female students. Among the quoted population, 375 students from rural side and 425 students were from city centers (Table 1). The Questionnaire is used with back translation into Kurdish language; and a team contains of 5 students of English department at university, where the researcher is a lecturer collected the data, and secondary school students, Grade 12, pre university learners were involved.

Table 1: Population of the Study Based on Gender & Geography

Total	Geography			
	City-center	Countryside		
460	253	207	Male	Gender
340	172	168	Female	
800	425	375	Total	

5.2.1.1 Behavioral Attitudes Toward English Language Education

As shown in Table 2, the behavioral aspect of attitude towards English language represents the highest disagreement score. That is, the participants have positive behavioral attitude and feel relaxed whenever they have to speak in English class. The item ("Studying English helps to have good relationships with friends") obtained the highest rank 63.5%, while the lowest item 'strongly disagree' score is 5.1%. This demonstrates that the participants pay attention when English teacher is explaining the lesson and it has the favorable responses of 63.9%, (Table 2).

This could be due to the belief among the Kurdish students that learning English is needed and it is important because as other results show, only 15.9%, agreed that speaking English anywhere makes them feel worried, also, other results of this study showed that few of the students don't ask their friends or teachers for the homework and what has been taught when they miss the English class and it comprised 9.5%, and only 14.1% of the respondents stated that they put off English homework as much as possible. Interestingly, 79.5%, stated that studying English help them to improve their personality.

Table 2: Behavioral Attitudes Toward English Language Education

Behavioral Aspect of Language Attitude	SD	D	N	A	SA
Speaking English anywhere makes me feel worried	14.6	23.7	45.8	12.5	3.4
Studying English helps me to have good relationships with friends	5.1	7.9	23.5	41.8	21.7
I like to give opinions during English lessons.	9.5	12.6	15.6	29.1	33.2
I am able to make myself pay attention during studying English	5.7	8.2	40.8	13.1	32.2
When I hear a student in my class speaking English well, I like to practice speaking with him/her	3.8	9.7	29.5	27.7	29.3
Studying English makes me have more confidence in expressing myself	3.8	5.5	20.2	44.7	25.8
Studying English helps me to improve my personality	3.1	6.9	17.4	39.5	33.1
I put off my English homework as much as possible	29.8	37.2	18.7	9.7	4.6
I am not relaxed whenever I have to speak in my English class	15.2	28.9	48.9	5.1	1.9
I feel embarrassed to speak English in front of other students	11.5	25.8	47.6	9.4	5.7

I like to practice English the way native speakers do.	4.7	9.8	29.5	32.1	23.9
I wish I could have many English speaking friends	2.1	3.4	8.7	46.8	39
When I miss the class, I never ask my friends or teachers for the homework on what has been taught.	42.2	37.5	10.8	6.4	3.1
I do not feel enthusiastic to come to class when the English is being thought	31.1	45.6	8.9	8.6	5.8
I do not pay any attention when my English teacher is explaining the lesson	28.6	35.3	19.6	8.6	7.9

5.2.1.2 Cognitive Attitudes Toward English Language Education

Table 3 presents Kurdish secondary learners' cognitive attitudes towards the English education and the results illustrate positive attitudes. According to Table 3 and item number 1 ('Studying English is important because it will make me more educated'), 74.7% of the participants show positive attitudes, and 76.6% of them state that they have more knowledge and more understanding when they are studying in English. Accordingly, 62.7% of the respondents responded that they cannot apply the knowledge derived from English subject in their real life. According to the results, Kurdish students in Kurdistan region of Iraq think of having about a better performance in the English subject.

Table 3: Cognitive Attitudes Toward English Language Education

Cognitive Aspect of Language Attitude	SD	D	N	A	SA
Studying English is important because it will make me more educated	3.6	6.6	15.1	39.1	35.6
Being good at English will help me study other subjects well	6.5	8.9	25.6	28.9	30.1
I have more knowledge and more understanding when studying English.	1.9	6.2	15.3	35.8	40.8
I like my English class so much; I look forward to studying more English in the future.	1.6	3.9	4.2	34.1	56.2
Studying English helps me getting new information in which I can link to my previous knowledge	1.8	2.6	5.1	35.2	55.3
I cannot summarize the important points in the English subject content by myself	8.3	7.5	46.5	13.2	11.1
Frankly, I study English just to pass the exams.	24.1	25.9	36.5	9.4	4.1
In my opinion, people who speak more than one language are very knowledgeable	2.6	5.7	21.2	24.3	46.2
Studying English helps me communicate in English effectively	2.2	4.5	10.3	34.2	48.8
I cannot apply the knowledge from English subject in my real life	10.3	10.5	62.7	9.4	7.1

Studying English makes me able to create new thoughts	2.1	3.1	6.2	30.3	58.3
I am able to think and analyze the content in English language	10.6	11.1	51.3	17.8	9.2
I am not satisfied with my performance in the English subject	7.6	14.8	50.2	18.5	8.9
In my opinion, English language is difficult and complicated to learn.	17.8	26.4	42.1	9.4	4.3
English subject has the content that covers many fields of knowledge	1.4	6.8	15.4	30.5	45.9

5.2.1.3 Emotional Attitudes Toward English Language Education

The descriptive statistics for the participants' emotional attitudes towards English education are provided in Table 4. As shown in this table, item 11, 90.6% of participants show that knowing English language is an important aspect in their life, while only 17.9% of the participants in this study stated that they get anxious when they have to answer a question in English. The results show that 80.4% of the participants in this research enjoy studying foreign languages like English, and 89.1%, of participants feel more confident in order to study in English. This is due to the fact that they like English language and wish to practice this language more, as only 10 among the participants look forward to the time they spend in English classes.

Table 4: Emotional Attitudes Toward English Language Education

Emotional Aspect of Language Attitude	SD	D	N	A	SA
I feel excited when I communicate in English with others	1.4	6.1	40.2	26.5	25.8
I don't get anxious when I have to answer a question in my English class	8.1	9.8	51.8	18.7	11.6
Studying foreign languages like English is enjoyable	0.7	2.1	16.8	20.6	59.8
To be inquisitive makes me study English well	4.1	10.8	60.5	15.9	8.7
Studying English makes me have good emotions (feelings)	1.5	6.1	8.5	36.7	48.2
I prefer studying in my mother tongue rather than any other foreign language	14.2	17.6	43.5	11.5	13.2
I enjoy doing activities in English	1.9	7.6	10.6	38.4	41.5
I do not like studying English	68.2	27.1	2.6	1.2	0.9
I wish I could speak English fluently.	1.5	3.2	6.9	26.6	61.8
I am interested in studying English.	2.9	4.6	8.1	32.8	51.6
Studying English subject makes me feel more confident	1.8	2.6	6.8	40.9	48.2
To be honest, I really have little interest in my English class	46.7	38.1	7.5	4.6	3.1
Knowing English is an important goal in my life	3.7	1.6	4.1	17.2	73.4

I look forward to the time I spend in English class	58.2	25.9	5.9	7.3	2.7

5.2.2 Attitudes of Kurdish People Towards English Language Education

The participants of this section were 133 Kurdish parents, 79 of them were male and 54 were female. 70 of the Kurdish parents live in city centers of main cities in the Kurdistan region, including Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Duhok and Halabja, and 63 of them live in countryside and rural. (See Table 5)

Table 5: Population of the Study Based on Gender & Geographical Locations

		Geographical location		Total
		Countryside	**City-center**	
Gender	**Male**	41	38	79
	Female	22	32	54
Total		63	70	133

5.2.2.1 Attitudes of Kurdish People Towards Teaching or Learning of English Language

To start with statements concerning Item 1, Table 6 shows that 80.4% of the participants completely agreed with the statement ('the earlier that English language learning starts, the better'). A total of 70.2% of the participants also completely agreed with the statement that language learning develops the child's motivation (' English language learning develops the child's motivation for English language learning'). The Kurdish parents' responses illustrated that their attitudes were positive about being

195

informed about early language learning ('It is important to be informed about English language Learning', as the data demonstrated that 88.5% of the participants mostly and completely agreed with the statement concerning the importance of being informed about early English language learning?). Also, for item 5 which aimed at clarifying whether English language learning develops the child's positive attitude towards other cultures, 89.4% expressed their agreement whereas this figure was 69.4% for item 6 which aimed to identify parents' support for effective early English language learning. Similar results were obtained for item 7 ('Learning English language from the first-grade results in a better knowledge of the English language than learning the English language from the fourth grade of the elementary school').

Regarding item 8 which purported to get data about attitudes concerning the role of English in early learning, it was seen that more than half of the participants that is 55.3% completely agreed whereas 34.5% of them stated that they mostly agreed with the statement. Also, for the other four remaining items (9, 10, 11, 13, 14), the Kurdish parents' attitudes were seen to be very high. However, the attitudes of Kurdish parents towards the advantages of English language learning fluctuated with regard to some questions. For instance, for item 3 ('Early English language learning helps the child acquire his/her native language'), the most frequent answer was 'neutral' or 'not sure' (34.9%. A very similar attitude was witnessed for the statement 12 ('I inform myself about early English language learning'): 52.5% of the participants showed positive attitudes, while 35.6% preferred to be 'neutral' by stating that they were not sure.

Table 6: Attitudes Towards the Advantages of English Language Learning

Items	1/CD	2/MD	3/NS	4/MA	5/CA
The earlier that English language learning starts, the better	0.7	0.8	0.6	17.5	80.4
English language learning develops the child's motivation for English language learning	0.8	1.5	7.6	19.9	70.2
English language learning helps the child acquire his/her native language	4.7	7.3	34.9	33.6	19.5
It is important to be informed about early English language learning.	4.2	0.8	6.5	26.2	62.3
English language learning develops the child's positive attitude towards other cultures.	0.8	1.2	10.6	25.8	61.6
Parent support is important for effective early English language learning.	2.3	6.1	4.3	17.9	69.4
Learning a English language from the first grade results in a better knowledge of the English than learning the English from the fourth grade of the elementary school.	3.4	2.6	5.8	18.1	70.1

English language learning develops the child's positive attitudes towards the English language.	2.3	2.7	5.2	34.5	55.3
English language learning facilitates the child's subsequent English language learning.	2.7	1.3	5.8	28.4	61.8
Parents' attitudes towards a English language affect the child's attitudes towards the English language.	0.7	0.6	1.8	27.8	69.1
English language learning is fun for the child.	1.2	3.5	7.6	41.5	46.2
I inform myself about early English language learning.	5.6	6.3	35.6	27.3	25.2
Teacher support is important for effective English language learning.	0.6	1.8	16.7	11.2	69.7
English language learning positively affects the child's cognitive abilities.	2.1	3.4	7.8	19.6	67.1

5.2.2.2 Attitudes of Kurdish People Towards the Disadvantages of English Language Learning

Four items were presented to the Kurdish parents concerning their attitudes towards the disadvantages of English language learning. The obtained data showed that the majority of the participants completely disagreed with each of these statements. The participants showed the highest level of disagreement with the last item ('Early English language learning negatively affects the students' success in other school subjects'): 70.1% of them opted the choice 'completely disagree'.

The lowest level of disagreement was observed for the first item ('Children in the first grade are not mature enough to learn a foreign language'), for which 59.8% of the participants respond by marking 'completely disagree'. With regard to item 2 and 3, a very similar situated was witnessed: 62.1% and 62.5% attended the choice 'completely disagree'.

Table 7: Attitudes of Kurdish Parents Towards the Disadvantages of English Language Learning

Items	1/CD	2/MD	3/NS	4/MA	5/CA
Children in the first grade are not mature enough to learn a English language.	59.8	16.7	17.2	1.9	4.4
English language learning is difficult for the child.	62.1	17.8	14.1	2.4	3.6
English language learning negatively affects the child's learning of the native language.	62.5	17.1	13.1	3.1	4.2
English language learning negatively affects the child's success in other school subjects	71.2	11.9	6.4	4.8	5.7

5.2.2.3 Attitudes of Kurdish People Towards Learning Other School Subjects in English

Table 8 shows that the participants do not consider English more important than other school subjects, especially study of religion and Kurdish language. Regarding Item 2, which aims at examining the attitudes of Kurdish parents towards the dilemma between learning English and Religion", it could be seen that the majority of participants 74.3% prefer learning Kurdish rather than English. On the other hand, only 7.6% considered that studies English is more important than religion.

Table 8: Attitudes Towards Learning Other Subjects Over English

Items	1/CD	2/MD	3/NS	4/MA	5/CA
Learning English is more important than Religion	61.5	12.8	18.1	2.1	5.5
Learning English is more important than Kurdish.	60.4	13.6	12.6	3.1	10.3

Students in Kurdistan region study religion and religious studies from 1-12 in secondary schools, also they can continue to study only religious studies with having different options, as there are religious schools in mosques under the supervision of Ministry of Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs, apart from institutions and colleges of religious studies in both state and private sectors. Similar to item one, as the table illustrates, 74% of the participants rejected the statement that learning English is more important than studying in Kurdish language. In contrast, only 13.4% expressed their agreement.

5.3 Document Analysis

5.3.1 Analysis of Governmental and Parliamentary Efforts Towards LPP

The proclamation of Kurdish language in Iraq happened in 1958 when Article 3 of the Iraqi Constitution declared Kurds and Arabs as constituent nations. In fact, it was the beginning of identifying Kurdish language in Iraq. It led to the establishment of the Kurdish Language and Art department in Baghdad University. Also, radio stations opened their doors to programs in Kurdish. Therefore, the most important event was the fact that the Central Government allowed Kurdish children to learn their native language in the north of the country (KRG, 1991). In addition, in the Kurdish areas, Kurdish language became the official language, and it became the language of writing and studying. Since that 1991, Kurdish has been in use as an official language in Iraq (Amin, 2017).

Moreover, it got the code 143 among the 342 worlds languages from the world Organization of Servicing Examining of Education. According to Article 4 of Iraqi Constitution, Arabic and Kurdish languages are two official languages in Iraq. Moreover, the constitution stipulates that the children with various Kurdish, Turkmen and Syrian ethnic backgrounds have rights to pursue their education in their native language. These right covers both public and private sectors (Iraqi Constitution, 2005, Article Four).

In the Kurdistan region, the rules and statements are issued in both Arabic and Kurdish languages. In addition, there are 5740 schools in the Kurdistan region that they teach in Kurdish language. Besides, there are hundreds of print products of government and private presses have been printed in Kurdish language. Moreover, Kurdish language is

used in the jurisdiction. Further, there are many literary, audial, and visual channels that one cannot reach to read, listen, or watch all of them. As language is a sensitive issue for voters, politicians try to use it to achieve their political agenda during their election campaign. However, it is rare that they consider language matters seriously. In fact, political parties seem disinclined to have issues related to language policies or language management in their agenda. It is evident that political parties hardly care about the visibility of the Kurdish language in the billboards in the public places. If they cared for their language and its prestige, they would issue language laws concerning language use in the public space since prestige planning is one of the central provisions of language planning. The leadership of Kurdistan Front set up a committee for project rules of Iraqi Kurdistan's Parliament election. In the first point of their final report that has directed it to the political leadership of Kurdistan Front in 1991-1992, they have written about language:

> *"We thought it is better from the beginning the rule set in Arabic, then it will be accepted by the political leadership of Kurdistan Front. Then, it will be translated into Kurdish language by specialists in law and linguist professors. Also, translating the rules to English, French and German languages is a holy work."* (Kurdistan Front/language committee, 1992)

The Minister of Justice in Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), in a deed number (3/343), May 22, 2000, announced that, all notary document, laws, bylaws, policies, appeals, and decisions must be written in Kurdish language not Arabic language anymore.

In order to apply the Law of Judicial Authority, Number 14 1992, which highlights the use of Kurdish language in courts, it was decided that:

> 1. All Complains, Appeals, and all legal documents must be written in Kurdish language.

2. All briefings, witness reports and minutes must be written in Kurdish language.

3. The judicial correspondence must be written in Kurdish language, if there are any concepts which could find equivalents, they can use Arabic words instead, or use Arabic words in brackets.

4. The Law will come into force from June, 3, 2000. (See Appendix H)

However, there is evidence that the many articles of the Law have not been implemented. For instance, in 2006, a member of Kurdistan parliament submitted a motion on the need to implement the Law, it turned out that the speaker was not aware of the Law at all:

To Speaker of Parliament,

In order to have a better, appropriate and effective usage of Kurdish language, we have to have a special law on 'Language'. (See Appendix I)

According to a document obtained by the researcher, the speaker of Kurdistan parliament in an official statement (No. 1058/3/4- December 5, 2006), to the prime minister of KRG, underscored that all official documents issued by the government and to be presented to be the parliament must be accompanied with its Kurdish translation. The speaker of parliament also suggested that the minister to address the parliament to answer questions of MPs about the language policy in the region including the role of the Arabic language and the state of the art with the translation of the official documents into Kurdish.

On September 1, 2012, four members of Kurdistan parliament for the first time in parliament's history, submitted a draft project about official languages in KRI, and 51 MPs supported the motion, consisting of 46 articles, details, and reason behind the project. The project-law covers different language-related issues concerning its functions in the society. Besides, according to Article 21 (SPL, 2012), any private sector service agency which deals with citizens should know Kurdish language, and other official Iraqi languages, or foreign language according to service needs and user's language:

> *"All labels of offices, stores, restaurants, hotels, and private sector service places must be in Kurdish language. It's possible to use other languages of Iraq or foreign languages besides Kurdish language, on a condition the Kurdish language to be more apparent, otherwise they are not allowed to open. Knowledge of Kurdish must be one of the main requirements for job applications"*

In terms of private sector, the SPL highlights that,

> *"Kurdish, oral and written, must be used in official correspondence. It's possible to use another language besides Kurdish language. Announcements on job opportunities and vacancies in Kurdistan reign must be in Kurdish language".*

There have been attempts to elevate Kurdish to the rank of an official language so that it could be used in governmental establishments throughout Iraq. For instance, a delegation went to Baghdad to participate in preparing and writing the Constitution of the Republic of Iraq in 2005. It was decided to prepare a draft proposal to this end. An agreement was also reached to *translate the Iraqi Constitution into Kurdish* (Saeed and Jukil, 2018).

The four Kurdish parliament members participated in the process of translation. Then, signatures were collected from nine members of the Iraqi National Council. There are

also articles in these Laws which violate linguistic rights of minority groups. The best samples for them are Laws are: Article 14/2007 of the Ministry of Culture; Law of Higher Education and Scientific Studies, Article 10/2008. Law of the Ministry of Culture, Article and some others, as can be seen below:

> *"General Directorate of Education and Arts of Turkman will be ruled by a general director who has a university certificate and is qualified and experienced. General Directorate of Education and Arts of Assyria will be ruled by a general director who has a university certificate and is qualified and experienced"* (Saeed and Jukil, 2018).

In accordance with Article 2 of Law no. 10/20, "Measures will be taken on using the Kurdish language as a language of medium of instruction in higher education in the humanitarian sciences, and translating or writing books, publishing scientific material, and translating educational and academic sources into Kurdish (Saeed and Jukil, 2018).

Kurdistan Region of Iraq has been criticized for having no standard and formal languages in Iraqi Kurdistan which indicates that the political will and the Kurdish government do not take actions which would be in conformity with language policy provisions. Moreover, the symbolic value of the language as an instrument to glorify it as a national language is completely overlooked (Saeed and Jukil, 2018). Jambaz (2014, p. 56) also blames the authorities for not pursuing effective plans in terms of using it since 1991. As a matter of fact, the Kurdish language has not been used as an official language. It can be best illustrated with the fact the Parliament sessions that lasted for 13 years used Arabic rather than Kurdish despite the fact that Kurdish has been declared as an official language. The discussions inside the hall of the parliament were in Kurdish, but the rules and laws were formed and published in Arabic in The Events of Kurdistan (Waqa˝ee of Kurdistan).

