

LANGUAGE PLANNING IN DIASPORA: THE CASE OF KURDISH KURMANJI DIALECT

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Abstract. In this paper, we study a particular case of language planning in Diaspora through the activities of the Committee for Standardization of Kurdish Kurmanji dialect spoken by the majority of Kurds living in Turkey, in Syria and by part of the Kurds living in Iran and in Iraq. Despite its sizeable speaker community, Kurmanji is not officially recognized and public education is not provided in this dialect in the countries where it is spoken. The absence of official recognition and structural variation within Kurmanji led Kurdish intellectuals and researchers living in exile to form the Committee in 1987. Holding two meetings per year in a European city, the Committee tries to standardize and to revitalize the Kurmanji dialect without relying on government support. We examine the activities of the committee in the light of its research in the field of language policy and planning. The activities will be assessed by three typologies of language planning: 1) Haugen's classical model of language planning (1991 [1983]); 2) Hornberger's integrative framework of language planning (1988); 3) Nahir's Language Planning Goals (2000). Our contribution focuses on two aspects of the activities: corpus planning and dissemination of results in exile. We study the practices of collection of vocabulary and neology in different scientific domains as well as the influences of these activities on the development of Kurmanji.

Keywords: Kurdish, language planning, diaspora, standardization

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study a particular case of language planning in Diaspora through the activities of the Committee for Standardization of Kurdish Kurmanji dialect, spoken by the majority of Kurds living in Turkey, Syria and by part of the Kurds living in Iran and in Iraq. Despite its sizeable speaker community, Kurmanji is not officially recognized and public education is not provided in this dialect in the countries where it is

spoken. The absence of official recognition and structural variation within Kurmanji led Kurdish intellectuals and researchers living in exile to form the Committee in 1987. Holding two meetings per year in a European city, the Committee tries to standardize and to revitalize the Kurmanji dialect without relying on government support.

While migration often offers opportunities to study situations of bilingualism, transmission or loss of languages across generations of migrants, the activities of the committee show that migration can also contribute to the survival of a minority language. In the case of Kurmanji, activities of the committee concern stabilizing a thesaurus, creating a modern Kurdish literacy, providing a written code and standardizing spelling and grammar.

I would like to examine the activities of this committee in the light of the researches in the field of language policy and planning. My contribution will focus on two aspects of the activities: corpus planning and dissemination of results in exile. I will study the practices of collection of vocabulary and neology in different scientific domains as well as the influences of these activities on the development of Kurmanji.

2. The research methodology

I will study the practices of vocabulary collection and the neology in different scientific domains as well as the influences of these activities on the development of Kurmanji. The publications and activities of the committee give us a remarkable corpus and framework. However, at first, we would like to give some contextual data concerning the Kurdish language and its sociolinguistic situation in the four countries where it is spoken.

2.1. The Kurdish language and community

Kurdish is currently spoken by approximately 35 million speakers divided between 4 countries (Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey, not mentioning a Diaspora of 900 000 Kurds living in Europe).

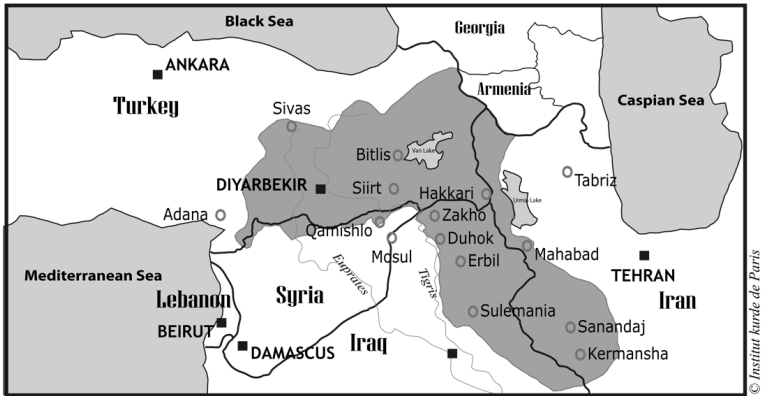


Figure 1. Map of Kurdish settlement (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998).

