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Abstracting & Indexing

EDITORIAL

We are together for the fifteenth issue, the January issue of 2022. It is very exciting to present this new issue of our e-journal, the International Journal of Kurdish Studies – a journal for Kurdish Studies. Every issue provides new ambitions and motivation for us to achieve a better journal, thanks to your fruitful and motivational support, collaboration and encouragement.

The papers in this issue are as usual listed in the Contents. They are again our contribution to the field of Kurdish Studies. We thank the journal employees, authors, reviewers and all the others who have contributed to the preparation process. And, we hope to meet you all again in the forthcoming issues…

Hasan KARACAN, Ph. D

Editor in Chief

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Article

A Peace-Oriented Investigation of the Ethnic Identity Challenge in Iran
(A Study of Five Iranian Ethnic Groups with the GT Method)

Kameel AHMADY [1] ⓘD

Abstract

In the contemporary era, Iran has undergone a continuous experience of identity/ethnic multiplicity, which has caused serious interethnic conflicts revolving around discrimination and inequality in the urge for identity and justice and with a peace-oriented trace as the process of globalization has developed.

In this research, the influence on Iranian civilization in terms of land, language, and religion have been investigated in five ethnic groups, including Persian, Azeri, Kurd, Arab, and Baloch, given different aspects of Islamic and Western governments. The consideration of the Persian ethnic identity as the exclusive component of Iranian national identity has reduced ancient Iranian identity and brought about claims for identity in other ethnic groups.

The present article is an extract from author's recently published book2 which has adopted a hybrid qualitative approach (GT), in-depth interview surveys and tools, library documentation, and an open questionnaire in thirteen provinces to extract and classify data in the following areas: religious identity and national identity (interaction or opposition), interethnic cultural borders, ethnic and national movement dead-end, elimination of cultures, and a peace-oriented approach to resolving the crisis. Thus, a conceptual model has been obtained, shaping basic factors (economic and ideological), intervening factors (media and lifestyle), grounded factors (legal and cultural parameters and resource mismanagement), and phenomenal orientation (claim for justice and socio-political gap) and presenting strategic action (peaceful action, acceptance of the present conditions, and state-nation interaction) and its outcomes (stability and decline of social capital).

Keywords: Iran, Ethnic Identity, Iranian National Identity, Persian, Azeri, Kurd, Arab, Baloch, Peace.

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Introduction and Problem Statement

A contemporary social reality, pluralism and diversity of identity has not decreased but even turned into a controversial issue concerning identity distinction and difference. Since the second half of the twentieth century, modern identity-seeking based on gender, sexual orientation, lifestyle, pseudo-religious groups, and other factors has sought acknowledgement through globalization phenomena, such as the ever-increasing development of media, enhancement of identity awareness, and their capability of manifestation along with the old sources of identity construction (ethnicity, religion, and nationality).

Iran is a multi-ethnic country, where the issue of ethnic convergence or divergence with respect to social integrity and social consensus needs to be pondered, and the national ethnic policies were not manifested and realized in many cases upon the Islamic Revolution (1979). Iranian governments have always sought to assimilate the ethnic groups. That is, the governors have often tended to integrate the variety of identities into a single identity under a Persian umbrella. For example, the ratification of macro-policies concerning the Iranian ethnic groups in 1999 (Haghpanah, 2003) even turned into a source of political activity due to the discrimination and inequality throughout the political, economic, and cultural structure of the society and the conflicts and identity-seeking activities revolving around ethnicity and religion at the most comprehensive level of Iranian collective identity.

Figure 1. Map of Iran and its neighbours

Moreover, ethnic identity has been highlighted and enhanced for important reasons such as intra- ethnic cultural-linguistic commonalities and emotional interactions and relations, collective movements in specific ethnic groups' residences, development of local media,

globalization, development of the sense of self-awareness, superpowers' influence over the ethnic elite, and specific ethnic claims. This level of collective identity in Iran involves plenty of diversity and multiplicity, while the ethnic discourse has long been dominated by identity assimilation (in both religious and ethnic terms), incapable of admitting the existing pluralism and diversity).

Different Iranian governments have justified their attempts to assimilate identities in Iran in terms of maintaining national solidarity and security and the political integrity of the country. However, this method of governance seems to have resulted in a threat against national security and developed the sense of deprivation among ethnic groups along with inequality and discrimination, further deepening the gaps between the ethnic groups and between them and the government. The emergence of movements and identity-seeking political groups and their suppression by the central government has intensified extremism, leading the minority holding political power to adopt a monarchic, dictator-like, suppressive tendency rather than democratic, tolerant methods.

The significance of the present research is due to the cultural mosaic in the Iranian society, which has long had a multi-ethnic life world, composed of a multiplicity and variety of cumulative identities. Therefore, some experts believe that any explanation aimed at a generalization on this multi-ethnic society will be insufficient if made regardless of the ethnicity factor. Given the lasting, increasing importance of ethnic communities in development and consolidation of social solidarity, scientific investigation of ethnic groups has gained ground. Ethnic unity and solidarity of the identities can bring about peace and fill in ethnic gaps in a multi-ethnic, multicultural society. The main problem here involves an explanation of the collective identity of the ethnic groups in Iran. Collective, or social, identity can be identified as the domain of social life that the individual refers to as *we* and finds himself as belonging, related, owing, and committed to.

Research Scope

There are three major factors on which Iranian national identity is based: 1. land geography, with the variations between the Iranian Plateau and the mountainous regions therein, 2. Persian, with all the changes it has undergone as a result of the contacts with Turkic languages, Mongolian, and Arabic, 3. Islam, which has remained essentially constant and consistent despite all the differences between the sects.

Like those of all the ethnic groups investigated here, Iranian identity has undergone great changes at several times throughout the history of the land, each time transforming certain elements in those identities. For instance, the Arab have been blamed for the destruction they have brought about in Iran upon their invasion by a number of nationalist thinkers such as Akhundzade, Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani, Sadegh Hedayat, and Malek al-Sho'ara Bahar (Bigdelo,

2001). With regard to today's Iranian identity, aspects of diversity and pluralism are often referred to that concern the various discourses available thereunder. The present conditions of identity in Iran have been compared appropriately with pieces of cloth of various colours sewn together[1] (Shayegan, 2002, 1999). The historical notion of Iranian identity took shape during the ethnic, political, and religious movements in the Sassanid era, persisted with ups and downs through the Islamic era, was reborn in the Safavid era, and was manifested as Iran's national identity in the modern era (Ashraf, 1999).

Due to the particular geographic location, Iranian identity has been influenced by the three Iranian, Islamic, and Western areas of civilization (Kachooyan, 2008). It should be noted that the strategy adopted by Iranian intellectuals has involved a mixture of these three discourses in various shapes and formation of a combinatorial identity. However, most Iranian authors have suffered major weaknesses in the reproduction and recognition of Iranian identity so far, since they have mostly been litterateurs rather than historians. Despite their eloquent, literary prose, therefore, their writings have violated historiographical rules (Borujerdi, 2000).

According to many researchers, the Aryan peoples have lived in in Southern Russia at first, and have left their original settlements over time as a consequence of various unpleasant events such as natural disasters, insufficient dwelling, and improper weather and land, scattering in Central Asia to utilize habitable plains also appropriate for cultivation. A group of them have gradually entered the Iranian Plateau in the late second and early first millennia BC (Sanie Ejlal, 2005, p.55).

Different ethnic groups, including the Lur, Baloch, Turkmen, Azeri, Arab, Kurd, and Persian, live in Iran today, most of whom can be claimed to reside in regions near the borders, culturally linked to groups in the neighbouring countries. This has turned Iran into a heterogeneous country in terms of social structure, where different ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious identities live, with similar groups residing in the neighbouring countries, sometimes turning the borders into sources of crisis. These groups, including the Arab and Kurd in Iraq, the Azeri in the Republic of Azerbaijan, and the Baloch in Pakistan, can be considered as origins of conflict and crisis (Fuller, 1993).

Although Persian is Iran's official language and the lingua franca of all the Iranian ethnic groups, each of the ethnic identities has its own language, dialect, and accent. As for religion, a comprehensive one has again been dominant around the country usually, with branches thereof observed among ethnic groups, different in some of their laws. Today, Islam is regarded as an important basis of Iran's national identity. According to different authors, other national commonalities and symbols are parts of national identity, including the flag, nationalist feelings, the constitution as a national oath, customs, celebrations, and national feasts (Yousofi, 2001). The Twelver Ja'fari branch of Islam has been referred to officially in the Constitution as an unchangeable principle to hold forever, besides the considerations for other branches and religions[1].

Moreover, Article 15 of the Constitution[21] has acknowledged the diversity of ethnic identities and their languages around the country, and has emphasized and asserted that local and ethnic languages can be used in press and mass media, and ethnic literature can be taught in schools besides Persian. Articles 7 and 64 to 160 involve assertions or implications for the rights of ethnic groups and minorities. There are also mentions in Articles 24 and 26 of the freedom to establish "parties" and "societies" and that of publications and the press. Despite their linguistic and cultural differences, the Iranian ethnic groups are integrated in the Iranian society. Unlike many in the West and multi-ethnic countries around the world, almost all the Iranian ethnic groups are native to Iran, and have accepted Iranian culture and language as their identity besides their own religious and linguistic identities and regional backgrounds (Ghasemi *et al.*, 2011, p. 64).

The ethnic groups scattered around Iran have usually lived next to each other in peace and with little conflict throughout history. However, conflicts have come to be there between them after the emergence of nation-states and extension of identity-seeking movements around the world, on the one hand, and the formation of ethnic discrimination on the part of the dominant groups, on the other.

This research investigates the ethnic identities of five groups at the local level: Persian (Persian-speaking), Azeri, Kurd, Arab, and Baloch.

Baloch

The Baloch reside in South eastern Iran, and have Aryan roots. As the competition between England and Russia has intensified, they have adopted settlements in different countries including Iran, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan[3] (Abdollahi *et al.*, 2002, p. 104).

The relations between the Baloch and central governments have always been accompanied by conflict. In fact, the adopted policies have marginalized this group. A source of conflict is their cultural similarity to the residents of the neighbouring country, which has caused them to prefer foreign television channels to domestic ones. This has also been effective in the enhancement of ethnic identity versus national identity and of the sense of belonging to the collective identity beyond the borders, leading to the potentials to seek autonomy (Mozafari, 2012).

Since Balochi is spoken in different countries, there has always been little consensus among linguists on its classification, hence the multiple proposals in that regard. Some, for instance, have discussed "Northern and Southern Balochi," while others have identified "Eastern and

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[2] "The Official Language and script of Iran, the lingua franca of its people, is Persian. Official documents, correspondence, and texts, as well as textbooks, must be in this language and script. However, the use of regional and tribal languages in the press and mass media, as well as for teaching of their literature in schools, is allowed in addition to Persian."

[3] More than 1.3 million of the Iranian Baloch live in Sistan and Baluchistan and other Iranian provinces today.

Western Balochi." There are also recent views that have classified the language into three groups: Eastern, Western, and Southern. Ignoring these somewhat complicated divisions to mention the most important, in fact the best-known varieties of Balochi, we should name the Rakhshani variety, with one of the largest numbers of speakers, in Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Turkmenistan (Tameh, 2017.

All the Muslim Baloch belong either to the Hanafi Sunni majority or to the Twelver Shia minority, and there is no other sect or branch among them. Some of the characteristics that distinguish the Baloch from other ethnic groups are listed below. Clothing made with a particular embroidery technique known as *suzanduzi* is a very popular cultural work and artistic product by Baloch women.

Azeri

Neighboring the Republic of Azerbaijan, this group has the same linguistic origin as the Turk. The ambition to unite the Republic and the Iranian Azerbaijan and to integrate the territories at the two sides of Aras River has been common as a national dream for pan-Turkism since the Soviet era. Most Azeri speakers reside in South western Iran, in East and West Azerbaijan, Ardabil, Zanjan, and Qazvin Provinces, and there are of course speakers of Khorasani Turkic in Iran. Most of the Iranian Azeri are Shia Muslims, while there is also a group among them known as *Ahle Haqq*.

While adhering to national and religious rites, the Azeri have preserved their own customs in many areas of culture, and the rituals common among them have gained national popularity in some cases. Thus, the mourning processions of the Great Hussainiya of Zanjan, Tabriz, Urmia, and Ardabil are among the best-known groups mourning the Islamic Prophet's family in the month of Muharram. They also commonly practice rituals such as *tashtgozari*, *ta'zieh*, *Shah Hussain guyan*, chest-beating, and self-flagellation, where lamentation is carried out in Azeri. The mourning rituals held at Tabriz Historical Bazaar have also been registered nationally. Moreover, Azerbaijani music is considered as an important part of this people's cultural identity, and Azerbaijani artists have presented unique, creative music, where those who sing their own poems in Azeri are known as the Ashiq. To describe Azerbaijan and its heroes, they sing beautiful poetry accompanied by Azerbaijani music in celebrations and mourning ceremonies, thereby appealing to people. Traditional Azerbaijani clothing is a particular symbol of the Azeri, which has come into existence following long cultural, religious, and other processes involving the ethnic group.

Persian (Persian-speaker)

The Persian constitute Iran's greatest ethnic group, mainly residing in central cities. They are politically dominant; that is, they have gained control over the other ethnic groups as a result of the elements of their identity, including language (Persian), religion (Shia), and other

components. Most of the Persian-speakers in Iran are Twelver Shia Muslims, while there are also Persian- speaking Sunni Muslims residing in certain regions near the borders.

The Persian live mainly in large Iranian cities, and culturally dominate areas far beyond Iran. Persian is an Indo-European language spoken in Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In fact, it is the official language in Iran and Tajikistan and one of the two official languages in Afghanistan (alongside Pashto), and it has been the official language of India (before the English colonization).

Kurd

Following the Arab, Persian, and Turkic, the Kurd constitute the fourth largest ethnic block in the Middle East (Olson, 2003, p. 6). They mainly reside in regions close to the borders of four countries: Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey.

Kurdish is a sub-branch of the Indo-European family of languages, related to Ossetian, Dari, Persian, Tajiki, Tati, Talysh, ancient languages such as Avestan, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Scythian, and many others (Diakonoff, 2004, p. 439). It is an Iranian language belonging to the Northwestern or Southwestern group of the family (Bruinessen, 2004, p. 35). The Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji); Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, Gorani, and Zaza varieties can be seen within the geographic range (Karacan & Kaya, 2015; Karacan, 2020).

According to Vali *et al.* (2019), Kurdish identity is manifested in differences by which the dominant identity is defined. It signifies by not signifying, and is present by being absent. He regards this identity as a kind of subjectivity without the requirements for representation/signification in history and politics. There are both Shia and Sunni Muslims among the Kurd. If the Iranian Kurdish settlements are divided to two religious partitions, most of the Sunni Kurd can be said to reside in the northern half. There is of course another group of the Kurd, known as the Yarsani (Kaka'i/Ahle Haqq), mostly living in certain cities and villages in Kermanshah Province.

The Kurd adhere to the practice of national and religious rituals. They celebrate Nowruz with utmost glory, and highly value religious customs and feasts such as *Eid al-Adha*, *Eid al-Fitr*, and, particularly, the Islamic Prophet's birthday. In some regions, food is made and distributed for free for celebration of religious feasts, including a particular type of soup-like dish known as *âsh*. There are also ceremonies involving *daf*-playing, prayers, and particular utterances made by the *dervish* or in praise of the Islamic Prophet and celebration of his birthday. In the Kurd's settlements, various types of Kurdish clothing can be observed, each in a unique beautiful form, slightly different from the others. Traditional Kurdish men's and women's clothing includes headwear and footwear as well as ordinary clothes. The design and application of each of these components vary by season, type of occupation, lifestyle, and ceremony. Although different types of clothing are common in different parts of Kurdistan, such as Hawraman, Saqqez,

Baneh, Gogulawa, Gerrus, Sanandaj, Mariwan, and Mahabad, they are all the same in that they cover the entire body.

Arab

The Arabic-speaking community is scattered over a vast territory in Asia and Africa, including Southern and south western Iran and parts of Khuzestan Province (Amirahmadi, 1998, p. 32). It should be noted that the Iranian Arab mainly follow the same religion as the centre, like the Azeri, not in favor of the ethnic group beyond the borders.

The Arab residing in Iran mostly speak Khuzestani Arabic, a dialect of Mesopotamia Arabic. They are scattered over four provinces, including Khuzestan, Hormozgan, Bushehr, and the southern parts of Ilam, while most of them live in Khuzestan, and are mostly Twelver Shia Muslims. Of course, there is also a Sunni Arab minority in Iran, which makes up a very low percentage.

Like any other Iranian people, the Arab in Khuzestan have their own culture. Following the Arab in the neighbouring countries, they find *Eid al-Fitr* of much greater significance in their public culture, celebrated with a large number of norms, behaviours, and customs. Another ancient tradition common among the Khuzestani Arab is the *Gargee'an* ceremony, held in Ahvaz on the 15th of Ramadan every year. Another highly important ritual commonly practiced by the Arab is the coffee-drinking ceremony involving pots known as *dallah*, which is held with a great deal of formality.
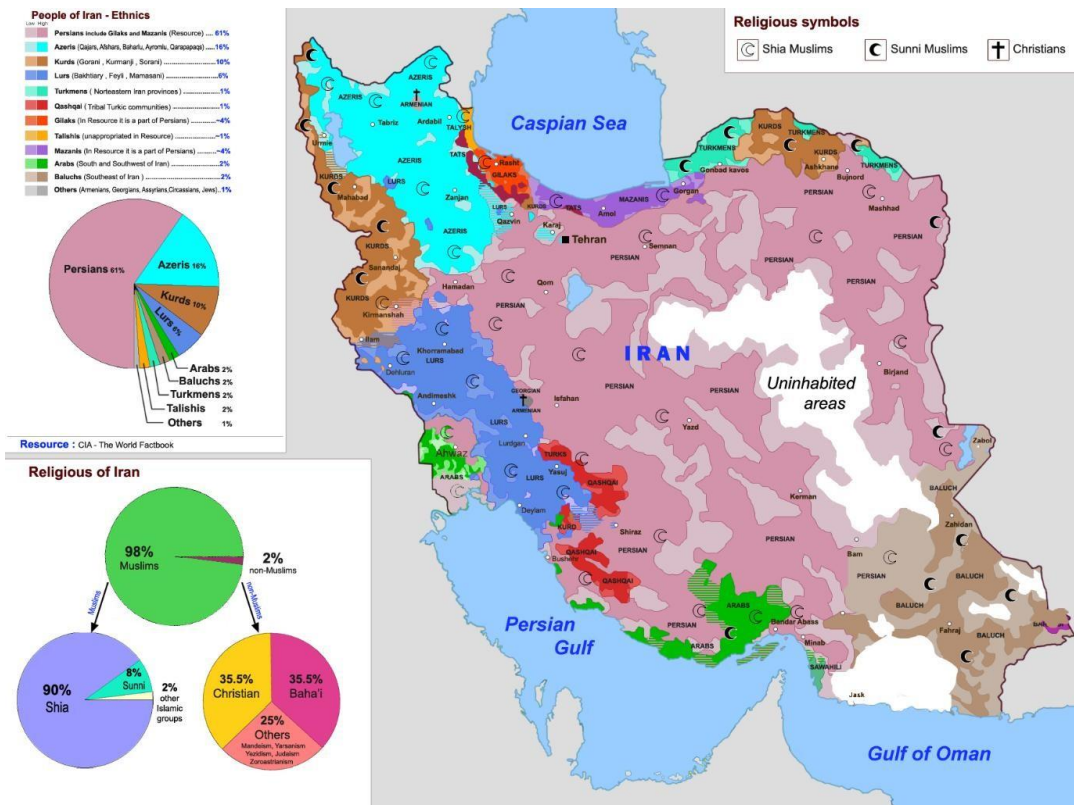
Figure 2. Distribution map of ethnic groups and religions in Iran

The data available on the ethnic groups are insufficiently transparent. For instance, their true populations are inaccessible in censuses, and the Statistical Center of Iran has simply publicized the provincial populations and features.