5.3.2 Analysis of Political Party's Visions for LPLP

According to Articles 62, 69, 85, and 97 of the Kurdistan Democratic Party programs, the party guarantees to defend the rights of all Kurds who live in whole Iraq, strengthen and maintain social and cultural among all Kurds. Besides, it promotes the consolidation of national thoughts, patriotic saturation, the principles of democracy, tolerance and human rights in the education system. The party program also aims at enhancing the feelings of loyalty of the people to their motherland and familiarizing them with their history, culture, languages, varieties, religions and values.

The KDP program provisions support the idea of establishing an academic institution specialized in translating books, scientific and legal resources from and into Kurdish language. The party documents also emphasize the need to protect and develop the Kurdish culture and national identity. Moreover, the documents deal with the need to protecting and develop the Kurdish language, by making it as an official language so that it could enhance the social progress and national unity of the Kurds. In addition, party documents underscore the intentions of making Kurdish language an official language in all parts of Iraq (KDP Programmes, Article 98. p. 88).

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Party (P.U.K) in its updated programme (sections five and eight, article 1 and 9) advocates for establishing private institutions to teach Kurdish language to the foreigners who live and work in Kurdistan. Moreover, according to the Party programme:

> *"Among the strategic plans of the PUK are developing a cultural movement, establishing a specialized scientific center whose mission should be integrating the dialects of Kurdish language to have a standard Kurdish language and to develop Kurdish academia"* (See Appendix G).

Similarly, Kurdish National Congress Party (K.N.C) programme (sections 3, 6, and 18, advocates for protecting the regional varieties of the Kurdish Language and standardizing it as a national and official language. In other words, the party expresses its support for the initiative which aim at teaching and learning the Kurdish language and establishing a center which would work in the direction of the officialization of Kurdish language (See Appendix G).

A completely different approach is taken by Kurdistan Justice Group Party (KJG) which emphasizes the crucial role of foreign language acquisition in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), especially Arabic and English. It also proposes using English as a medium of instruction for teaching subject matter courses (The 4th congress, 2021).

According to Kurdistan Islamic Union Party (KIU) program (Articles 4, 5, and 7), Kurds are independent, and they have their own identity as a part of Islamic nation. In fact, the party advocates for protecting the original spelling in the Kurdish Language and creating the unified standard official Kurdish Language (KL) which could be used in the educational institutions and government affairs.

Similar stance is taken by Kurdistan Communist Party (KCP) program which emphasizes on the importance of using the Kurdish language as an official language education. It also advocates for establishing a center for working out a standard Kurdish language which would be used with all functions in Kurdistan (See Appendix G).

5.3.3 Analysis of Kurdish Media Influences on LPLP

Language-related issues have always been at the center of hot debates and narratives in Kurdish media. The scope of these discussions is quite wide. However, the main issue seems to be the role of mass media in language use, especially its role in vocabulary enrichment. As a matter of fact, the use of borrowings in mass media has caused both positive and negatives reactions. It is believed that media has the ability to garble the language; therefore, in any circumstances when the language of media is inappropriate, the impact will be more effective on daily language (Saeed & Jukil, 2018).

The documents under review reveal that schools, media and technological developments are significant in the formation of a unified language. Therefore, most of the discussants believe that the Ministry of Culture in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) is required to take serious action in the direction of banning translations of Western cartoons or movies into Kurdish or broadcasting them.

It is also a fact that most of the local channels do not use the Kurdish formal language most of the time; each of the characters uses his/her own sub-dialect. This shows that the process of language monitoring of these radio or TV channels is very weak. Nevertheless, these media channels are believed to have a positive effect on language management in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). This is especially important when bearing in mind the fact that many radio and local TV stations in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) broadcast their programs in Turkman, Assyrian and Armenian languages (Jambaz, 2014:108). In this regard, Qadir (2013:17) believes that language has a wider function than being one of the means of media or communication. Accordingly,

Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996) believe that languages have become critically dependent upon broadcasting for their continued strength because radio and television are the most influential channels for transmitting national culture. In fact, there seems to be numerous problems in the field although Kurdish became the language of journalism more than one century ago. Nevertheless, all those who work in media are directly involved in language-related issues on a daily basis, and this obliges journalists to be familiar with the elementary principles and rules of spelling and grammar (Qadir, 2013;18).

According to Jukil (2003:80), the volume of printed materials in the KRI during the republican period is greater than that of the monarchy period. Moreover, the rate has gained further momentum after the uprising of 1991 since all the activities of Kurdish press (i.e., printed press), broadcasting (radio and television stations) and even electronic mass media. Therefore, this period can be characterized as the period of revival of the Kurdish journalism. Currently, more than ٥٠ satellite television and 150 local TV stations have been utilized in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). Although there is no official TV and Radio station of the KRG, the top media agencies are funded by the political parties especially KDP and PUK; however, these media channels, follow the language policy provisions of various political parties rather than the official language policy of the government. Therefore, their attitudes to language and management are directly reflected in their language use. For instance, Rudaw Media Network, based in Erbil, capital city of KRI, prefers coining new Kurdish words based on the Kurdish Language rather than using their 'naturalized' counterparts. Words such as "Kazher/time" and "Varez/Quarantine" are among those words. This approach has severely been criticized by language academia and centers which need to be

involved in corpus planning. In contrast, the media agencies in Sulaimaniyah city prefer using 'pure' Kurdish words used just by the people of the older generation or words that are sourced from Hawrami dialect, rather than Central Kurdish (Sorani).

Besides, the number of printing presses is apparently getting increased due to computer applications. A huge number of books magazines and periodicals devoted to language learning, literature, theatre, cinema, archeology, strategic research have been printed in Kurdish both in the KRI and beyond its borders. Meanwhile, all modern means of communications and contacts such as Email, Fax, mobile telephone sets and systems are available which facilitate communication of Kurdish speech community. This dynamism in the increase in publications can be seen in Jambaz (2015) who infers the fact that during the whole period between 1920 and 1985 the total number of book titles were just 2040. However, from 1898-1990, there were 235 Kurdish journals whereas after 1991 the number increased and reached to more than 400 journals. According to Jabar and Dawod (2006: 111), Kurdish Literature flourished, and writers and poets were enjoying a hitherto exhaustive freedom correlated with the democratic liberty. As early as 1992, 77 newspapers and magazines appeared, 38 in Erbil, 25 in Sulaimaniyah, 12 in Dohuk and one in Kirkuk. Nevertheless, in one way or another, all the aforementioned data in terms of published books and journalism represent efforts and procedures which could be counted as having of implicit language policy despite of having no official documents affirming any kind of language policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI).

5.3.4 Analysis of Attempts to Change the Alphabet

The Kurdish Alphabet (modified) is used in south and east of Kurdistan for writing Kurdish, and all of Kurdish thoughts, beliefs, and culture has been written in this for

some centuries was not like that before. This alphabet has undergone changes many times. If Arabic alphabet had come to Kurdistan during the seventh century, it meant that writing in Kurdish language was not possible and everything was written in Arabic and Persian as dominant languages in the region. During those days, Kurds did not have any regional self-governance. Moreover, Kurds did not have their own alphabet. Therefore, Kurds tried to make use of Arabic and Persian alphabet and modify them to meet the linguistic features of the Kurdish language and it is about six to seven centuries that Kurds have their own alphabet and could write in Kurdish.

The choice of the alphabet is not just the prerogative of linguistic considerations; it may have serious sociopolitical consequences due to its symbolic value. On the one hand, alphabet comprises those symbols that are used to represent those phonemes and sounds that exist in a language and uttered by the speaker of that language. On the other hand, alphabet is not restricted only to linguistics. Rather, it is the amalgamation of political, social, psychological, economical, and other constructs. Therefore, Kurdish alphabet should be considered from all perspectives. There seems to be some reasons to explain why Kurdish fails to develop as much as needed, and it is not as widespread as it needs to be. First of all, Kurdish communities reside in various geographies and experience various socio-political dimensions. Second, it lacks comprehensive educational and language policies, including language in education policy. Third, there seems to be a lack of unity in Kurdish mass media, therefore it fails to disseminate national ideas and aspirations. Finally, some people find it hard to create a unique alphabet that could be based on the modified Latin. Thus, referring to the data, it can be concluded that there seemed to be many reasons, along with the ones mentioned above, created hurdles and, as a result, Kurdish language failed to make

progress meet the requirements or face challenges. It could also be noticed that Kurdish language did not face any serious problems, and certain changes towards its betterment can be witnessed. Thus, it is used for writing subjects in any area and field (Shakeli, 2013).

Those who argue for the shift from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin-based alphabet criticize Arabic alphabet for its deficiencies and propose to replace it by the Latin alphabetic as an official Kurdish alphabet. Accordingly, this is inevitable as the introduction of the Latin-based Kurdish alphabet may help Kurds and their language to integrate with the world. They also argue that Latin alphabet will help foreigners to understand and learn Kurdish (Shakeli, 2013). This view seems to be unwarranted as foreigners, especially Europeans and Americans can speak in Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Amharic, Chinese, Russian, Japanese, Korean, Armenian, Sanskrit, and many other languages which do not use any Latin-based alphabet. In other words, learning Kurdish Language by foreigners has nothing to do with the alphabet; rather, it can be attributed to the role of Kurds as a nation and its contribution to political, economic, and educational issues and changes in the world. In addition, Kurdish is not the language of an independent country. Due to this and many other factors, foreigners seem to be reluctant to learn Kurdish. Thus, proficiency of a language has nothing to do with the alphabet it uses. For instance, Kurdish neighboring nations, Arabs, or Persians, use the same alphabet, however, their position is significantly higher than that of the Kurds.

A brief recourse into the history of discussions concerning alphabetical shift shows mostly foreigners rather than Kurds themselves advocated for the shift. In other words, it is obvious that mostly foreigners want to change Kurdish alphabetic. However, there are some efforts have been done by Kurds in the Kurdistan, as well.

According to Shakeli (2013), in 1905 Morgan proposed to change Kurdish alphabetic to Latin. Efforts had been made by Major Sown to create a modified version based on the Latin alphabet for Kurdish language. Furthermore, Moroglof and Shamoe in 1930 created a Kurdish alphabet, and it was in use by Kurds of Soviet Union till 1938. For example, the Reya Tazeh, a Kurdish newspaper which was published between 1930 and 1938, used the Latin alphabet. Then, it resumed its publication in 1955, and since then it has been using the Cyrillic alphabet. In addition, in 1931 Edmonds attempted to shift the alphabet, in the same vein, Pere Rondo, a French officer in Syria tried proposed the shift before Jaladet Badir Khan's attempt to shift to the Latin alphabet. Similar attempt was taken in 1933 by Minorisky and Arabi Shamoe. In fact, all of them were non-Kurdish (Shakeli, 2013).

In 1931, when Turkish shifted to the modified Latin, the Khoyiboun group in Damascus decided to use Latin alphabet instead of Arabic alphabet to write in Kurdish. Jaladet Badir Khan published his Latin alphabet in 1932. Also, he published "Hawar" journal, and from number 24, it appeared in the Latin alphabet. Similar attempts were made by Abdullah Jawdet in "*Rozhi Kurd*" journal proposed to change Kurdish alphabetic to Latin. On the other hand, Abdul Razaq Badir Khan suggested using the Cyrillic Russian alphabet (Jambaz, 2015; Shakeli, 2013).

In 1925 Muhammad Amin Zeky Beg and Mirza Muhammad Bashiqe prepared a book for primary schools in Latin whereas in 1933 Tofiq Wehby published a book with the title of 'Khwendawary Baw' which used English alphabet rather than Kurdish. Later in 1956, Jamal Nebez published a book in Kurdish using a modified Latin alphabet, and he added letters as "ڵ"and "ڕ" and "ێ" to Badir Khan's Latin alphabetic. These changes were believed to make Badir Khan's alphabet richer and more appropriate for

the Kurdish language. However, those who argued for using Latin for Kurdish writing did not support the changes proposed by Jamal Nebez. In 1972 Giewy Mukriani designed a Latin-based Kurdish alphabet. In fact, Sadiq Baha`addin Amedy was one of those voices who called for change of Kurdish alphabetic to Latin. This view was supported by Aziz Akreyie (Shakeli, 2013). In fact, he has published some works where he discussed issues concerning alphabetical reforms. If we focus on those foreigners who called for changing Kurdish alphabet to Latin, they could be divided into two groups. One of them belonged to Christian religion and advocated for Christianity while the other group comprised French and British colonizers. As Shakeli (2013) states, the main aim of foreigners behind changing Kurdish alphabetic was the idea to decrease the value of Kurdish culture in those areas where Kurds lived and make it passive and forgotten gradually. In fact, they were quite reluctant to change the socio-political status quo as they wanted Kurds to leave the countries where they used to live as indigenous ethnic groups. Moreover, they aimed to make Kurds as a source of disturbances for Kurds themselves and for those who they were in contact with. Besides, they wanted to Christianize Kurds in this way and apart them from Islam and Islamic traditions and beliefs. Also, they wanted to derail Kurds from Persian and Arab culture and traditions.

On the other hand, there were attempts made by Kurds themselves who preferred to change their alphabet. After the appearance of Jaladet Badir Khan's alphabet, some reasons were presented to justify the change of the Kurdish alphabet. The main reason was the idea that the presented the deficiencies of Kurdish alphabet, and it could not reflect all features of the Kurdish language. On the other hand, the Latin-based alphabet was associated with the Western values and culture as if Latin or shift to Latin

would be a panacea for all problems. This view seems to have no grounds since many languages with their own alphabets which are different from Latin, can successfully survive and meet the requirements of their users. As mentioned above, there are many languages with their idiosyncratic writing systems (e.g., Arabic, Chinese, and Bengali) which can function quite successfully in all domains. However, these languages did not attempt to change their alphabets as they may not reap anything but loss and detriment (Jambaz, 2009).

5.3.5 Analysis of Attempts Towards Language Standardization

Although Kurdish language is an official language in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and this reality has overtly been stated in the Iraqi Constitution, still Kurds seem to have issues pertaining to language standardization. Although the standard variety is based on Central Kurdish (Nawerast), there are no language laws or by-laws concerning language management that can encourage all Kurds in this part of Kurdistan to follow them. Moreover, those who speak Halabja and Duhok, Kurdish regional varieties seem to be reluctant to conform to this.

From the early history of Kurds, different attempts have been made in the direction of elevating one of the regional varieties to the rank of official language as a standard variety. Such attempts can be classified into institutional and individual attempts. Concerning to the individual attempts, it can be stated that many articles, reports and books, which have been published, are the attempts to standardize one of the dialects of Kurdish language as standard language. In fact, four different directions can be identified in this regard. One of these directions is the attempt to create a standard variety based on the Central Kurdish. This view has been proposed and supported by such figures as Mohammed Mairuf, Rafiq Sabir, Salam Nawxosh, Sherko Bekas,

Amjad Sakely, Mohammed Mahwy. The supporters of the second direction advocate for creating a 'dual' standard variety based on two dialects: Central and Kurmanjy. Among those who support this view are Amir Hassanpour, Jehfer Sheholesalmi, Hassan Qazi. The third proposal concerns mixing both central and Kurmanjy dialects as a standard language. Jamal Nabaz is the figure of this direction. The last proposal in this direction is the one proposed by Wrya Omar Amin who believes Kurdish people can use dialects without any problem, and in the long run, one of the varieties will naturally be recognized as a standard language.

There have also been institutional attempts in the direction of standardization. For instance, Kurdnasi conference held in 1934 in the Soviet Union was dedicated to Kurdish dialects of Kurdish speakers in the Soviet Union. In fact, it had a great impact on the standardization of the language. Also, similar issues were discussed in the first conference of Kurdish teachers in September 1959. Among the recommendations of the conference were establishing Kurdish Linguistic Forum to produce first Kurdish Language dictionary, teaching Kurdish history in schools, preparing Kurdistan constitution, writing books in all Kurdish dialects, etc. The Second Conference of Kurdish teachers which held in August 1960 suggested making Central Kurdish dialect (Nawerast) a standard language and preparing Kurdish constitution and writing national history in the Kurdish alphabet. In 1990s, 53 Kurdish writers, journalists and authors addressed Kurdistan regional government asking to standardize Central Kurdish dialect, Nawerast, as a standard language. Also, a special conference dedicated to this topic was held in 2009 in Erbil where the participants were divided into two camps. While one group argued for making Central Kurdish dialect as

standard language, while the second group suggested the idea of having two dialects, Central Kurdish and Kurmanjy regional dialects a standard for Kurdistan.

Thus, it can be concluded that there lacks unanimity of views of 'language agents' at both individual and institutional levels in terms of language policy and language planning. It is also obvious that individual and institutional stances are conditioned by their political, nationalistic or religious orientations.

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Presentation

The final chapter of the recent thesis comprises the discussion of the results, and conclusion. The chapter in various parts discuss the results based on the four research questions of the thesis, later, implications of the study are shared, and finally, the recommendations for future studies are suggested.

6.2 Discussion of Results

This section comprises the discussions of the results, to be specific with the results which have been shared in chapter four, the discussions go over the research questions. The present study attempts to find answers to the following questions:

RQ1. What is the current language planning policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in terms of status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning?

RQ2. What are the changes of discourse over the Kurdistan region's language planning and policy in the light recent socio-political developments?

RQ3. What attitudes do Kurdish secondary school students hold towards English language education policy?

RQ4. What attitudes do Kurdish parents hold towards English language education policy?

6.2.1 Discussion of the Results of Research Question (RQ1): What is the Current Language Planning Policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in Terms of Status Planning, Corpus Planning, Acquisition Planning and Prestige Planning?

According to the historical analysis presented in the previous chapter, after the first Kurdish newspaper 'Kurdistan' which was published on April 22, 1898 in Cairo, Egypt by Mikdad Midhad Bedir Khan, different efforts have been invested to determine the epistemology of the Kurdish language.

The findings of this thesis reveals that all activities of language planning and policy in psychological, social, and political constructs were unofficial, therefore the current language planning policy in Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI) is covert rather than overt language planning policy.

In fact, the date marked the history and the newspaper appeared in modified Kurdish/Arabic alphabet. Kurds used this modified alphabet in literature and cultural activities. It was the first time in Kurdish history to use modified Kurdish alphabet to reflect their collective thought and belief in their native language. It is also true that this alphabet has undergone changes many times. To draw a clear image of current language planning policy in the region, the findings show reflect on three major attempts that have been taken in terms of alphabetic change, standardization of Kurdish language and reform in English language curricula and syllabus in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI).

The attempts to change the Kurdish alphabet started in 1905 to change it from Kurdish/Arabic one into Latin. Later in 1913, some efforts have been initiated to create a modified version based on the Latin alphabet for Kurdish language. Further, a

Kurdish alphabet was created and used by Kurds, which was officially published in 1950s. On the other hand, there were suggestions to use Cyrillic Russian alphabet for Kurdish literature. In 1972, Kurds in the north of Iraq, started studying Kurdish language as one of the main subjects besides Arabic as the language of instruction and English language as a foreign language.

Accordingly, the findings show that attempts to change Kurdish alphabet could reach a point and conferences, academic debates and individual attempts used to be unsuccessful in reaching an agreement about Kurdish alphabet. Hence, currently, Kurdish/Arabic alphabet use in education and marketing, besides using Latin alphabet in media to cover the news and activities of Kurds in Turkey and Syria.

In term of standard language, although Kurdish language is an official language in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and this fact finalized with the Iraqi constitution, Kurds still have problem of having no standard language. The official dialect of Kurdistan regional government is Central Kurdish (Nawerast/Sorani) but there are no language laws that would encourage all Kurds in this region to adhere to the language. In other words, no initiatives have been taken in the direction of prestige planning. In fact, those who use Halabja and Duhok regional Kurdish varieties have different claims. Thus, different attempts have been made in terms of standardization of one of the dialects. These attempts can be classified as both institutional attempts and individual attempts. While the majority of Kurdish language scholars criticized the situation that the Kurdish language did exist during pre-uprising era and different attempts have been made in elevating it to the rank of an official language, the whole process of LPP including Standardization of Kurdish language is far away from the point that was expected to be now.