Belonging to the family of Indo-European languages, Kurdish is part of the Iranian group of this family, which gathers several modern languages such as Osset, Persian, Baloutchi, Tadjik, etc. Due to the inexistence of national institutions, Kurdish developed on a polydialectal structure which included many dialects, namely *Kurmanji*, *Sorani*, *Gorani* and *Dimili*. The Kurmanji speaking area is located in the south east and eastern regions of Turkey, a part of Northern Iraq and Syria and in north western Iran. Different Kurmanji speaking enclaves are dispersed through Central Anatolia and former Republics of Soviet Union. The Sorani speaking area covers the north of Iraq and western Iran. Dimili speaking Kurds inhabit the western part of Kurdish settlements in Turkey and the Gorani speaking community is located in the south of Iraqi Kurdistan. The two main dialects that are closely related to each other are the *Kurmanji* dialect and the *Sorani* dialect. The *Kurmanji* dialect, spoken by 65% of the Kurds, appears more archaic than the other dialects in its phonetic and morphological structure. Yet, *Kurmanji* and *Sorani* are two dialects that have the greatest number of common linguistic characteristics. The morphological features that distinguish them are a difference of case (nominative and oblique), and of gender in names and pronouns, and an agentive construction of past tenses of transitive verbs (Blau 1976, 2006). Kurdish is maybe the only language which is simultaneously written in three distinct alphabets. At the beginning it was written in a slightly modified Arabic alphabet, notably with the addition of dia-

critic marks. Kurdish had to adapt itself to the alphabets of the States in which it had not been acknowledged. It is written in the Latin alphabet in Turkey and in Syria, in the Arabic alphabet in Iraq and Iran, and in the Cyrillic alphabet in the republic of the former Soviet Union.

2.2. The sociolinguistic situation of Kurdish

The sociolinguistic situation of Kurdish, generally speaking, mirrors the political situation of the Kurds. In Iraq, Arabic and Kurdish are two Iraqi official languages of since the Constitution adopted in October 2005. Kurdish is the official language of the Kurdistan region, the language of education, business and administration (Hirori 2005). Iran and Syria are the two countries where Kurdish does not have any political or institutional status. It is taught neither in public nor in private schools in these countries (Hassanpour 1992). However, the oral and written use of Kurdish is tolerated. So is the publishing of non-political articles. Unfortunately, it is in Turkey that Kurdish suffered the most repressive policies with respect to its spoken and written usages as well as in regard to its teaching and usage in printed material. It is not inappropriate, here, to speak of an exemplary case of a language being victim of an attempt of *linguistic ethnocide*, or of *glottophagia* (Calvet 1974). The harassment by the Turkish authorities of the Kurdish language may be a unique case in the world as far as the treatment of a minority language is concerned (Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak 1994). Legal, political, economic, linguistic and social means have been used to drift the language away from the socio-cultural spheres in which it should normally develop, to forbid its use in public and private spaces of communication, and thus preventing its internal and external evolution.

Since the early 2000s, in the process of accession to the European Union, Turkey has relaxed its repressive language policy. It abolished the ban on speaking Kurdish, allowed private teaching of Kurdish language in 2004 and set up in January 2009 TRT-6, a public television channel broadcasting in Kurdish. As we have shown, the experience of private teaching of Kurdish was not a success because people did not accept the idea of paying to learn their mother tongue. All centers have closed their doors in August 2005 (Akin, in press). Furthermore, if the TV channel is a step

forward, it appears insignificant in the multitude of Kurdish television channels broadcasting via satellite. The Turkish government still refuses any possibility of public education in the Kurdish language in schools.