No.	Province	Capital	2006 population	2011 population	2016 population
	Tehran	Tehran	11228625	12183391	13267637
	Razavi Khorasan	Mashhad	5515980	5994402	6434501
	Isfahan	Isfahan	2399327	4879312	5120850
	Fars	Shiraz	4220721	4596658	4851274
	Khuzestan	Ahvaz	4192598	4531720	4710509
	East Azerbaijan	Tabriz	3527267	3724620	3909652
	Mazandaran	Sari	2893087	3073943	3283682
	West Azerbaijan	Urmia	2831779	3080576	3265219
	Kerman	Kerman	2584834	2938988	3164718
	Sistan and Baluchistan	Zahedan	2349049	2534327	2775014
	Alborz	Karaj	2053233	2412513	2712400
	Gilan	Rasht	2381063	2480874	2530696
	Kermanshah	Kermanshah	1842457	1945227	1952434

Golestan	Gorgan	1593055	1777014	1868619
Kurdistan	Sanandaj	1416334	1493645	1603011

Table 1. Populations of some the Iranian provinces based on the 2006, 2011, and 2016 consensuses

Iranian ethnic groups' identity-seeking

The consideration of the Persian ethnic identity as the exclusive component of Iranian national identity has reduced it to Persian identity, introducing the language, religion, culture, and other elements of the Persian identity as official Iranian identity. Thus, Iranian identity claims have emerged in different eras. The ethnic groups have exhibited different methods of seeking identity given the socio-political conditions in each era. The range of research conducted in this regard suggests that the attenuation of the government and its confrontation with political, economic, and social crises has provided ethnic groups with an opportunity to pursue their identity-seeking purposes, followed by a conflict with the central government (Amirahmadi, 1987, p. 363-391). In fact, that is how the direct relationship between a decrease in the government's control power and crises involving the government and ethnic groups be observed (Ramezanzadeh, 1998, p. 217-227).

The major ethnic group in Iran involves the Persian. The radical version of this perspective introduces the other Iranian ethnic groups as primitive, tribal, and marginal, and manifests Persian culture to the other groups as a dominant, sophisticated model.

The Azeri constitute the second most populated Iranian ethnic group after the Persian. Their ethnic claims date back to less than a century ago, most prominently exemplified by those that occurred in the Republic of Azerbaijan under the leadership of Seyyed Jafar Pishehvari. The most radical Azeri orientations concern pan-Turkist tendencies, originating from the Turkic ethnic groups within the Russian Empire. The Iranian Azeri's major identity claims are social and justice-based, suggested through civil claims, while the opposition parties based abroad tend to pursue independence-seeking purposes.

The Kurd have also exhibited a wide range of identity claims. The dominant Kurdish nationalist approach is a primordialist one. They argue that the Kurd nation is a primordial entity, a foundation rooted in the Kurd's nature (Vali, 2018, p. 89). Their identity claims in Iran also date back to less than a century ago, the 1945 establishment of the Autonomous Republic of Kurdistan (cantered in Mahabad) under the leadership of Qazi Muhammad. As the protests leading to the 1979 Revolution began, the Democratic Party was reorganized, and other parties, such as Komala and the Khabat Organization, took shape. Today, the Kurd's identity-seeking is represented as civic institutions and organizations and cultural and artistic activities. Armed identity-seeking political parties are still active abroad, although they have undergone segregations.

The Iranian Arab's organized identity claims date back to around seventy years ago. After the 1979 Revolution, they publicized their points of view and aims and even took military measures. There are two different levels of claim today, one demanding complete independence for Khuzestan from Iran and the other seeking a federal system formed within the national Iranian framework (Ahmadi, 2018).

The Baloch speak Balochi, and are Hanafi Sunni Muslims. The 1879 division of Baluchistan between Iran and India (present-day Pakistan) caused political borders to take shape within this integrated ethnic group. The ethnic discrimination on both Iranian and Pakistani parts triggered ethnocentric feelings, and brought about ethnic claims among the Baloch. The presence of Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan has intensified the identity-seeking movements of the Baloch on both religious and ethnic fronts. Today, however, ethnic claims are made mainly as civil, cultural, and social activities, and have been raised due to the religious gap, economic discrimination, and presence of core-periphery relations.

Aims and significance of the research

The Iranian society has long been based upon multi-ethnic, multi-identity life. Some experts argue that any generalizing explanation on a multi-ethnic society will be inadequate if it disregards the ethnicity factor. Given the ever-increasing importance of ethnic communities in formation and enhancement of social consensus, scientific investigation of ethnic groups has received greater attention than before. Along the same lines, many experts maintain that national integrity and identity are rooted in ethnic communities and very old ethnic emotions as primitive nationalism. Ethnic integrity and identity consensus in a multi-ethnic, multicultural society can bring about peace and fill in ethnic gaps. The main problem here, which makes the investigation significant, involves a description and an explanation of the Iranian ethnic groups' collective identity. Collective, or social, identity can be identified as the domain of social life that the individual refers to as *we* and finds himself as belonging, related, owing, and committed to.

As defined by Max Weber, a state consists of four basic components: the land, or borders, which specifies the geographic territory; the population, or people, which denotes the individuals of that nationality; governance, meaning that there must be no competitive or parallel authority, in domestic terms, and no control or command of the country from any other state, in foreign terms; and government, concerning the political and administrative formation of the country or political unit and its method of administration. On that basis, absence of any of these four components could leave the state inefficient. Clearly, the first two components, *i.e.* the land and population, are influenced by the issue of ethnicity and ethnic identity more than the others. To achieve stability and maintain peace and security, which constitute its major obligations, a state first of all needs a comprehensive understanding of the national identity and ethnic identities and of the networks of communication among the members of an ethnic group, with the other ethnic

groups, with the official, dominant culture, and with the world community. It is clear for the civil society, intellectuals, identity and cultural activists, and all who care about peace among the people of this land that there should be a comprehensive understanding of the ethnic groups' points of view and the identities that they believe distinguish them from one another.

Related literature

The identity of an individual or a group requires *another identity* to be distinct from. In that case, identity results from distinction, while *distinction* and its denotation are artificial just as identity itself is. Therefore, it is the *other identity* that that is there in the first place, and is responsible for formation or development (Grossberg, 1996, p. 93-96).

In this research, identity is applied to denote awareness of who an individual is and of his belongings. Although obtained through the process of individualization, this awareness does not remain a mere internal, personal feeling, and assumes an external, collective manifestation by representing the similarities and distinctions between the individual and other individuals and groups, turning into a foundation for socio-political action and communication (Jenkins, 2014, p. 6-20). Thus, identity acquires a social aspect, which has been addressed extensively in social science. From a sociological perspective, identity is the identification of the boundary between the self and the other, accomplished mainly through comparison and differentiation between the in-group and the out-group (Brown, 1996, p. 9).

Ethnicity is regarded from a sociological point of view as a cultural product resulting from inter- group relations. The term *ethnic* has hardly been considered by classical sociologists (except Max Weber). Fredrik Barth (1969) defines ethnicity from the outside to the inside, and bases research not on certain material cultural characteristics belonging to a particular group but on the ethnic boundary that represents the group.

The identity of a group should always be defined with respect to what it does not involve, *i.e.* individuals that are not members of the group (Eriksen, 1993), and that is how the boundary is also defined by these differences for intercultural distinction. A pioneer, on which theories of social identity are mainly based, is Charles Horton Cooley's looking-glass self theory, also developed by George Herbert Mead, which expresses the role of the society in the formation of identity in an individual, particularly an adolescent.

Classical sociologists address identity within the framework of social order and structures, and argue that the activist is created by the social system. On that basis, identity is also regarded as a social reality affected by the social structure and conditions, and the individual plays no effective role in the formation of his identity (Abdollahi, 2002, p. 108).

The conflict school of thought emphasizes that the class is determining in the formation of individuals' behaviours, feelings, thoughts, and attitudes and of social relations (Giddens, 2019, p. 125). On that basis, distinct collective identities are developed in the society by class differences, which are based in turn on economic differences, and class awareness plays a fundamental role there.

Scholars in the school of social interaction point out the individual-society communication in dynamic and dialectic processing, indicating how man's behaviour and the formation of personality, *i.e.* social identity, in a person result from his interaction with the environment. In general, emphasis is made in this school of thought on the dynamicity of the social interaction between the individual and the society and on the results of the process (Tavassoli, 2019, p. 268).

Activists argue that man has a basic core or an initial relative identity from the beginning of his social life, which brings about new identities every day through socialization and interaction with others. According to the followers of this school, identity is never complete, and is developing every day. Activists' unit of analysis is the individual, who is given higher priority in their theory than the society (Turner, 1998, pp. 375-382). This leads us to the process of socialization, suggested by Cooley and Mead, where individuals internalize the values and norms available in the society all the time, and are thus socialized.

According to sociologists favouring syncretism, the society is where micro- and macro-elements come together, manifested by legitimization of pluralism and approval that there are various collective identities (Tavassoli, 2001, p. 16). From their perspective, the requirements for identity construction between tradition and modernity have been provided recently as a reflexive project, and are reconstructed in terms of a dialectic interaction between local and global elements (Giddens, 2019, p. 81). Through integration of agency and structure, Anthony Giddens has arrived at the theory of structuration, where the agent reflexively evaluates his activities in the social structure, and the effectiveness of and changes in individuals' social conditions basically result from their ability to reflect on their own behaviour (Zokaei, 2002, p. 3).

On the other hand, Manuel Castells relies on the contradictory process of globalization and its impact on identity. He states that globalization both accelerates the formation of cosmopolitan identity using electronic media, and leads to the formation of local identity as fundamentalism and particularism of ethnic, religious, and other types. He also discusses three types of identity including legitimizing, resistance, and project identity (Castells, 2010).

Identity can be expressed as in the following table in the traditional, modern, and postmodern processes.

Approach	Time	Place and space	Sources of identity	Types of identity	Subject	Schools of thought
Traditional	Past	- Place identity - Land identity - Integration of space and place	- Customs, religion, and structures - Need to be identified	Fixed, stable, power-based essence - Predetermined - Personal primordialist	- Trans-historical - Eternal - Fixed essence	- Popular belief - Non-scientific - Religious, supernatural
Modern	Present	- Emergence of nation-states - Lands with official borders	- Subject - Far-sighted intellect - Religious reform - Scientific revolutions	- Structured and variable by social, economic, and cultural conditions - Collective (such as national) and individual identity	- Interaction between the subject and social structures and its meaning investigation	- Interaction - Symbolic - Marxist structuralist
Postmodern	Future	- Segregation of place and space	- micro-, local actions and cultures - Achievement of discourse	- Open identity - Contrastive and particularist - Fragmented and fluid - Diverse and multiple - Discourse-based	- Different representations - Multiple, sequential interpretations	- Post-structuralist - Critical - Psychoanalytic - Post-Freudist

Table 2. Overall framework of the three approaches (traditional, modern, and postmodern) (Rashidi, 2008)

The changes that have occurred in societies, even in developing countries, indicate a tendency toward systems of participative management, particularly from the 1960s, which requires the observance of citizenship principles and establishment of civic institutions on that basis (Faulks, 2000, p. 197).

Theories concerning citizenship are among those referred to today to address ethnic groups. The principles of citizenship not only allow individuals to play conscious roles in their and the society's destiny, but also grant the right to the society to expect its members to acknowledge others' rights. Citizenship identity is categorized under social identity. Like the other aspects of identity, it matters for two reasons. Firstly, it indicates the individual's perception of himself and others' perception of him in the society. Secondly, it takes shape as required by the dynamic social conditions, and results from the identity relation between the state and the nation (Oldfield, 1990). On that basis, it is inappropriate to discuss John Schwarzmantel's republican approach. He argues that national identity (nationalism) is a civil phenomenon although a basic factor in the development of common political emotions. This contributes to the encouragement of

emotions concerning citizenship and political identity. Therefore, he suggests that democratic systems involved in the establishment of civic institutions should be enhanced, so that the requirements for individuals' participation in new republics are met (Schwarzmantel, 2003).

Types of identity

Ethnicity has been a major source of meaning and identification throughout history. The word originates from the Greek *ethnos*, meaning *nation*. Ethnic experience is based on a dynamic combination of a real or hypothetical common descent (common historical memory), common ethnic awareness, symbolic elements, and political-territorial belongings in a social group (Tiffin, Griffths & Ashcreft, 1998, p. 84). Anthony Smith enumerates the following components for ethnic identity:

> human population
> common ancestors
> historical memory
> common culture
> specific territory
> correlation and integration of interests.

The words *national* and *nationality* have entered the lexicon of social science following the Industrial Revolution and spread of nationalist feelings. National identity results from an identified unit of land and a state (military-political), characterized as follows by Ernest Renan.
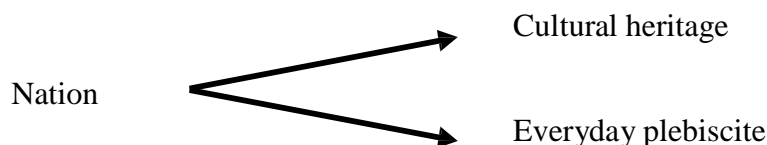
Some scholars have mentioned two groups of elements as the components of a nation, *i.e.* objective elements (territorial) and subjective elements (mythical, memories, beliefs, and cultures), and have named two basic characteristics and aspects[4] for it (Alamdari, 2004, p. 27-30). Ahmad Ashraf also lists a number of factors[5] for the formation of national identity (Ashraf, 2004, p. 139-140).

In fact, the idea of association with common human characteristics has long been suggested, aimed at addressing very high levels of belonging to super-ethnic and national collective identity, entitled *global identity*. Today's ever-increasing development of media has made Marshall McLuhan's *global village* proposal more evident. International attempts such as the Bretton

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[4] the ethnic-cultural aspect, suggesting that a nation persists based on the claim that its members' ancestors share their roots, and the civil aspect, on which basis a nation's members have requirements and commitments in common
[5] political institution, religion, language, economy, cities, sects, *etc*

Woods Conference and the establishment and extended activity of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank even enhance its feasibility.

Giddens argues that the present conditions of global identity involve three major elements: the separation of time and space, disembedding and lifting out of social relations from the local context and their restructuring in indefinite spans of time and space through symbolic tokens and expert systems, and institutionalized reflexivity (Giddens, 2001, p. 41). He has developed a theory of therelationship between global and local identity as follows.

Type of identity	Level of belonging	Time	Place	Effective factors	Place-space relationships
Local identity	Local	Pre-modernity	Place particularism	Local customs and traditions	Place-space coincidence
Global identity	Global	Post-modernity	Super-local	Thoughts resulting from modernity	Place-space separation

Table 3. Types of identity according to Giddens

It should be noted in regard to the relationships between the levels of collective identity that the nationalist ideology defends national integrity and harmony against the risk of dispersed ethnic particularism. On the other hand, tendency toward global identity overpasses national claims while confronting national identity by depending on the notion of humanity and ethnic values[6]. Although it can be approved with an optimistic approach that forms of pluralist coexistence are developing, the objective reality suggests that media representation not only depicts social phenomena, but also turns them into everyday reality (Hall, 1997, p. 2002). Numerous studies have verified the claim that negative images from ethnic groups contribute to promotion of discriminative attitudes, stereotypes, and distinction and superiority myths (See, for instance, Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Graves, 1999). It should be noted that different events concerning local identities and identity domains indicate the complexity of the issue. Thus, the major meaning (identity) construction alternative in the society for social activists discarded from identity individualization resulting from life in modern global networks and wealth or resisting against it involves cultural communities based on religious, national, or regional foundations. This may lead ethnicity to be influenced by religion, nationality, and locality (Castells, 2010, p. 87).

Theories of ethnicity
Investigation of ethnicity and ethnic relations has not appealed to classic theoreticians, and there is no explicit concern for them in the thoughts of sociologists such as Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel.

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[6] belongings provided by an ethnic identity

In his theory of ethnicity, Durkheim has focused mainly on three integrated issues, as follows: a) loss of significance of ethnicity with the emergence of modernity, b) quality of group-ethnic solidarity, and c) consideration of an ethnic group as a form of moral community (Malesevic, 2004). His mechanical/organic solidarity analysis has revealed the position of ethnicity in his thought, on which basis the more developed a society, the less significant the ethnic and traditional belongings.

Weber explains ethnicity as a form of social prestige in terms of family relations, and regards social imagination and pride as determining factors in its formation (Malesevic, 2011, p. 48). He has investigated ethnicity as 1. a form of social prestige, 2. the mechanism for development of social monopoly, 3. the basis for the multiple forms of social organization, and 4. a phenomenon related to political mobilization (Weber, 1968).

Simmel argues that ethnic groups exhibit symptoms of collective rage, sensitivity, abnormality, and feelings of inferiority or superiority. His theory of ethnic groups involves three themes: ethnicity as a form of the sociation process, the quality of social and therefore ethnic interaction, and loss of significance of ethnicity as a result of social reparability (Malesevic, 2011, p. 43). From the perspective of reconstruction and development, man consciously seeks his identity in elements beyond his own ethnic group, tribe, and city as modern elements develop.

The two major themes of Talcott Parsons' systematic theory include emphases on the solidarity and performance of the ethnic group. He finds the durability and continuity of an ethnic group across generations as its main sociological characteristic. According to him, ethnicity is made up of two constituents: *cultural tradition across generations* and *voluntary dependency on groups*.

Contrary to Marxists' initial conception, Neo-Marxism has acquired the prominent role of ethnicity in social politics, and has even experimentally revealed the patterns of ethnic inequality based on classes and their relationship with governments' discriminative policies in the capitalist system. However, Neo-Marxism still shares with classical Marxism the view that there is no problem in ethnic or racist conflicts that can be considered separately from the structural characteristics of the capitalist society (Solomos, 1987, p. 107).

The notion of relative deprivation, which is suggested today with regard to ethnicity in multi-ethnic societies, has been discussed in Erikson's theory on how identity takes shape and by experts such as Henri Tajfel, Bryan Turner, and Mark Broscom (1999) on the relationship between national and ethnic identity (Buurih, 1997, p. 589). The sense of relative deprivation can be manifested as the sense of discrimination. Ted Robert Gurr names three types of discrimination: economic, political, and cultural. The major assumption made by Gurr is that the sense of relative deprivation is a prerequisite of violent internal conflict (Qayyim, 2001, p. 212).

The subject considered by modernists lacks the usual stable, deterministic quality, replaced by fluidity and unpredictability. Thus, they find it possible to discuss and investigate ethnicity and

ethnic relations within a fluid framework free of determinant structures already made in that regard.

Three rival theoretical perspectives on formation of ethnic and national identity

Firmly associated with Anthony Smith, the first approach, known as primordialism, regards national identity as a natural phenomenon, and believes in ethnic cores for nations (Barrington, 2006, p. 13). According to primordialists, evolutionary psychology demonstrates man's successful accordance with the conditions that have taken shape during the prehistoric period (Kaufmann, 2015, p. 194). A fixed cultural formation is assumed there, which has been established by ethnic activists, enabling constant sense-making for generations.

Instrumentalism is the second approach, based on which ethnicity is a resource that is used by the elite for definition of group identity, regulation of group membership and boundaries for making claims, and extraction of resources (Brown & Langer, 2010, p. 413).

The last approach is constructivism. Unlike primordialism, constructivism is focused on processes that help ethnic groups to emerge, containing elements from both the primordialist and the instrumentalist approaches (Brown & Langet, 2010, p. 413). Constructivism argues that national identity is a social construction, like other group identities, including those listed by primordialists as indicators of national identity.

When political claims are based on ethnic elements, ethnic identity-seeking and ethnicity politicization (political ethnocentrism) emerge. This aspect of ethnocentrism specifies the boundary between the nation and ethnic groups (Matil, 2004, p. 1411).

Michael Hechter describes and explains ethnic identity-seeking and ethnicity politicization with respect to "internal colonialism" and "cultural division of labor" (Hechter, 1975, p. 14-15). According to him, the unbalanced wave of renovation in the society causes power resources to be distributed among different social groups and communities unequally. He argues that when the residents of a distinct cultural territory resist against integration in a centralized government, and try to maintain the indicators of their identity, marginal nationalism comes into existence, which causes the identity and cultural indicators of ethnic and racial groups to appear political (*ibid.*, 2005, p. 39-60).