Furthermore, the findings show that, in 1990s, 53 Kurdish writers, journalists and authors published an announcement to Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) asking the authority to standardize Central Kurdish regional dialect (Nawerast) as a standard language. Besides, the conference on official language held at 21-23 December 2009 in Erbil and the participants were divided into two groups. One group favored the standardization of the Central Kurdish dialect while the second group proposed having two dialects: Central Kurdish variety and Kurmanjy variety, as a basis for the standard Kurdish.

In the light of recent sociopolitical developments, it can be argued that, Kurdish language as an official –national language, have to be as natural as it is, it means, with the power sharing of both ruling political parties which speak Sorani and Kurmanijy/Bahdini varieties of this language inside the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). Despite, of social and psychological constructs, Kurds will naturally an agreement after decades regarding one of the varieties and mainly it will be Sorani/Central one, which is used by majority of Kurdish people in this region.

In 1873, English became a subject of schools in Iraq. Which was commanded by the Britain, English language was used as the medium of instruction in schools. However, this practice did not last long. In fact, later Iraqi authority of the moment decided to change the policy and English language as a subject started from basic schools. Therefrom, the English position has transformed from a SL language to an EF language. The course books where the associated methodology was Grammar Translation Method were imported from Egypt (Amin, 2017).

Amin (2017) mentioned that the earliest ELT courses were followed by three series of courses which had been composed in Britain. The first series bore the name of "The Oxford English Course" by Lancelot Oliphant; the second one bore the name "The Oxford English Course for the Middle East" by Lawrence Faucett; while the third one was titled "The Oxford English Course for Iraq Albert Sydney Hornby; Donald Clifford Miller and an Iraqi expert Selim Hakim. The first two series had been used until the middle of the 1950s, while the third one had been used until the early 1970s (Amin, 2017).

Moreover, as Amin (2017) mentions, the Ministry of Al-Maarif (Knowledge) had no right to revise and modify those syllabuses because they were the property of the authors, not of the Ministry. As a matter of course, the authority that was in charge of education had to look into these aspects thoughtfully and deeply in order to improve that situation. Hence, the establishment of the Foreign Languages Department at the Higher Teachers Training College in Baghdad (early of 20th century) marked a new era in English language teaching in Iraq on the way of improving the aforesaid situation. Concerning the teaching of the literary reader, it began at the intermediate stage, not at the preparatory stage, as it is now (Amin, 2017).

Besides, the English subject in school, was modified, Amin (2017) argues that "The Oxford English Course for Iraq" was promoted in the state till 1970. It is also noted that the English Course was introduced in Iraq for students studying in the Primary Fifth Grade and it was rooted through Book 1 of New English Course. . It is also observed that the series of English Language Courses or books have been revised on yearly basis. "The Era of Nationalizing the Syllabuses of English in Iraq" heralded a new beginning and transformation in the academic world as the people who authored

a series of books and the members of the board hailed from Iraq. Besides, the decision of Ministry of Education to set up a committee that was entitled to draft a series that comprised eight books (The New English Course for Iraq (NECI)) added to the transformation in the education sector. In order to make the teaching effective in the program, the structural approach and The Audio-lingual Method were designed and executed. The syllabus was introduced in the Primary Fifth Grade, and it was common in all the schools. The committee also observed the efficacy of the new syllabus (NECI) in comparison with the old syllabus or textbooks and it was inferred that the new syllabus is more effective. After observing the efficacy of new series of books, the government introduced one book each year in the specific school levels and the last book among the series was scheduled to be introduced in 1980-1981. In addition, these series of books comprised 22 books that were intended for both teachers and students. The series of 22 books included 8 teacher's guide, 3 manuals across the various levels of school, three books are dedicated for literary pursuance in the preparatory stage.

Locally produced textbooks were the property of the Iraqi Ministry of Education, and this gave the curriculum designers and developers in Iraq the right and the freedom to revise and modify the books whenever they found it appropriate to do so (Amin, 2017).

In late 1970s, The Institute for the Development of English Language Learning in Iraq (henceforth IDELTI) was established by the Ministry of Education. One of the main functions was to assist in improving the textbooks of English in Iraq. This institute also issued the IDELTI Journal in 1973. This journal, which focused on English language teaching in Iraq, came out quarterly. Almost all of the editorial board members were from Iraq. During the first half of the year 1980, the Directorate of

Curricula and Textbooks opened wider debates on school curriculums in all courses including English (Amin, 2017). In 1990, there was a conference held in in Kuwait and this lead to the inclusion of the syllabus. However, this attempt of syllabus inclusion could not be materialized as there was a serious political conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. Besides, the state had made some attempts to revise the syllabus prescribed for English Learning in the school levels like primary and secondary.

Since 2007, the Kurdistan Regional Government KRG has taken significant steps to improve education standards. Accordingly, English language was introduced to early classes in schools, and promoting creative thinking in classrooms was incorporated into school curricula. The official website of Sunrise for Kurdistan defines the new curriculum as a complete English course written especially for primary and secondary school students.

6.2.2 Discussion of the Results of Research Question (RQ2): What are the Changes of Discourse Over the Kurdistan Region's Language Planning and Policy in the Light Recent Socio-Political Developments?

The exposure of Kurdish society to Western cultures and languages in the nineteenth century led to a growing awareness among intellectual circles of the increasing gap between Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and the Western powers regarding scientific and economic development. Although, Kurdish language has become the medium of education, administrative documents, and records for cultural aspects of Kurdistan Regional Government (KRI) as a result of Kurdish political developments, there is still more to be done to fill the gaps that exist due to the lack of linguistic awareness at all levels.

According to the documents analyzed in previous chapter, it can be seen that Kurdish language and all issues that could be related to Kurdish linguistics were completely ignored. In fact, no specific activities in this direction have been taken after the Kurdish uprising in 1991 until now all over Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) (Jambaz, 2014; Saeed, Jukil, 2018). It is evident to infer that the Kurdish language has not been used as an official language: during the first session of the Kurdistan Parliament which lasted for 13 years, but throughout these years, all the laws and decisions were formulated and written in Arabic despite the fact that Kurdish is the official language. Notably, having no standardized and officialized language in northern region of Iraq indicates that the political and the Kurdish government have practically ignored such a sensitive issue as language policy. Moreover, no practical actions have been taken in the direction of prestige planning. They seem to ignore the fact that language does not have only referential functions. It is a symbol of ethnic identity and a very important construction of nationhood. Accordingly, the authority is required to react positively and adopt certain procedures, some of which are mentioned by Tofiq (2007: 33). He also claims that the authority is obliged to establish a national center for the development of computer technology and whatever is related to computer technology with regard to terms and terminology so as to create a unified language and insert terms belong to the Internet, computer, and cell phone. Accordingly, many serious efforts have to be taken use of properly by being regulated within a systematic institution. Otherwise, such efforts will not prove to be fruitful.

Analysis of Kurdish political party programs concerning language-related issues show that, despite the focus of the Kurdish political parties on language and its management, it seems that what is mentioned in these programs and strategies are quite groundless

and they have nothing to do with the reality. Specifically, the role of the politicians is not highly appreciated by Kurdish linguists and writers. For instance, Sabir (2008: 2009), and Tofiq (2007) believe that two forces are to be held responsible in terms of the current linguistic situation. The political authorities and the Kurdish educationalists are to be taken accountable for their indifference to their language and the process of its standardization. They seem to lack information about their language and about the threats their language probably encounters. The narrative provided by an author who works for the Ministry of Education can serve a good example to support the above mentioned view. In fact, one of the main officials in the Ministry of Education did not conceal his pride to inform that they were changing the language of education from Kurdish into English. Sabir (2008) points that culture and language are political issues and mentions that "language and politics are tied to each other which are not only directly affecting each other but making decisions upon the fate of each other too." (p. 124) In brief, the efforts of a group of writers and linguists are not influential because this issue is not only educational and scientific, but it is also a politic issue. Particularly, the identification of the main problems is the responsibility of the educationalists, but the implementation of the programs is the responsibility of the politicians who are required to make use of the experiences of nations around the world, which show that the politics and the politicians can play a positive role in this respect.

In addition to political support, Sabir (2008) considers economic support as an influential factor for any language to compete with other dominant languages. (Tofiq, 2007, p.24). Extrinsic motivation can serve a very important role in this regard. As Tofiq (2007) notes, knowledge of Arabic offers the learner more job opportunities. As parents were always worried about finding a better future for their children, they have

found learning Arabic as a necessity. Unfortunately, no specific economic support has been given to Kurdish so far. The situation in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) is totally different since the people try to speak Arabic because of their Arab customers. The people who are able to afford sending their children to private schools where the language education is English do not pay attention to the costs. In fact, the economic efforts in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) are taken to strengthen the position of foreign languages. To stop this tendency, the political authority may need to allocate material resources to enhance the linguistic situation of Kurdish language as it is done by some Arab countries to reduce the impact of French language on their people in their countries (Spolsky, 2004). Occupation, commerce, migration, religion, and the economy are some of the factors beyond the spread of language (Jambaz, 2014). Regarding the role of religion in Kurdish language planning and policy, it can be seen that the role of the religions in terms of the Kurdish language was not and still is not the same? Tofiq (2007) seems reluctant to find the role of Mashafi rash (black mashaf), Jilwa and Yarsans (Ahli Haq) effective or useful since they had been used within a very limited scope throughout their history. Likewise, Nawkhosh (2007: 92) assumes that both writings of Jilwa and Mashafa rash failed to play any roles in Kurdish linguistics, but they stimulated and encouraged Kurdish writers to explore the religion of Yazidiyati rather than the language of these two writings. Supporting this idea of Hamid and Raza (2013), Alyawayee (2003) indicates that Kurdish Mala (clergy men) served Islamic religion through writing many books on tafseer (translating Qur'an), hadith (the speeches of the prophet), and other scientific topics. He specifies those Kurdish scholars whose writings were in Arabic and in Persian. He refers to Imam Rafi'i, Sa'adiTaftazani, Imam Bukhari, QutbuddinRazi, SibawaihiJaraAllah, and Zamakhshari. Though such scholars wrote in Kurdish too, Persian language was

227

common till the end of the First World War when the Ottoman Empire came to an end. Then studying in Kurdish at schools gradually started to appear. What is of interest here is the attitude Alyawayee has in this respect. In fact, he stands against those who blame the Kurdish clergy men for not serving Kurdish language as required. He thinks that all parts of Kurdistan were under the power of the colonized states, and nobody could do anything at that time. He points out that the chance given to the clergy men in Iraq in 1959 when the Iraqi government decided to open courses for literate people (i.e. clergy men) to let them teach at schools after their graduation after being tested. Thus, in addition to serving as teachers, they set out working on translating the Holy Qur'an in addition to the books related to the biography of the prophet and those that are the curriculum of the religious students (Faqe). The modern history witnessed an outstanding movement in the field of translating many religious books and the priority is given to the analysis (tafseer) of Holy Qur''an. for instance; MalaiGawra, Muhammadi Khal, Mala Abdul-Karimi Mudarris, Mala Othman Abdul-Aziz, and Mala Ibrahim Guli. Then the translation of Holy Qur;an by Shapol, Hazhar Mukriyani, and TahseenDoski played a great role in enriching Kurdish language with religious words. Muhammadi Khal and Hazhari Mukriyani who had written Kurdish dictionary, made a great effort this way to find identical Kurdish words for these Qur'anic words. Accordingly, it is through these analysis and translation of Holy Qur'an and other religious books related to the bibliography of the Prophet Mohammed as well as other sources the Kurdish religion students (Faqe) make use throughout their studies in the hujra (religion school) and Islamic institutions that a Kurdish dictionary could be written for such religious words of Kurdish language.

In connection with language planning policy, education, and media in Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI), a lot of work has been carried out in the field of education. According to statistics presented by Jambaz (2014, p.237), there were 497 preparatory schools, 633 journals and newspapers, 180 radio and TV stations besides many other satellite TV channels, which are using the Kurdish Language at the late of 2014. Nevertheless, Jambaz questions whether such educational centers and channels are guided by the provisions of a planned language policy. Through these attempts to explore viable answers, he refers to the reality that answering questions in exams in the universities of the capital city of Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) are not allowed. Shift in the language of education humanitarian sciences in Kurdistan Universities, under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Studies through translating, preparing and writing processes is a task that is not too difficult? This is very important since education is the most important device for language spread and language prestige.

Media has both negative and positive impacts on language. As Qadir (2013,) mentions, media has the ability to raise the prestige? of language and introduce new words, concepts, and expressions. At the same time, it has the capacity to decay the language. Accordingly, improper language use in media will not only decay and corrupt language but will also threaten the national culture and lexical corpus.

Tofiq (2007) believes that schools, media, and computer technology have taken the role of the holy religious books and become the main driving force for the formation of a unified language. Therefore, the officials from the Ministry of Culture in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) are required to take serious action in terms of the cartoons or movies that are translated into Kurdish. Most of the local channels do not

use the standard Kurdish most of the time; each of the characters uses his/her own sub-dialect. This shows that the process of linguistically monitoring these radio or TV channels is very weak. Nevertheless, these media channels are means through which one of the good points of language management in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) is depicted. Therefore, many radio and local TV stations are available in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) broadcasting their programs in Turkman, Assyrian and Armenian languages (Amin, 2020). Qadir (2013, p.17) believes that language has a wider function than being one of the means of media. Accordingly, Kreyenbrock & Allison (1996, p.78) believe that today's languages have become critically dependent upon broadcasting for their continued strength because radio and television are the most influential channels for transmitting national culture. It is hard to confirm that Kurdish does not face any challenges now though Kurdish became the language of journalism more than one century ago. Nevertheless, all those who work in media deal with language on a daily basis, and it is one of the greatest requirements of each journalist to be familiar with principles and rules of spelling and grammar. Findings of recent thesis show that the amount of printing in Kurdistan in the republican period is greater than the monarchy period. The rate is, no doubt, greater after the uprising of 1991 since all of the activities of Kurdish press (printed materials in general), broadcasting (radio and television stations) and even electronic mass media began to revive and to be utilized more effectively. More than 20 satellite television stations have been utilized in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). There is more than one radio or local television station or both in each town and city. The number of printed press which equipped with the modern technological computerized facilities is apparently getting increased. Over a thousand of titles of books, about a hundred specialized Kurdish reviews, magazines and periodicals, devoted to all branches of learning e.g. literature, women's

literature, theatre, cinema, archeology, strategic research are printed in Kurdistan and beyond it. Meanwhile, all modern means of communications and contacts such as Email, fax, mobile telephone sets and systems are available which facilitate communication of Kurdish speech community. Depending on some sources one of which is the bibliography of Kurdish press 1975-1993 the following data in terms of the published books and journals: The estimated total of printed books from 1920-1985 is 2040 books of different kinds. Since 1898-1990, there were 235 Kurdish journals but in post Kurdish uprising of 1991 the number increased and reached to more than 400 journals. As early as 1992, 77 newspapers and magazines appeared, 38 in Erbil, 25 in Sulaimaniyah, 12 in Duhok and one in Kirkuk. Nevertheless, in one way or another, all the aforementioned data in terms of published books and journalism represent efforts and procedures which could be counted as having of implicit language policy despite of having no official documents affirming any kind of language policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI).

Regarding the governmental efforts for language planning and policy and according to the documents analyzed, there are suggestions proposed for preparing a project-law for indicating and official language in the KRI to the presidency of the Kurdistan Parliament, but no committee was formed for its implementation.

Finally, there is a direct connection between the Kurdish language and politics, economy, culture, religion, education, media and law. Therefore, its absolute fact that the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) must follow significant steps to consider the concerns of Kurdish people, academics and sociocultural figures to adopt an overt language planning policy as replaced one for current covert LPP.

6.2.3 Discussion of the Results of Research Question (RQ3): What Attitudes do Kurdish Secondary School Students Hold Towards English Language Education Policy?

In the world today, English has become very prominent; in fact, it can be argued that it has become language of wider communication. Across the globe today, English is used for mutual communication, and this has made the language have some linguistic hegemony over other languages to a greater extent. Learning a foreign language, it is essential to note that some factors are involved: the interest, attitudes, worry, learning result, talent, brilliance, personal identity, age etc. All these are important components that should be observed while teaching and learning a foreign language. However, there is an important factor to be considered in language learning, that is, the attitude of the students.

In this regard, this study examines the attitude of the students towards learning as one of the most crucial component of language learning. More importantly, it examines the High school English students of the Kurdish region of Iraq and their attitudes towards learning English are evaluated. In the process of achieving this, three components are brought under focus: the cognitive, emotional and behavioural components. To understand the attitudes of Kurdish secondary student towards educating English in this region, the questionnaire was administered to get responses of 800 students; the results which have been shared in previous chapter illustrate those Kurdish students' positive attitudes towards English language.

The findings of the results which shared in previous chapter show, that Kurdish students have positive behavioral attitude and feel relaxed whenever they have to speak in English class. Besides, Kurdistan participants disagree with the statement that

speaking English anywhere makes them feel worried, and proudly support the idea that, they like to speak and study English, want to practice English the way native speakers do, and wish they could have many English-speaking friends in their contexts. In addition, Kurdish EFL students describe their behavioral attitudes using such expressions as, 'confidence', 'relaxed', 'power of expressing themselves', and agree that knowing English improves their personalities. And the majority of Kurdish participants strongly refused that speaking in English in front of other students' give them embarrassed feelings or feel enthusiastic to come to class when the English is being thought.

The findings also furnish the descriptive data about Kurdish secondary learners' cognitive attitudes towards the English education, and as a whole, their attitudes are positive. Data analysis revealed that Kurdish EFL students find studying English important because it would make them more educated, and they would have more knowledge and understanding when studying English. According to the responses, Kurdish students in Kurdistan region of Iraq think about better performance in the English subject. In the last section of the study, the descriptive statistics for the Kurdish students' emotional attitudes towards English education are provided. According to the findings of this thesis, majority participants agreed that knowing English is an important goal in their life. Also, the results illustrate that the majority of Kurdish participants in this research, enjoy studying foreign languages like English, and feel more confident with studying English. This is due to the fact that they like English language and wish to practice this language more, as only few of participants, look forward to the time they spend in English classes with their English teachers.

The findings of the study are correlative to Abu-Melhim (2019)'s study, where he examines the attitudes of Jordanian students towards learning English as a foreign Language, and 64% of the students responded positively. Also, Getie (2020) examines the attitudes of students towards learning EFL in Debremarkos Comprehensive Secondary School in Debre Markos town, Ethiopia, and found that they hold positive attitudes. The findings of the study mainly showed that the attitudes of grade 10 students towards learning EFL are positive.

The findings of this study can be seen as similar to other researchers who worked in the field which found that motivated students have greater self-confidence in their second language, resulting in a greater willingness to communicate (Brown, 2000; Ellis 1994; Noels, 2000).

In fact, the participants of this study are limited, hence, could not see generalization of the study, and researching attitudes have already described as a challenging issue. To find the better method to examine Kurdish students' attitudes about the English language education, the researcher contacted Professor Bernard Spolsky the editor of Language Policy Journal via email, and he argued that attitudes cannot be examined properly via questionnaire or quantitative study. Therefore, in this thesis, the researcher depends on document/material analysis besides of questionnaire.