2.3. The theoretical framework

I propose to examine the Committee's activities in the light of researches on the language planning and language policy. As we will see, the Committee has numerous objectives and undertakes various activities to achieve its objectives. A quick overview of the activities indicates two principal and complementary objectives, namely language standardization and language revitalization. These goals are included in the major theories on language planning and policy. For example, Haugen's classical model of language planning, which consists of four stages, includes *language selection* (which focuses on the development of language policy), *codification* (which focuses on the development of a formal linguistic system and literary norms), *elaboration* (which focuses on the ongoing functional development of the language) and *implementation* (which aims to put into place the policy and practices needed to support the new policy) (Kendall 2000: 204). Hornberger's integrative framework of language planning involves three types of language planning, making emerge a new category (*making a new category emerged*) that is acquisition planning: *status planning* (about language use), *corpus planning* (about language system), *acquisition planning* (about language users). For his part, Baldauf reformulated the Hornberger's triptych, including especially a new category referring to language prestige and image planning (2005): *status planning* (about society), *corpus planning* (about language), *language-in-education planning* (about learning), *prestige and image planning* (about image). At last, Moshe Nahir (2000) identified eleven goals of language planning: *Language purification*, *Language revival*, *Language reform*, *Language standardization*, *Language spread*, *Lexical modernization*, *Terminology unification*, *Stylistic Simplification*, *Interlingual communication*, *Language maintenance*, *Auxiliary-Code Standardization*. These different initiatives of creating typologies for language planning and language policy goals and functions show strong convergences. The major differences con-

cern the ways they are distributed into different categories. For my analysis of Kurmanji Commission's activities, I will retain the typology of Nahir, because this analyzing model allows to take into account most objectives and activities of the committee. The major advantage of the model is to consider the language planning activities underlying the goals involved in the language planning process. However, other typologies include the involvement of national and official institutions and organizations. As we shall see, the committee can not rely on this support. Finally, *language-in-education planning* which is present in the typologies under *acquisition planning* can not be undertaken by the committee because there is not official recognition of its activities.

3. The Committee for standardization of Kurmanji dialect

The committee is affiliated with the Kurdish Institute of Paris, created in February 1983. The Kurdish Institute is a cultural organization, embracing Kurdish intellectuals and artists from different horizons as well as Western specialists on Kurdish Studies. Their objectives are to maintain in the Kurdish community the knowledge of their language, their history and their cultural heritage, to contribute to the integration of Kurdish immigrants into their host European societies and to make the Kurds, their culture, their country and their present situation known to the general public. After ten years of activity in the form of a non-profit association (in accordance with the law of 1901), it became a Foundation of recognized public benefit by a decree signed by the French Prime Minister on March 2nd 1993.

The Committee takes its inspiration from the work of the brothers Jeladet and Kamuran Bedir Khan, who began to renovate the Kurmanji in the 1930s and 1940s while in exile in Syria and Lebanon, at that time under French mandate (Matras and Reershemius 1991). The greatest reform of the Bedir Khan Brothers has been the latinization of the Kurdish script in 1932 and the spreading the new alphabet through their magazine *Hawar* (Call).

3.1. The members and the influence of diaspora

All members of the committee are belonging to the Kurdish Diaspora in Europe. The formation of a Kurdish diaspora in Europe started in 1960. At first, it was mostly the arrival of Turkish Kurds in Germany, the Benelux countries, Austria, Switzerland and France, as immigrant workers within the framework of inter-governmental agreements on immigrant labor. But political events have transformed the nature of this immigration. Following the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, the military coup of September 1980 in Turkey, the long and bloody Iran-Iraq conflict and the campaign to exterminate the Kurds (Anfal) launched by the Iraqi regime, successive waves of Kurdish political refugees arrived in the countries of Western Europe and in North America. The lack of a rigorous and reliable census of the Kurdish diaspora in Europe makes that an estimation. The most current statistics show the presence of about 1.2 million Kurds in Western Europe.¹

The majority of the members, currently 16, are based in Sweden which had hosted a large part of Kurdish intellectuals oppressed in their country and forced to exile after the military coup of 1980 in Turkey. They come from each part of Kurdistan (a member is a Kurd from Armenia). They are bilingual, trilingual or quadrilingual. There are teachers, journalists, writers, like the former member Mehmet Uzun, and language activists having a good level of knowledge and practice of Kurmanji among the members of the committee. Some members had political responsibilities among Kurdish resistance in exile. Linguists, scientists, specialists attend some meetings if there is such a demand by the committee in order to provide expertise.