For recognition and explanation of ethnic conflicts, Stephen C. Fenton seeks to account for how they are aroused by ethnic solidarity (inside view) or ethnic enmity (outside view)(Fenton, 2004, p. 179). According to Karl Deutsch, communication has a significant role in ethnic resurrection (Maghsudi, 2001, p. 138). Walker Connor also argues that communication plays an important role in the development of ethnic awareness (Seyed-Emami, 2000, p. 252-256).

According to Castells, the process of globalization and, consequently, the network society attenuate the national government and the relevant national identity.

Ethnic mobilization

In all schools of thought, the causes and methods of politicization are explained by ancient associations and ethnic mobilization in the modern age. The basic argumentation made in this approach—observed in works by Jo Girze and Veins Rgah—is that identity and ancient feelings in a group leads to collective ethnic mobilization (Ahmadi, 2018).

Based on this approach, political integration of ethnic groups within a certain nation-state provides a framework where competition over resources, particularly government occupations, makes up the major incentive for interethnic conflict (Coughlan, 1985, p. 414), leading to formation of ethnic organizations and enhancement of ethnic identities (Nagel & Olzak, 1982, p. 214). In conditions where resources may be stable or unstable, the competition causes collective ethnic measures to be taken (Olzak, 1985, p. 76), where a group that regard themselves as identical in indicators of identity belonging, and find themselves subject to discrimination with respect to others or deserving of greater advantage intensify the probability of solidarity and formation of competition.

European colonizers would subordinate the native through domination, force, and violence, restrict their social and political mobility, and humiliate them culturally, thereby exploiting them and plundering their lands for raw materials (Cashmore, 1996, p. 178). Extending these relations to apply within countries, the theory of internal colonialism is focused on existence of imbalanced cultural relations between the dominant culture and the dominated ones within societies (Muir, 1997, p. 201). Thus, the term *colonization* has been borrowed in its broad, classical sense in the theorization of the issues and extension of the imbalanced relations between the colonizer and the colonies to the scope of internal relations (Feagin, 1978, p. 37). Milton identifies seven steps in the assimilation process of groups into the core of the society: cultural, structural, marital, identification, attitudinal, behavioural, and civic assimilation (Milton, 1964, p. 71).

Theoreticians such as Hans Kuhn and, more regularly, Anthony Smith have analyzed the elite's role in nationalist movements, considering the extension of the government's control domain and greater tendency toward centralization as a cause of appropriate conditions for ideological mobility provided by "scientific intellectuals." John Viruili also regards nationalism as a particular, successful form of modern policies adopted by the elite to divest the dominant class of the power of government (Ahmadi, 2018).

Perpetual peace
The term *perpetual peace* came to be known in Europe after Immanuel Kant's sketch entitled *Perpetual Peace* was published. The prerequisites of its realization, according to Kant, included

avoidance of intervention in other countries or use of force. On that basis, perpetual peace should always be accompanied by justice. Just peace is capable of turning into a discourse as a structured thought held by the elite, enter the society, and become a behavior with an international function.

Kant believes in six prerequisites for establishment of perpetual peace (Baratalipour, 2015, p. 41-42), which can be met provided that the government intends to observe ethics. He goes on to add three fundamental conditions to the above prerequisites[7] (*ibid.*, p. 42). Therefore, it is considered as a fundamental of a republic system to observe human rights and citizenship rights based on political attachment to the government (Mirmohamadi, 2011, p. 123). Perpetual peace is impossible to realize without establishment of a republic system, where the executive, legislative, and judicial branches are independent. This, in turn, is of course conditioned upon rationality, dominance of justice, intellectual maturity, ethical conduct, and command of power based on the law.

Researchers of peace in contemporary international relations have adopted a fundamental view of the issue. Johan Galtung, Father of Peace Studies, often distinguishes between "negative peace" and "positive peace." By negative peace, he means the conditions of a ceasefire, *i.e.* absence of violence (Galtung, 1985, p. 65).

Peace in the religion-oriented Islamic thought

As a divine religion, Islam does not regard religion and politics as two separate issues in its epistemic system. Human interaction and avoidance of war and violence has always been a central cause in the definition of the Islamic political society (Chinichian, 2017, p. 2). In Islamic ontology, man is basically regarded as holding intrinsic tendency toward peace.

The notion of justice has a particular position in Islamic thought, and is considered as a Principle of the Faith, rooted in the Quran and Prophet's traditions and practices, known as *sunnah*. God points out the establishment of justice as a purpose of the Prophet's mission and revelation (The Quran, 57:25; The Quran, 3:103).

Several mentions have been made in the Quran of the approval of pluralism. Awareness of the common interests develops the sense of mutual trust and, in general, an identity based on mutual brotherhood and sympathy (Feirahi, 2011, p. 80). There are two more prominent views of war and peace among Islamic thinkers. There is a group who follow movements such as Salafism, excommunication (*takfir*), Wahhabism, Jihadism, Al-Qaeda, and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant by presenting superficial interpretations of religious texts such as Quranic verses on struggle (*jihad*) and fight (*muqatilah*) against the infidel (*kafir*) and the polytheist

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[7] a) Citizenship should be based on a republic constitution in the country; b) nations' rights should be based on a federalism of free governments; c) the global city rights are restricted by the hosting conditions or global hospitality. Furthermore, a republic is based on three axioms: a) freedom for all members of the society as human beings, b) all individuals' adherence to a single law as citizens, c) legal equality of all individuals as citizens (Mirmohamadi, 2011, p. 123).

(*mushrik*) according to particular views of Islamic fundamentals of arbitration (*hukm*) and divination (*sharia*). A large group of Islamic thinkers, however, criticize the first group's views, and emphasize the priority of peace according to several Quranic verses. They prescribe war in case there is no way left toward peace, and find illegitimate practice of violence even against the enemy contrary to Islamic teachings.

Findings

Data obtained from research on the notions of identity and ethnicity with a peace-oriented, equality-seeking trace indicate a gap in government performance. Most results have found national consensus conditioned upon achievement of perpetual peace, and have suggested that the national community will be extremely likely to fall down into crisis otherwise.

Religious identity and national identity: Interaction or opposition

Although nationalist orientations have gained ground in the past century, it can be asserted that the dominance of religious orientations in the past half a century has marginalized nationalism. However, the tendency toward one of the above two sides where impossible to aggregate into a single movement exhibits prominent traces of relatively balanced national and religious political orientations in Iran's contemporary history. Commenting in that regard, Shahin Sepanta (veterinarian from Isfahan) finds Iranian language and customs composed of two parts: national and religious).

Nevertheless, such official politicization has eventually attenuated the public admittance of religious thoughts, and tendency toward return to the ancient history of Iran and its characters has increased among the new generation, according to research.

> *Religious orientations are not opposed to national issues. In case of a conflict, however, religious issues are more vulnerable than those pertaining to ethnicity and identity (Javadi Hesar, journalist and sociopolitical activist from Mashhad).*

Therefore, different Iranian ethnic groups are clearly fascinated by national identity, favoring multiplicity. In fact, the integration of the three major waves of immigration (the Median, the Persian, and the Parthian) can be observed after millennia of coexistence following their entry[8].

The results of the present research suggest that despite the less interethnic contact among the public, 53.9 percent of the elite have been in great contact with the other ethnic groups, while 28.9 percent have experienced less contact.

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[8] There is an alternative view in that regard, rejecting the idea that the Iranian ethnic groups have immigrated about three thousand years ago. The holders regard their ethnic group as natives of the Iranian Plateau with six to seven thousands of years of history.

The findings obtained in this research are in line with Brown's (Bowen, 2015, p. 2), who asserts that there has been greater emphasis on the national approach before the 1979 Revolution, and religion has been on the periphery, while government policies have been restructured after the Revolution to prefer religion over nationality. Assuming that Iranian culture has two wings representing Iranian identity and Islamic identity, a research participant, Ashkan Zare'i (cultural and heritage activist and writer from Khuzestan), argues that:

> *They should both be preserved, and cultural ego death or alienation is encountered as Islamic identity has been taught badly after the Revolution, and Iranian identity has not been taught at all.*

The domination of a particular type of religious attitude (Shia) has caused discontent among religious minorities an even (Sunni) Muslims.

Jalal Jalalizade (religious-political activist from Sanandaj) asserts that attempts are unfortunately made to apply the only religion that holds the government in hands to all customs, ceremonies, meetings, institutions, and organizations associated with the government.

The legal barriers against appointment of the non-Shia Leader, President, or another political, managerial, or judicial authority appear in the Constitution (Articles 64, 107, 115, and 121), which involves the sense of explicit exclusion and discrimination by itself, as mentioned by the interviewed elite. The following charts show religious gap and discrimination from the perspectives of the participating elite and public.
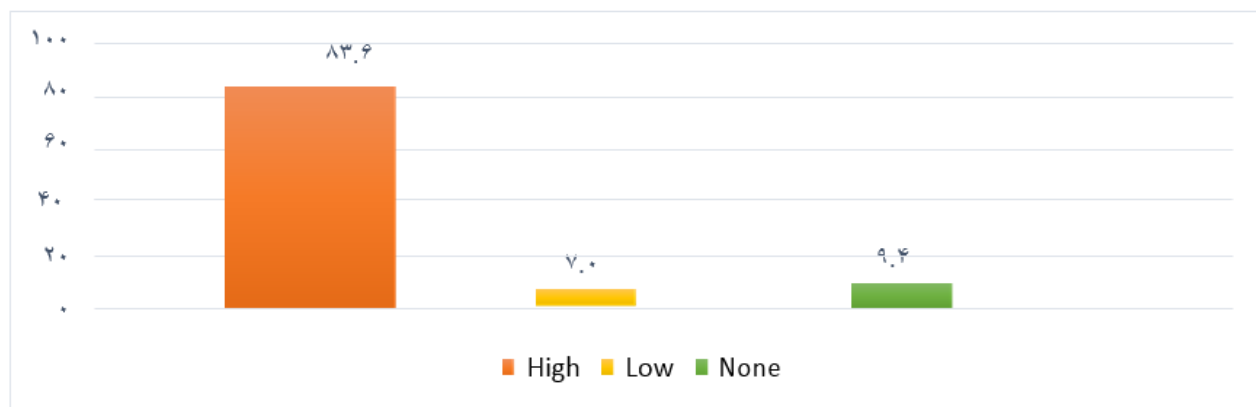
Chart 1. Religious gap and discrimination – Elite
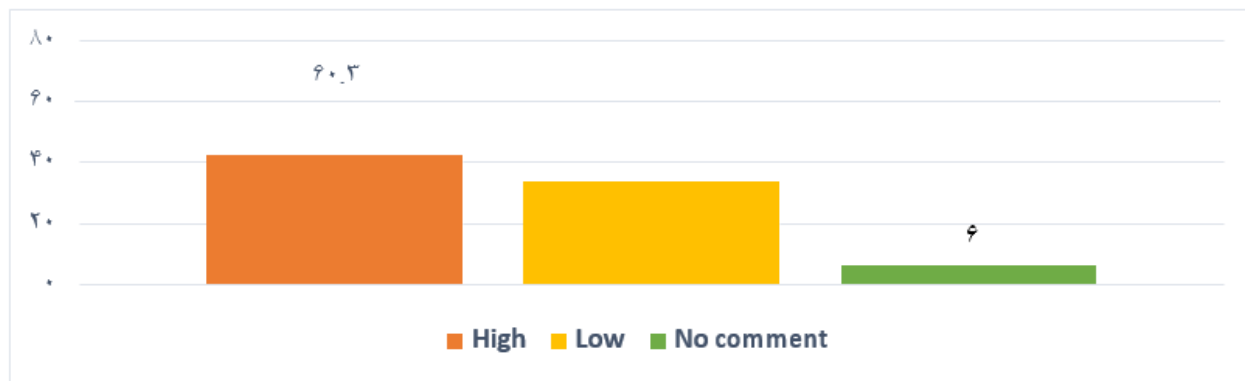
Chart 2. Religious gap and discrimination - Public

The research findings report that there are relationships between such attitudes and performance and the existence of national security, terrorist orientations or cases such as assassinations of authorities and congregational Imams, and even invasion of the Iranian Parliament (2017).

Although there are symbols that contribute to solidarity, the diversity of those that bring about gaps needs to be discussed. The Iranian domestic symbols—through which the government can help integrate the Iranian society—can perhaps be divided into three groups. Symbols such as *Nowruz*, *Chaharshanbe Suri*, *Mehregan*, and *Yalda* are ancient and rooted in myths. The second group originates from post-Islamic religious thought, including *Eid al-Fitr*, *Eid al-Adha*, *Eid al-Ghadir*, the Islamic Prophet's birthday, the anniversaries of Imam Hussain's martyrdom and other Shia Imams', *etc*. The third group of symbols concerns the contemporary era, resulting from the Islamic Republic sovereignty, exemplified by the ten-day *Fajr* celebration, anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, processions on 13 Aban (3 November) and on Quds Day (9 Dey, 29 December), and flag and the anthem of the Islamic Republic.

Interethnic cultural borders

The findings of research in the area have revealed that Persian-speakers typically adopt global and super-local attitudes to define their identity bases, and have reconstructed and even changed most of their conventional characteristics.

> I pursue forty percent of the customs as people in the past have, but this is affected in any case by my personal beliefs (Katayoun Riahi, actress from Tehran).

However, the other ethnic groups under investigation (the Kurd, Azeri, Baloch, and Arab) have greater acceptance. Even if certain modern manifestations are prioritized over conventional rites

and rituals, these ethnic groups still exhibit greater cultural acceptance both from the Persian identity and from regional and global collective identities.

> Any nation wishes in principle to preserve all its ethnic customs, and thus continue life andintroduce itself to other nations… Why shouldn't I be able to retain my ethnic costumes and customs (Mullah Ahmad Bahrami, religious activist and former Iranian Parliament member from Javanrud, Kermanshah)?

Another issue involves the politicization of the mother tongues of the ethnic groups under investigation. This means that the ethnic groups regard the government as responsible for their deprivation of education in their mother tongues, making claims in that regard against the political system.

> We are deprived of the right of education in our mother tongue, but claim it as a right; this is also reflected in the Constitution of Iran, but not realized (Sa'dun Mazuchi, civil rights and political activist from Mahabad, West Azerbaijan).

The following charts show the elite's and the public's beliefs about legitimacy of education in the mother tongue.
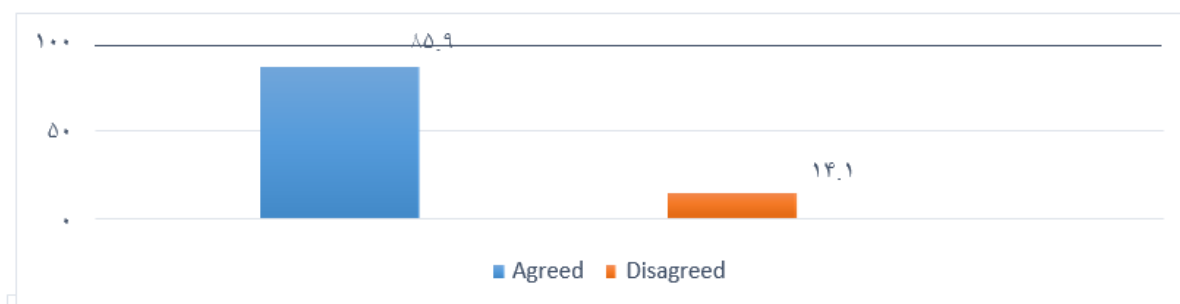
Chart 3. Legitimacy of education in the mother tongue – Public
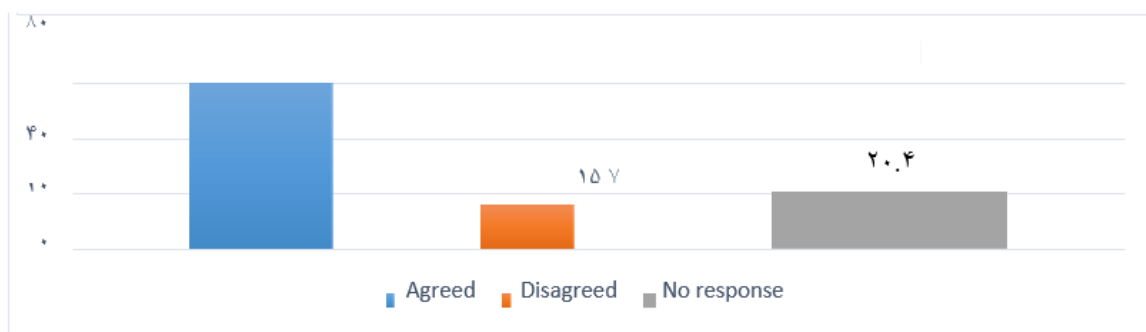
Chart 4. Legitimacy of education in the mother tongue - Elite

> If you accept as a principle that Iran is multi-ethnic, it will be a natural consequent principle that everyone should speak their own ethnic language… Duality in education postpones learning (Amir Sajjadi, history teacher from Saqqez).

The idea of a unified *ummah* ('community'), emphasized by the Islamic Republic government, does not approve of the nation-state notion, assuming all Muslims from different countries and societies as a single nation by applying a kind of Islamic (Shia) worldview.

> Abdorrashid Triz (*Mawlawi* ('religious scholar'), history researcher, and sociopolitical activist from Sistan and Baluchistan) states that: The government seeks to expand its own religion, Shia, and consumes many of our resources in other countries to promote it.

Threats arising from the borders that cross the ethnic groups have intensified separatism and the occurrence of ethnic crises at those points. The Azeri exhibit homogeneity across the borders in terms of language, ethnicity, and religion, and are homogeneous with the centre only in religion. Kurdistan Province is different from the centre in all the above factors, which are shared with those beyond the border. Iranian and Pakistani Baluchistan involve homogeneity in terms of language, ethnicity, and religion.

Iranian rulers' coercive, suppressive approach to confrontation of the ethnic groups' identity-seeking movements has brought about social rebellions. Thus, it would make sense for the rulers to consider the identity groups' claims, naturally rising up from the heart of the society, upon the end of a protestant process, as many of these are civil claims, and can be resolved through negotiation.

Ethnic and national movement dead-end

The incapability of the Pahlavi Regime's identity-construction policies in ethnic nation-building and their emphasis on the superiority of the central ethnic group (Persian) resulted in the development of *resistance movements*, local commanders' conflicts in different regions, and even separation of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan from Iran.

> The government suffers political and cultural dogmatism, does not tolerate any criticism, and refuses to reform (Rahmatollah Hemmati from Semnan).

Not much change has been observed in this area in the past half a century despite the presence of different governments from different political parties within the system. All of them, from the Government of Reconstruction and the Reformist Party to the Radical Right (Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's Government) and even the Government of Moderation (Hassan Rouhani's), have addressed but certain concerns about economic inequality, incapable of addressing social and cultural concerns. The research findings also suggest that the dominant strategy of the central government in that regard has persisted during the past one hundred years.

Seeking to account for the persistence of the discriminative, non-democratic perspective, a participant stated that:

> The problem is that everyone is counted as an Iranian upon war and trouble, *i.e.* at the time of expenditure, where all must fight. When resources and advantages are distributed, however, some of them benefit more as they are considered more Iranian than others (Amir Nabavi from Tehran).

There is also documented reference to the application of government restrictions to ethno-social forces and activists, as stated by Dr. Jalal Jalalizade (religious-political activist from Sanandaj):

> As the general secretary of a party, who has been disapproved of in parliamentary elections, could you really encourage political activity in youngsters?

Others find the discriminative ethnic attitudes adopted in appointment for government positions, employment, *etc.* an effective factor that is intensified in the atmosphere of ethnic groups' lack of knowledge of their rights in the Constitution.

An examination of the Azeri's political behaviour indicates their more dynamic political behaviour in different contemporary governments, involving a higher level of loyalty to the national government and membership and activism within their frameworks of norms. Exceptions to such political behaviour include the foundation of the Azerbaijan People's Government (1945-1946), led by Seyyed Ja'far Pishevari, the Azerbaijani and Turkish flags raised by a group of the audience during a soccer competition in Tabriz, and pan-Turkish slogans.