The findings of recent study, illustrate that, Kurdish students hold positive attitudes towards English language education policy, in comparison to previous studies (Hama Karim, 2018; Abdullah, 2015), it can be seen that there is a dramatic change in attitudes of Kurdish students towards English, similar to the study of (Ahmed, et al 2021). There are some factors affecting Kurdish students to hold positive attitudes toward English

language education, such as native speaker teachers, peer groups and learners' parents. As have already explained in this thesis, politics, economy, media, and technology factors hold great effect on Kurdish secondary students to have positive attitudes towards English language education policy. Also, the role of parents can be considered significant as they are having a great impact on their children in expressing positive attitudes. Therefore, Kurdish parents' attitudes towards English language have been examined, and the findings are discussed in next section. There are some factors affecting Kurdish students to hold positive attitudes toward English language education, such as native speaker teachers, peer groups and learners' parents. As have already explained in this thesis, politics, economy, media, and technology factors hold great effect on Kurdish secondary students to have positive attitudes towards English language education policy. Also, the role of parents can be considered significant as they have a great impact on their children in expressing positive attitudes. Therefore, Kurdish parents' attitudes towards English language have been examined, and the findings are discussing in next section.

6.3.4 Discussion of the Results of Research Question (RQ4): What Attitudes do Kurdish Parents Hold Towards English Language Education Policy?

In this contemporary world, it has become very obvious that English is taking preeminence, and in many countries, English has been made a compulsory subject in their school curricula. Without displaying any biased propensity, English has become the language of wider communication due to the fact that it has spread across the globe and many people can travel and communicate in part of the country of the world they go to inasmuch as they can speak English. Notwithstanding, it is very essential to look into people's attitude while learning English. Some people's attitude may not

absolutely be positive due to the fact that they consider English to be a foreign language.

Besides, in the process of learning English, some students' attitude towards learning English can be highly positive; they may develop great interest in and enthusiasm towards learning. Some of them may want to speak and express themselves in English, while some others may develop negative attitude towards learning. Although students' attitude towards learning English has been extensively focused on, research on parents' attitudes towards the learning of English by their children is scarce. Data analysis showed that most parents' attitude towards English language education policy has always been positive. Empirically, the researchers have seen many parents whose zeal towards their children learning English has been very encouraging—they really desire that their children speak English fluently even like native speakers.

In the countries where English is not their official language or lingua franca, parents seem to take pride in seeing their children speaking English very fluently. Hence, the attitude of some parents, (but a few) has not been encouraging especially in countries where they are very rigid and traditional—their language and culture take preeminence in everything—be it educational policy, socio-economic issue, socio-political situation etc., they want their culture and language to take a preeminence. However, it is important to look into the policy of English education in any country; how do some parents react to the English education policy? What are their attitudes towards this policy? Have their attitudes been positive or negative? These are the major points brought under focus in this study. Therefore, this study examines the attitude of the parents towards English education policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI).

The participants of this section were 133 Kurdish parents in different cities of Kurdistan region of Iraq, they were asked to express their attitudes towards English language education, its advantages and disadvantages. It also aimed to identify their positions on such issues as religion and Kurdish language. Firstly, to start with statements belonging to the advantages of English language, fourteen items were designed in the first section of the study. The results show that the majority of the Kurdish participants completely agreed that it is better for their children to start study English earlier. Besides, the Kurdish parents' answers illustrate that their attitudes were positive about being informed about language learning. Further, as inferred by data, almost all the participants agreed with that English language learning develops the child's positive attitude towards other cultures. Similar results from Kurdish parents' attitudes were seen as very high in responses to items of the section about the advantages of English language. However, the attitudes of Kurdish parents towards the advantages of English language learning fluctuated when they were asked if English language learning helps the child acquire his/her native language: the most frequent answer was either 'neutral' or 'not sure'. Also, a very similar attitude was demonstrated for the statement "Parents inform themselves about English language learning'. Secondly, four items were presented to the Kurdish parents concerning their attitudes towards the disadvantages of English language learning. The obtained data showed that the majority of the participants completely disagreed with each of these statements.

The participants showed the highest level of disagreement with the last item ("English language learning negatively affects the child's success in other school subjects"). However, the lowest level of disagreement was observed for the first item ("Children

in the first grade are not mature enough to learn a foreign language"). In the last section, the Kurdish parents of students who study English as foreign language were asked to state their attitudes about English language subject in schools. The results show that the participants do not consider English more important than other school subjects, especially study of religion and Kurdish language.

Almost Kurds are Muslims who belong mostly to Saff'i and Sufism sects. There are also representatives of various religious minorities such as Yezidis, The Yarsan (Ahl-e Haqq or Kakai) and Zoroastrians. Students in Kurdistan region study religion and religious studies from 1-12 in secondary schools, also they can continue to study only religious studies with having different options, as there are religious schools in mosques under the supervision of Ministry of Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs, apart from institutions and colleges of religious studies in both state and private sectors.

Regarding the first item ("Learning English is more important than Religion"), it can be seen that the majority of participants' attitudes were negative and they rejected confirming that learning English is important than religion, in contrast only less percent of participants considered that studies in English is more important than religion. Similarly, as was with the first item, the results illustrate that of the participants disagreed with the statement that learning English is more important than Kurdish language. In contrast, only few of them expressed their agreement.

In this study, critical evidence has been provided with regard to the attitudes of the parents towards English education. Many of the parents are in strong support with the children, and they have agreed to give a very strong support for the children to learn

English. By doing so, they help their children develop positive attitude towards learning English language and prepares them for the future career especially in the world where English has greatly become a language of wider communication. It is very essential to understand the fact that English has a linguistic hegemony over other languages across the globe, and if the parents try their best to help their children in developing positive attitude towards learning, it is going to be a great advantage.

The results of this study show that a good number of the parents agreed that knowing English is a big opportunity for one to get a good job with an attractive offer. Hence, the results also reveal that the parents can have negative attitude towards learning English especially when the English teachers are not qualified enough to teach English.

6.3 Conclusion and Implications

The aim of this dissertation has been to answer the four main research questions, which are: the current language planning policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in terms of status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and prestige planning, the changes of discourse over the Kurdistan region's language planning and policy in the light recent socio-political developments, attitudes do Kurdish secondary school students hold towards English language education policy, and attitudes do Kurdish parents hold towards English language education policy.

This thesis set out to provide a critical analysis of the language planning and policy in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). To construct a historically informed understanding of the language planning policy in this region, the researcher worked on any documents which he could obtain from the governmental institutions to survey the doable and

useful framework of language in this region including the role and position of Kurdish, Arabic, and English as the three main languages used by Kurds people in this country.

With providing a rich literature to focus of the significance of language planning and policy, the researcher has accomplished through doing historical review on existing language distribution in the region of KRI and the researcher also considered historical background of Kurdish language in Iraq Indeed, the researcher has proposed to critically analyze the Language planning policy in the region of KRI and he has examined various methodological concepts that play key role in language planning. In addition, the study includes factors that intervene while analyzing language policy discourses and these factors include critical strategies, descriptive and analytic models and conceptual models.

The researchers have looked into the historical perspectives related to the coherence between Kurdish/Arabic Languages and Islam. Second, the researchers also looked into the relationship between the two languages that is Kurdish and English and their role in globalization while planning for an intervention. The researchers critically analyzed the coherence between political structures and the language policies or planning in the region of KRI. The proposal has compared the setup of political control in Iraq and the dispersion of dialects within the KRI. The sort of dialect rights administration implanted in Iraq has been analyzed. The later proposition has illustrated that the dialect arranging and approach in KRI acts as a system beneath which territorial states' dialect arrangements can be made. The KRI language policy is widely looked into the centralization of Kurdish, Arabic, and inquire about on the English dialect within the Kurdistan locale. The talk of the status of dialect arranging has pointed to the fact that dialect arranging works as it

were when there's grassroots bolster. The thesis presented in three different eras: pre-uprising, post-uprising, and modern era. These exemplify on the fact that the LPP acted a corrective measure to the nationalist policies. The findings of the thesis infer the embodiment of KRILPP may be linked with the political intentions or power sharing and this conceptualization focuses on the reality of social struggle in the region of KRI and how this is leading to development of new reality. Furthermore, in regards of the current English language education policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), I examined the language in education situation, and surveyed the attitudes of Kurdish secondary students besides of Kurdish parents towards the English language education policy in KRI. The results show that, Kurdish secondary students hold positive attitudes towards English language education policy, and Kurdish parents show their interests of English language learning system of their children.

There are some problems with language planning in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). First, and perhaps the most important, is that the language planners use the language as a political tool without regard to the multi-ethnic and geographic realities of the country. Secondly, multilingual language polices in education should be aimed at developing a principle for Multilanguage models (Norbert, 2005). The implementation goals of the KRI language policy are also troublesome, if policy makers hope to emulate the success of Iraqi policy makers in achieving nationwide proficiency in the state language, the Kurdish language. With an overwhelming number of people considering Arabic as their primary or main auxiliary language, the conditions that lead to Arabization and widespread Arabic competency are not repeatable in KRI. The KRI language policy program is aimed entirely at reforming the educational system. The focus has been, and appears to remain, on training teachers, specialists and

educators to expand the vitality of the Kurdish language by promoting it through the schools. Lastly, there is no clear language planning and policy in the region towards the hegemony of Arabic language on legal sector in one hand, and on the other hand the popularity of English language in education. The main argument and findings of this research can become the grounding to rethink language planning and policy in KRI. Given my thesis and argument, and based on the concluding remarks, which stress the significance of relationships as the main linguistics framework that could lead to a more equitable and just society in KR, this research presents major implications.

The present study may provide a number of guidelines in regard language planning and policy and help the Kurdistan Regional Government to draw the first systematic and written language panning and policy of KRI for the first time. It also, will determine the Kurdish authorities to find better outcomes form the contribution of language planning and policy and nation building, in terms of status, corpus, prestige and acquisition planning of language.

In the light of finding, the study may provide frameworks to the instruction of English in foreign language learning contexts including Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). More specifically, the study will determine the Kurdish secondary learners' native/non-native English use preferences. Moreover, it will make an effort to determine their capability to understand and utilize the diverse English varieties. Furthermore, the results of the study might enable the researchers to determine the countries whose English variety is considered to be the perfect model for the above-mentioned students in regard to the acquisition of English. Also, findings of this research might provide a number of useful strategies which may assist the learners to engage in friending with

both the NSs & NNSs. Therefore, in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), the results will be a road map for decision makers, researchers, language teachers, and syllabus designers that learning the various English varieties is considered to be an advantage during the process of international communication. Furthermore, the findings of this work might furnish sufficient information regarding the participants' language learning needs, viewpoints of their parents and might enable the researchers to determine the degree to which these needs have been satisfied in this context. The results might help the researchers to specify the skills which are not adequately dealt with in the context of school classrooms and may empower them to determine the predominant language learning barriers in these academic settings.

The results might help the syllabus designers to develop more effective instructional materials based on certain models, which meet the Iraqi Kurdish students' language learning needs in diverse language learning settings comprising schools and universities among others. To be more specific, these materials have to empower the learners to understand the target language in an appropriate way and should be compatible with their language learning preferences. Moreover, they have to make the learners aware of the fact that their English use has to be congruent with the increasing demands of the international community which utilizes English to perform diverse functions.

6.4 Limitations and Delimitations

There are some limitations and delimitations of the study; There are great challenges that the researcher faced during the data collection, as there are limit resources about language planning and policy in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), and also the governmental institutions rejected to proceed with the requests of the researcher in

collecting documents, because almost the institutions didn't have any law or instructions about providing the documents for academic researchers. Hence, the researcher depends on the individual relationships with the Kurdish officials, and published documents in media and official newspaper of the government (Waqaie of Kurdistan).

The authority and public people in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRG), don't have enough awareness about language planning and policy, for instance, the speaker of Kurdistan Parliament responded to one of the requests of the MPs and said "What is language planning and policy, I, by myself, have no idea!" (See Appendix I) therefore, the researcher used to clarify the topic and discuss the LPP via TV programs, interviews, vlogs-blogs, and writing columns to media agencies, as the results the researcher published two books in Kurdish language about the significance of language planning and policy for the region.

The study involved a relatively limited number of participants (secondary students and parents), this restricts the generalization of the results to other contexts, and studies in different settings, including different university levels, may yield different results. Richards (2003) notes that, for qualitative research, concepts of transferability or 'resonance' may be more appropriate than conceptions of generalizability. Here, qualitative research aims to connect new contexts by providing enough detail to allow another researcher to "share in the researcher's understandings and find instantiations of them in their own professional experience" (ibid: 266).

6.5 Recommendations for Future Studies

The issue of language planning and policy and researching the topic is new for the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), number of published research studies are limited, and the recent study can be seen as the foremost PhD thesis in the field, which examines the recent language planning and policy in the region, draws the linguistic landscape, and surveys the attitudes of Kurdish students and parents towards language education policy.

The area needs further research studies, to guide the Kurdish authorities about the significance of language planning policy for no-state communities like this region, to publish the awareness and take the considerations, to provide better understanding about standard language, language right, alphabetic change, … etc.

It is clear that, in order to test the validity of these findings, more research in this area is needed, particularly in expanding circle contexts. Ideally, this would involve a larger number of participants especially university students, teacher, and stakeholders could be followed up with further interviews.

REFERENCES

Abidin, M. J. Z., Pour-Mohammadi, M., & Alzwari, H. (2012). EFL students' attitudes towards learning English language: The case of Libyan secondary school students. *Asian social science, 8*(2), 119-136.

Abu-Melhim, A. R. (2009). Attitudes of Jordanian college students towards learning English as a foreign language. *College Student Journal, 43*(2), 682-694.

Ager, D. E. (2001). Motivation in language planning and language policy *(Vol. 119). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.*

Ager, D. E. (2005). French cultural, languages and telecommunications policy towards sub-Saharan Africa. *Modern & Contemporary France, 13*(1), 57-69.

Alhmali, J. (2007). Student attitudes in the context of the curriculum in Libyan education in middle and high schools. *PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow.*

Amin, M. Y. M. (2017). English Language Teaching Methods and Reforms in English Curriculum in Iraq; an Overview. *Journal of University of Human Development (UHDJ), 3*(3), 578-583.

Amin, M. Y. M. (2018). The Effectiveness of "Training Course for English Teachers in Iraqi Kurdistan" and Improving Teachers' Confidence. *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 5*(1), 137-148.

Amin, M. Y. M., & Rahimi, A. (2018). Challenges Faced by Novice EFL Teachers. *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies (IJHCS) 5*(1), 149-166.

Amin, M. Y. M., & Shibliyevb, J. (2021). A brief inquiry into the linguistic landscape vis-à-vis the official language policy of Iraqi Kurdistan. *Revista Argentina de Clínica Psicológica, 30*(2), 523-533.

Bago, V. (2018). *The Attitudes of Parents Towards Early Foreign Language Learning* (Doctoral dissertation), University of Rijeka. Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Department of English Language and Literature.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2003). *6. Language Planning: A Grounded Approach.* In Bilingualism (pp. 88-111). Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2003). *Language planning: a grounded approach*. In J. Dewaele, A. Housen and Li Wei (eds) Bilingualism: beyond basic principles. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, pp. 88–111.

Baldauf, R. B., & Luke, A. (1990). *Language planning and education in Australasia and the South Pacific: Session on language and identity: Conference: Papers*. UK, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baldauf, R. B., Jr. (1994). "Unplanned" language policy and planning. In W. Grabe and et al. (Eds.). *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 14 (pp. 82-89). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Baldauf, R. B., Jr. and Ingram, D. E. (2003) Language-in-education planning. In W. Frawley (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (4 vols.) Vol. 2 (2nd ed.) (pp. 412-416). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baldauf, R. B., Jr. and Kaplan, R. B. (2003) Language policy decisions and power: Who are the actors? In P. M. Ryan and R. Terborg (eds.) *Language: Issues of Inequality* (pp. 19-37). Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonama de Mexico.

Baldauf, R. B., Jr. and Kaplan, R. B. (2004*) Language Planning and Policy in Africa, Vol. 1: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baldauf, R. B., Jr. and R. B. Kaplan (2005) Language-in-education policy and planning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.) *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning* (Chapt 55). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. (in press).

Baldhauf Jr, R. B. (1994). *" Unplanned" language policy and planning.*

Baldhauf Jr, R. B. (2006). Rearticulating the case for micro language planning in a language ecology context. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 7(2-3), 147-170.*

Bamgboṣe, A. (2019). *A recurring decimal: English in language policy and planning. The handbook of world Englishes, 657-673.*

Berthoud, A. C., & Lüdi, G. (2011). *Language policy and planning. Wodak, Ruth; Johnstone, Barabara; Kerswill Paul.(eds.). The SAGE handbook of sociolinguistics. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 479-496.*

Bianco, J. L., Hornberger, N. H., & McKay, S. L. (2010). Language policy and planning. *Sociolinguistics and language education, 18, 143.*

Björkman, B. (2014). *Language ideology or language practice? An analysis of language policy documents at Swedish universities. Multilingua, 33(3-4), 335-363.*

Blommaert, J. (1996). Language planning as a discourse on language and society: The linguistic ideology of a scholarly tradition. *Language problems and language planning, 20(3), 199-222.*

Blommaert, J. (2006). Language policy and national identity. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 238–254). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Blommaert, J. (2006). *Language policy and national identity. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 238, 254.*

Blommaert, J. (2013). Policy, policing and the ecology of social norms: Ethnographic monitoring revisited. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *219*, 123-140.

Blommaert, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Language ideological debates (Vol. 2). Walter de Gruyter.*

Bonacina-Pugh, F. (2012). Researching 'practiced language policies': Insights from conversation analysis. *Language policy, 11(3), 213-234.*

Bright, W. (1993). The Aztec triangle: Three-way language contact in New Spain. In Laura Buszard-Welcher & al, *Proceeding of the 18th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1992),* pp. 22-36.

Brown, N. A. (2003). Language and identity in Belarus. *Language Policy* 4. 311-332.

Brown, N. A. (2007). Status language planning in Belarus: an examination of written discourse in public spaces. *Language Policy* 6. 281-301.

Brown, N. J., & Brown, S. N. (2005). The final draft of the Iraqi constitution: analysis and commentary (Vol. 16). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 8.

Brumfit, C. J. and K. Johnson (1978). *The Communicative Approach to Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canagarajah A. S. (1993). Critical ethnography of a Sri Lankan classroom: Ambiguities in opposition to reproduction through ESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 27: 601–626.

Canagarajah A. S. (1999a). *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canagarajah A. S. (1999b). On EFL teachers, awareness, and agency. *ELT Journal,* 53(3): 207–216.

Canagarajah S. (2005). *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Canagarajah, A. S. (Ed.). (2005). *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice. Routledge.*

Chomsky, N. (2004). *Language and politics. AK Press.*

Chumbow B. S. (1987). Towards a language planning model for Africa. *Journal of West African Languages*, 17(1): 15–22.

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corder, S. P. (1973). *Introducing applied linguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Corson, D. (1998). *Language policy in schools.* New York: Erlbaum.

Corson, D. (1998). *Language policy in schools: A resource for teachers and administrators.* Routledge.

Cotton, K., & Wikelund, K. R. (1989). Parent involvement in education. *School improvement research series, 6(3),* 17-23.

Coulmas, F. (Ed.). (2013). *A language policy for the European Community: prospects and quandaries (Vol. 61). Walter de Gruyter.*

Crystal, D. (1997). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language.* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2000). On trying to be crystal–clear: A response to Phillipson. *Applied linguistics*, 21(3): 415–423.

Crystal, D. (2001). *Language play*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crystal, D. (2002). *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2012). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire (Vol. 23). Multilingual Matters.*

De Bot, K., Lowie, W. & Verspoor, M. (2005). *Second language acquisition: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.

De Schutter, H. (2007). Language policy and political philosophy: On the emerging linguistic justice debate. *Language problems and language planning, 31*(1), 1-23.

Dizayee, A. (2015). The new Plan and Vision for Reformation in Higher Education in Kurdistan. (A Seminar of the Ministry of Higher Education). Erbil. Kurdistan Region, Iraq

DJité, P. G. (1994). *From Language Policy to Language Planning: An Overview of Languages Other Than English in Australian Education. National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Ltd.,* Level 2, 6 Campion Street, Deakin, Australian Capital Territory 2600, Australia.