The question of the legitimacy and the moral authority of the members may of course be discussed. Indeed, how members of a linguistic community living abroad, may attempt to intervene on their language? One should recall that the committee members are not elected, they don't belong to a nationally recognized organization, although the Kurdish Institute covers a large part of Kurdish intellectuals. Before being forced into exile, most members were political activists and involved in activities for the recog-

¹ *Le Monde* (<http://www.lemonde.fr/web/infog/0,47-0@2-3210,54-973221@51-960605,0.html>).

nition of the Kurdish language and culture. Political activities in their countries of origin are transformed in the diaspora in activities to safeguard their language. So it is by their militant past that the members of the committee are led to take in hand the destiny of their language. The language of course plays a vital role in nation building. But in the diasporic context, it also becomes a means of consolation: if the members could not “liberate” their country, they can try to preserve their language from extinction. This self-management gives them moral legitimacy. Policies of linguistic assimilation and the lack of national institutions produce an effect of legitimacy for anyone interested in language in such context. The best measure of legitimacy is probably the impact of their work and their reception by the users of the language.

3.2. The meetings organization

The first meeting of the Committee was held in Catalonia in 1987 and it was supported by the Catalonian Government. Two meetings of one week each are held per year. At each meeting, the members present the results of their research whose theme is decided previously. After presentation and discussion which can be very animated and continue long time, the works are stated and published in the *Kurmanji* journal. The members work as volunteers and do not get any financial support for their contributions. They spare two weeks of their holidays per year to attend at works, but all travel and accommodation fees are paid by the Kurdish Institute.

3.3. The goals

An extract of the *Kurmanji* can well summarize the committee’s objectives:

“The everyday language of the great majority of Kurds, including the substantial Kurdish Diaspora in Europe, Kurmanji, which is banned in Turkey and excluded from the education systems in Syria, Iran and Iraq, needs, in this end of 20th Century, a serious effort of stabilizing its thesaurus, standardizing its spelling and grammar and

renovating its vocabulary, to enable it to answer to the needs of expression of those who speak it – in all walks of life, but especially in the media and teaching.

This is a gigantic task that, for a people with a State, would normally be assumed by a language Academy. In the specific case of the Kurds, deprived of a state for an indefinite period, such a task can only be carried out in Diaspora, in democratic Europe.” (*Kurmanji* 1999)

As it is seen, multiple objectives are presented. The committee tries to stabilize the thesaurus, to standardize the spelling and grammar, to create a modern Kurdish literacy and to provide a written code. Indeed, the majority of Kurds are illiterate in their native tongue, because official policy has prevented the autonomous development of a literacy variety by denying Kurds education in their own language. These objectives constitute the *language policy* of the committee. When we analyze the committee’s activities in detail, we observe that the goals are even more important than those presented above.

3.4. The analyses

These numerous goals can be assessed according to Nahir’s analyzing model.

3.4.1. Language purification

Divided into two categories, language purification has external and internal objectives. The *external purification* is prescription of usage in order to preserve the “purity” of language and protect it from foreign influences – and *internal purification* involves “protecting” the accepted standard code as it exists at a given time against deviation that occurs from within in the form of non-normative, “incorrect” usage in a language) (Nahir 2000: 426–427). As example, Nahir mentions several current State Academies (Israel, Jordan, Canada, Quebec and Iceland) engaged in language purification and their activities consisting of the creation of prescriptive grammars and dictionaries. We know that Kurmanji is under the influence of

several languages (Turkish, Arabic, Farisi in Kurdistan, and English, French in Europe) (Akin 2007). As Kurmanji needs words in the scientific, juridical, political, medical, economic domains, and as consequences of language contact, Kurmanji contains a lot of words borrowed from these languages. By creating new words in these fields, the committee enables the replacement of these foreign words with Kurdish origin words. For instance, this small corpus is a manifestation of such a purification process in computer domain: *binmişk* (mouse pad), *bikok* (button), *nimander* (cursor), *nîşanker* (pointer), *tik* (click), *tikandin* (to click).

The Internal purification is not observed in its activities; because the committee seems taking into account all words in different local speeches used for the same concept. For example, the kinship terminology: they can show much variation through local speeches: *kal*, *kalik*, *bapîr* (grand-father), *pîr*, *pîrik*, *dapîr* (grand-mother), *xweh*, *xwişk*, *xweng*, *xwehîng* (sister). The committee does not seem to try to impose a “correct” form, but only to collect, to achieve and to propose all linguistic unities existing in the language to verbalize something.