The Kurd have been known as a non-peaceful population struggling to obtain an independent cultural and political identity. Their political behaviour aimed during the past century at autonomy and independence is evident from the attempts by Ismail Agha Simko[9], the

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[9] a leader of the Shikak tribe between 1920 and 1925

government founded by Qazi Muhammad[10], and the movements by Kurd parties after the Revolution.

Despite the religious commonalities (Shia) of the Arab in Khuzestan with the central part of Iran, holding political power in the contemporary era, there have been political movements, such as the case of Khaz'al Ibn Jabir[11], and other crises led by separatist forces, which have failed mainly due to the lack of support from the people[12].

In the past century, there have been a number of political autonomy-seeking activities in the Baluchistan region, such as Dost Mohammad Khan's uprising (1906-1928), nationalist Baloch movements for autonomy purposes upon the Islamic Revolution, and movements by individuals such as Abdolmalik Rigi and the Jundollah group.

> Previously, all lived together under Iranian identity. Today, everyone wishes to stick to their own ethnic group (Ashkan Zare'i, cultural and heritage activist and writer from Khuzestan).

In fact, results from different studies and the data from this research suggest that most of the above claims persist at the heart of the ethnic society, and government policies have bolded the identity boundaries and brought about social gaps sometimes so wide, which calls for particular solutions.

Elimination of cultures

Under conditions of ethnic and cultural diversity, it is the quality of management that specifies whether they should be considered as a threat, or they can be regarded as an opportunity. However, the interests of a particular group within the governments and their inability to manage diversity usually direct it toward cultural elimination and ethnic segregation.

The research conducted in this area has led to a classification for most of the Iranian history that involves the dominance of three categories: confrontation, elimination, and ridicule of the ethnic groups' cultural manifestations. Part of the elimination is carried out by the national media[13].

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[10] declaring independence in Mahabad in 1945 and 1946

[11] occurring between 1920 and 1925, triggered by the UK simultaneously with the end of World War I

[12] Such movements following the Revolution can be divided into two temporal categories (from the Revolution until the Iran-Iraq war and after the war). As the war began in 1970, the ethnic issues in Khuzestan were affected by the particular conditions in the region and the presence of the military, reducing their intensity and turning them into secret events. After that, however, two groups gained ground: the *separatist Pan-Arab* group and the *federalist Pan-Arab* group

[13] Radio and television programs, for instance, fail to reflect the ethno-cultural diversity, clearly representing one culture as more prominent and superior.

On the radio and television of the province, with a 70-80% Baloch population, the fewest programs are in Balochi, no investment is made in the folklore and public culture of Baluchistan, and the activists are granted no opportunity (Abdorrashid Triz, *Mawlawi* ('religious scholar'), history researcher, and political activist from Sistan and Baluchistan).

The following charts show the attitudes toward the restriction on ethnic and religious ceremonies.
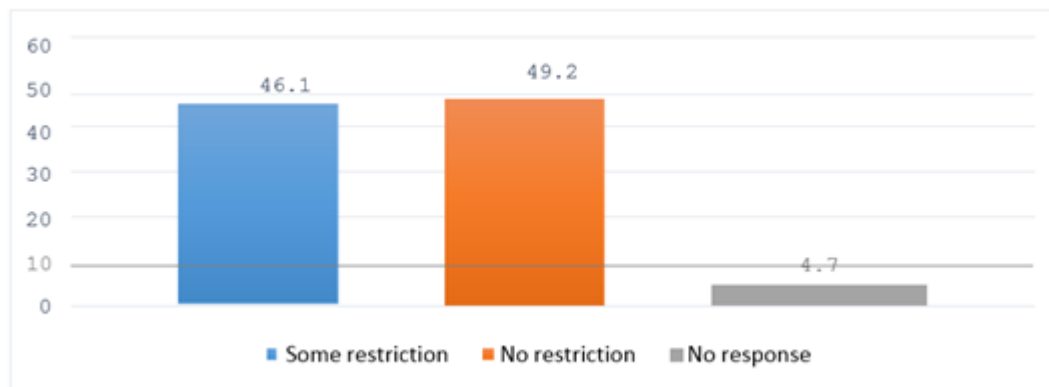
Chart 5. Restriction on ceremonies - Elite
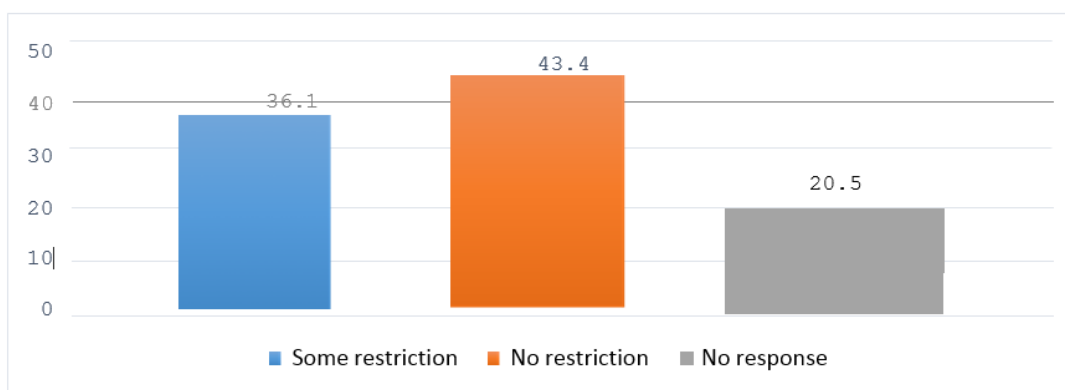
Chart 6. Restriction on ceremonies – Public

Therefore, many scholars and experts in the field of social science argue that the current conditions in the country is anomic, discussing attenuations of social order and consensus (Abazari, 2014). Abbas Abdi (2006) first raised the issue of social collapse in the Iranian society seriously. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad[14] and his associates are among others who have recently addressed the issue.

As Dr. Mehdi Feizi (faculty member from Mashhad) stated,

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[14] Resalat Newspaper, Issue 9187, Dated 8/4/2018

> There are a series of crises and issues, in fact hyper-issues, in the country that are ready to explode like time bombs.

Since the Pahlavi Era, the central government has hardly been concerned with measures to earn public trust in such areas, and has adopted the simplest solution, *i.e.* confrontation and coercion[152].

The following charts show Iran's political conditions from the elite's and the public's perspectives.
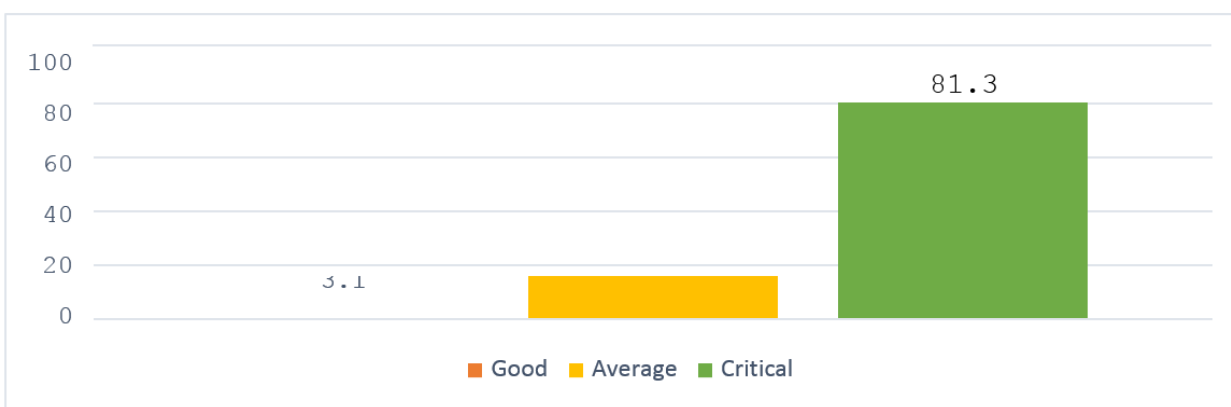
Chart 7. Iran's political conditions - Elite

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[15] Committees have been dispatched in certain cases to regions such as Kurdistan, and there have been negotiations soon after the Revolution with the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan and other parties and with popular Sunni figures as the Central Sunni Council (Shams). However, such attempts have failed due to the dominant center-based, power-oriented, non-pluralist spirit, and the negotiators from the ethnic and religious groups have been imprisoned or exiled in most of the cases.
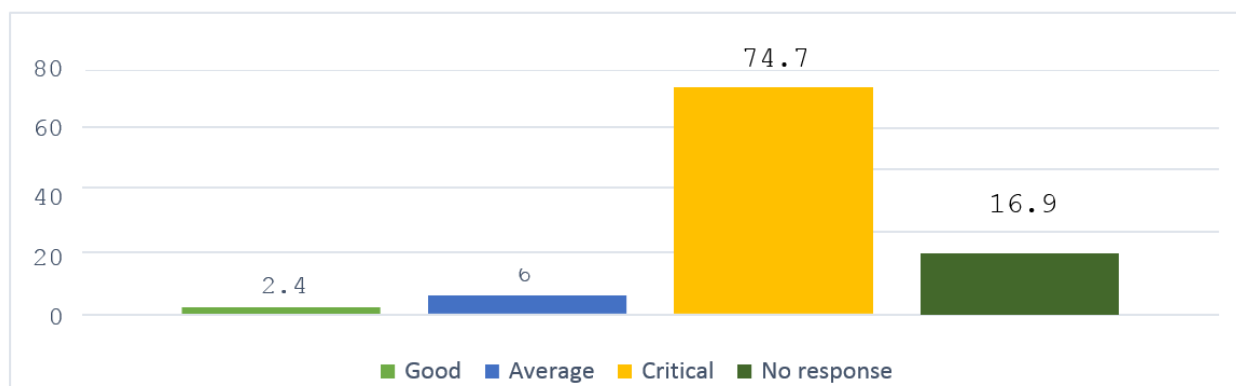
Chart 8. Iran's political conditions – Public

It can be found based on the research data that ethnic issues have been the most complicated, at the same time the most influential, socio-political issues in Iran. Enhancement of ethnic identities and movements seems to be one of the most prominent manifestations of Iran's socio-political dynamism in the near future. The involved factors include wider gaps between national and ethnic identity, more serious social-dignity, economic, political, and cultural claims, constantly more developed ethnic organizations, institutions, associations, and centres, severer extremist ethnocentric feelings among some of the elite and intellectual and some political parties, more intense political alienation and separation of ethnic groups from the political system, and more explicit identity claims upon opportunities for political expansion such as national and local elections (Karimi Maleh, 2009, p. 23).

A peace-oriented approach to resolving the crisis

The results obtained from many of the previous parts of the research demonstrate that there are socio-political crises in Iran, which call for solutions. From the participants' point of view, observance of the points made above will save the country from collapse and lead it to national reconciliation and perpetual peace.

The issue of *national unity* can be investigated from two points of view. Firstly, national unity is based on extreme nationalist views, where a society combines its nationality with sacredness and worship, considering other nations and nationalities as inferior and worthless rather than as equivalent to theirs. From this perspective, national unity requires an urge for pride and supremacy, based not on original, common values but on ethnic and national prejudice, leading to the view that it is legitimate to dominate over other nations and regard them as instruments. From another point of view, national unity denotes self-confidence, reliance on the nation's capitals and capabilities, and reduction of the distances and gaps arising from the religious, ethnic, territorial, and linguistic differences within the nation in order to enhance solidarity, empathy, and collaboration from different parts of the public for the nations' growth

and excellence. On that basis, ethnic and national belonging never assumes an intrinsic or absolute value, and does not result in prejudice, and belonging to a nation or land never arouses a negative or superiority- seeking attitude toward others. Based on the data obtained in this research, most Iranian ethnic groups want the latter view to become dominant.

> Large political identities do not function like the original factions, to some extent representing the interests of the large departments and groups in the society, and small ethnic, regional, familial, and friendship identities have developed to replace them (Mohsen Gudarzi, sociologist and researcher from Tehran).

For achievement of the desired conditions of perpetual peace through the operational method of dispute, the first step is to revise Iranians' beliefs at both levels of the government and the nation. For that purpose, it seems essential to make revisions in the following areas.

1. to avoid ethnic ridicule at all social levels, from everyday social conversations to radio and television programs, to the statesmen's and celebrities' words.
2. to avoid ethnic self-exaltation to enable dialog and establish perpetual peace
3. to respect religions and to believe in equal social rights for Iranian residents with all religions
4. to avoid discrimination in behaviour toward other ethnic groups
5. to change the methods of government in order to realize economic, political, religious, and social equality for all Iranians.

Another group argue that many of the claims made by ethnic and minority groups have been considered in the Constitution of Iran, and the only problem is that they are not implemented.
According to them, the enforcement of these laws is suspended due mainly to the relevant officials' subjective treatments based on their tastes.

> If the citizen rights mentioned in the Constitution were practiced, a revolution would take place in Iran (Salaheddin Khadiv, civil activist and researcher from Mahabad).

From another aspect, citizenship is a notion through which today's societies can have democratic social lives despite their ethnic multiplicity. As found from the research data, the failure to use ethnic and religious capacities in important, strategic positions, such as presidency, ministry, and governorship, is considered as a violation of ethnic groups' rights as citizens, and the lack of religious places, such as mosques, in Tehran despite the large-sized Sunni population in the city is regarded as a cultural exclusion, where citizenship rights are ignored.

The following two charts represent satisfaction with and discrimination felt in citizenship rights from the elite's perspective.
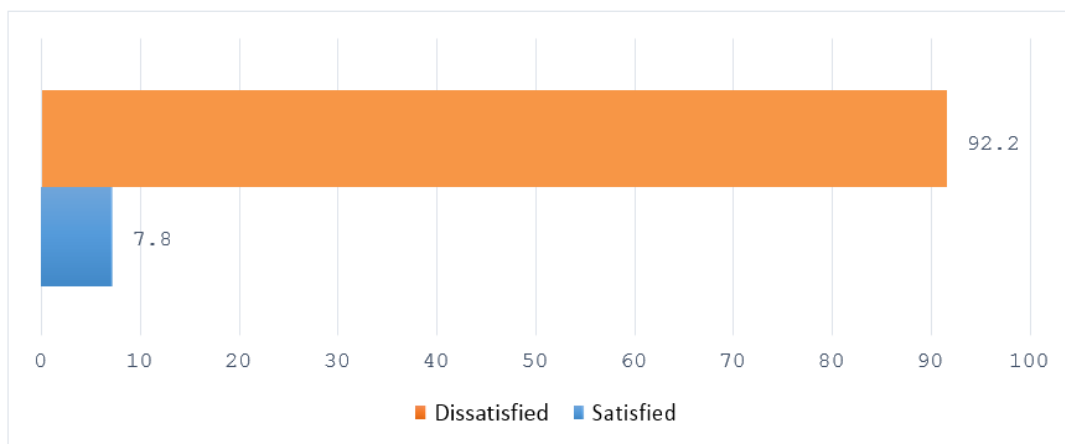
Chart 9. Satisfaction with citizenship rights - Elite
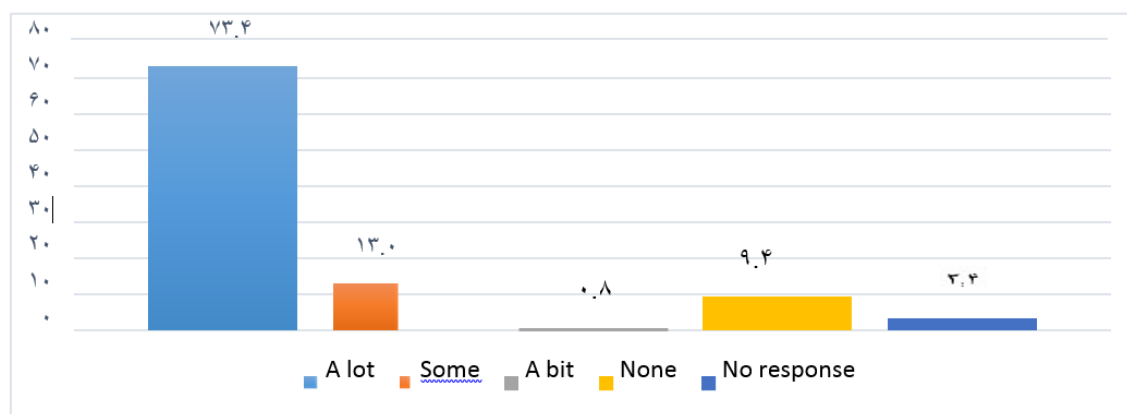
Chart 10. Discrimination felt in citizenship rights – Elite

It has already been found that cultural requirements need to be met for regularization of modern order, where incorporation of values has obtained far better results than methods of social control. In other words, the researcher's appearance on the field indicates the vague image that the target group of the public under investigation has of citizenship rights. In some cases, the elite under investigation even had no close-to-reality perception of the image. Social change requires information and the relevant institutionalization to facilitate lifestyle, habit, and custom change.

After all, it is clear that fog access to perpetual peace[16] is a basic requirement for coexistence of ethnic groups. Undoubtedly, the most important issue concerning peace is interaction and dialog.

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[16] The notion has been suggested for the first time by Immanuel Kant, whose thoughts are based on the definite prerequisites and conditions of peace and understanding between nations and states, a combination of realistic ideas such as that of the "federation of free states" and cultural criteria, encompassing the similarities and differences among all traditions (Kurung, 2002, p. 36-44).

Social and ethnic movements make up an area in which most countries in the world are involved. These movements and the participating groups' claims are manifested by street protestant movements, which may be led in some cases to deviation and chaos by those abusing the excitements of the youth. What matters here is the way these protestant movements are treated.

> Their inability to interact well with the Gonabadi dervish demonstrates that they would even fail to interact with the founders of Iranian Shia, the noblest people…. When there is no opportunity for you to talk with your spouse, to love, to caress your child, or to study, what will result?. Violence will come about, like it or not (Javad Tariri, lawyer, writer, political activist, and university lecturer from Khuzestan).

> Unless they take a serious measure, Iran may fall apart as in the very early years. It depends on God's will. If the conditions persist, that will result (Nazar Mohammad Didgah, *Mawlawi* ('religious scholar') from Sistan and Baluchistan).

It is very important for Iran in achievement of perpetual peace to return to operating discourse in the public sphere.

Conclusion and presentation of the conceptual model

The major social issue in regard to the topic under investigation here is the socio-political gap that has caused justice-based claim to take shape on the part of the ethnic and social groups in the Iranian society. The following paradigm presents the (basic, intervening, and grounded) factors, phenomenal basis, strategic action, and outcomes of the research within the GT framework.