Dunlop, W.G. (2015). Iraq's Arabs and Kurds have no common language. Retrieved 12 April 2015, from http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=66393

Eastman, C. M. (1984). *Language, ethnic identity and change. Linguistic minorities, policies and pluralism, 259-276.*

Eastman, C.M. (1983). *Language planning: An introduction*. San Francisco: Candler & Sharp Publishers, Inc.

Erling, E. J. (2002). 'I learn English since ten years': the global English debate and the German university classroom. *English Today*, *18*(2), 8-13.

Evans, S. (2002). Macaulay's Minute revisited: Colonial language policy in nineteenth-century India. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 23(4)*, 260-281

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Critical Language Awareness*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power,* London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research.* London; New York: Routledge.

Farrell, T. S., & Kun, S. T. K. (2008). *Language policy, language teachers' beliefs, and classroom practices. Applied Linguistics, 29*(3), 381-403.

Feestra, H. (1969) Parent and Teacher Attitudes. Their Role in Second Language Acquisition. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 26, 5–13

Ferguson G. (2006). *Language Planning and Education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh.

Ferguson, C. A., (1968). Language development. I *Language problems of developing nations*, red. av Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson & Jyotirindra Das Gupta. 27– 35. New York: John Wiley.

Ferguson, G. (2006). *Language planning and education*. Edinburgh University Press.

Fillmore, L. W. (2000). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned?. *Theory into practice*, *39*(4), 203-210.

Fishman J. (1968). *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman J. (1974). Advances in Language Planning. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman J. (1989). *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman J. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. (1966). *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (Vol. 21). Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J. (1972). *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays,* Rowley MA: Newbury House.

Fishman, J. A. (1968), Nationality-nationalism and nation-nationism. In J. A. Fishman, C. A. Ferguson, and J. Gupta (Eds.), *Language problems of developing nations*. New York, Wiley.

Fishman, J. A. (1974). Language modernisation and planning in comparison with other types of planning. *Language Planning and Language Education*, 37-54.

Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (2006). *Do not leave your language alone: The hidden status agendas within corpus planning in language policy.* Routledge.

Fishman, J. A. (Ed.). (2011). *Advances in language planning (Vol. 5). Walter de Gruyter.*

Fishman, J. A., & Ferguson, C. A. (1968). *Language problems of developing nations (p. 146).* J. Dasgupta (Ed.). New York: Wiley.

Fishman, J., Gupta, J. D., Jernudd, B. H., & Rubin, J. (1971). *Research outline for comparative studies of language planning.* In J. Rubin & B. Jernudd (Eds.), *Can language be planned?* (pp. 293–305). University Press of Hawaii.

Fox, M. J. (1975). *Language and development: A retrospective survey of Ford Foundation language projects,* 1952-1974 (Vols. 1 & 2). New York: Ford Foundation.

Freeman, D., & Johnson, K. E. (1998). Reconceptualizing the knowledge-base of language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, 32, 397-417.

Gardner R. (1980). On the validity of affective variables in second language acquisition: Conceptual and statistical considerations. *Language Learning*. 30 (2): 255-270.

Gardner R. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning. The role of attitudes and motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.

Gardner RC & Lambert WE. (1959). Motivational variables in 2nd language-acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*. 13(4): 266–272.

Gardner, R. & Lambert, W. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gardner, R. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning. The role of attitudes and motivation.* London: Edward Arnold.

Gardner, R.C., and Smythe, P.C. (1974) *Second language acquisition: A social psychological approach*. Research Bulletin No. 332, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada.

Gernot L. W. (1975). "Isoglosses: A Sketch on Persians and Parthians, Kurds and Medes". *in: Monumentum Henrik S. Nyberg II [Acta Iranica 5]*, pp. 457-472.

Getie, A. S. (2020). Factors affecting the attitudes of students towards learning English as a foreign language. *Cogent Education*, *7*(1), 1738184.

Grin, F. (1996). *Economic approaches to language and language planning: an introduction.*

Grin, F. (2003). *Language planning and economics. Current issues in language planning, 4*(1), 1-66.

Grin, F. (2006). *Economic considerations in language policy. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 77-94.*

Haarmann H. (1990). Language planning in the light of a general theory of language: A methodological framework. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 86: 103–126.

Haarmann, H. (1984). The role of ethnocultural stereotypes and foreign languages in Japanese commercials. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (50), 101-122.

Haarmann, H. (1986). *Language in Ethnicity,* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haarmann, H. (2011). *Symbolic values of foreign language use: From the Japanese case to a general sociolinguistic perspective* (Vol. 51). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1990). 'New ways of meaning: a challenge to applied linguistics', *Journal of Applied Linguistics 6,* 7–36.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1990). New ways of meaning: The challenge to applied linguistics. In J. Webster (ed.)?? 2003: 139–174.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1996). Literacy and linguistics: A functional perspective. In R. Hasan and G. Williams (eds), *Literacy in Society.* Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd edn. London: Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Hasan, R. (1985). *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social–Semiotic Perspective*. Victoria: Deakin University.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Martin. J. R. (1993). *Writing Science: Literacy and Discursive Power*. London: Falmer.

Hamid, D. and Raza, F. M. (2013). *ZimaniDaik u StratizhiAsayishiNatawayee (Mother Tongue and the Strategy of National Security).* Hawler: Haji Hashim Publishing Center.

Hasan, S. (2013). Language barrier and the future of Arab-Kurdish relations in Iraq. Retrieved from: http://kurdistantribune.com/2013/language- barrierfuture- of-arab-Kurdish-relations-iraq/

Hassan, Z. (2014). The impact of teaching materials on learning English at universities in Kurdistan. Retrieved From: http://www.academia.edu/7202163/The_Impact_of_Teaching_Materials_on_ Learning_English_at_Universities_in_Kurdistan

Hassanpour, A. (1988). '*The peasant revolt of Mukri Kurdistan. 1952-53.*' Paper presented to the annual meeting of Middle East Studies Association, Tornoto: Canada.

Hassanpour, A. (1992). *Nationalism and language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*. San Francisco: Edwin Mellen Pr.

Hassanpour, A. (1996). The creation of Kurdish media culture. *Kurdish culture and identity*, 48-84.

Hassanpour, A. (2015). *A century of challenge towards Kurdish language; Theory, Policy and Ideology.* Iraq, Sulaimaniyah: Zheen Press.

Hassanpour, A., Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Chyet, M. (1996). The non-education of Kurds: *A Kurdish perspective. International Review of Education,* 42(4), 367-379.

Haugen E. (1959). Planning for a standard language in Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1(3): 8–21.

Haugen E. (1966). Dialect, language and nation. In Haugen? 1972: 237–254.

Haugen E. (1969). Language planning, theory and practice. In Haugen 1972: 287–298.

Haugen E. (1972). *The Ecology of Language: Essays, selected and introduced by A.S. Dil*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Haugen E. (1976). *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to Their History*. London: Faber.

Haugen, E. (1983). *The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hayman, J. Jr., Johnson, J. Jr., & Mayers, A. (1964). *Denver-Stanford project on the context of instructional television*. Stanford, CA: Institute for Communication Research. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 018168)

Heugh, K. (2006). *Language Education Policies in Africa*. Human Sciences Research Council, Cape Town, South Africa.

Hornberger N. H. (1990). Bilingual education and English–only: A language planning framework. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 508: 12–26.

Hornberger N. H. (1996*). Indigenous Literacies in the Americas: Language Planning from the Bottom–Up*. Berlin: Mouton.

Hornberger, N. H. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language policy, 1(1), 27-51.*

Hornberger, N. H. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language policy*, *1*(1), 27-51.

Hornberger, N. H. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 24-41.*

Hornberger, N. H. (2013). Negotiating methodological rich points in the ethnography of language policy. *International journal of the sociology of language, 2013*(219), 101.

Hornberger, N. H., & Hult, F. M. (2008). *20 Ecological Language Education Policy. The handbook of educational linguistics, 280.*

Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *Tesol Quarterly, 41(3), 509-532.*

Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *Tesol Quarterly*, *41*(3), 509-532.

Hudson, R. A. (1980). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hult, F. M. (2010). Analysis of language policy discourses across the scales of space and time. *International journal of the sociology of language, 2010(202), 7-24.*

Huws, C. F. (2006). The Welsh language act 1993: A measure of success? *Language Policy*, 5(2), 141-160.

İmer, K. (1998) *Türkiye'de Dil Planlaması: Türk Dil Devrimi*. Ankara: Neyir Matbaacılık.

Iraqi Constitution. (2005). The Iraqi constitution. Retrieved From: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Iraq_2005.pdf?lang=en

Iraqi Curriculum Framework (2012). Retrieved April 12 2015, from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002195/219551e.pdf rep

Jabar, F. A. and Dawod, H. (2006). *The Kurds Nationalism and Politics*. Lebanon: SAQI

Jamabaz, T. (2005). *Official languages in federal constitutions*, Iraq, Erbil: Hoshyary Press.

Jambaz, T. (2014). *BuniNatawa w SiyasatiZman (Nation Building and Language Policy)*. Iraq, Erbil: Haji Hashim Publication Centre.

Jambaz, T., Zada, A. A., Karim, O. M., Khoshnaw, N. A. (2012). ProzhaYasaiZimanaFarmiyakan la Haremi Kurdistan-Iraq (The Law Project of Formal Languages in Iraqi Kurdistan. *Zimannasi Journal* V. 14.

Jernudd, B. H., & Neustupný, J. V. (1987). Language planning: for whom. In *Proceedings of the international colloquium on language planning* (pp. 69-84). Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval.

Johnson D. C. (2004). Language policy discourse and bilingual language planning. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 19 (2): 73–97

Johnson, D. C. (2009). Ethnography of language policy. *Language policy, 8(2), 139-159.*

Johnson, D. C. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and the ethnography of language policy. *Critical discourse studies*, *8*(4), 267-279.

Johnson, D. C. (2013). *What is language policy?. In Language policy* (pp. 3-25). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Johnson, D. C., & Johnson, E. J. (2015). Power and agency in language policy appropriation. *Language Policy*, *14*(3), 221-243.

Johnson, D. C., & Ricento, T. (2013). Conceptual and theoretical perspectives in language planning and policy: Situating the ethnography of language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of language*, *2013*(219), 7-21.

Johnson, D. C., & Tollefson, J. (2013). Positioning the language policy arbiter. *Language policies in education: Critical issues*, 116-36.

Joseph J. E. (1987). *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages.* New York: Basil Blackwell.

Joseph J. E. (1996). The immediate sources of the 'Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis'. *Historiographia Linguistica*, 23 (3): 365–404.

Joseph J. E. (2004). *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Joseph J. E. (2006a). *Language and Politics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Joseph J. E. (2006b). Evolutionary theories of language: Previous theories. In K. Brown (ed.). *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd edn, 4: 365–369.

Joyce, B. (2015). Obituary: Professor Mirella Galletti. *Kurdish Studies* 3 (1). pp. 91-98.

Kachru, B. B. (1983). Models of new Englishes. *Progress in language planning*, 145-170.

Kachru, B. B. (1992). Models for non-native Englishes. The other tongue: *English across cultures*, 2, 48-74

Kachru, B. B. (1992). World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language teaching*, 25(1), 1-14.

Kale, J. (1990). 10 Language planning and the language of education in Papua New Guinea. *Language planning and education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, 55, 182–196.

Kaplan, R. B., & Baldauf, R. B. (1997). *Language planning from practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kaplan, R. B., Baldauf, R. B., & Kamwangamalu, N. (2011). Why educational language plans sometimes fail. *Current issues in language planning*, *12*(2), 105-124.

Kara, A. (2009). The Effect of a 'Learning Theories' Unit on Students' Attitudes towards Learning. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 34(3), 100-113. [Online] Available: http://ro.ecu.edu.au/ajte/vol34/iss3/5 (August 10, 2011)

Kibbee, D. A. (2003). *Language policy and linguistic theory. In Languages in a globalising world (pp. 47-57).* Cambridge University Press.

King, K. A., Fogle, L., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Family language policy. *Language and linguistics compass, 2*(5), 907-922.

Kiptui, D. K., & Mbugua, Z. K. (2009). Factors that contribute to poor academic achievement in English in Kerio Valley schools. *Kenya Journal of Educational Management*, 1(2), 1–15.

Kirkpatrick, R. (2016). *English language education policy in Asia*. New York, NY: Springer.

Kloss H. (1967). 'Abstand' languages and 'Ausbau' languages. *Anthropological Linguistics, 9* (7): 29–41.

Kloss H. (1969). *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism*. Quebec: International Centre for Research on Bilingualism.

Kloss H. (1971). Language rights of immigrant groups. *International Migration Review*, 5: 250–268.

Kloss H. (1977). *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Kloss, H. (1968). "Notes concerning a language-nation typology". In *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, J. A. Fishman, C. A. Ferguson andJ. Das Gupta (eds), 69–85. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Kulyk, V. (2011). Beliefs about language status and corpus in focus group discussions on the Ukrainian language policy. *International journal of the sociology of language, 2011(212), 69-89.*

Kurdistan (2013). A Summary of Kurdistan Regional Government, Retrieved from: http://www.krg.org/

Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1972). Some principles of linguistic methodology. *Language in Society,1(1)*, 97-120.

Lambert, R. D. (1995). *Language policy: An Overview.* Washington, D.C: National Foreign Language Center.

Lambert, R. D. (2001). Adult use and language choice in foreign language policy. *New perspectives and issues in educational language policy: A festschrift for Bernard Dov Spolsky*, (pp. 171-196). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Lambert, W. & Klineberg, O. (1967). *Children's views of foreign peoples:A cross-Cultural Study*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crafts.

Lashkry, H. (2015). Story and Love. The Source of Ethical Values in Kurdish Culture. *Bulletin of Kurdish Studies.* No 7-8/03.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2012). Language planning as an element of religious practice. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *13*(2), 121-144.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2013). Language-in-education policies: The discursive construction of intercultural relations *(Vol. 153). Multilingual matters.*

Liddicoat, A. J., & Baldauf, R. B. (2008). Language planning in local contexts: Agents, contexts and interactions (Doctoral dissertation, Multilingual Matters).

Liddicoat, A. J., & Kheng, C. C. S. (2018). 7 National security in language-in-education policy. In Un (intended) Language Planning in a Globalising World: Multiple Levels of Players at Work (pp. 113-128). De Gruyter Open Poland.

Lin, A., & Martin, P. W. (Eds.). (2005). Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice *(Vol. 3). Multilingual Matters.*

Lo Bianco, J. (1987). *National Policy on Languages*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Lo Bianco, J. (1990). Making language policy: Australia's experience. Making language policy: Australia's experience. Language planning and education in Australia and the South Pacific. *Multilingual matters*, 47-79.

Lo Bianco, J. (2004). Language planning as applied linguistics. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 738-762). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Lo Bianco, J. (2010). The importance of language policies and multilingualism for cultural diversity. *International Social Science Journal*, 61(199), 37-67.

Ludwig, P. (2008). Kurdish language: History of the Kurdish language. *Encyclopedia Iranica* (Online ed.). https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ kurdish-language-j

Luke, A. (1996). *Genres of power? Literacy education and the production of capital. I: Hasan, Ruqaiya & Williams, Geoff (red.), Literacy in Society.* London: Longman. S, 308, 338.

Luke, A. (1997). Critical approaches to literacy. In *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 143-151). Springer, Dordrecht.

Luke, A., McHoul, A., & Mey, J. L. (1990). On the limits of language planning: Class, state and power. *Language planning and education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, 25-44.

Maher, J. C. (2001). Akor itak-Our language, your language: Ainu in Japan. *Multilingual Matters*, 323-349.

Mar-Molinero, C., & Stevenson, P. (Eds.). (2016). *Language ideologies, policies and practices: Language and the future of Europe. Springer.*

May, S. (2001). *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Language.* Harlow, UK: Pearson.

May, S. (2003). Rearticulating the case for minority language rights. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 4 (2). 95-125.

May, S. (2006). Language policy and minority rights. In T. Ricento (ed.) An Introduction to Language Policy: *Theory and Method* (pp. 255272). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

May, S. (2006). *Language policy and minority rights. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 1, 255-272.*

May, S. (2012). *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language. Routledge.*

Mayo P. (1999). *Gramsci, Freire, and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action*. London: Zed Books.

McCarty, T. L. (2014). *Ethnography and language policy*. New York: Routledge.

McCarty, T. L. (2002). Between possibility and constraint: Indigenous language education, planning, and policy in the United States. *Language policies in education: Critical issues,* 285-307.

McGroarty, M. (2010). *Language and ideologies. Sociolinguistics and language education, 3-39.*

Menken, K., & García, O. (2010). *Negotiating language education policies: Educators as policymakers*. New York: Rutledge.

Michael, G. (1997). *The Kurds and the future of Turkey*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Michael, G. (2009). *The A to Z of the Kurds.* Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.

Mirawdeli, K. (1993). Kurdistan: Toward a Cultural-Historical Definition – Kurdish Language, Kurdish Academy, Retrieved from: http://Kurdishacademy.org/wp/kurdistan-toward-a-cultural-historical-definition-Kurdish-language/

Montano, D. E. & Kasprzyk, D. (2008). *Theory of reasoned action, theory of planned behavior, and the integrated behavioral model*. In K. Glanz, B. Rimer & K. Viswanath (Eds.), *Health behavior and health education: Theory, research, and practice.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 67-96.

Mühlhäusler, P. (1996). *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region*. London: Routledge.

Nabaz, J. (1976). *BerawZimaniYekgirtuyKurdi (Towards a Unified Kurdish Language)*. Bambery; W. Germany.

Nahir, M. (1984). Language planning goals: A classification. *Language problems and language planning*, 8(3), 294-327.

Naqshbandi, Z. and Miraki, E. (2018). Toward the Hawrami Kirmashani. *Kurdish Studies Journal*. 5(7), 190-204

Nawkhosh, S. (2013). *Zman w Aidolozhi (Language and Ideology).* Hawler. The General Directorate of Public Libraries.

Nekvapil, J. (2006). *From language planning to language management.*

Nekvapil, J., & Sherman, T. (2015). An introduction: Language management theory in language policy and planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 2015(232), 1-12.*

Nelde P., Labrie, N. and Williams, C. H. (1992). The principles of territoriality and personality in the solution of linguistic conflicts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13 (5): 378–406.

Nelde, P. (2000). Prerequisites for a new European language policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21 (5). 442–450.

Nettle, D. and Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing Voices: the Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford: OUP.

Neustupný, J. V. and Nekvapil, J. (2003). Language Management in the Czech Republic. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4 (3&4). 181-366.

Orafi, S. & Borg, S. (2009). Intentions and realities in implementing communicative curriculum reform. *System*, 37, 243-253.

Oskamp, S. (1977). *Altitudes and opinions*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Padwick, A. (2010). Attitudes towards English and varieties of English in globalizing India. *University of Groningen, Newcastle, England*.

Patten, A. (2001). *Political theory and language policy. Political theory, 29*(5), 691-715.

Paulston, C. B. (1997). Language policies and language rights. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 26*(1), 73-85.

Pennycook, A. (1989). The concept of method, interested knowledge, and the politics of language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 23 (4). 589-618.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. London: Longman.

Pennycook, A. (1998). The right to language: Towards a situated ethics of language rights. *Language Sciences*, 20: (1): 73–87.

Pennycook, A. (2001*). Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. Mahwah, New York; London: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Pennycook, A. (2002). *Mother tongues, governmentality, and protectionism. International Journal of the Sociology of language.*

Pennycook, A. (2002). Mother tongues, governmentality, and protectionism. *International Journal of the Sociology of language*. (154), 11-28.

Pennycook, A. (2004). Language Policy and Ehe Ecological Turn. *Language policy*, *3*(3), 213-239.

Pennycook, A. (2006). Postmodernism in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 60–67). London: Blackwell.

Phillipson R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson R. (1997). Realities and myths of linguistic imperialism. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18 (3): 238–247.