3.4.2. Language revival

Language revival is the attempt to turn a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication in a community (Nahir 2000: 428). If the number of language revival attempts is small, the best known example is the Hebrew revival. It requires several sociocultural factors: national, political, religious and educational. In the case of Kurmanji, which shows a certain level of maintenance in the community, this step is not relevant to the committee activities. However, it is evident that the committee based abroad and deprived of any official and institutional support, can not attempt to revival even if the Kurmanji necessitates a revival.

3.4.3. Language reform

This is deliberate change in a specific language, intended to facilitate its use (429). If the simplification of language use appears as major motivation, the particular direction of the reform is often

affected by ideological, political, religious or other considerations. The introduction of Latin alphabet in Turkish by Mustafa Kemal and the recent attempt of orthography's reform of French can be mentioned as examples. In this sense, the work of Bedir Khan Brothers can be regarded as a reform, since they have adapted the sounds of Kurdish in Latin alphabet (Akin 2006). But, in the case of the committee, no undertaking which could be characterized as reform is observed in its activities.

3.4.4. Language standardization

Language standardization is, according to Wardhaugh (2006), the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of grammars, spelling books, dictionaries, and possibly a literature. In other words, some spoken form of a particular language is written down in an official manner with the intention of making this particular variety the preferred variety. As explained above, Kurmanji remained for a long time in the oral domain and the emergence of a written standard code with grammar, spelling books, dictionaries is still in process. From this point of view, the activities of the committee in favor of stabilizing the thesaurus, creating a modern Kurdish literacy and providing a written code can be seen of course as attempts of language standardization.

3.4.5. Language spread

This is defined as the attempt to increase the number of speakers of a language at the expense of (an)other language(s). For a language to be spread, one needs institutional support such as schools, newspapers etc. As we will see, the committee disseminates the results in several means, but it is very difficult to assess the degree of its contribution to increase the number of Kurmanji speakers.

3.4.6. Lexical modernization

This concerns word creation or adaptation as a way to assist developed, standard languages that have borrowed concepts too

fast for their natural development to accommodate. This is the major activity of the committee that I would like to develop here. It is possible to present the activities in four categories.

- *Collection, compilation and archiving* the current vocabulary in all fields to establish a thesaurus and a general thematic dictionary of the language. The committee is proceeding by focusing on primary written lexical sources and drawing words from old texts to use in their original meanings. In this way, *Nûbara Ehmedê Xanî*, the hand book of the famous Kurdish philosopher, writer and teacher Ehmedê Xanî has been exploited by the committee. Written in 1680, the book is a milestone in the history of Kurdish lexicology, because it is the oldest dictionary known in this language. Equally, *Mewlûda Bateyî*, a long religious poetry praising the prophet and written in the 15th century by the poet and cleric Mela Ehmedê Batê, *Dîwana Melayê Cizîrî*, the collection of poems written in the 16th century by the writer, poet and mystic Melayê Cizîrî, have been involved in collecting the vocabulary. The use of ancient sources has certainly also a sociolinguistic objective. These sources allow the committee to show the historicity of Kurdish language and are likely to secure the speakers.

Along with written sources, the oral and folkloric sources have been investigated. The vocabulary characterizing human and animal anatomies, agriculture, botanic, economical, juridical, military, political domains have been collected by the committee.

- *Creating new words from existing roots*. As Kurmanji lacks of vocabulary in certain domains, members of the committee create new words when necessary. It is a method of using the source language to create new words, often compounds. For instance, the vocabulary of traffic. The word *korerê* (dead end, no outlet) is based on *kor* (blind) and *rê* (road). The word *peyarek* (pavement, sidewalk) consists of *peya* (pedestrian) and *rê* (road), as *derbasgeh* (pedestrian crossing) based on units *derbas* (transition) and *geh* (place).

- *Borrowing words from other languages and integrating them into phonetic structure of Kurmanji*. When the word creation appears difficult, other languages are then utilized. This consists often of integrating into the language the borrowing that users already use in every day life. The challenge then is to determine

the phonographic structure of loans. Many words are borrowed from different languages to meet the communication needs of users. Thus, *taxim* (team) comes from the Turkish, *şampiyon* (champion) comes from the French through the Turkish, as well as *garaj* (garage) and *villa* (villa). Borrowing words from other languages shows that the committee follows when possible the use of language by speakers. It is also evidence that the purism is difficult to realize in language contact situations.