GT Model
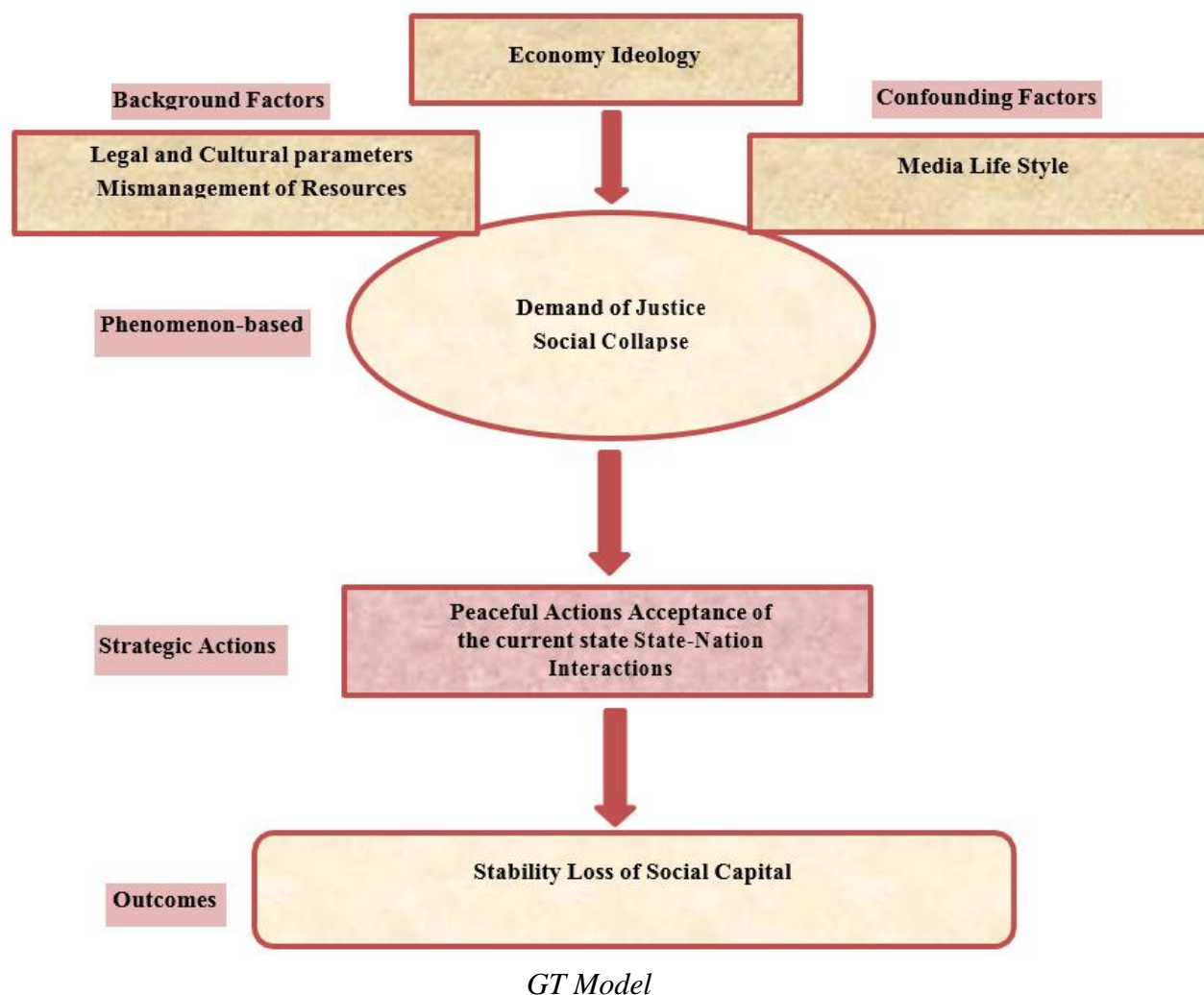
Given the above model, unequal economy has taken shape based on the ethnic, centre-periphery, and religious variables in the Iranian society, and explains the development status, which has realized most of the claims made by the ethnic groups under investigation in regard to the phenomenal orientation of the research.

The Azeri (particularly those in East Azerbaijan Province) are the second most affluent group after the Persian in terms of gained economic revenue. In spite of these conditions, the Azeri are no more satisfied with the government than the other ethnic groups, and cultural and even separatist claims have recently been heard from places such as Tabriz. In Iran's Kurd residences, from the cities in southern West Azerbaijan Province to Kurdistan, Kermanshah, and Ilam, there are few factories, workshops, and industrial towns in the industrial development sector. Despite the young educated manpower in the region, there is a considerable unemployment rate, and the people have to immigrate to seek employment and earn a living in Persian-speaking provinces, particularly in Tehran, or to move to different workshops in

adjacent or more central provinces. Moreover, dangerous jobs such as occupation as kolbars have spread dramatically, in the absence of official employment, appealing even to unemployed youngsters with high academic degrees. Although there is oil in provinces including Khuzestan, Bushehr, and Hormozgan, the Arab peoples in the region are dissatisfied with the government, as labour force from other regions is admitted besides the native workforce, causing a sense of inequality and dissatisfaction. Small separatist Arab groups have always properly originated from these regions, who have sometimes made armed attempts as well.

It can be concluded that the sense of inequality and dissatisfaction has taken shape in the past among the ethnic groups, along with an assumption of the government's role in its development and persistence, and it has risen every day. The research data suggest that the worst sense of economic conditions and the most serious dissatisfaction can be observed among the Baloch, resulting mainly from the dual ethnic-religious difference from the government in possession of provincial and national administration and administrative positions. The outcomes include the increase in occupation as smugglers, social harms, religious and ethnic extremism, *etc.*

Two main scenarios have been presented in the present research for Iran: social stability and social capital decline. If the current conditions persist, in which social capital declines in various aspects, leading to social, economic, political, cultural, and even religious collapse. In the second scenario, however, social stability is achieved, and the scenario can therefore be referred to as desirable. It depends on fundamental reforms in the economic, political, social, cultural, educational, medical, and other infrastructures and superstructures in association with the governmental institutions and ethnic groups around the country.

If the current conditions are accepted, the inequality and dissatisfaction will persist, and the interethnic gaps will continue to expand. The wider social, ethnic, and religious gaps in this scenario will cause the social system to collapse and enmity and conflict to occur among social groups. As a result, the young generation will leave the country, particularly the elite, and the human resource crisis will persist.

In the second scenario, also referred to as the desirable, futurist scenario, Iran will be in stable, sustainable cultural, social, economic, and political conditions. According to the obtained results, Iran's eventual future trend will be known in the few years to come, specifying which of the above scenarios will be realized. The overall prospect of the country in desirable conditions can be shown as follows.

Iran will be a country characterized by ethnic and religious diversity, from which national unity and consensus originate. Political and cultural decisions will be made so as to develop interethnic relations based on national reconciliation, and the political system will abandon the hierarchical social system and citizen ranking in domestic policy-making by accepting ethnic identity as parallel to national identity. Moreover, national determination will take shape to fill the gaps and resolve discrimination.

For realization of the above prospect, operating strategies in various social, cultural, political, religious, and legal fields have been formulated and proposed based on the results of the interviews with the research participants.

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Discourse Particles in Sorani Kurdish

Zanko RADNIA [1] (iD)

Abstract

Discourse particles constitute an important part of spoken language; they have a wide range of pragmatic functions in interactional contexts. The object of the present paper is to introduce Kurdish discourse particles, clarify their functions in different discourse contexts, and briefly sketch some aspects of their grammatical properties. I will focus on Sorani Kurdish since this dialect has a rich inventory of discourse particles that have not so far been investigated. I will show that the majority of these particles convey multiple functions and display a great degree of free syntactic distribution, a noteworthy point. In addition to expounding upon their syntactic position, I will inquire into the types of sentences in which they can occur (declarative, interrogative, and imperative). Furthermore, I will argue that individual discourse particles can appear adjacent to each other to give rise to new combinations, and in some cases the order of the components participating in the combination can be reversed and still remain as acceptable forms. Finally, I will explore the interrogative contexts in which discourse particles can occur, and also distinguish between two types of particles that can affect the interrogative utterance in different ways.

Keywords: Sorani Kurdish, discourse particles, pragmatic function, interactional context, syntactic position, sentence type

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1. Introduction

Discourse particles (henceforth DPs) have been defined in the following ways:

a. Discourse particles, in our terminology, are words that are uttered not because of their contribution to the propositional content, but because of some pragmatic function for the ongoing discourse (Stede and Schmitz, 2000).

b. Discourse particles relate items of discourse to other items of discourse, i.e. they operate as indexical elements in those domains that are fundamental for spoken dialogic communication (Diewald, 2006).

c. They (discourse particles) constitute a specific class of elements, which are similar to speaker-oriented adverbs, but compared to these they display a higher degree of grammaticalization and other peculiar characteristics clearly distinguishing them from this class of adverbs (Coniglio, 2009).

d. Discourse particles in the narrow sense are used in order to organize the discourse by expressing the speaker's epistemic attitude towards the propositional content of an utterance, or to express a speaker's assumption about the epistemic states of his or her interlocuters concerning a particular proposition (Zimmerman, 2011).

Although there is much dispute among researchers regarding the different aspects of DPs such as their syntactic and morphological properties, a general consensus exists with respect to what kind of word class they constitute and a basic definition that could be attributed to these linguistic items. Following from the definitions provided above, DPs usually refer to lexical items which do not contribute to the propositional meaning of a sentence, but rather play an integral role in displaying the pragmatic effect of an utterance and showing the mental attitudes of the interlocuters. In this respect, it would be reasonable to posit that DPs are mainly utilized to imply the communicative intentions of the speakers and convey their attitudes in discourse contexts.

Extensive research has been carried out to account for the overall nature of DPs by shedding light on their special characteristics and the principal functions they bear in conversational contexts, all of which has led to an enrichment of our knowledge regarding the underlying linguistic behavior of this word class. Among other languages, German is notorious for its number of DPs and their widespread use in spoken language, an observation that has drawn the attention of many researchers to investigate DPs in this language and present

comprehensive analyses of their features (Diwald, 2006; Egg, 2012; Grosz, 2016; Döring and Repp, 2020; Siebold, 2021). As a starting point for the main topic of this paper and a more intuitive understanding of what is exactly meant by DPs, we are going to look at some examples of their uses in German and analyze the roles they play in different conversations. German DPs are words like *bloß, denn, doch, eigentlich, mal, ruhig, schon, vielleicht, ausgerechnet,* and *wohl*, just to give a few examples. These lexical items are frequently used in spoken German to show the mental states of the speakers and contribute to the pragmatic impact of the utterance. Look at the following examples, taken from Buscha and Szita (2011) (The translations have been added):

(1)   a. *Wann ist **denn** deine Prüfung?*

             when is   **denn**   your exam

             'When is your exam?'

       b. *Haben Sie **eigentlich** die neue Ausstellung gesehen?*

             have   you **eigentlich**   the new exhibition seen

             'Have you seen the new exhibition?'

(2)   a. *Können Sie mir   **mal** das erklären?*

             can   you to me **mal** this explain

             'Can you explain this to me?'

       b. *Können Sie   mir   **vielleicht** helfen?*

             can   you to me **vielleicht** help

             'Can you help me?'

(3)   a. *Das ist **doch** ein fantastisches Ergebnis.*

             this is   **doch**   a fantastic result

             'This is a fantastic result.'

       b. *Das ist **ja** schrecklich.* (This is awful.)

             this is **ja** awful

             'This is awful.'

The use of *denn* and *eigentlich* in (1a-b) implies that the speaker is interested and eager to find out the answer to his question and shows his curiosity to know the response. *Mal* and *viellecht* in the next examples are used to convey the sense of politeness and courtesy of the speaker while asking for a favor. Finally, *doch* and *ja* are meant to show feelings of surprise and astonishment.

To be more precise, in (3a) the speaker is astonished by being informed about the results of something because what he expected was strikingly different from what has come to pass. The same argument can be extended to (3b), in which the speaker is surprised and to some degree irritated by how awful something turned out to be, and takes account of the word *ja* to convey these feelings. These are just a few instances of the frequent uses of DPs in the course of German dialogues. What is the similarity between words such as *denn, eigentlich, mal, vielleicht, doch* and *ja* that distinguishes them from other word classes? This question is going to be addressed in more detail in the following section, but in general it would be reasonable to posit that this group of words (i) do not contribute to the propositional meaning of the sentence; therefore, they can often be eliminated without doing any damage to the grammaticality of the utterance (ii) do show the mental state of the speaker and convey pragmatic functions. Now that we have gained a general understanding of DPs based on the definitions provided at the beginning of the paper and the above examples, we can turn our attention to a brief overview of these particles in other languages.

Other languages have also been scrutinized, but much less significantly in comparison to German. Barnes (1995) and Bartkova, et al (2016) present analyses of some of the common DPs used in French conversations by taking account of their pragmatic functions and syntactic positions in utterance, as well as investigating their prosodic features. Coniglio (2009) provides a comprehensive inquiry of the status of DPs in Italian and draws analogies between Italian and German. Other languages which have been examined with regard to DPs include Niuean (Massam, et al., 2006), Hungarian (Gyuris, 2009), Cantonese (Wakefield and Lee, 2019), Korean (Kim, et al., 2020), Catalan (Trotzke and Mayal, 2021), and Indonesian (Karaj, 2021).

As far as Kurdish is concerned, no examination has been provided on the status of DPs in the Sorani dialect. To the best of my knowledge, two papers have been written about DPs in Ilami (Yeganeh and Gheitasi, 2014) and Kurmanjî (Çabuk, 2018), other Kurdish dialects. Sabir and Jawad (2019) investigate a number of adversative discourse markers in Sorani Kurdish by analyzing a novel written by a Kurdish author; however, the scope and content of their work is radically different from the main issue of this paper. This article focuses on a presentation of DPs in Sorani Kurdish, and in doing so the author will touch upon different aspects of this phenomenon. The main objective of this paper is to introduce the existing DPs in Sorani

Kurdish,[2] and to discuss their functions in conversational contexts, followed by an account of their diverse features.

Before entering the main discussion of this paper, it is important to make a terminological distinction between some relevant concepts. DPs are to be distinguished from discourse markers (henceforth DMs). According to Fraser (1990), "Discourse markers are expressions such as *now, well, so, however,* and *then*, which signal a sequential relationship between the current basic message and the previous discourse." In contrast to DMs, DPs play a more important role in the discourse because they provide a great deal of information about the attitude of the speaker and how the utterance is to be interpreted by the listener; thus, their pragmatic impact is much broader. It is undeniable that DMs and DPs are similar in certain respects, such as the fact that neither of them contributes to the propositional content of the sentence; however, the underlying nature of these items differs. Fraser (1990; 1996) provides a comprehensive analysis of DMs in English and the functions they exhibit in conversational contexts. We will not go into any details regarding the difference between DMs and DPs, since this topic falls outside the scope of the present paper and does not serve any practical purposes for the main issue at hand. It is to be noted, however, that the items to be discussed in this paper are similar to the ones that exist in a language such as German; therefore, they are to be understood as DPs and not as DMs. Finally, another term which is closely related to the present discussion is modal particles, which can be interchangeably used with DPs, since they constitute the same word class and approximately represent the same concepts. For the sake of consistency, the term "discourse particle" will be used throughout this paper.

The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 is devoted to an investigation of Kurdish DPs. As a first step, I will briefly talk about the criteria that could be adopted to distinguish DPs from other word classes. Subsequently, I will introduce the common DPs that exist in the Kurdish language and inquire into an investigation of their main characteristics and explore their meanings. I will propose that Kurdish DPs be categorized based on their functions in the discourse, all of which will be put forward. Right after that, our attention will be turned to individual analysis of each of these linguistic items. This purpose will be achieved by providing conversations to clarify and illustrate their functions. The third section, whose overall focus is to

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[2] The Kurdish variety under study is the Sorani dialect, but for the sake of brevity the term "Kurdish" will be used throughout this paper to refer to "Sorani Kurdish".

explore some aspects of DPs, is divided into 3 subsections. In 3.1, we will take a closer look at the syntactic position of DPs and the sentence types in which they can occur. Section 3.2 is about particle combinations, the idea that two individual DPs can occur adjacent to each other to create a new DP. Section 3.3 elaborates on the type of interrogative contexts in which DPs can appear. Section 4 proffers the conclusion.

2. Discourse particles in Kurdish

The first and foremost challenge regarding the issue of DPs in linguistics is related to the grammatical criteria that could be adopted to distinguish them from other world classes. This issue has already received much attention in linguistic literature. The difficulty surrounding this phenomenon originates from the fact that a cross-linguistic survey is required to find out the fundamental characteristics of these lexical items. Since the linguistic research on this topic is confined to a limited number of languages, it would not be prudent to make a generalization regarding the status of DPs and apply the same criteria that might hold for a specific language to other languages. Therefore, we need to be extremely cautious when enumerating the characteristics of DPs.

The following table, gathered from Grosz (2016), Stede and Birte (2000), and Bayer and Obenauer (2011) presents some of the core grammatical properties of DPs and what distinguishes them from other words classes, particularly adverbs:

a. DPs are not inflectable.
b. They usually have homonyms in other word classes.
c. As opposed to sentence adverbs they cannot be used on their own in response to a question.
d. They are generally more restricted in their syntactic distribution than adverbs.
e. They can be combined with other elements of the same type.
g. They are usually the result of grammaticalization.
f. They are modificational elements and can be deleted from the utterance.
g. They do not affect the truth conditions of the clause they occur in.

Table 1. properties of DPs

Table (1) provides some of the general grammatical properties of DPs. Although the main purpose of this article is to focus on the pragmatic function of Kurdish DPs in interactional contexts, we will briefly look at their grammatical properties to realize to what degree they comply with the descriptions given in the above table.

On close inspection, one can easily observe the predominant role of DPs in Kurdish. It has a rich inventory of these items and in the majority of conversations they are widely used by native speakers to express their mental attitudes and a wide range of feelings; thus, they deserve critical attention. For that reason, this paper is devoted to exploration of Kurdish DPs, discussed and analyzed from different standpoints. However, before we launch into an inquiry of individual DPs in Kurdish, it would be appropriate to comment on the general functions they have in the discourse and in turn create a correlation between DPs and the functions that are going to be enumerated.

The following diagram presents a general overview of the functions of DPs in the Kurdish language:
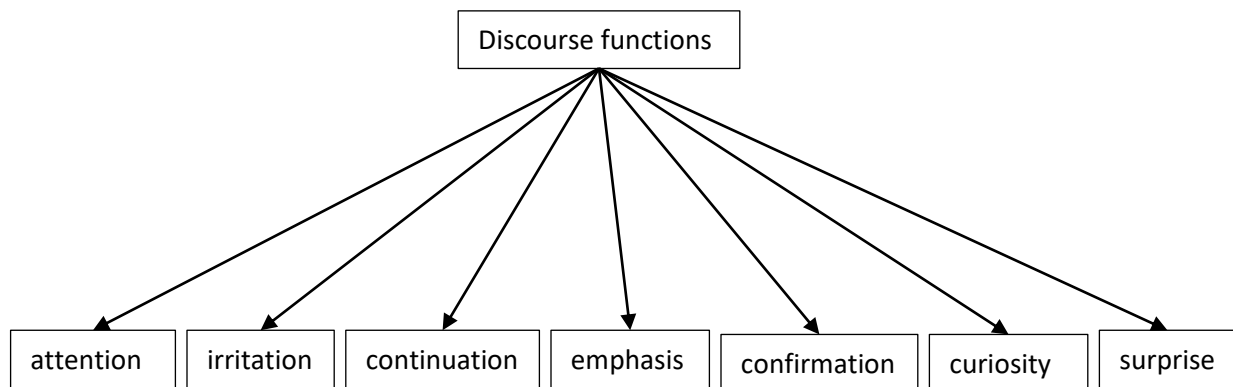
Figure 1. Taxonomy of discourse functions

The above diagram gives a clear illustration of the functions that Kurdish DPs fulfill in communicative settings. Based on this diagram, we realize that the pragmatic purposes of Kurdish DPs can be understood based on the seven functions proposed. At this juncture, we will introduce the main DPs in the Kurdish language, followed by the functions they carry out in the course of dialogues. Table (2) illustrates the list of DPs under investigation:

Particle	Function(s)

Are	Attention, emphasis, irritation	**Tabl**
Jâ	Continuation, emphasis, irritation	**e 2.**
Hâ	Emphasis, irritation	**Kur**
Bâsha	Confirmation, irritation	**dish**
Kuřa/kiche	Irritation, emphasis	**DPs**
Da	Irritation, emphasis	**and**
Har	Irritation, emphasis	**Thei**
Awa	Curiosity	**r**
Kho	Emphasis	**Fun**
Âdî	Irritation	**ction**
Shâ	Irritation	**(s)[3]**
Akhar	Irritation	
Magam	Confirmation, surprise	
Adî	Curiosity, confirmation	
Day	Curiosity, emphasis	Tabl
Řâst	Emphasis, surprise	e (2)

presents a list of some of the most important DPs used in everyday conversations by Kurdish native speakers. In the follow-up, I will go into details and explain the functions of each particle individually by giving appropriate examples. These examples will shed light on the multi-faceted functions of the DPs under consideration and the linguistic information that is encoded in these items. In each case, a short conversation will be presented to clarify and explicate the roles of DPs with respect to the above table. [4]

1. Are

a. used at the beginning of the sentence to introduce an utterance after a short pause and ask a question.