Phillipson R. (1998). Globalising English: Are linguistic human rights an alternative to linguistic imperialism*? Language Sciences*, 20 (1): 101–112.

Phillipson R. (1999). Review: Voice in global English: Unheard chords in crystal loud and clear. *Applied Linguistics*, 20 (2): 265–276.

Phillipson R. and T. Skutnabb–Kangas. (1995). Linguistic rights and wrongs. *Applied Linguistics*, 16 (4): 483–504.

Phillipson, R. (2006). Language policy and linguistic imperialism. An introduction to language policy*: Theory and method, 346-361.*

Phillipson, R. (2008). The linguistic imperialism of neoliberal empire*. Critical inquiry in language studies, 5(1), 1-43.*

Phillipson, R. (2008). The linguistic imperialism of neoliberal empire. *Critical inquiry in language studies*, *5*(1), 1-43.

Phillipson, R. (2012). Linguistic imperialism. *The encyclopedia of applied linguistics, 1-7.*

Phillipson, R. and Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1996). English only worldwide or language ecology? *TESOL Quarterly* 30 (3), 429-452.

Piller, I., & Cho, J. (2013). Neoliberalism as language policy. *Language in society, 42*(1), 23-44.

Pool, J. (1979). Language planning and identity planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 1979*(20), 5-21.

Qadir, Z. R. (2013*). Ziman w Midya (Language and Media)*. Erbil: Rozhhalat Publication Centre.

Rabar, M. (2013). *The History of Kurdish Journalism*. Erbil: Mukryany Press.

Reid, N. (2003). Getting started in pedagogical research in the physical sciences. LTSN Physical Sciences Centre, University of Hull, Hull.

Ricento T. (2000*). Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ricento, T. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of sociolinguistics, 4*(2), 196-213.

Ricento, T. (2006). *Language policy: Theory and practice–An introduction. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 10, 23.*

Ricento, T. (Ed.). (2009). *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Ricento, T. K. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2 (4), 2000. 196-213.

Ricento, T. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *Tesol Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427.

Romaine, S. (1989). Bilingualism. B. Blackwell. In Rampton, B. Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents. Routledge.

Romaine, S. (2006). Planning for the survival of linguistic diversity. *Language Policy* 5. 441 – 473.

Romaine, S. (2007). The impact of language policy on endangered languages. *Democracy and human rights in multicultural societies*, 217-236.

Rubin J. and B. Jernudd. (1971). Can Language be Planned? Sociolinguistic Haarmann H. 1990. Language planning in the light of a general theory of language: A methodological framework. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 86: 103–126.

Rubin, C. (1978).The approach to language planning within the United States. *Language Planning Newsletter*. 4(4), 1 & 3-6.

Rubin, J., & Jernudd, B. (2019). *Can Language be Planned?: Sociolinguistic Theory for Developing Nations.* University of Hawaii Press.

Rubin, J., & Jernudd, B. (2019). *Can Language be Planned?: Sociolinguistic Theory for Developing Nations*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Sabir, K. (2009). *LinguaFrankaiKurdi: Zimani Standard w Farmi (Kurdish Lingua Franca: Standard and Official Language)*. Sulaimaniyah: Ranj Publication Centre.

Sabir, R. (2008). *Kultur w Nasyonalizm (Culture and Nationalism).* Sulaimaniyah: Tishk Publication Centre.

Saeed, M. Q. & Jukil, A. M. (2018). Language Practice and Management in Iraqi Kurdistan Region. *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science, 23(6), 66-75*

Saidat, A, M. (2010). Language Attitude: The Case of Jordan. *International Journal of Academic Research*, 2, 235–243.

Salusbury, M. (2004). Kurdistan at language crossroads' in Guardian Weekly. Retrieved February 15 2015, from http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2004/jun/25/tefl.

Schiffman, H. (1996). *Linguistic culture and language policy*. Baltimore: London and New York: Routdlege.

Schiffman, H. (2006). Language policy and linguistic culture. In T. Ricento (Ed.*), An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 111–125). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Schiffman, H. F. (1993). The balance of power in multiglossic languages: implications for language shift. *International journal of the sociology of language* (103), 115-148.

Schiffman, H. F. (1998). *Linguistic culture and language policy.* Psychology Press.

Schiffman, H., & Ricento, T. (2006). *Language policy and linguistic culture. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 111, 125.*

Schmidt, R. (2006). *Political theory and language policy. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 95-110.*

Shakeli, A. (2013). *What cannot be said; must be said*. Sualimaniyah: Zana Press.

Sheyholislami, J. (2009). Language and Nation-Building in Kurdistan-Iraq. Retrieved April 17, 2013, from Kurdish academy of language: http://www. kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/712

Sheyholislami, J. (2009). Minority language media: Concepts, critiques and case studies. *Canadian journal of communication*, *34*(4), 757

Shibliyev, J. (2005). *The Relationship between Language Policy and Sociopolitical Developments: The Azerbaijani Language* (Doctoral dissertation, Eastern Mediterranean University).

Shibliyev, J. (2014). Linguistic landscape approach to language visibility in post-soviet Baku. *Bilig,* 71, 205-2017.

Shibliyev, J., & Osam, N. (2003). Sociopolitical changes and language: A retrospective view of Azerbaijanian. *Turkic Languages*, 7, 235-244.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches.* New York: Routledge.

Shohamy, E., & Spolsky, B. (2000). *Language practice, language ideology, and language policy. Language policy and pedagogy: Essays in honour of A. Ronald Walton, 1-41.*

Siiner, M., Hult, F. M., & Kupisch, T. (2018). Situating language acquisition planning. In M. Siiner, F. M. Hult & T. Kupisch (Eds.), *Language policy and language acquisition planning* (pp. 1-10). Cham: Springer.

Skutnabb–Kangas T. (1998). Human rights and language wrongs – A future for diversity. *Language Sciences*, 20 (1): 5–27.

Skutnabb–Kangas T. (2001). The globalisation of (education?) language rights. *International Review of Education*, 47 (3–4): 201–219.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1997). *Human rights and language policy in education. In Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 55-65). Springer, Dordrecht.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2006). Language policy and linguistic human rights. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy, theory and method* (pp. 273-291). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Sofi-Karim, M. (2015). *English language teaching in the Kurdistan region of Iraq*. Webster University.

Solway, A., & Rotta, A. (2018). The Intersection of Language and Religion in the Context of National Minorities. In *Language Policy and Conflict Prevention* (pp. 66-78).

Spolsky B, & Shohamy E. (2000). Language practice, language ideology, and language policy. In *Language Policy and Pedagogy: Essays in Honor of A. Ronald Walton*, pp. 1–41. Philadephia: John Benjamins.

Spolsky, B. & Shohamy, E. (1999). *The Languages of Israel: Policy, Ideology and Practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Spolsky, B. (1969). Attitudinal aspects of second language learning. *Language learning, 19(3),* 271-275.

Spolsky, B. (1989). *Conditions for second language learning: Introduction to a general theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spolsky, B. (1995). *Measured words: The development of objective language testing.* Oxford University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2004). Language policy. Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2006). Language policy failures—why won't they listen? *'Along the routes to power'*: Explorations of empowerment through language, ed. by Martin Pütz, Joshua A. Fishman, and JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer, 87–106. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Spolsky, B. (2007). Towards a theory of language policy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)*, *22*(1), 1-14.

Spolsky, B. (2009). Language management. Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2012). Family language policy–the critical domain. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(1), 3-11.

Spolsky, B. (2016). The languages of diaspora and return. *Brill Research Perspectives in Multilingualism and Second Language Acquisition, 1*(3), 1-119.

Spolsky, B. (2017). Language policy in education: Practices, ideology, and management. *Language policy and political issues in education*, 1-14.

Spolsky, B. (2018). Language policy in Portuguese colonies and successor states. *Current Issues in language planning*, 19(1), 62-97.

Spolsky, B. (Ed.). (2012). *The Cambridge handbook of language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B., & Sung, K. (2015). *Secondary school English education in Asia: From policy to practice.* New York: Routledge.

Spolsky, B., & Widdowson, H. G. (1998). *Sociolinguistics.* Oxford University Press.

Stewart. W. A. (1972). A sociolinguistic typology for describing national multilingualism. In J.A Fishman (Ed.). Reading in sociology for language (pp. 531-45). The Hague: Mouton

Stroud, Ch. & Kathleen. H. (2004). Language rights and language citizenship. In Donna Patrick & Jane Freeland (eds.), *Language rights and language survival: A sociolinguistic exploration,* 191–218. Manchester: St. Jerome.

Su, Y. C. (2006). EFL teachers' perceptions of English language policy at the elementary level in Taiwan. *Educational Studies, 32(3), 265-283.*

Sunrise for Kurdistan. (2007). (Macmillan Education). Retrieved from http://www.sunrisekurdistan.com/

Tauli, V. (1974). The theory of language planning. In J. Fishman. *Advances in* language planning. The Hagu: Mouton.

Temitope, O (2011*). Factors Infulencing Language planning*. Ejigbo, Osun State, Nigeria. Retrieved from: http://topinsn.blogspot.com/2012/09/factors-infulencing-language-planning.html

Thomas, K. (1991). Man and the natural world: Changing attitudes in England 1500-1800. London: Penguin UK.

Tofiq, K. F. (2007). *Asayeeshi Natawayee w PlaniZiman* (National Security and Language Planning. Erbil: Aras Publication Centre.

Tollefson, J. (2006). Critical Theory in Language Policy. *An Introduction to Language Policy Theory and Method*. T. Ricento. Malden, MA., Blackwell Publishing: 42-56.

Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality. New York, 12.*

Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning Language, Planning Inequality: Language Policy in the Community.* London: Longman.

Tollefson, J. W. (1995). *Power and Inequality in Language Education*. Cambridge: CUP.

Tollefson, J. W. (2002). *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Tollefson, J. W. (2006). *Critical theory in language policy. An introduction to language policy: Theory and method, 42, 59.*

Victori, M. & Lockhart, W. (1995). Enhancing metacognition in self-directed language learning. *System*, 23, 223-234.

Visser, M. (2008). *Learning under conditions of hierarchy and discipline: The case of the German Army* (1939- 1940). *Learning Inquiry*. 2, 127-137.

Visser, M. (2008). Learning under conditions of hierarchy and discipline: The case of the German Army (1939- 1940). *Learning Inquiry*. 2, 127-137.

Wahab, A. A. (2017). *Education in Kurdistan region at the intersection of nationalism and democracy* (Doctoral thesis). University of Toronto, Canada.

Walker, K. (2013). Knowledge of Arabic fading among Iraq's autonomous Kurds. Retrieved April 12 2015, from http://rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/221120131

Walter, S.L. (2003). Does language of instruction matter in education? In M. R. Wise, T. N. Headland & R. M. Brend (Eds.), *Language and life: essays in memory of Kenneth L. Pike* (pp. 611-635). Dallas TX: SIL International and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Weinstein, B., & Thayer, L. (Eds.). (1990). *Language policy and political development.* Greenwood Publishing Group.

Wenden, A. (1991). *Learner Strategies for Learner Autonomy*. London: Prentice Hall.

White, V.R. (1988). *The ELT curriculum: Design innovation, and management*. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher Ltd.

Widdowson H. 1995. Discourse analysis: A critical view. *Language and Literature*, 4 (3): 157–172.

Widdowson, H. (1996). Reply to Fairclough: Discourse and interpretation: Conjectures and refutations. Language and Literature, 5 (1): 57–69.

Wiley, T. G. (1996). Language planning and policy. *Sociolinguistics and language teaching,* 103, 147.

Wodak, R. (2006). Linguistic analyses in language policies. In Ricento, T (ed.) (2006) *An Introduction to language policy: Theory and method.* Blackwell Publishing 170-193.

Wodak, R. (2012). Language, power and identity. *Language Teaching*, *45*(2), 215.

Woodside-Jiron, H. (2004). *Language, power, and participation: Using critical discourse analysis to make sense of public policy. An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education, 2,* 154-182.

Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual review of anthropology, 23*(1), 55-82.

Wright, S. (2004). *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalisation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wright, S. (2007). The right to speak one's own language: Reflections on theory and practice, *Language Policy*, 6, 203–224.

Wright, S. (2016). Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation. Springer.

Zughoul, M. R. (2003). Globalization and EFL/ESL pedagogy in the Arab World. *Language Learning Journal 1(2):106-146.*

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Permission Letter

To:

Sub: Permission for data collection for my PhD thesis

Respected sir,

I, Momen Yaseen M.Amin, am perusing for PhD, in college of education, department of English Language Teaching ELT, Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, and Northern Cyprus. In order to fulfill my research work entitled **"Language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan; In the light of recent sociopolitical developments with emphasis on English language acquisition planning"**, I have selected your students as my esteemed respondents as it perfectly fits to the decided criteria. Kindly permit me to collect data at your university.

Anticipating your kind cooperation and positive response

Sincerely

Momen Yaseen M.Amin

20/01/2018

Eastern Mediterranean University, CE, ELT Dep.   Email: momenzellmi@yahoo.com   Phone No: 07507594729

Appendix B: Consent Letter

I volunteer to participate in the research study conducted by PhD Candidate [Momen Yaseen M.Amin] from Eastern Mediterranean University-EMU. I understand that the study is designed to gather information about "**Language policy in Iraqi Kurdistan; In the light of recent sociopolitical developments with emphasis on English language education policy**". I will be one of the approximately 133 people being interviewed for this research.

- ✓ My participation in this questionnaire is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

- ✓ I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this survey, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

- ✓ I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the Professor (**Dr. Javanshir Shibliyev**) from English Language Teaching ELT Department in Eastern Mediterranean University-EMU. Famagusta, Cyprus.

- ✓ I have been given a copy of this consent form.

My Signature: Date:

Appendix C: Students' Questionnaires

Attitudes of Kurdish learners toward English Language

Dear student,

The following items ask about your attitudes toward learning the English language.

Remember there is no right or wrong answers; just answer as accurately as possible.

Please read the statements below carefully and tick the appropriate choices that reflect

your attitudes and perceptions towards English language. Use the scale below to

answer the questionnaire items. 1= Strongly Disagree 2= Disagree 3= Neutral 4=

Agree 5= Strongly Agree.

Note: Tick (√) only one option for each item in the questionnaire.

Gender: Male ---- Female ----

School grade: Grade 10 … Grade 11 … Grade 12

No	Items	1/SD	2/D	3/N	4/A	5/SA
	Behavioral Aspect of Language Attitude					
1	قسەکردن بە زمانی ئینگلیزی لە هەر شوێنێک بێتاقەتم دەکات					
2	فێربوونی ئینگلیزی هاوکاریم دەکات بۆ پەیوەندییەکی باشتر لەگەڵ هاوڕێکانم					
3	پێم خۆشە لە وانەی ئینگلیزیدا ڕای خۆم دەربڕم					
4	لە وانەی ئینگلیزیدا دەتوانم وا لە خۆم بکەم وانەکەم بە لاوە گرنگ بێت					
5	کاتێک لە وانەی ئینگلیزیدا قوتابییەک دەبینم بە ئینگلیزی قسە دەکات پێم خۆشە منیش لەگەڵی قسە بکەم					
6	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی وام لێدەکات متمانەم بە خۆم هەبێ لە باسکردنی خۆم					
7	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی هاوکاریم دەکات کەسایەتیم پێش بخەم					
8	واجبی ماڵەوە وانەی ئینگلیزی دوادەخەم تا بۆم بگونجێت					
9	مورتاح نیم کاتێک داوام لێدەکرێت قسە بکەم لە وانەی ئینگلیزی دا					
10	هەست بە بێزاری دەکەم لە کاتی قسەکردنم بە ئینگلیزی لەبەردەم قوتابییەکانیتردا					
11	پێم خۆشە وەک ئینگلیزەکان قسە بکەم					
12	حەز ئەکەم ژمارەیەکی زۆر هاوڕێی ئینگلیزم هەبێت					
13	کاتێک وانەیەکەم دەفەوتێ داوا لا مۆستا ناکەم بۆم دووبارە بکاتەوە					
14	حەز ناکەم بچمە ناو پۆل کاتێک وانەی ئینگلیزی دەخوێنرێت					
15	کاتێک مامۆستا وانەی ئینگلیزی باسدەکات زۆر گرنگی پێ نادەم					
	Cognitive Aspect of Language Attitude					
16	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی گرنگە چونکە وام لێدەکات زیاتر خوێندەوار بم					

293

17	کاتێک له وانەی ئینگلیزی باش بم، یارمەتیم دەدات له وانەکانیتریش باش بم					
18	کاتێک ئینگلیزی دەخوێنم زانیاریم باشتر و تێگەشتنم باشتر دەبێت					
19	وانەی ئینگلیزیم زۆر پێخۆشه، حەز ئەکەم وانه زیاتر بخوێنم له داهاتوودا					
20	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی یارمەتیم دەدات زانایری زیاتر دەست بخەم که دەتوانم به زانیارییەکانی پێشووی خۆمیەوه ببەستمەوه					
21	ناتوانم خاڵه گرنگەکانی وانەی ئینگلیزی کورت بکەمەوه					
22	له راستیدا تەنها بۆ دەرچوون وانەی ئینگلیزی دەخوێنم					
23	به بروای من ئەو کەسانەی که زمانێک زیاتر دەزانن کەسانی شارەزاترن					
24	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی یارمەتیم دەدات پەیوەندییەکانم کاریگەرتر بن لەگەڵ دەوروبەر					
25	ناتوانم سود له زانیارییەکانی وانەی ئینگلیزی وەربگرم له ژیانی واقیعیدا					
26	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی هاوکاریم دەکات بیروڕای نوێم هەبێت					
27	دەتوانم بیربکەمەوه و تێکستەکان به ئینگلیزی شی بکەمەوه					
28	له توانای قسەکردنم به ئینگلیزی ڕازی نیم					
29	به بروای من ئینگلیزی قورسه بۆ فێربوون					
30	وانەی ئینگلیزی جۆرێکه هەموو بوارەکان دەگرێتەوه					
	Emotional Aspect of Language Attitude					
31	هەست به شانازی دەکەم کاتێک ئینگلیزی دەخوێنم					
32	دڵخۆش دەبم کاتێک لەگەڵ خەڵکیتر به ئینگلیزی قسه ئەکەم					
33	هەست به دڵەڕاوکێ ناکەم کاتێک دەبێ به ئینگلیزی وەڵامی پرسیار بدەمەوه					
34	خوێندنی زمانی بیانی وەک ئینگلیزی چێژبەخشه					
35	عەجوڵییەمکەم وام لێدەکات وانەی ئینگلیزی دەخوێنم					
36	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی هەستی خۆشم پێ دەبەخشیت					
37	حەز ئەکەم به زمانی دایکم بخوێنم نەک به زمانی بیانی					
38	چێژ له چالاکییەکانم دەبینم به ئینگلیزی					
39	حەزم له خوێندنی ئینگلیزی نیه					
40	خۆزگه دەمتوانی زۆر به باشی به ئینگلیزی قسه بکەم					
41	حەز ئەکەم وانەی ئینگلیزی بخوێنم					
42	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی وام لێدەکات زۆر مەتمانەم به خۆم هەبێ					
43	له راستیدا زۆر به کەمی حەزم له وانەی ئینگلزییه					
44	زانینی ئینگلیزی ئامانجێکی گەورەمه له ژیانما					
45	چاوم لەو کاتانەیه له وانەی ئینگلیزی بەسەری دەبەم					

Thanks for your participation!

Researcher: Momen Yaseen M.Amin

Source of the questionnaire:

Abidin, M. J. Z., Pour-Mohammadi, M., & Alzwari, H. (2012). EFL students' attitudes towards learning English language: The case of Libyan secondary school students. *Asian social science*, *8*(2), 119-136.