- *Loan translation or calques*. This is a form of borrowing from one language to another whereby the semantic components of a given term are literally translated into their equivalents in the borrowing language. Numerous examples are attested, making this possibility an important mean of word creation: *e-name* (e-mail), *e-pirtûk* (e-book), *nîvmeydan* (halfway field), *meydana lîstîkê* (field of play), *devera golê* (goal area).

3.4.7. Terminology unification

This is establishing unified terminologies, mostly technical, clarifying and defining them, in order to reduce communicative ambiguity, especially in the technological and scientific domains. I have not found a practice that can be described as terminology unification. The presence of several local speeches and the lack of national standardization institutions explain the existence of words to say the same thing. For example, there are about thirty words to say the bat. In this case, as in others, the committee seems unwilling to impose the same terminology, but only proposes to possible words to categorize different domains. I observed this relative neutrality in the kinship terms. It is the same for the botanical vocabulary. For example, the words *baqile xatuni*, *keliki xatuni*, *baqilxatun* exist in Kurmanji, saying *sugar snap peas* (*Saccharatum sativum*). Similarly, the words *baxox*, *angelok*, *kaneje* mean *Kurdish centaurea* (*Centaurea kurdica*). In these situations, the committee does not suggest or recommend the use of a word among all possibilities. It is limited to proposing the existing forms, allowing the speaker to choose the form he wants to use.

3.4.8. Stylistic simplification

This is simplifying language usage in lexicon, grammar and style, in order to reduce communicative ambiguity between professionals and bureaucrats on the one hand and the public on the other, and among professionals and bureaucrats themselves (435). According to Kaplan and Baldauf, this is particularly the case in situations demanding understanding of the language of contracts and others agreements and situations involving the services of government agencies (1997: 73–74). As we have seen, the committee’s organization, its objectives and the lack of power does not allow it to undertake any stylistic simplification.

3.4.9. Interlingual communication

This concerns facilitating linguistic communication between members of different speech communities by enhancing the use of either an artificial language or a “language of wider communication” as an additional language used as a lingua franca... (interdialectal communication, regional interlingual communication, mutual intelligibility between cognate languages) (Nahir 2000: 436). The committee’s activities which consist of collecting all linguistic forms to say the same thing in the local speeches can be considered as an attempt to facilitate the interlingual communication. The botanic terminology as well as the kinship terms can be mentioned as examples.

3.4.10. Language maintenance

This is the preservation of the use of a group’s native language, as a first or even as a second language, where political, social, economic, educational or other pressures threaten or cause a decline in the status of the language as a means of communication, a cultural medium, or a symbol of group or national identity (439). Language maintenance has been directed at the preservation of a large number of indigenous languages having limited numbers of speakers in North and South America, Africa, Europe and Australia. Kaplan and Baldauf note that language maintenance is a superordinate category that subsumes within itself the goals previ-

ously discussed such as *Language purification*, *Language revival*, *Language reform*, *Language standardization*, *Language spread*, etc. (1997: 77–78). In others words, all activities undertaken for realizing this goals contribute to language maintenance. If the committee can not influence directly the language maintenance, it is certain that the activities by the committee can be characterized as efforts to preserve the use of Kurmanji.

3.4.11. Auxiliary-code standardization

Nahir defines this goal as standardizing or modifying the marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as signs for the deaf, place names, and rules of transliteration and transcription, either to reduce ambiguity and thus improve communication or to meet changing social, political, or other needs or aspirations (2000: 441). Some of the committee's activities seem to enter in this category. For example, the standardization of countries names. The committee spreads standardized forms of these names: *Afxanistan* (Afghanistan), *Pakistan*, *Tayland* (Thailand), *Kamboçya* (Cambodia), *Viyetnam* (Vietnam). The same work is made for Kurdish place names.

4. Dissemination of the results

As we have seen, the Nahir's model allows to take into account most of the activities of the committee. Only four goals (*Language revival*, *Language reform*, *Language spread*, and *Stylistic simplification*) could not be verified in the activities. In sum, there are activities that require the combination of complex factors. Of course, the activities do not only allow to assess the impact of the committee's works and their reception by the users of the language. Powerless, but with a moral authority, can the committee act on the evolution of Kurmanji? This may be analyzed by an area research based on reception and use of the results by the users of the language. Pending such research, look at how the results are presented and disseminated.