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[3] The phonological symbols employed throughout this paper to represent Kurdish sounds are taken from Thackston (2006). Refer to the beginning pages to find a correlation between Kurdish sounds and their English counterparts.

[4] I originally wanted to explain the roles of the DPs under investigation using corpus-based data. However, after constantly searching on the internet, I could not find any corpus of daily conversations in relation to the Kurdish language. As a result, the conversations of this article are my personal observations about how Kurdish native speakers use these lexical items and I have tried to be as careful as possible in providing a comprehensive analysis of their functions.

Conversation 1

A: **Are**, *kanje bchîna sar shâkhî?*[5]

　are when we go   on mountain

　'When should we go climbing?'

B: *Sibayne   daroin.*

　tomorrow we go

　'Tomorrow.'

In this short conversation, the first speaker makes use of the DP *are* to ask a specific question regarding something the interlocuters have been planning to do. He does so by uttering this particle at the beginning of his speech followed by a short pause, in the course of which he intends to get the attention of the second speaker. Based on this short conversation, it would be reasonable to claim that this DP is mostly used at the beginning of the sentence to attract the attention of another person and pose a question.

b. used at the beginning of the sentence to put emphasis on the question that is being asked and display the anger and irritation of the speaker.

Conversation 2

A: *Bochî Siâmak nahâta   bo dâwate?*

　why   *Siâmak* didn't come to the wedding

　'Why didn't *Siâmak* come to the wedding?'

B: **Are** *chûzânim?*

　are how should I know

　'How on earth am I supposed to know?'

This further use of *are* occurs when a person is tormented by being asked the same question over and over again, without knowing the answer. In this communicative setting, the first speaker has been asking the same question time and again, and the second speaker shows his exasperation by using *are* at the beginning of his utterance followed by *chûzanim*. The speaker could have easily refrained from using this word, but his application of this item puts emphasis on his lack of

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[5] It is to be noted that the English translations are rough paraphrases of the original sentences. For that reason, the reader should pay attention to the explanation to understand the main function of each DP.

knowledge regarding this matter and heightens the degree of his annoyance towards the first speaker. Conversation (2) can be rephrased in the following way:

Conversation 3

A: Bochî Siâmak nahâta   bo dâwate?

   why   *Siâmak* didn't come to the wedding

   'Why didn't *Siâmak* come to the wedding?'

*B: Chûzânim   **are**?*

  how should I know ***are***

   'How on earth am I supposed to know?'

As can be seen, the particle *are* can appear at the beginning and the end of an utterance without any change in meaning. In that respect, it displays a relative degree of freedom regarding its syntactic position.

2. Jâ

A. used at the beginning of the sentence to show continuity from the previous discourse.

Conversation 4

*A: **Jâ**, lagał kâkim   lemân bûba shař.*

  jâ   with my brother got into fight

   'Well, I got into a fight with my brother.'

Like *are*, *jâ* can appear at the beginning of the sentence to draw the attention of the addressee and continue the discourse; however, a number of points need to be mentioned to make a distinction between these two DPs:

What follows *jâ* pertaining to this function is a declarative sentence and not an interrogative one. Secondly, from a contextual perspective, this DP is used at intervals by a speaker who narrates a story and with the help of this single word contributes to the flow of speech and continuation of the dialogue. In that sense, *jâ* is mostly used in narrative contexts and bears a function which is different from what we observed in the case of *are*.

B. used at the beginning or end of the sentence to put emphasis on an utterance and express the anger and irritation of the speaker.

Conversation 5

A: **Jâ** *zory   le małe.*

 jâ much don't talk

 'Shut the fuck up.'

B: *Joan   qsân bka.*

 beautiful speak

 'Watch your mouth.'

In this scenario, the first speaker is annoyed by the loquacious behavior of the second speaker and as a strong reaction uses the word *jâ* at the beginning of his utterance to give a command and explicitly order him to end his talk. The communicative purpose of this DP in the present context is to simply strengthen the effect of the command and display the irritation of one of the interlocuters towards the other one. It can also occupy the final position in the sentence.

Conversation 6

A: *Zory le małe   **jâ**.*

 much don't talk ***jâ***

 'Shut the fuck up.'

B: *Joan   qsân bka.*

 beautiful speak

 'Watch your mouth.'

c. used at the beginning or end of the sentence to put emphasis on the question that is being asked and convey the irritation of the speaker.

Conversation 7

A: *Hemin aw   ktebay khendotawa?*

 Hemin this book   has read

 'Has *Hemin* read this book?'

*B: **Jâ** chûzânim?*

   jâ how should I know

   'How on earth am I supposed to know?'

This function of the particle *jâ* is similar to *are*. In both cases, the DP appears at the beginning of the sentence to express the speaker's irritation with regard to the question that has been asked, except for the difference that *are* exhibits a stronger pragmatic effect and reinforces the emphasis of the utterance to a greater degree. It can also appear at the end of the sentence without any change in meaning, as shown below.

Conversation 8

A: Hemin aw ktebay khendotawa?

   Hemin this book has read

   'Has *Hemin* read this book?'

*B: chûzânim   **jâ**?*

   how should I know ***jâ***

   'How on earth am I supposed to know?'

3. Hâ

a. used at the end of the sentence to put emphasis on the utterance and show the irritation of the speaker.

Conversation 9

*A: Zor   qsân dakay **hâ**.*

   much you speak   ***hâ***

   'You speak too much.'

B: Pem khosha. Ba to řabtî   ne.

   I like to   you   relation not

   'I like to. It is none of your business.'

A common point between this group of DPs (*are, jâ,* and *hâ*) is the fact that they are mostly used in communicative settings to express feelings of anger, irritation, and exasperation (Although

they can carry out other functions, as we have observed). Despite such similarities, there are subtle differences in terms of syntactic position and the sentence types in which they can occur. For instance, *jâ* exhibits a great degree of freedom regarding the positions it can occupy in the sentence. In addition, it can also appear in declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentence types. *Hâ*, another DP with more limited functions compared to the previous ones, is resorted to the final position of the sentence and can only appear in imperative sentences. It appears at the end of an utterance to emphasize the speaker's opinion regarding a certain matter. In conversation (9), once again the first speaker shows feelings of irritation due to the talkative behavior of speaker B. By using *hâ* in a declarative manner, he conveys two pragmatic functions; (i) he emphasizes the propositional content of this speech act (saying that speaker B is a very talkative person) (ii) he shows his personal irritation with respect to this type of behavior.

4. Bâsha

a. used at the end of the sentence to receive confirmation from the listener.

Conversation 10

A: *Sbayne   wara mîwânî bâsha.*

tomorrow come party   ***bâsha***

'Come to the party tomorrow, ok.'

B: *Agar pem bikre dem.*

if   I can   I come

'I will if I can.'

Bâsha is another DP which is often used in interactional contexts to convey the attitude of the speaker and contribute to the pragmatic impact of the utterance. This particle often appears at the end of imperative sentences to receive confirmation from the listener, a point which is illustrated by Conversation (10). In this short dialogue, the first interlocuter gives a command and in doing so finishes his command with this DP. *Bâsha*, appearing at the end of the sentence, conveys the idea that speaker A expects a positive response from speaker B. In that sense, it bears a compelling force in the discourse and to some degree forces the second speaker to comply with the command and expects him to consider going to the party a responsibility.

b. used at the beginning of the sentence to ask a question in an angry way in order to express one's disapproval and annoyance regarding a certain matter.

Conversation 11

A: **Bâsha**, *ato nâzânî   aw kâra   îshtibâya?*

   Bâsha, you don't know this work is wrong

   'Don't you know that this is wrong?'

B: *Bimbûra. Dupât nâbetawa.*

   forgive me repeat it will not

   'Forgive me. I will not happen again.'

Conversation (11) presents a scenario which makes clear the role of the DP under investigation. In this case, the first speaker is angry about something the second speaker has done and reprimands him by asking a question to seek an explanation regarding his action. The use of *bâsha* at the beginning of this question is a clear and reinforcing indication of the first speaker's irritation and disapproving stance with respect to a wrongdoing committed by speaker B. In this respect, *bâsha* intensifies the force and negativity of the question that is being posed.

5. *Kuřa/ Kiche*

a. used at the beginning or the end of the sentence to put emphasis on what is being said and sometimes show the irritation of the speaker.

Conversation 12

A: **Kuřa/Kiche** *khot   tûshî   aw dardasaray maka.*

   kuřa/kiche yourself get into this trouble do not

   'Don't get yourself into this trouble.'

B: *Ba qsat dakam.*

   to you   I listen

   'I will not (I will follow your advice.)'

In conversation (12), the first speaker dissuades the second one from getting himself/herself into trouble. The DPs *kuřa/kiche* fulfill two important functions in this context, one of which is

related to the attitude of the speaker and the other one has to do with the core content of the utterance. Using *kuřa/kiche* at the beginning of the utterance demonstrates a certain degree of the speaker's irritation towards the second speaker and strongly warns him not to do something. The second function of these two DPs is tightly connected to the main content of the sentence. By uttering either of these words at the beginning of the sentence, the first speaker puts emphasis on his command and the DPs take scope over the entire proposition. There are cases, however, where the function of this DP is more limited in the scope it projects, as shown in the following example:

Conversation 13

A: Jâponî   sakhttra   yâ âlmânî?
   Japanese is more difficult or German
   'Which one is more difficult to learn, Japanese or German?'

*B: **Kuřa/Kiche** jâponî.*
   kuřa/kiche Japanese
   'Japanese.'

In this instance, the first speaker is curious about which of the two languages (Japanese or German) is more difficult. In response to his/her question, speaker B says that Japanese is more difficult than German. As DPs, *kuřa/kiche* simply underscore the propositional content of the statement and show the emphasis of the interlocuter's opinion. Unlike the previous case, they do not convey any sense of irritation or warning. The only difference between these two DPs is that *kuřa* is often used in cases when the addressee is male and *kiche* in contexts where the addressee is female. In conversation (13), the DPs *kuřa/kiche* can also appear at the end of the sentence, as shown below:

Conversation 14

A: Jâponî   sakhttra   yâ âlmânî?
   Japanese is more difficult or German
   'Which one is more difficult to learn, Japanese or German?'

*B: Jâponî   **kuřa/kiche**.*
   Japanese **kuřa/kiche**

'Japanese.'

6. Da

a. used at the beginning of the sentence to put emphasis on the pragmatic effect of an utterance and show the irritation of the speaker.

Conversation 15

A: **Da** *tawâwî ka.*
    da finish it
    'Put an end to it.'

B: *Bâsha.*
    Ok.
    'Ok.'

In conversation (15), the first speaker is irritated by a discussion that has been presumably going on for quite some time without any agreement between the parties. To express his exasperation, speaker A forcefully orders the second speaker to stop talking and put an end to the discussion. In doing so, he applicates the word *da* at the beginning of his command to emphasize the effect of the utterance and show his irritation.

7. Har

a. used at the beginning or the middle of the sentence to show emphasis on what is being uttered and express the certainty of the speaker.

Conversation 16

A: *Zânyâr dazâne chon bâzî   nasb kâ?*
    Zânyâr knows how game install
    'Does *Zânyâr* know how to install a game?'

B: **Har** *ley ħâlî   ne.*
    har of it understand not
    'He does not know a single thing about it.'

In response to the question that has been asked, speaker B explicitly states that *Zânyâr* has no knowledge about installing video games. While expressing his opinion in this way, he uses *har* at the beginning of the utterance to add more weight and force to the utterance and express that he is certain and self-assured about his stance. Similar to the previous one with respect to its content, this DP bears a particular interactional function in cases where emphasis is involved. *Har* could also appear in imperative clauses, illustrated in the following example:

Conversation 17

A: **Har** *bakheren.*

    har you welcome

    'Welcome.'

B: *Zor   mamnûn.*

    very much thank you

    'Thank you very much.'

Conversation (17) presents a simple context in which speaker A welcomes speaker B, in the course of which the word *har* intensifies the intimacy and friendliness between the interlocuters and displays the warm welcoming of the first speaker directed to the second one.

Conversation 18

A: *Ba khudây beâqłî.*

    to god   stupid you are

    'You really are stupid.'

B: *La to*   **har** *âqiłtrim.*

    of you **har** smarter I am

    'No matter how stupid I am, I am not as stupid as you.'

Conversation (18) illustrates another emphatic function of this DP, accompanied by a sense of irritation. In this context, speaker A says that the second speaker is a stupid person, the reason for which is not of any consequence for the present discussion. As a reaction to this statement, speaker B responds that in the worst case he is not as stupid as the first interlocuter. He utilizes *har* to put emphasis on the propositional content of the sentence and explicitly demonstrate that

he is irritated by speaker A's previous comment. What is worthy of note here is that this DP can also occur in the middle of the sentence.

8. Awa

a. used at the beginning of the sentence to express the interest and curiosity of the speaker in receiving a response to his question.

Conversation 19

A: **Awa** chi   dakay?
   awa what are you doing
   'What are you doing?'

B: Aw charkhay châk dakamawa.
   this bicycle   I repair
   'I am repairing this bicycle.'

As a DP, *awa* mostly appears at the beginning of interrogative sentences to express the interest of the speaker in finding out about what someone else is doing and receiving an answer to his question. This can be observed from conversation (19). In the course of this dialogue, the first speaker intends to know what the second speaker is engaged with. To achieve this goal, he asks a simple question (*Chi dakay* meaning "What are you doing?") before which he utters the word *awa*, whose main function is to convey the further interest and curiosity of the speaker regarding the question that is being asked.

9. Kho

a. used at the beginning of the sentence to put emphasis on what is being said.

Conversation 20

A: Kuray   hałnâkay?
   heater you turn on
   'Don't you want to turn the heater on?'

B: Nawałâ. **Kho** sârd ne.
   no   **kho** cold not

'No. It is not cold anyway.'

In response to what has been asked, speaker B refuses the first speaker's offer by using the particle *kho* at the beginning of his utterance. What follows this DP in conversation (20) bears semantic meaning by itself. What the second speaker hopes to achieve by using this DP is to put emphasis on his claim that the weather is not cold and there is no need for the heater to be turned on; thus, he reinforces his proposition.

b. used at the beginning, middle, or end of the sentence to receive confirmation from the listener.

Conversation 21

A: *Kuray hałnâkay?*
  heater you turn on
  'Don't you want to turn the heater on?'

B: ***Kho*** *sârd ne?*
  kho cold not
  'It is not cold, is it?'

A: *Nawałâ.*
  no
  'No, it is not.'

The previous conversation has been repeated in this case to illustrate some important points about the core properties of the DP *kho*. In conversation (20), *kho* was used in the declarative mood to signal emphasis regarding a proposition; thus, affirming strongly that the room is not cold and therefore there is no need for the heater to be turned on. Conversation (21) presents the same conversation, with the important difference that *kho* appears in an interrogative sentence. In this example, the second speaker expects speaker A to confirm his proposition and respond that the room is not cold and the heater does not need to be turned on. The exact equivalent of this word in English would be question tag expressions, as has been translated in quotation marks. This observation is of central importance in our understanding of Kurdish DPs. We can come to the conclusion that in certain cases the functions of DPs can be determined based on the sentence types they appear in, be it declarative, interrogative, or imperative. In conversation (21), *kho* can also appear at the end of the sentence and convey the same communicative purpose. However, we

need to be more cautious when it comes to the position of this word in the middle of the sentence. It would be infelicitous to use *kho* in the middle of the sentence in conversation (21). In the following example, however, the use of *kho* in the medial position is syntactically well-formed and acceptable.

Conversation 22

A: *Awsho* **kho** *nâchîna   mâła   pûrim?*

   tonight **kho** don't we go house my aunt

   'We are not going my aunt's house tonight, are we?'

B: *Nawałâ.*

   No

   'No, we are not.'

Conversation (22) presents a scenario in which *kho* has been used right after the temporal adverb, thus occurring in the medial position. One last point regarding this DP is worth mentioning. Declarative sentences in which *kho* appears can be both negative and positive in terms of their semantic value. However, in interrogative contexts this DP can only appear with a negative semantic value, meaning that the question tag has to be positive, as can be observed in conversations (21) and (22).

10. *Âdî*

a. used as a single word to express the irritation of the speaker in reaction to what has been said.

Conversation 23

A: *Dabe   lagał Hîwây âsht bewa.*

   you should with *Hîwâ*   make amends

   'You should make amends with *Hîwâ*.'

B: *Âdî. Wałâhî laway bawlâwa qat qatî qsa lagał nâkam.*

   âdî I swear from now on   never   talk with him not

   'I swear I will never ever talk to him again.'

Among the DPs discussed so far, *âdî* displays a very special characteristic. Let us suppose that in conversation (23) speaker B has recently had a fight with another person named *Hîwâ*. As an

intermediary, speaker A advises him to patch things up with *Hîwâ* and make amends with him. In strong retaliation to this opinion, speaker B expresses his anger and irritation by using the word *âdî* at the beginning of his utterance, followed by another sentence to reinforce his reluctance regarding any kind of reconciliation with *Hîwâ*. As can be observed and generalized, this DP is fit as an adversative item for contexts in which an advice is given or a request is made, and in response the speaker is determined to do the exact opposite of what has been asked.

11. Shâ

a. used at the beginning of the sentence to show one's disapproval and irritation regarding a remark or utterance.

Conversation 24

A: *Sarakhoshît la Rizgârî kird?*

   funeral   of *Rizgâr* did

    'Did you give your condolences to *Rizgâr*?'

B: *Nawałâ. Wakhtim nabû.*

   No   time   I didn't have

   'No, I didn't have the time.'

A: **Shâ** *aw qsayay.*

   shâ this talk

Conversation (24) briefly elucidates the function of the DP under analysis. For the sake of the present discussion, we can suppose that speakers A and B have a very close friend called *Rizgâr*. *Rizgâr's* mother has just passed away and the appropriate thing for the speakers to do would be to express their condolences. Speaker A has done so but speaker B has not. In conversation (24), the first speaker asks the second one regarding this issue and he answers that he has not yet expressed his condolences towards his close friend, simply because he didn't have enough time to do so. The excuse he is putting forward is not justifiable in the least and arouses the irritation and anger of the first speaker. As a result, the first speaker uses the particle *shâ* at the beginning of his utterance to implicate that the excuse provided by the second speaker (that he didn't have the time to express his condolences) is a most irrational and unjustifiable remark.

12. Akhar

a. used at the beginning or middle of the sentence to signal the irritation of the speaker and put emphasis on the question that is being asked.

Conversation 25

A: **Akhar** *tukhdâ haqim nabû   ley   qaɫs bim?*

   akhar to God right   did not of him get angry

   'Didn't I have the right to get angry with him?'

B: *Barewaɫâ haqit bû.*

   yes   right you had

   'You definitely had the right to do so.'

Conversation (25) provides an example which clarifies the role of *akhar*. Let us suppose that someone has done something wrong and speaker A is infuriated by it. As a result of his anger, he has criticized that person and told him off. In the current conversation, speaker A uses the DP *akhar* at the beginning of his utterance to convey one communicative function; i.e. irritation. By using this word he implicates that he is indignant about what has been done and expresses his exasperation in an emphatic manner. Building upon this observation, we can propose that *akhar* is used in interrogative contexts to show the irritation of the speaker. The use of *akhar* in the medial position also yields a grammatical sentence.

Conversation 26

A: *Tukhdâ* **akhar** *haqim nabû   ley   qaɫs bim?*

   to God   **akhar** right   did not of him get angry

   'Didn't I have the right to get angry with him?'

B: *Barewaɫâ haqit bû.*

   yes right you had

   'You definitely had the right to do so.'

13. Adî

a. used as single word in contexts when one of the speakers has misunderstood something and wants to find out the truth by utilizing this DP in an interrogative manner.

Conversation 27

A: *Doyne   lagal Sîrwânî la resturane   chitân khuârd?*

   yesterday with *Sîrwân*   at the restaurant what   did you eat

   'What did you eat with *Sîrwân* yesterday at the restaurant?'

B: *Nachûina   resturane.*

   we didn't go the restaurant

   'We didn't go to the restaurant.'

a: **Adî?**

    adî

    'What did you do then?'