Appendix D: People Questionnaires

Attitudes of People's towards English language Education

The following items ask about your attitudes toward learning the English language. Remember there is no right or wrong answers; just answer as accurately as possible. Please read the statements below carefully and tick the appropriate choices that reflect your attitudes and perceptions towards English language. Use the scale below to answer the questionnaire items:

1 ('completely disagree'); 2 ('mostly disagree'),

3 ('not sure'), 4 ('mostly agree'), and 5 ('completely agree').

Age:

Gender: Male ---- Female ----

How many students do you have at high school level? ------

N	Items	1/CD	2/MD	3/NS	4/MA	5/CA
	Factor 1					
1	منداڵ تا زووتر وانەی ئینگلیزی بخوێنێت بۆی باشترە					
2	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی لە تەمەنی زووتەوە دەبێت هاندەر بۆ فێربوونی زمانی بیانییەکان					
3	خوێندنی زمانی بیانی بە منداڵی وا لە قوتابی دەکات فێری زمانی دایکیشی ببێت					
4	گرنگە کە زانیاری وەربگریم لەسەر خوێندنی زمانی بیانی لە تەمەنی منداڵیدا					
5	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی بە منداڵی وا لە قوتابی دەکات هەستی باشتر بێت بەرامبەر بە کلتورەکانیتر					
6	پشتیوانی دایباب ڕۆڵی کاریگەری هەیە لە خوێندنی زمانی بیانی لە تەمەنی منداڵیدا					
7	وا باشترە وانەی ئینگلیزی لە پۆلی یەکەمەوە بخوێنرێت نەک لە پۆلی چوارەمەوە					
8	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی لە تەمەنی منداڵیدا وا لە قوتابی دەکات هەستی باشتر بێت بەرامبەر زمانی بیانییەکان					
9	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی لە تەمەنی منداڵیدا وا لە قوتابی دەکات حەز بە فێربوونی زمانیتر بکات					
10	ڕای دایباب کاریگەری زۆری هەیە لە سەر هەستی منداڵ بۆ فێربوونی زمانی بیانیە					
11	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی بە منداڵی چێژبەخشە بۆ منداڵ					
12	پەرە بە زانیارییەکانم دەدەم دەربارەی خوێندنی ئینگلیزی لە تەمەنی منداڵیدا					
13	پشتیوانی مامۆستا زۆر گرنگە بۆ فێربوونی زمانی بیانی لە منداڵیدا					

14	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی له منداڵیدا کاریگەری زۆر باشی دەبێت لەسەر پرۆسەی فێربوونی منداڵ					
Factor two						
1	منداڵ له پۆلی یەکدا لەو ئاستەدا نیه فێری ئینگلیزی ببێت					
2	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی له تەمەنی زووی منداڵیدا قورسه بۆ منداڵ					
3	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی له تەمەنی منداڵیدا کاریگەری خراپی دەبێت لەسەر فێربوونی زمانی دایکیی					
4	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی له تەمەنی منداڵیدا کاریگەری لەسەر منداڵ هەیه له باشبوونی له وانەکانیتردا					
Statements						
5	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی گرنگتره بۆ منداڵ له وانەی ئایین					
6	خوێندنی ئینگلیزی بۆ منداڵ گرنگتره له وانەی کوردی					

Source of the questionnaire:

Bago,V. (2018). *The Attitudes of Parents towards Early Foreign Language Learning*, (Master thesis, University of Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of English Language and Literature)

Thanks for your participation!

Researcher: Momen Yaseen M.Amin

Appendix E: Back Translation Document

I, the Legal Translator (Rezheen Nawzad Latif) by License No. (91.2016) authorized by Judicial Council, have translated Mr. (Momen Yaseen M. Amin) 's document (Attitudes of Kurdish learners toward English language) from (English) into (Kurdish) Language.

297

Appendix F: Iraqi Constitution

Iraqi Constitution – 2005 – Article 4 – Language

Article 4

First

The Arabic language and the Kurdish language are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Assyrian, and Armenian shall be guaranteed in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions.

Second

The scope of the term "official language" and the means of applying the provisions of this article shall be defined by a law and shall include:

A. Publication of the Official Gazette, in the two languages;

B. Speech, conversation, and expression in official domains, such as the Council of Representatives, the Council of Ministers, courts, and official conferences, in either of the two languages;

C. Recognition and publication of official documents and correspondence in the two languages;

D. Opening schools that teach the two languages, in accordance with the educational guidelines;

E. Use of both languages in any matter enjoined by the principle of equality such as bank notes, passports, and stamps.

Third

The federal and official institutions and agencies in the Kurdistan region shall use both languages.

Fourth

The Turkomen language and the Syriac language are two other official languages in the administrative units in which they constitute density of population.

Fifth

Each region or governorate may adopt any other local language as an additional official language if the majority of its population so decides in a general referendum.

Appendix G: Bylaws of Political Parties-Language Sections

پرۆگرامو پەیرەوی ناوخۆی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان

کۆنگرەی سێزدەهەم ۱۱— ۱۸ / ۱۲ / ۲۰۱۰

نوێبوونەوەو دادپەرودریو پێکەوەژیان

ماددەی ۶۲: داکۆکیکردن لەمافی هەموو ئەو کوردانەی لە ناوچەکانی تری عیراقدا نیشتەجین وەکو بەشیکی دانەبراو لە گەلی کورد، کار بکرێ بۆ هەرچی زیاتر پتەوکردنو بەردەوامیەتی پێوەندیی کۆمەلایەتیو کولتووری لەگەلیاندا.

ماددەی ۶۹: چەسپاندنی هزری نەتەوەییو نیشتمانیی ئاوێتەکراو بە پرەنسییەکانی

۲۳۹

دیموکراتیو لێبوردەییو مافی مرۆڤ لە سیستمی خوێندندا بۆ ئەوەی لەرێی ئاگابوون لەمێژوو و جوگرافیای کوردستانو بایەخدان بەکەلەپوورو کولتوورو زمانو شێوازەکانی کوردیو ئاینو مەزهەبەکانەوە، ئینتما بۆ گەلو خاکی کوردستان پتەوتر بێ.

ماددەی ۸۵: هاندانی بزاڤی وەرگێران لە هەریمداو کردنەوەی دەزگایەکی ئەکادیمی تایبەتمەند بۆ وەرگێرانی کتێبو سەرچاوە زانستییەکانو یاساکان بۆ زمانی کوردیو لەزمانی کوردییەوە بۆ زمانەکانی تر.

ماددەی ۹۷: پاراستنو گەشەپێدانی کولتووری کوردی لەپێناوی پاراستنی ناسنامەی نەتەوەیی کۆمەڵی کوردییدا.

ماددەی ۹۸: پاراستنو گەشەپێدانی زمانی کوردی بەستانداردکردنی وەک مەرجیکی پێویست بۆ پێشکەوتنی کۆمەلایەتیو یەکیتی نەتەوەیی کورد. هەروەها کاراکردنی پرۆسەی بەفەرمیکردنی زمانی کوردی لە سەرتاسەری عیراقدا.

299

٩– کردنەوەی پەیمانگای تایبەت بۆ فێرکردنی زمانی کوردی بۆ ئەو کەسە
بیانییانەی کە لە هەرێمی کوردستان کار دەکەنو دەژین.

هەشتەم: بواری کولتووری

١– گەشەپێدانی بزووتنەوەی کولتووریو دامەزراندنی ناوەندیکی زانستی
تایبەت بەئامانجی نزیککردنەوەی شێوە زارەکانی زمانی کوردی تا
ببێتە هەولێکی سەرەتایی بۆ دروستکردنی زمانی ستانداردی کوردیو
پەرەپێدانی گۆری زانیاری کوردی (راستییەکەی ئەکادیمیای کوردییە–
نووسەر).

پەیمانی کۆنگرەی نەتەوەی کوردستان (K.N.K) لە کۆبوونەوەی نۆیەم لە

٢٤٠

رۆژانی ١٤/١٣/ ١٢ /٢٠٠٨ ئەم پەیمانە پەسند کرا.

بەندی ٣ مافی بنچینەیی

B– زمانی کوردی، زمانی فەرمی هەموو کوردستانە.

بەندی ٦ ئامانجی کۆنگرە

K– کۆنگرە، لە پێناو ژیاندنەوەو گەشەپێدانی زمان و فەرهەنگی کوردی
هەوڵدەدات.

بەندی ٧ لە تێکۆشانی نەتەوەییدا پێگەی ستراتیژیک

C– کۆمسیۆنی زمان، پەروەردە، فەرهەنگ و هونەر.

بەندی ١٨ ئەرک و دەسەڵاتی کۆمسیۆنەکان

ئەم کۆمسیۆنانەی خوارەوە لە ژێر چاودێری دەستەی بەرێوەبەریدا، بۆ
جێبەجێکردنی ئامانجی ئەم پەیمانە، لە بەرامبەر دەستەی بەرێوەبەری
بەرپرسیارن.

٣– کۆمسیۆنی زمان، پەروەردە، فەرهەنگ و هونەر.

C– هەول بۆ پاراستنی زاراوەکانی کوردی و هاوکات بۆ سازکردنی زمانیکی
نەتەوەیی یەکگرتوو خەبات بکات.

D– لەسەر پەروەردەی زمانی کوردی رادەوەستێت وە لەتەک هەموو ئەو
دەزگایانەی کە لەم بواردا خەبات دەکەن هاوکاری و سازمانیان دەدات.

300

پرۆگرامو پەیرەوی ناوخۆی پەسەندکراوی
کۆنگرەی پێنجەمی یەکگرتووی ئیسلامی کوردستان (٢٠١٠)
ماددەی چوارەم: بنەما گشتییەکان
٧: گەلی کورد نەتەوەیەکی سەربەخۆیەو ناسنامەی نەتەوەیی خۆی هەیەو
بەشێکە لە ئومەی ئیسلامیو هەمان ئەو مافانەشی هەیە کە نەتەوەکانی
دیکە هەیانە بەمافی دیاریکردنی چارەنووسیشەوە.
ماددەی پێنجەم: ئامانجەکان
یەکەم لە بواری سیاسیدا
مەسەلە کوردستانییەکان
پاراستنی ناسنامەی ئیسلامیو بەها بالاکانی کۆمەلگای ئیسلامی
پێنجەم/ لە بواری فیکرو رۆشنبیریدا

٢٤١

٧: پاراستنی رەسەنایەتی رێنووسو زمانی کوردیو هەولدان بۆ ئەکتیڤ
کردنی زمانی یەکگرتووی کوردی لە بەرنامەکانی خوێندنو دامودەزگا
حکومییەکاندا.

پەیرەوی نێوخۆی کۆمەلی ئیسلامی کوردستان
پەسەندکراوی کۆنگرەی دووەمی ٢٠١٠
بەرنامەی هەلبژاردنی کۆمەلی ئیسلامی
٦- گرنگیدان بەزمانە زیندووەکانی جیهان بەتایبەتی عەرەبیو ئینگلیزیو
لەسەر شیوەی خول قوتابیان فیری زمانو رێزمانی ئەو دوو زمانە بن
نەک لەسەر شیوازی وانەی سالانەو قوتابی پیوە سەرقال نەکریت.

بەلگەنامەکانی چوارەمین کۆنگرەی حزبی شیوعی کوردستان
(١٢— ١٣— ١٤ی ئاداری ٢٠٠٨)
بایەخدان بەزمانی کوردی بەو پێیەی کە زمانی خوێندنی فەرمییە لە هەموو
قوتابخانەکاندا، پەرەپێدانی پرۆگرامەکانی فێرکردنی تایبەت بەهەردوو
زمانی عەرەبیو ئینگلیزی.
- دانانی زمانیکی ستانداردی یەکگرتووی کوردی لەئاستی پەروەردە و،
خوێندن بۆ سەرانسەری کوردستان.
- بایەخدان بە ئەکادیمیای کوردیو پەرەپێدانی پیکهاتەکەی.
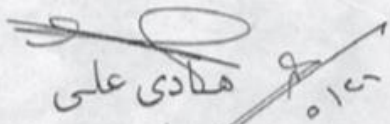
301

Appendix H: A Deed From Ministry of Justice-2000

Appendix I: A Suggestion About Language Law, KP, 2006

Appendix J: An Official Letter From Speaker to KRG PM

Iraqi Kurdistan National Assembly

Directorate of Divan

Parliament Affairs

NNO: -

DDATE:

ئەنجوومەنی
نیشتمانیی کوردستانی عیراق
کوردستان – هەولیر
بەرێوەبەرایەتی کاروباری ئەنجومەن

ژمارە: ١٠٥٨/٢/٤

بەروار: ٢٠٠٦/١٢/٥

بۆ / سەرۆکایەتی ئەنجومەنی وەزیرانی هەرێمی کوردستان– عیراق

بابەت / وەرگێڕان

تکایە لەمەودوا، هەر پڕۆژەیەکی یاسایی بەناوی حکومەتی هەرێمەوە بۆ پەرلەمانی
کوردستان بنێردرێت، دەبیّ کوردییەکەشی لەگەڵدا بیّت.

لەگەڵ ڕێزماندا...

عەدنان رشاد موفتی
سەرۆکی ئەنجومەنی نیشتمانیی
کوردستان– عیراق

ێنەیەکی بۆ:

○ نووسینگەی بەڕێز سەرۆکی پەرلەمان.
○ نووسینگەی بەڕێز جێگری سەرۆکی پەرلەمان.
○ نووسینگەی بەڕێز سکرتێری پەرلەمان.
○ لیژنەی کاروباری یاسایی/ ئاماژە بە نووسراوتان ژمارە (٧٣)ی رۆژی ٢٠٠٦/٩/١٣.
○ بەڕێوەبەرایەتی کاروباری ئەنجومەن.

304

Appendix K: Submitted Project Law SPL to Kurdistan Parliament About Official Languages in This Region. 2010.

پرۆژه‌ یاسای زمانه‌ فه‌رمییه‌کان ^(١)
له‌ هه‌رێمی کوردستان- عێراق

ئاماده‌کردنی
پارێزه‌ر تاریق جامباز / یاساناس
د. ئاسۆ عه‌بدوللا زاده‌/ یاساناس
د. عومه‌ر مه‌حموود که‌ریم/ زمانناس
د. نه‌ریمان عه‌بدوللا خۆشناو/ زمانناس

به‌شی یه‌که‌م
پێناسه‌ی زاراوه‌کان

مادده‌ی یه‌که‌م: مه‌به‌ست له‌و زاراوانه‌ی له‌م یاسایه‌دا به‌کارهاتوون، ئه‌مانه‌ن:
هه‌رێم: هه‌رێمی کوردستان ـ عێراق.
زمانه‌ فه‌رمییه‌کان: ئه‌و زمانانه‌یه‌ که‌ به‌پێی ده‌ستووری هه‌میشه‌یی عێراق دان
به‌ فه‌رمییوونیاندا نراوه‌.
کۆمسیۆن: کۆمسیۆنی زمانه‌ فه‌رمییه‌کان.

به‌شی دووه‌م
بنه‌ما و ئامانجه‌کان

مادده‌ی دووه‌م: زمانی کوردی و زمانی عه‌ره‌بی دوو زمانی فه‌رمین له‌
سه‌رانسه‌ری عێراقدا به‌ هه‌رێمی کوردستانیشه‌وه‌.
مادده‌ی سێیه‌م: له‌ هه‌رێمی کوردستاندا زمانی پێکهاته‌کانی تری عێراق
(زمانه‌کانی تورکمانی و سریانی و ئه‌رمه‌نی) له‌ یه‌که‌ی کارگێڕی خۆیان و
له‌و حاڵه‌تانه‌دا که‌ پێویسته‌، له‌پاڵ زمانی کوردیدا فه‌رمین.

١- ئه‌م پرۆژه‌ دوو جار چاپ کراوه‌
ئه‌لف-به‌لاتینی تورکی و کوردی له‌ تورکیا (٢٠١٣)
بێ- به‌دوو دیالیکتی زمانی کوردی و عه‌ره‌بی و تورکی و فارسی له‌ کوردستان (٢٠١٣)

ماددەی چوارەم: ئامانجی ئەم یاسایە چەسپاندن و بە کردەییکردنی فەرمییەتی زمانی کوردییە لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا و، ڕێکخستنی ئەو فەرمییەتییەیە لە پەیوەندی لەگەڵ زمانە فەرمییەکانی دیکەی عێراقی فیدراڵدا.

ماددەی پێنجەم: حکومەتی هەرێمی کوردستان لەبەر ڕۆشنایی ئاسایشی نەتەوەییمان سیاسەتێکی ڕوون و پتەوی زمانی دادەڕێژێ و پەیرەو دەکات. هەرچەندە ئەم سیاسەتە لە هەرێمی کوردستان ـ عێراقدا بەرێوە دەچێت، بەڵام لە پێناو پەرەپێدان و پێشخستنی زمان و کلتووری کوردی، هەماهەنگی لەگەڵ پارچەکانی دیکەی کوردستان و ڕەوەندی کوردی لە دەرەوەی وڵاتیش دەکات.

بەشی سێیەم
زمانی یاسا و دادگاکان

ماددەی شەشەم: هەموو پرۆژە یاسایەک لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا بە زمانی کوردی ئامادە و پەسند دەکرێت.

ماددەی حەوتەم: لیژنەکانی دارشتنی یاسا پێویستە پسپۆڕی زمانەوانییان تێدا بێت.

ماددەی هەشتەم: لە ڕۆژنامەی فەرمیی حکومەتی هەرێمی کوردستاندا دەقی یاسا و بڕیارەکان بە هەردوو زمانی کوردی و عەرەبی بڵاو دەکرێتەوە، لە حاڵەتی گومان لە شیکردنەوەدا، نووسراوی کوردی یاساکان سەرچاوەیە.

ماددەی نۆیەم: لە دەرچوونی هەر یاسایەکدا ئاماژە بە زمانە فەرمییەکان و لایەنی جێبەجێکردنی یاساکە دەکرێت.

ماددەی دەیەم: هەموو ڕێوشوێنە دادوەرییەکان بە بڕیاری دادگاکانیشەوە، بە زمانی کوردی بەڕێوەدەچن و دەنووسرێن.

ماددەی یازدەم: لە حاڵەتێکدا کە لایەنێکی داواکاریی یاسایی، عەرەب زمان بێت، یان سەر بە یەکێک لە پێکهاتەکانی دیکەی عێراق بێت، یان لە هەر حاڵەتێکی دیکەی پێویستدا، بەکارهێنانی ئەو زمانانەش لە ڕێوشوێنە دادوەرییەکان و بڕیاری دادگاکاندا ڕێگەپێدراوە، بەمەرجێک وەرگێڕ بۆ زمانی کوردی دابین بکرێت.

بەشی چوارەم
زمانی دامودەزگاکانی حکومەت و دامەزراوەکانی دیکە

ماددەی دوازدەم: زمانی کوردی، زمانی ئاخاوتن و نووسینی فەرمی سەرجەم
فەرمانگە و دامەزراوەکانی سەرۆکایەتی هەرێم و حکومەتی هەرێم و
پەرلەمانی کوردستان و دەسەڵاتی دادوەرییە.

ماددەی سێزدەم: زمانی پەیوەندی و نامەکاری نێوان حکومەتی هەرێمی
کوردستان و حکومەتی فیدراڵ و هەرێمەکانی دیکەی عێراق زمانی کوردی
و عەرەبییە. بۆ پەیوەندی لەگەڵ دامەزراوە بیانییەکان دەکرێ لەگەڵ زمانی
کوردی و عەرەبی، زمانی لایەنەکەی دیکەش بەکاربێت.

ماددەی چواردەم: ڕێککەوتنە دووقۆڵی، یان چەند قۆڵییەکانی حکومەتی هەرێمی
کوردستان لەگەڵ لایەنەکانی دەرەوەی هەرێمی کوردستان، پێویستە بە
زمانی کوردی و زمانی لایەنەکەی دیکە بێت.