The works of each meeting are published in *Kurmanji* journal (2 issues per year). All issues can be downloaded from the

website of the Kurdish Institute of Paris². An online dictionary proposes the translation of words in Kurdish, Turkish, French and English³. A volume containing the first 20 issues (from 1987 to 1996) has been published in 1999, with index for each language. The second volume of recent 40 issues is in press. The target population is first those who are professionally interested in the language such as language professionals and activists, journalists, writers, translators. It is by the works of these professionals that the user will access to results of the committee. The second hand as mean of access to results allows also more vulgarization and dissemination of words.

5. Conclusions

We know well that the Kurmanji case is not the only case of language planning in Diaspora. Romani and Yiddish languages have been the subject of language planning in Diaspora (Matras and Reershemius 1991). In the case of Kurmanji, this is the second most important undertaking to standardize this dialect, after the Bedixani Brothers. In both cases, they are intellectuals living in exile and in Diaspora who take up the initiative. While Bedirxani Brothers' efforts concerned especially the issues of Kurmanji scripts and grammar, the committee activities identified the corpus planning as its major preoccupation. Today, the Committee for standardization of Kurmanji dialect has become a moral authority respected by all Kurdish associations, resistance movements. Several recent Kurdish dictionaries and language teaching materials mention the committee works as reference and major word resources (Farqînî 2005). The committee's contribution to building a standardized language is certain. But as we have seen, its influence on daily use of Kurmanji can not be assessed. Furthermore, if Kurmanji could be transmitted orally in the family and develop survival mechanisms, the current research shows a significant decline in vitality, due to its total exclusion from education, economic market and socio-political activities (Opergin 2009). The decline of language vitality is particularly observed among younger generations (under 20) who seem prefer for education and

² <http://www.institutkurde.org/publications/kurmanci/>

³ <http://www.institutkurde.org/publications/kurmanci/dictionnaire/>

market Turkish, Arabic or Persian languages rather than Kurdish. This raises the question of the language planning efforts limits in the Diaspora. Geographical remoteness of the committee, lack of extension work through education, absence of the direct intervention possibilities on language use are principal factors that limit the committee's scope of works.

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Kokkuvõte. Salih Akin: Keele planeerimine diasporaas: kurdi keele Kurmandži murre. Käesolevas artiklis on uuritud keele planeerimise diasporaas, vaadeldes kurdi keele Kurmandži murre standardiseerimise komitee tööd. Nimetatud murret räägib enamik kurde, kes elavad Türgis ja Süürias, ning osa kurde, kes elavad Iraanis ja Iraagis. Vaatamata suurele kõnelejakonnale, ei ole Kurmandži murre ametlikult tunnustatud, samuti

ei ole see üldhariduskoolides õppekeeleks piirkondades, kus seda räägitakse. Ametliku tunnustuse puudumise ja Kurmandži murde keelestruktuuri varieerumise tõttu moodustasid eksiilis elavad kurdi haritlased ja uurijatele 1987. aastal komitee. Aastas peetakse kaks koosolekut mõnes Euroopa suurlinnas. Seeläbi püüab komitee standardiseerida ja elustada Kurmandži murret valitsuse toetusest sõltumata. Käesolevas artiklis on komitee tööd käsitletud keelepoliitika ja keele planeerimise seisukohalt. Komitee tegevusi hinnatakse lähtudes keele planeerimise kolmest aspektist: 1) Haugeni klassikaline keele planeerimise mudel (1983), 2) Hornbergeri integreeriv keele planeerimise raamistik (1988) ja 3) Nahiri keele planeerimise eesmärgid (2000). Uurimus keskendub komitee töö kahele aspektile: korpuse planeerimine ja tulemuste levitamine eksiilis. Artiklis on uuritud sõnavara ja neologismide kogumist erinevates teadusvaldkondades, samuti selliste tegevuste mõju Kurmandži murde arengule.

Märksõnad: kurdi keele, keele planeerimine, diasporaa, standardiseerimine