This conversation can be analyzed by taking account of the concepts "presupposition" and "common ground". Speaker A presupposes that speaker B and another person named *Sîrwân* went to the restaurant. In that respect, he considers this proposition to be part of the common ground or the mutual knowledge between the two interlocuters. What further arouses his curiosity is the food they ate in the restaurant. Speaker B's response refutes the presupposition outright and states they did not go to the restaurant in the first place; therefore, the first speaker's question is not pragmatically logical. As a result of his misunderstanding and lack of knowledge regarding this issue, the first speaker is tempted to know what the other participants had done if they didn't go to the restaurant. In other words, he wants to rectify the miscommunication, a situation in which *adî* is frequently used as a DP to find out what the participants had done otherwise.

b. used at the end of interrogative sentences to receive confirmation from the listener.

Conversation 28

A: *Awřo   deya   mâła   ma **adî?***

   today you come house our **adî**

   'You are coming to our house today, aren't you?'

B: *Ħatman.*

   definitely

   'Definitely.'

Upon closer examination, one can observe that the function of this particle is analogous to *kho*, discussed previously. The crucial difference between these two, however, is that *kho* can appear in interrogative sentences in which the verb is negated, whereas *adî* is confined to interrogative contexts in which the verb is in the positive. One other difference is related to their syntactic position. While *kho* can appear at the beginning and end of interrogative sentences, the only grammatically acceptable position which *adî* can occupy with respect to this function is the final position.

14. Magam

a. used at the beginning or middle of the sentence to receive confirmation from the listener.

Conversation 29

A: *Khot   sâz ka   dachîna parke.*
    yourself get ready we go   park
    'Get yourself ready, we are going to the park.'

B: ***Magam*** *awsho mîwân nâyan?*
    magam tonight guests don't come
     'Are we not supposed to have guests tonight?'

A: *Nâzânim.*
    I don't know
    'I have no idea.'

In the given context, two propositions are at issue;

(i) going to the park

(ii) the coming of the guests

Speaker B is of the opinion that a number of guests are coming to their house and believes that the first speaker is aware of this fact; therefore, it is an uncontroversial common knowledge shared between the two interlocuters. However, it turns out that speaker A has no idea about the coming of guests and as a result suggests that he along with second speaker go to the park. In other words, he does not consider proposition (ii) to be part of the common ground. As a reaction to this offer and bearing in mind that they are soon to have guests, the second speaker utters the

DP *magam* at the beginning of his question to receive confirmation (that they are supposed to have guests) from the first speaker and get certain regarding this matter. This DP, just like the ones that have been discussed so far, can easily be removed without damaging the propositional content of the utterance. However, its utilization signals the idea that the speaker expects to receive a positive answer to his question. Conversation (29) can be rewritten in the following way, in which *magam* has appeared right after the first word of the sentence.

Conversation 30

A: *Khôt   sâz ka   dachîna parke.*
   yourself get ready we go   park
   'Get yourself ready, we are going to the park.'

B: *Awsho **magam** mîwân nâyan?*
   tonight ***magam*** guests don't come
   'Are we not supposed to have guests tonight?'

A: *Nâzânim.*
   I don't know
   'I have no idea.'

b. used at the beginning of the sentence to show the surprise of the speaker regarding what has been said earlier by someone else.

Conversation 31

A: *Shatřanjakay lagał khot   bena bo parke.*
   the chess   with yourself bring to the park
   'Bring the chess with you to the park.'

B: ***Magam** dachîna parke?*
   magam we go   the park
   'Are we planning to go to the park?'

A: *Âdî.*
   yes
   'Yes.'

Based on conversations (29) and (31), we can realize that there is a striking difference between the two functions associated with the DP *magam*. Once again, the different functions of this DP can be accounted for by looking at the linguistic concept of "negation". At a closer scrutiny, we notice that in conversation (29) the verb appears in the negated form, entailing that *magam* should function as a DP to receive confirmation from the speaker. In contrast to this observation, conversation (31) presents an instance in which the verb has a positive value; therefore, its function is to express the surprise of the speaker because he has not been previously told that they are planning to go to the park and finds the proposition unexpected. Conversation (31) consists of two main propositions: (i) going to the park; (ii) taking the chess to the park.

Speaker A uses proposition (i) as a presupposition to put forward proposition (ii). However, it turns out that speaker B was not informed about going to the park beforehand; therefore, he questions the first proposition and shows surprise by uttering the particle *magam* at the beginning of his utterance. The use of *magam* in conversations (29) and (31) provides an insight into the semantics-pragmatics interface, because it leads us to the conclusion that the pragmatic function of a particle might be subject to the semantic value (negative or positive) of the sentence.

15. Day

a. used as single word to express the interest and curiosity of the speaker in wanting to listen to the rest of a story or discourse.

Conversation 32

A: Dwây qadarekî la fařânsay kâfîshâpekmân kirdawa.

  After a while in France a coffee shop we opened
  'After staying for a while in France we opened up a coffee shop.'

*B: **Day?***
To explain the function of this DP, it is important to understand the preceding discourse. Let us assume that speaker A is talking to an audience about his experience in France. He has been talking for ten minutes and at this point mentions an important part of his adventure; namely opening up a coffee shop with some other people. At this juncture, the second speaker (a member of the audience), absorbed by his story and interested in the rest of what is to follow, utters *day* in

an interrogative manner. Through the simple use of this word, he conveys to the speaker that he wants him to carry on with his story and tell the rest of it to the audience.

b. used at the beginning of some common expressions to show emphasis.

Conversation 33

A: Dâmânnâwa   safarekî ořûpâya bkain.

    we are planning travel   Europe   do
    'We are planning to travel around Europe.'

*B: **Day** zor châka.*
    day very well
    'Very well then.'

This function of *day* is limited to certain expressions. Basically, it is used in cases when a person confirms a course of action and by using this word adds more emphasis and weight to his statement.

16. *Řâst*

a. used before a specific word or expression to put emphasis on it and make it stand out in the sentence.

Conversation 34

*A: Law ħamo nafaray **řâst** amnî haɫbzhârd.*
    of   all   people **řâst** me   chose
    'Of all those people, he chose me.'

B: Chand badshânsî.
    how   unfortunate you are
    'What bad luck you have.'

Let us suppose that speaker A is a student and belongs to a class with 40 members. One day, his teacher wanted to ask questions about what they had previously studied and he was chosen first among all those people. In conversation (34) the first speaker points to the fact that he was the only one chosen among a great number of people. In doing so, he uses the particle *řâst* before the

object pronoun to put emphasis on it and make it stand out in the utterance, conveying the idea that it was strange and unexpected of him to be chosen among all those members. In that respect, the DP *řâst* puts emphasis on a single item, in this case the object of the sentence. This DP could also appear in interrogative contexts, as shown below.

Conversation 35

A: Bo   *řâst* atoy hałbzhârd?
   why *řâst* you   he chose
   'Why did he choose you?'

B: Badshânsim   boya.
   I am unfortunate that's why
   'I guess I am just unfortunate.'

3. Aspects of Kurdish discourse particles

So far, we have enumerated some of the most important DPs in Kurdish, and in doing so tried to analyze them by explaining their functions in different conversational contexts. This section of the article is devoted to a general exploration of some relevant aspects of these particles, namely their syntactic positions, sentence types in which they occur in, particle combinations, and the types of interrogative contexts in which they appear.

3.1 Syntactic position and sentence type

Based on the conversations we have investigated so far I have drawn the following table to illustrate the syntactic positions DPs occupy and the sentence types in which they occur.

Table 3. grammatical properties of discourse particles

Particle	Function	Syntactic position	Sentence type
Are	Attention Irritation	Initial Final	Interrogative
Jâ	Continuation	Initial	Declarative

	Emphasis Irritation	Medial	Interrogative Imperative
Hâ	Emphasis Irritation	Final	Declarative
Bâsha	Confirmation Irritation	Initial Final	Interrogative Imperative
Kuřa/kiche	Irritation Emphasis	Initial Final	Declarative Imperative
Da	Irritation Emphasis	Initial	Imperative
Har	Irritation Emphasis	Initial Medial	Declarative Imperative
Awa	Curiosity	Initial	Interrogative
Kho	Emphasis confirmation	Initial Medial Final	Declarative Interrogative
Âdî	Irritation	Initial	Declarative
Shâ	Irritation	Initial	Declarative
Akhar	Irritation Emphasis	Initial Medial	Interrogative
Magam	Confirmation Surprise	Initial Medial	Interrogative
Adî	Curiosity Confirmation	Initial	Interrogative
Day	Curiosity Emphasis	Initial	Interrogative
Řâst	Emphasis Surprise	Initial Medial	Declarative Interrogative

Bearing upon the information provided in table (3), some general points can be mentioned regarding the properties of Kurdish DPs. These observations are the following:

a. The number of DPs appearing in the initial, medial, and final positions are as follows:

initial: 15
medial: 6
final: 5

hence; initial > medial > final

b. The number of DPs appearing in declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentence types are as follows:

declarative: 8   interrogative: 10   imperative: 5

hence; interrogative > declarative> imperative

c. *Kho* is the only particle that can occupy all syntactic positions; initial, medial, and final.

d. *Jâ* is the only DP that can appear in all three sentence types; indicative, interrogative, and imperative.

This was a general overview of the relative syntactic distribution of these particles and the sentence types in which they appear. Now, we are going to turn our attention to another aspect of the particles and their importance in the course of this paper.

3.2 Particle combinations

Bayer and Obenauer (2011) mention that German DPs can be stacked, meaning that they can appear adjacent to each other in fixed order. Based on their claim, up to three German DPs can occur next to each other in a sentence, as shown below (example taken from Bayer and Obenauer (2011)).

(4)   *Wo   bist du **denn nur / bloß** den ganzen Tag gewesen?*

where are you ***denn nur / bloß*** the whole   day been

 'Where on earth have you been the entire day? (I am wondering)?'

The same phenomenon can be observed in Kurdish. In the following, you can observe a number of DPs that can appear adjacent to each other to give rise to new combinations.

 a. *Day + jâ: day jâ*

 b. *Jâ + bâsha: jâ bâsha*

 c. *Kuřa/kiche + jâ: kuřa/kiche jâ*

 d. *Kuřa/kiche + kho: kuřa/kiche kho*

 e. *Akhar + magam: akhar magam*

In the above examples, two different DPs have been combined in a linear way. At first glimpse, it becomes clear that the particle *jâ* is a productive element in these combinations. These particle combinations have been used in the following examples.

*(5)   **Day jâ** błam chî?*

*   **day jâ** I say what*

'What on earth am I supposed to say?'

(6)   ***Jâ bâsha***, *ato nâzânî   aw kâra îshtibâya?*
          jâ bâsha you don't know this work mistake
          'Don't you know that what you have done is wrong?'

(7)   ***Kuřa jâ***, *lagał kâkim   leman bûba shař.*
          kuřa jâ with my brother got into fight
          'Well, I got into a fight with my brother.'

(8)   ***Kuřa/kiche kho*** *înglîsî   nâzâne.*
          kuřa/kiche kho English he does not know

          'He cannot speak English.'

(9)   ***Akhar magam*** awsho mîwân nâyan?
          akhar magam tonight guests don't come
          'Are we not supposed to have guests tonight?'

The first observation to be made with regard to this set of DPs is that the second element in these combinations is crucial in conveying their communicative functions. In other words, the main functions associated to these items correspond closely to the second element that is used. To begin with the first example, the function of *day jâ* is the same as *jâ*, with a more heightened effect, conveying the idea that the speaker has got absolutely nothing to say regarding a certain issue. The same communicative purpose could have been achieved by merely utilizing *jâ* in the respective context, with the slight difference that *day jâ* bears more weight and emphasis compared to *jâ*. The same argument applies to other DP combinations, namely *jâ bâsha*, *kuřa/kiche jâ*, *kuřa/kiche kho,* and *akhar magam*. In each of these cases, the function of the particle combination closely matches the function of the second element.

Another point that is worth mentioning with respect to this issue is the order of the components that join together to make up these combinations. X and Y as individual DPs can combine with each other in two different ways to make up new forms. The following examples with the reverse order are acceptable forms. The only exceptions to this rule are *magam akhar* and *jâ day*, which do not exist.

    a. *Bâsha + jâ: bâsha jâ*

    b. *Jâ + kuřa/kiche: jâ kuřa/kiche*

    c. *Kho + kuřa/kiche: kho kuřa/kiche*

In each of the above examples except (a) and (e), the order of the DPs can be reversed. Some pertinent questions can come up in the discussion of particle combinations, such as the following:

1. *Is there a preference between the different forms of a particle combination? In other words, would it be reasonable to talk about canonical and noncanonical orders in this case?*

2. *Why can some DPs combine with each other while the others cannot?*

3. *Is there a difference in meaning between the two different forms of a particle combination?*

It would be very difficult to go into an investigation of these questions. It requires careful corpus-based study and meticulous investigation to form a well-founded argument in the case of this issue; therefore, I refrain from going into the detail of this matter. The last point I would like to mention in this section is the argument that some DP combinations can also appear dissociated from each other in the sentence. Look at the following examples:

(10)   **Day** *bɫam chî*   **jâ***?*

      day I say what **jâ**

      'What on earth am I supposed to say?'

(11)   **Kuřa** *înglîisî* *nâzâne*   **kho***.*

      kuřa English doesn't know **kho**

      'He cannot speak English.'

On close inspection, we notice that in both examples one of the DPs occurs at the beginning and the other one at the end of the sentence. If we were to compare these instances with the DP combinations illustrated previously, we will realize that these two phenomena represent the same underlying structure in two different ways, as schematized below:

1. **Day**   *bɫam chî*   **jâ**?   →   **Day jâ** *bɫam chî?*

2. **Kuřa**   *înglîsî nazane* **kho**.   →   **Kuřa kho** *înglîsî nâzâne.*

3.3 Discourse particles in interrogative contexts

Another aspect of Kurdish DPs that deserves attention is related to the interrogative contexts in which they occur. As illustrated and clarified previously, DPs can appear in interrogative sentences and occupy initial, medial, and final positions. A central question with regard to this observation is "In what kind of interrogative sentences do DPs occur?" Throughout this section, we are going to look more closely at DPs under discussion and elaborate on this question.

Before embarking upon a close examination of this topic, a word of caution is in order. The notion of discourse functions outlined at the beginning of this paper is different from what is going to be discussed in this section. Discourse functions refer to the specific functions a DP plays in conversational contexts, whereas the point of this section of the article is to expand upon the kinds of interrogative questions in which DPs occur, irrespective of their roles.

Generally speaking, DPs occur in four interrogative sentence types: seeking information, seeking explanation, rhetorical, and polar questions. The following diagram illustrates which DPs occur in which type of interrogative contexts.
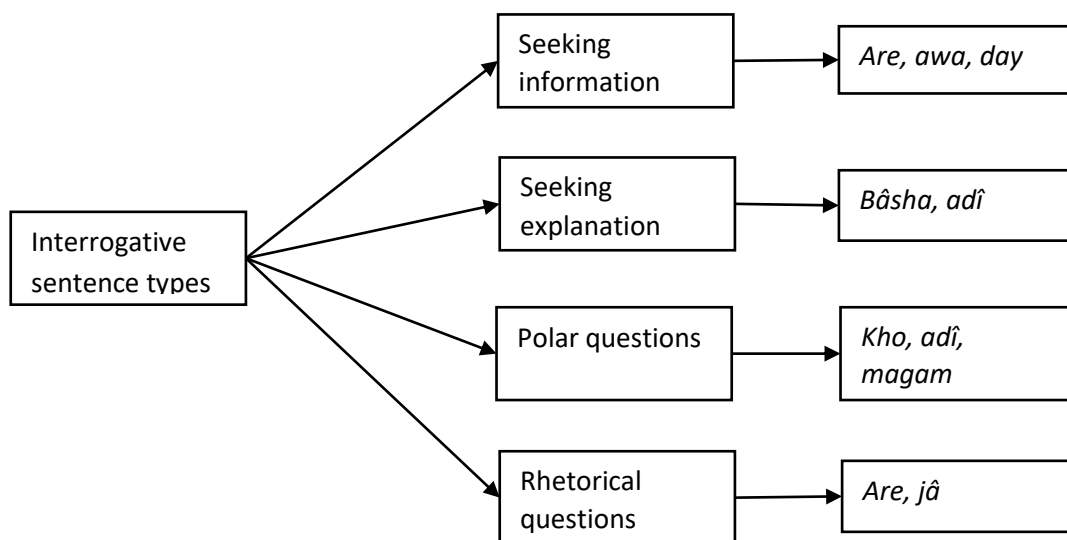
Figure 2. Kurdish DPs in interrogative sentence types

In order to clarify what is exactly meant by the above diagram, we can refer to the previous examples in which DPs were used. Conversation (1) has been repeated below.

(12)   A: **Are**, kanje bchîna sar shâkhî?
            are when we go   on mountain
             'When should we go climbing?'
        B: Sibayne   dařoin.
           tomorrow we go
            'Tomorrow.'

Let us analyze this conversation by eliminating the particle *are*. Based on the translation that has been provided, the purpose of this question is to seek information about going climbing, which is why the DP *are* appearing in this sentence is said to occur in seeking-information question type. The presence of *are* at the beginning of the utterance implicates that the speaker wants to get the attention of the listener, a quality that can be attributed to its function in the discourse. In that respect, we can distinguish between the discourse function of this particle and the question type in which it occurs.

(i)   the role of *are* as a DP is to get the attention of the listener and ask a question

(ii)   the type of question that is being asked is to seek information regarding a certain issue

The same line of reasoning applies to other DPs. Look at the following examples:

(13)   A: **Bâsha**, ato nâzânî   aw kâra îshtibâya?
            bâsha, you don't know this work mistake
             'Don't you know that this is wrong?'

        B: Bimbûra.   Dupât nâbetawa.
           forgive me repeat it will not
            'I apologize. It will not happen again.'

(14)   A: Bochî Siâmak nahâta   bo dâwate?
            Why   Siâmak didn't come to the wedding
             'Why didn't *Siâmak* come to the wedding?'
        B: **Are** chûzânim?

are how should I know

　'How on earth am I supposed to know?'

To understand the type of interrogative sentences in which *bâsha* and *are* occur, we can simply eliminate them from the sentence, which would yield the following sentences.

1. Ato nâzânî   aw kâra îshtibâya?

　you don't know this work mistake

　'Don't you know that this is wrong?'

2. Chûzânim?

　how should I know

　'How should I know?'

In examples (1) and (2), the type of question that is being asked is the same as examples (13) and (14) and the only change that has occurred is that the particles *bâsha* and *are* have been eliminated from the sentence. Drawing from this observation, we can conclude that these two particles occur in interrogative contexts in which the purpose of the question is to seek explanation (in the case of *bâsha*) or ask something in a rhetorical manner (in the case of *are*). The presence of the DPs under discussion do not have any effect on the interrogative manner of the sentence. In short, the type of question that is being asked is impervious to the presence of the DPs. However, in certain interrogative contexts the presence or absence of DPs can make a remarkable difference in the way those questions are to be perceived by the listener. Consider the following examples:

(15)   A: Kuray hałnâkay?

　　　heater you turn on

　　　 'Don't you want to turn on the heater?'

　　*B: **Kho** sârd ne?*

　　kho cold not

　　 'It is not cold, is it?'

　　A: Nawałâ.

　　no

　　 'No, it isn't.'

(16)   A: Khot   sâz ka   dachîna parke.

yourself get ready we go   park

'Get yourself ready, we are going to the park.'

B: **Magam** *awsho mîwân nâyan?*

magam tonight guests come

'Are we not supposed to have guests tonight?'

A: Nâzânim.

I don't know

'I have no idea.'

Just like the previous cases, we can simply eliminate the DPs *kho* and *magam* and get the following sentences:

3. Sârd ne?

cold not

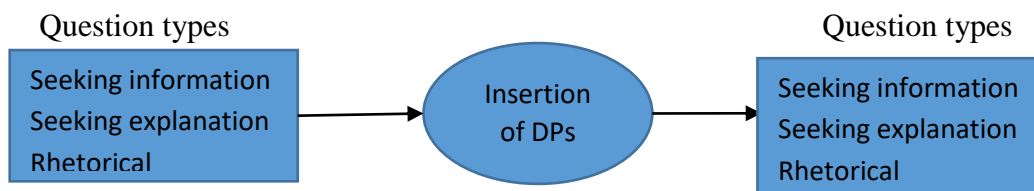'Is it not cold?'