ماددەی پازدەم: لە دامەزراندن و گواستنەوەی هەمیشەیی و کاتی فەرمانبەران
و کارمەندان و بەرزکردنەوەی پلەکانیان، زانینی زمانی کوردی وەک
یەکێک لە پێوەرە سەرەکییەکان بەکاردەهێنرێت، بەڵام ئەگەر ئەو کەسە
کورد نەبوو یاخود کوردی نەزانیت، ئەوا پێویستە ماوەیەکی بۆ دیاری
بکرێت، بۆ ئەوەی فێری زمانی کوردی ببێت.

ماددەی شازدەم:

یەکەم: تابلۆی سەرجەم فەرمانگە حکوومییەکان دەبێت بە زمانی کوردی و
عەرەبی بێت، بەمەرجێک نووسینە کوردییەکە دەرکەوتووتر بێت.

دووەم: تابلۆی نووسینگە و نوێنەرایەتی و کونسولگەری وڵاتان و ڕێکخراوە
بیانییەکان لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا دەبێت بە زمانی کوردی و عەرەبی و
زمانی لایەنەکەی دیکە بێت.

ماددەی حەڤدەم: هەر دامودەزگایەکی حکومی و ناحکومی عێراقی و بیانی
کە مامەڵەی لەگەڵ هاوڵاتیانی هەرێمدا هەبێت، پێویستە لە فۆڕم و
نووسراوەکانیدا ڕەچاوی زمانی کوردیش بکات.

ماددەی هەژدەم: تابلۆی سەر شەقامەکان و دەستنیشانکردنی شوێن و
دەقەرەکان بە زمانی کوردی و عەرەبی و ئینگلیزی دەبن، بەمەرجێک
نووسینە کوردییەکە دەرکەوتووتر بێت.

307

بەشی پێنجەم

زمانی خوێندن

ماددەی نۆزدەم: زمانی کوردی لە پرۆسەی پەروەردە و فێرکردندا، زمانی
فەرمییە لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا.

ماددەی بیستەم:

یەکەم: خوێندن بە زمانەکانی عەرەبی، تورکمانی، سریانی و ئەرمەنی لە
قوتابخانە حکومییەکاندا لەژێر چاودێریی وەزارەتی پەروەردەدا دەبێت.

دووەم: خوێندن بە زمانە بیانییەکان لە قوتابخانە ئەهلییەکاندا، لەژێر چاودێریی
وەزارەتی پەروەردەدا دەبێت.

سێیەم: هەموو باخچەی ساوایان و قوتابخانە و پەیمانگە و کۆلیژێکی
پەروەردەیی ئەهلیی ـ کەرتی تایبەت، لەسەریەتی خوێندنی بەشە وانەی
زمانی کوردی بەپێی پرەنسیپەکانی وەزارەتی پەروەردە لە رِیزی مادده
خوێندراوە سەپێنراوەکانی بێت، بەپێچەوانەوە قوتابییەکانیان بۆیان نییە
لەزانکۆ و پەیمانگەکانی هەرێمی کوردستاندا وەربگیرێن.

ماددەی بیست و یەک: لە هەموو قۆناغەکانی خوێندنی زانکۆ و پەیمانگە حکومی
و ئەهلییەکان بەتایبەتی زانستە مرۆییەکان، قوتابی بە زمانی کوردی
دەخوێنێت و وەڵامی پرسیاری تاقیکردنەوەکان دەداتەوه، زمانەکانی
دیکەش رِیگەپێدراون، بە مەرجێک زمانی کوردی زمانی یەکەمی خوێندن
بێت.

ماددەی بیست و دوو: لە قۆناغەکانی خوێندنی زانکۆ و پەیمانگە حکومی و
ئەهلییەکاندا، بەپێی پسپۆریی بەشەکان، زمانەکانی دیکە رِیگەپێدراون،
بەمەرجێک ماددەیەکی تایبەت بە کوردۆلۆجییان هەبێت.

ماددەی بیست و سێ: خوێندن بە خەتی برایل بۆ خاوەن پێداویستییه تایبەتییەکان
بە زمانی کوردی دابین بکرێت.

بەشی شەشەم

زمانی کار و بازرگانی

ماددەی بیست و چوار: هەر دەزگایەکی خزمەتگوزاریی کەرتی تایبەت، که
مامەڵەی لەگەڵ هاوڵاتیاندا هەبێت، پێویستە زمانی کوردی بەکاربهێنێت.

308

بەكارهێنانی زمانێكی دیكەی فەرمیی عێراق، یان زمانێكی بیانی بەپێی
پێویستیی خزمەتگوزارییەكەی و زمانی بەكاربەران، ئازاده.

ماددەی بیست و پێنج: پێویستە تابلۆی سەر سەرجەم نووسینگە و فرۆشگا و
چێشتخانه و هۆتێل و شوێنه خزمەتگوزارییەكانی كەرتی تایبەت به زمانی
كوردی بێت. دەشێ لەپاڵ زمانی كوردی به زمانی پێكهاتەكانی دیكەی
عێراق، یان به زمانێكی دیكەی بیانی بنووسرێت، بەمەرجێك نووسینه
كوردییەكه دەركەوتووتر بێت، بەپێچەوانەوه مۆڵەتی كردنەوەیان پێ
نادرێت.

ماددەی بیست و شەش: بۆ دامەزراندن، یان كاركردن به گرێبەست له هەر
شوێن و كارێكدا پێویستە زانینی زمانی كوردی وەك یەكێك له مەرجه
سەرەكییەكان بێت.

ماددەی بیست و حەوت: له پەیوەندیی زارەكی و نووسراوی نێوان خاوەنكاری
كەرتی تایبەت و كارمەندەكانیدا (به گرێبەستیشەوه)، زمانی كوردی
بەكاردەهێنرێت، دەكرێت زمانێكی تریش لەگەڵ زمانی كوردی بەكاربهێنرێت.

ماددەی بیست و هەشت: پێویستە هەموو ئاگادارییەكی كاردۆزینەوه له هەرێمی
كوردستاندا به زمانی كوردی بڵاوبكرێتەوه.

ماددەی بیست و نۆ: پێویستە هەموو شتومەك و كەلوپەل و كاڵایەك كه له
هەرێم بەرهەم دەهێنرێت، به زمانی كوردی (وێرای زمانی دیكه) لەسەری
بنووسرێت. حكومەت له سیاسەتی مۆڵەت بەخشین و ئاسانكاری بۆ
هاوردەكردنی ئەو بەرهەمانەی له دەرەوەی هەرێم و دەرەوەی عێراق
بەرهەم دەهێنرێن، دەبێت مەرجی نووسین به زمانی كوردی لەسەر
بەرهەمەكان وەك یەكێك له پێوەرەكانی مۆڵەت و ئاسانكارییەكان
بەكاربێنێت، ئەمه نووسینی سەر رێنمایی بەكارهێنان و كەتەلۆگی سەرجەم
بەرهەمەكان بەتایبەتی داو و دەرمانیش دەگرێتەوه.

ماددەی سییەم: پێویستە فۆرمی داواكاری و پارەدان و پارەوەرگرتن لەگەڵ
هەموو دەزگایەكی خزمەتگوزاریی بازرگانی و پسوولە و زەرف... هتد به
زمانی كوردی بن، بەڵام بەكارهێنانی زمانی عەرەبی، یان زمانێكی بیانی
لەپاڵیدا رێگەپێدراوه.

ماددەی سی و یەك: هەموو جۆره رێكلام و بانگەشەیەك له هەرێمی كوردستاندا

دەبێت بە زمانی کوردی بێت، بەڵام بەکارهێنانی زمانی پێکهاتەکانی دیکەی عێراق، یان زمانێکی بیانی لەپاڵیدا رێگەپێدراوە.

ماددەی سی و دوو: رۆژنامە و میدیا و ناوەندە کلتوورییە بیانییەکان لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا ئازادن لە بەکارهێنانی زمانی کوردیدا.

بەشی حەوتەم
زمانی پێکهاتە نەتەوەییەکان

ماددەی سی و سێ: لە هەر یەکەیەکی کارگێریدا، کە زۆرینەی دانیشتووانەکەی سەر بە پێکهاتەیەکی نەتەوەیی جیاواز لە کورد بن، بۆیان هەیە بە راپرسییەکی خۆجێیی زمانی خۆیان لەپاڵ زمانی کوردیدا بکەن بە زمانی فەرمیی کاروباری ناوخۆییان.

ماددەی سی و چوار: دەبێت دامەزراوەکانی ئەم جۆرە پێکهاتانە لە پەیوەندییەکانیان لەگەڵ دامودەزگاکانی حکومەتی هەرێمی کوردستاندا، زمانی کوردی بەکاربێنن.

بەشی هەشتەم
کۆمسیۆنی زمانە فەرمییەکان

ماددەی سی و پێنج: لەپێناو چاودێریکردن و جێبەجێکردنی ئەم یاسایه و بەرێوەبردنی سیاسەتی زمانی لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا، کۆمسیۆنێک بە ناوی کۆمسیۆنی زمانە فەرمییەکان دادەمەزرێت.

ماددەی سی و شەش: کۆمسیۆن خاوەنی کەسایەتیی مەعنەوییە و سەربەخۆیی دارایی (بودجەی تایبەت) و کارگێری هەیە و دەسەڵاتی گرتنەبەری هەموو رێککارێکی یاسایی پێویستی هەیە.

ماددەی سی و حەوت: کۆمسیۆن لە (٩) پسپۆری بواری زمان و یاسا و کارگێریی کە خۆیان بۆ ئەم ئەرکە تەرخان دەکەن پێکدێت، ئەندامانی کۆمسیۆن لەلایەن ئەنجومەنی وەزیران (یان) پەرلەمانی کوردستانەوە بۆ ماوەی (٤) ساڵ دیاری دەکرێن، ماوەکەیان دەکرێت یەک جار نوێ بکرێتەوە، مەرجەکانی بوون بە ئەندام لە کۆمسیۆن ئەمانەن:

یەکەم: تەمەنیان لە سی و پێنج ساڵ کەمتر نەبێت.

<p align="center">310</p>

دووەم: بە لای کەمی (١٠) ساڵ لە بوارەکەی خۆی خزمەتی کردبێت.

سێیەم: بڕوانامەی زانکۆیی هەبێت.

ماددەی سی و هەشت: کۆمسیۆن دەسەڵاتی پەسندکردنی پێڕەوی ناوخۆ و هەموو ڕێنماییەکی هەیە، کە بۆ بەجێگەیاندنی ئەرکەکانی پێویست بێت. بۆ مەبەستی پێدانی مۆڵەتی کارکردن و لێسەندنەوەی مۆڵەتی کارکردن و داخستن، لیژنەیەک لە نوێنەرانی کۆمسیۆن و ئەکادیمیای کوردی و پارێزگا و شارەوانی پێکدەهێنرێت.

ماددەی سی و نۆ: کۆمسیۆن لە دوو بەشی لیژنەی زمان و لیژنەی بەدواداچوون و پشکنین پێکدێت:

یەکەم: لیژنەی زمان بە هەماهەنگی لەگەڵ ئەکادیمیای کوردی لە بواری بە کوردیکردنی زاراوە کارگێڕی و پسپۆڕییەکاندا یارمەتی دامودەزگا حکومی و ناحکومییەکان دەدات، پاش پەسندکردن لە ڕۆژنامەی فەرمی بڵاویان دەکاتەوە.

دووەم: لیژنەی پشکنین و بەدواداچوون لەسەر بنەمای تۆمارکردنی سکاڵای هاوڵاتییان، یان بە دەستپێشخەریی خۆی، پشکنەرەکانی دەنێرێتە سەر ئەو دامەزراوە و ناوەندانەی کە ڕەفتاریان لەگەڵ یاسای زمانە فەرمییەکانی هەرێمی کوردستاندا ناتەبایە.

ماددەی چلەم: هەر کۆمپانیا و دەزگایەکی خزمەتگوزاریی کەرتی تایبەت، کە کارمەندی هەبێت و زمانی کوردی نەزانن، لەژێر چاودێریی کۆمسیۆندا پلان بۆ باشکردنی باری زمانی کوردی دادەنێت.

ماددەی چل و یەک: کۆمسیۆن بە هەماهەنگی لەگەڵ ئەکادیمیای کوردی بۆ ناونان و ناوبردنی شوێن و دەڤەرەکان لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا پێشنیاز دەداتە حکومەت بۆ ئەوەی جێبەجێیان بکات.

ماددەی چل و دوو: کۆمسیۆن هەموو ساڵێک ڕاپۆرتێکی چڕوپڕ لەسەر باری زمانی کوردی لە بواری گشتی و حکومیدا دەداتە پەرلەمان و حکومەتی هەرێمی کوردستان بۆ ئەوەی بەپێی پێویست بڕیاری لەسەر بدرێت.

311

بەشی نۆیەم

سزاکان

ماددەی چل و سێ: ئەوەی سەرپێچی لە فەرمانەکان (حوکمەکان)ی ئەم یاسایە بکات، بەر ئەم سزایانەی خوارەوە دەکەوێت:

یەکەم: ئەگەر بەرپرسیاری سەرپێچییەکە کەسێکی مەعنەویی کەرتی گشتی بوو، کۆمسیۆن لەرێگەی هۆشداریدانەوە سەرنجی دامەزراوە حکومییەکە بۆ سەرپێچییەکە رادەکێشێت. ئەگەر پاش تێپەڕینی ئەو ماوەیەی کە کۆمسیۆن دیاریی دەکات، دامەزراوە گشتییەکە لە سەرپێچییەکەی بەردەوام بوو، ئەوا کۆمسیۆن دەتوانێت هۆشداریدانەکەی لە رۆژنامە و میدیاکاندا بڵاوبکاتەوە.

دووەم: ئەگەر بەرپرسیاری سەرپێچییەکە فەرمانبەری کەرتی گشتی بوو، نەک دامەزراوەکە وەک کەسێکی مەعنەوی و لەکاتی جێبەجێکردنی وەزیفەکەیدا ئەو سەرپێچییەی کرد، ئەوا بە نووسین ئاگادار دەکرێتەوە بۆ ئەوەی لە ماوەیەکی دیاریکراودا سەرپێچییەکەی راست بکاتەوە، ئەگەر لەسەر سەرپێچییەکەی بەردەوام بوو، لە رێگەی بەرزترین بەرپرسی دامەزراوەکەیەوە سزای ئینزیباتی دەخرێتە سەر، بەپێی یاسای رێککاری فەرمانبەرانی دەوڵەت لە هەرێمی کوردستاندا.

سێیەم: ئەگەر هاتوو سەرپێچیکار (کەسی سروشتی بێت یان مەعنەوی) سەر بە کەرتی تایبەت، یان دامەزراوەیەکی حکومیی دەرەوەی هەرێمی کوردستان، یان بیانی بێت، هۆشداری پێ دەدرێت، تاوەکو لە ماوەیەکی دیاریکراودا سەرپێچییەکەی راست بکاتەوە. ئەگەر پابەند نەبوو، ئەوا بە غەرامەیەک سزا دەدرێت کە نابێ لە ( ) دینار کەمتر و لە ( ) دیناریش زیاتر بێت. لەحاڵەتێکدا کە ئەو رێککارانە نەبنە هۆی راستکردنەوەی سەرپێچییەکە، ئەوا کۆمسیۆن بۆی هەیە داوای یاسایی لەسەر لایەنی پێشێلکار تۆماربکات.

چوارەم:

١ـ لە حاڵەتی دووبارەکردنەوەی سەرپێچییەکەدا، غەرامەکە دوو ئەوەندە دەکرێت.

٢ـ ئەگەر لایەنی سەرپێچیکار کەرتی تایبەت بوو، وە بەردەوام بوو لەسەر

سەرپێچییەکەی، ئەوا شوێنەکە بۆ ماوەیەک دادەخرێت.

پێنجەم: ئەگەر کەسێکی سروشتی یان مەعنەوی بە زارەکی، یان بە نووسین، یان بە هەر شێوە و شێوازێک، رێگە لە بەکارهێنانی زمانە فەرمییەکان و زمانی پێکهاتەکاتی دیکەی عێراق بگرێت، ئەوا دەبێت بە بەندکردن و غەرامە سزا بدرێت، بەمەرجێک سزای بەندکردنەکەی لە مانگێک کەمتر نەبێت و لە (۳) مانگیش زیاتر نەبێت، و غەرامەکەشی لە ( ) دینار کەمتر نەبێت و لە ( ) دیناریش زیاتر نەبێت.

<div align="center">

بەشی دەیەم

ماددە دوماهییەکان

</div>

مــاددەی چل و چــوار: پێویستە لەسەر ئەنجوومەنی وەزیــران و لایەنە پەیوەندیدارەکان، فەرمانەکان (حوکمەکان)ی ئەم یاسایە جێبەجێ بکەن.

ماددەی چل و پێنج: کار بە هیچ دەقێکی یاسایی، یان بریارێک ناکرێت کە لەگەڵ فەرمانەکان (حوکمەکان)ی ئەم یاسایەدا ناکۆک بن.

مــاددەی چل و شەش: دوای ئەوەی بریاری کۆمسیۆنی زمانە فەرمییەکان دەردەچێت و ئەم یاسایە لە رۆژنامەی فەرمی (وەقایعی کوردستان)دا بڵاو دەکرێتەوە، یاساکە جێبەجێ دەکرێت.

<div align="center">

هۆیەکانی دانانی ئەم یاسایە

</div>

لەبەر رۆشنایی ماددەی چوارەمی دەستووری هەمیشەیی سالی (۲۰۰۵) ی کۆماری عێراقی فیدراڵ، کە شانبەشانی زمانی عەرەبی دانی بە فەرمیبوونی زمانی کوردی ناوە لە سەرانسەری عێراقدا، هەروەها دانی بە زمانی پێکهاتەکانی دیکەشدا ناوە و، لەبەر نەبوونی یاسایەکی تایبەت وەک یاساگەلی دەوڵەت و هەرێمە فرەزمانەکان لە بواری سیاسەتی زمانیدا، بەپێویست زانرا یاسایەکی لەم چەشنە وەک سەرچاوە و چوارچێوەی سیاسەتی زمانی پەسند بکرێت و بخرێتە کار، بۆیە ئەم یاسایە تەشریع کرا.

<div align="center">

313

</div>

Appendix L: The Statement of Speaker of Kurdistan Parliament, 2008

Appendix M: Question of Primary Schools in Iraq – June 1938

<div dir="rtl">

وزارة المعارف

الامتحانات العامة للدراسة الابتدائية

حزيران ١٩٣٨

</div>

<div dir="rtl">الزمن ــ ساعتان</div> <div dir="rtl">الموضوع ــ اللغة الانكليزية</div>

I. Use each of the following words in a sentence:—

king, army, picture, wash, dishes, month, yellow, palm tree, hotel, home, beautiful, ugly, winter, moon, strong, table, store, radio, long, rabbit.

II. Write five sentences about your school:—

II. (a) Name the days of the week.
    (b) Name the months of the year.

IV. Answer the following questions:—

(1) Are you a pupil or a teacher?
(2) With what do you write?
(3) How old are you?
(4) Do schools open on Fridays?
(5) What are the colours of the Iraqi flag?
(6) Should you brush your teeth every day?
(7) How many times do you eat in a day?
(8) How many big rivers does 'Iraq have?

V. Write a letter to one of your friends telling him about your English examination.

VI. Use either (is) or (are) in filling out the blanks:—

(1) Ahmad and Jasim.........coming.
(2) My mother......sick.
(3) This picture......beautiful.
(4) Baghdad......the biggest city in 'Iraq.
(5) The boys........playing well.
(6) My teeth......white.

(Question 1: 20 Marks. Question 2: 15 Marks. Question 3: 20 Marks. Question 4: 16 Marks. Question 5: 15 Marks. Question 6: 14 Marks).

Appendix N: An Official Statement of Ministry of Education of Kurdistan Regional Government KRG, About the Quality of Tests in 12 Grade-High School (20.Dec.2015)