4. Awsho mîwân nâyan?

tonight guests don't come
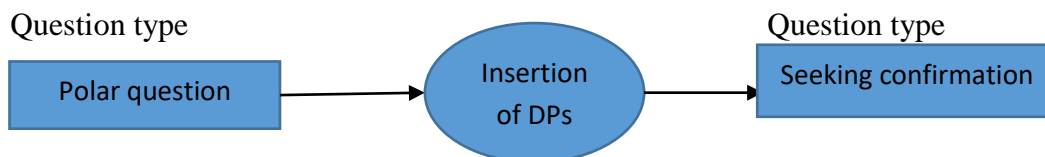
'Are we not having guests tonight?'

Comparing these two instances with and without the particles *kho* and *magam* can provide interesting insights into the underlying linguistic behavior of this group of DPs. Examples (3) and (4) represent polar question types, meaning that the questions can be answered with either "yes" or "no". The important point to realize in this case is that the positive and negative answers to these two questions are equally possible. One could say either "yes" or "no", each with 50 percent probability (if we were to examine these sentences out of the context). However, the insertion of *kho* and *magam* in these examples brings about an important change in the listener's perception of these questions. By uttering these DPs, the speaker implicates that he wants his question to be answered in the positive way; thus, the equal distribution between "yes" and "no" as possible answers to the same questions changes radically. In examples (15) and (16), the speaker expects a positive answer from the listener and by using the particles *kho* and *magam* he explicitly conveys this expectation and compels the listener to answer the question in the positive

manner. For that reason, a significant change occurs in the interrogative mode of the sentence. While the purpose of (3) and (4) is to ask a yes-or-no question, the objective of (15) and (16) is to ask a seeking-confirmation question.

This hypothesis leads us to an interesting insight about the linguistic behavior of various Kurdish DPs. DPs that belong to seeking-information, seeking-explanation, and rhetorical questions only contribute to the attitudes of the speaker and do not exercise any influence on the propositional content of the question. As a result, their elimination has no impact on the interrogative mode of the sentence. In contrast to this observation, DPs that occur in polar questions have an important effect on how the propositional content is to be perceived. In that respect, their presence can make a major contribution to how the propositional content is to be understood by the listener and the interrogative mode of the sentence changes in a radical way.

Question types

| Seeking information |
| Seeking explanation |
| Rhetorical |

Insertion of DPs

Question types

| Seeking information |
| Seeking explanation |
| Rhetorical |

Figure 3

Question type

| Polar question |

Insertion of DPs

Question type

| Seeking confirmation |

Figure 4

4. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to give a presentation of DPs in the Kurdish Sorani dialect. Throughout this article, we touched upon different aspects of these items and investigated their underlying behavior by elaborating on their pragmatic functions and grammatical properties. As a starting point, we provided some definitions of DPs, followed by a concise analysis of the role of these particles in German. Subsequently, the common grammatical properties of these items were

discussed and in doing so we enumerated some prevalent criteria that are adopted to distinguish this word class from other word classes. Later on, Kurdish DPs were introduced along with the functions they convey in discourse contexts. For each DP, an interactional conversation was put forward to clarify its role, syntactic position, and the type of sentence in which it occurs. Section 3 was devoted to a further analysis of these linguistic items by elaborating on a number of important aspects. 3.1 was an overview of the syntactic position and the sentence type of Kurdish DPs. In 3.2 we analyzed a phenomenon called "particle combinations", according to which certain individual DPs can occur adjacent to each other in the sentence and give rise to new combinations. Finally, in 3.3 we made a thorough inquiry of the interrogative contexts in which DPs can occur. By way of concluding remarks, it would be appropriate to explain some characteristics of DPs in Kurdish, based on what has been discussed throughout this paper. A conspicuous property of these items is related to the relative degree of freedom they exhibit with regard to their syntactic distribution. As observed, in many cases Kurdish DPs can occupy different syntactic positions without any change in meaning. This characteristic accounts for a major difference between DPs in Kurdish and other languages, in which DPs are assumed to occupy fixed syntactic positions. Furthermore, the majority of Kurdish DPs are polyfunctional. They can contribute to the discourse by displaying a wide range of uses to show the mental attitude of the speaker and carry out various pragmatic functions. These functions include attention, irritation, continuation, emphasis, confirmation, curiosity, and surprise. In addition to their free syntactic distribution mentioned previously, they have the ability to occur in declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentence types. As we observed in 3.1, the majority of these particles occur in interrogative sentences, followed by declarative and imperative ones.

To sum up, this paper has been a first attempt to concentrate on an issue that has been neglected with regard to the Kurdish language. Despite the fact that DPs constitute a significant part of the spoken language, there has been almost no endeavor to account for the linguistic behavior of the Kurdish lexical items discussed. We observed that Kurdish has a rich inventory of DPs with a wide range of uses based on the contexts in which they can appear. In so doing, as far as possible we have fulfilled the objective of the current article, which was to delineate the functions of these items in communicative settings, account for their grammatical properties, and in turn present a general picture of their status in the Kurdish language.

Shortcomings

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, I originally wanted to inquire into the topic of DPs by conducting a corpus-based study. Due to a number of reasons, I was not able to undertake this enterprise. A corpus-based study would have provided a much more comprehensive and overarching analysis of Kurdish DPs. It would have elaborated on these items based on real conversations and further discovered their pragmatic functions as well as grammatical properties. Therefore, further work should be done to provide a theoretical account of their syntax in Kurdish. Moreover, in so doing future researchers can work on the syntactic constraints that are involved in determining why DPs can occur in certain positions and why they cannot occupy other positions. Many other questions pertaining to the formal properties of DPs could be explicated and discussed in detail.

Despite its shortcomings, I hope this paper has achieved a worthy first step towards discussing an important issue in the Kurdish language, and thus opened a new line of research for any future work that might be carried out on this topic.

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Salim Barakat's novel, Sages of Darkness: "Who is Benav's son Bekas?"

Aviva BUTT [1]

Abstract

In his novel Sages of Darkness (Fuqahā' al-Ẓalām), we encounter Salim Barakat as a writer of psychological realism, which this paper attempts to show by a comparison to Fyodor Dostoevsky's ground-breaking novel Crime and Punishment (1866). Barakat's main protagonist is a Kurdish Sufi Mullah, a protector of his rural community in al-Qamishli, Jazira in Ottoman times. With the sudden appearance of "dried up fields," Mullah Benav carries on with his undertone of murmured prayer and reliance on the techniques of Kurdish Sufi practice (somewhat similar to Jewish Kabbalistic practice) to solve the problem. And then, lo and behold, a fantastical event occurs with the birth of a baby son whom the Mullah calls "Bekas." Sages of Darkness has five long chapters of approximately fifty pages each, comparable to the original serial publication of Fyodor Dostoevsky's novel Crime and Punishment. It introduces an aside on the psychological cause and result of child molestation by respected personages within the society and especially within the education system. The present paper uses quotations from the first fifty pages of Sages of Darkness. Long passages from the book are quoted because no English translation has as yet been published. I anticipate completing the translation in about 7 months.

Keywords: Salim Barakat, Dostoevsky, Crime and Punishment, Kurdish realism, Kurdish Sufi Mullah, Kurdish novel, Sages of Darkness,

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Introduction

Salim Barakat's novel entitled *Fuqahā' al-Ẓalām* (Sages of Darkness) was drafted in 1985 (Cyprus) and published in a revised version by Al-Mada Publishing House (Baghdad) in 1994. As distinct from his previously published memoirs or autobiographical works, with his *Sages of Darkness* Barakat writes a true novel. Following through from memoir to novel, he seems to have deliberately traced the historical development of the novel. Moreover, with this novel he has successfully transitioned from writing Kurdish poetry to writing a genuinely Kurdish novel full of mysticism and poetry.

In accord with the conventions of drama, the author starts out by placing on stage his main protagonist, Mullah Benav. The Mullah (a title of respect) is a man with a proud lineage and a devoted family. He lives in a rural community in the outskirts of the small city of al-Qamishli, where he is respected and loved.

When the story opens, visitors are arriving from both the city proper and the neighboring communities at the Mullah's home for the celebration of the birth of the Mullah's new baby, Bekas. Visually, the courtyard, mud house and tumbledown shed, a dwelling place without electricity and modern conveniences stands in stark comparison to the enormous love and respect accorded the Mullah, a truly good and pious man.

However, Mullah Benav has a problem that prevents him from fully participating in the joy of the occasion. He is obsessed with the "dried-out fields" and the problem created due to the widespread pending hardship for one and all as a result. This issue goes round and round in his head, his thoughts racing and always returning to those unsolved figures pencilled into his notebooks. In a few rather obscure sentences, the author gives us a hint of the story about to unfold from when in a matter of hours his newborn baby grows to adulthood and stands before his parents (Mullah Benav and his young wife Brina), and the four young children from the Mullah's first wife:

> Their children had eased the first strangeness that the parents hadn't managed to truly overcome. But then, this "Bekas" within two hours from the moment he was born had

closed in on the image of nurturing due him, nurturing that would have come from his parents as their offspring. He had blocked what the parents had in store for their child. Moreover, he had disengaged himself in such a way that bewilderment and astonishment would dictate their feelings.

"Bekas" has missed out on parental nurturing; significantly, he grew to maturity in a matter of hours! Moreover, he is born into a season with "dried-out fields." It immediately strikes the reader that the author is telling a story that affords more than an utterly realistic and remarkably penetrating description of a rural Kurdish community with "dried-out fields."

The genre of Sages of Darkness

At this point, it is worth noting that as well as being an unusual fantasy about an unusual people, the Kurds, *Sages of Darkness* references the structure of the Russian novel *Crime and Punishment* by Fyodor Dostoevsky, first published as a series in 1866 as a series in the journal "The Russian Messenger." *Crime and Punishment* was a contribution or link to the changeover from Romanticism to the modern realistic, psychological, and philosophical novel. To quote from an online manual entitled Psychological Realism in *Crime and Punishment*:

> This research paper explores Fyodor Dostoyevsky's Crime and Punishment using Socio-Psychological approach. The research highlights Dostoyevsky's heavy reliance on the use of psychological realism, a literary genre that emphasizes on the interior characterization, as well as the motives of the one, circumstances and internal action which is derivative from and creates external action. Such works can also be called as a work of "inner man". This paper shows the process of intricate play between psychology, literature and sociology. The research concludes that "Crime and Punishment" is a mixture of four genres of novels that are: psychological novel, the novel of character, the novel of detection and the philosophical novel. . . While the whole world was still reading popular romantic novels and love poems, Russia was leading a movement into the new realistic

approach to literature. Dostoyevsky was one of the forerunners of this movement, along with Gustave Flaubert in France and Mark Twain in America. [2]

There are various ways of understanding how the grown-up Bekas came to be. Let us hear the explanation that "Bekas" gives:

> "Why don't you ask me how I grew so fast?" Kirzo opens his mouth, as if he had a question, but Bekas doesn't give him a chance to speak. The eyes of both parents glitter.
>
> He continues, "Confound it!" and turns towards them to mutter: "How shall I explain what I have no control over? I'm as stunned as you are. Each hour, I placed before you others, individuals babbling alongside me about what was, year after year. They prattled so fast that my understanding of things I knew about you before my coming was uncertain and confused." He pauses, and adds: "My confusion is twofold: your confusion about me and my confusion about you. And indeed there is an issue we face together. To say the least, there is too little time left. Behold! In the afternoon, I'll be forty-years-old, and in the evening, fifty-years-old! . . .

Bekas son of Benav, the result of the sound of "babbling" as primordial thought becoming speech, enters the picture as Benav's son, or alter ego, and in any case Benav's emotional self. Bekas carries the burden of emptiness that Benav bears. That is, it is Benav's task to perpetuate the Kurdish civilization, awareness of this history and the culture that bears that history, the existence or in psychological terms, the "personality" of the Kurdish collective. [3]

It seems that the Mullah's youngest son Bekas does not himself understand what happened that he should grow up so rapidly. He knows, however, that he carries the burden of an ongoing ordeal, and a sort of bundle with the sound of the babbling explaining his personal history to him as he grew up. He struggles to open the bundle, but cannot. Ilya Kligas in his article "Shapes of History and the Enigmatic Hero in Dostoevsky: The Case of Crime and Punishment" writes: "Expressing the enigma of the protagonist and of Russia, is the radically accelerated time of the great deed anchored in the hero Raskolnikov. . ." [4] Here and elsewhere we have indications that

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[2] Psychological Realism in *Crime and Punishment* (Manual).
https://www.ipl.org/essay/Psychological-Realism-In-Crime-And-Punishment-PCCQSC6SQU .

[3] The Kurdish civilization, its culture and history has been largely buried in the "archives" of orality, and subsequently dug in deeper by nation-states eager to assert homogeneity in their respective "countries."

[4] *Comparative Literature* 62:3(Summer 2010): 229.

Barakat makes use of Dostoevsky's structure. The "great deed" in *Crime and Punishment* in *Sages of Darkness* finds its equivalent as "the ordeal." Barakat as the third party narrator in his novel writes:

> Thus, an eloquent extension limits the Mullah's history, and the history of his ancestors, to a blue void that has neither stop nor detour. A dumb distance in a square-with-corners dissolves and vanishes, and he and his wife are no more, and what remains is only a silence that mocks. "Let him marry," the mother whispered. The father roused, echoes her: "Let him marry. . ."[5]

Sages of Darkness is above all two types of writing: firstly, realism or even "dirty realism" to use the language of screenwriters. And secondly, it is a psychological novel, full of suspense. The story opens as follows:

> A man-of-means, Mullah Benav Bin Kojarei aimed to appear as composed as usual. He smiled with confidence, his lips over big strong teeth. Then he raised his hands, and recited the opening prayer in a murmur. . . To the east was a mud house with adjoining rooms, each with a separate door that overlooked the courtyard. As for the southwest, there was a dilapidated shed with a roof of undulating wrought iron over a small area— given over to a lantern. Mullah Benav was walking towards one of the doors, leaving behind traces of yellow in the fluffy patches of snow, when suddenly he swerved to the right, and came to a standstill. . . The father, having completed his errand, then entered the house. He came out with a long knife in his hand, and headed for the shed.
>
> The first ewe came out of the shed door, plummeting downwards—followed by a second, a third, and a fourth. They all came out tumbling and then fell. Their leaping, turning, and falling drew red sprinkles over the snow—then vaporizing from little red puddles. After that the wealthy Benav, excitedly came out together with his stained knife. Two men hurried to him and relieved him of it. They leaned on the ewes and skinned them.

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[5] The narrator is explaining that Kurdish history has vanished into a "blue void." The world of orality has vanished, and there is only a mocking silence, depicted as a jester, a clown through the choice of vocabulary, i.e. the root letters: مسافة بكماء في مربع تذوب زواياه، وتمّحي فلا تعودان، هو وامرأته، واقعيين إلاّ بهذا الصمت المهرّج.

When a woman ululated from a wing of the adjoining rooms, the wealthy Mullah raised his hand to signal to her to be quiet, and she fell silent. As he walked towards one of the doors, he said to her: "The whole world begets, and there is no first or foremost."[6] He took off his shoes at the threshold, and entered. The men made room for him near the candescent gas stove. He sat down, turned to his left, and then to his right with a glance of satisfaction, at the same time nodding, as if responding to the congratulations with veiled thanks.

When reading the novel *Sages of Darkness*, one should set aside the concept of the "multi-layered" text," but rather think in terms of a kaleidoscopic narrative at the center of which is a father, the highly respected Mullah Benav and his son Bekas, "Bekas" being the emotional self of Benav. In other words, we are presented with something of a split personality in the figure of Benav (as with the protagonist Raskolnikov in Dostoevsky's novel). This starts to make sense, if we understand that the author Salim Barakat as a poet epitomizes the Kurdish nation. The Mullah's or in other words Barakat's dilemma suggested by the descriptive words "dried-out fields" heralding a need for radical change is in this case recovery of the lost Kurdish culture and glorious civilization, in other words the "ordeal" of the story.

As said above, Barakat's novel is a psychological drama. Bekas' growing up in compressed time could be viewed as a function of the mental condition of racing thoughts, retold as a physical phenomenon. In general, obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD) is a condition in which the person experiences obsessions or compulsions that are difficult to shake. These obsessions can take the form of "racing thoughts."

Thus, in *Sages of Darkness* the author displays his remarkable ability for writing description as he writes about life in what is clearly an old Kurdish community in the surrounds of the small city of al-Qamishli. The protagonist, Mullah Benav bears the burden of a kind of bundle of Kurdish existence shoved back into the obscure regions of a buried history from where it appears during the birth and rapid maturing of his newborn baby. About al-Qamishli, Matti Peled (d. 10 March 1995) who translated an early version of Barakat's novel writes:

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[6] الأوّل, translated as "first" or "foremost."

. . . Salim Barakat was born in 1951 in the city of al-Qamishli, in the Kurdish region of Jazira in the north of Syria that lies between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. When he was eighteen-years-old, he left his birthplace and never again returned. From then on he wrote poetry and prose, almost all the content of which was connected with his own Kurdish existence. . . In order to understand and appreciate his writings, one should be somewhat acquainted with Kurdish existence, which is special and different to all its fellows in the Middle East. First of all, one must remember that although the spoken language of the Kurds is Kurdish, this language is not known in Syria. . . And, it is among the most ancient of Middle Eastern languages, used for literary creativity in lands in which a great part of the Kurdish nation lives. . . We can deduce from this that although Salim Barakat writes in Arabic, he is not an Arabic writer. There is nothing of the trademark characterizing Arabic writers of our times. [7]

The present writer sees *Sages of Darkness* as being one of the "great" novels on the world stage, comparable to the first great novel of the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Crime and Punishment*. It is also a turning point in Kurdish novel writing, which has a rather recent and also limited output in various languages. Hashem Ahmadzadeh introduces his article "In Search of a Kurdish Novel that Tells Us Who the Kurds Are," as follows:

> *Despite the fact that during the 1930s some Kurdish novels were published in the former Soviet Union, it was only towards the end of the twentieth century that this literary genre became an established literary tradition among the Kurds. Due to various political factors, the Kurdish novel has not been identified with any nation-state. In fact, the concept of the Kurdish novel refers to all such literature written in Kurdish, regardless of different orthographies and dialects. Alongside the published novels in Kurdish, there have been some Kurdish writers who have written their novels in other languages. This article aims to look for a novel that contributes to the representation of the Kurds and their identity and political condition.[8]*

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[7] Salim Barakat, *Chokhmei HaAfayla* (Sages of Darkness) translated by Matti Peled from the original Arabic (Bison Press, Nicosia Cyprus, 1985), Hebrew translation with Afterword by Matti Peled (1994).

[8] In *Iranian Studies*: Taylor and Francis (Dec 2007). www.jstor.org/stable/25597416.

In view of the first of the Kurdish novels having been written in Soviet Russia, as Ahmadzadeh says in the above quotation, it is not surprising that Barakat who has a penchant for starting from beginnings should turn to the greatest of early Russian novelists for guidance in the art of writing the novel. Ahmadzadeh acknowledges that Kurdish novels have been written in other languages, and mentions Barakat but fails to mention Barakat's detailed description of Kurdish life, in his first novel *Fuqahā' al-Ẓalām* (The Sages of Darkness).

The Hebrew translation of Barakat's above novel done from the original 1985 Arabic Cyprus publication was published only in 1994. This translation was from the first draft of the novel, as was the translation to French. Recently, I have been in contact with Salim Barakat, who is happy to have me translate his novel to English. He sent me a manuscript as published by Al-Mada Publishing House in 1994, after he had worked on the original manuscript of 1985. The Al-Mada manuscript has been translated to Catalan Spanish, and is currently distributed in its "2nd edition." The Al-Mada publication is loaded with poetical language and features that Barakat used in his poems during the intervening years (1985-1994) between the two Arabic publications. The book has therefore taken on an increased aura of mysticism, as well as connecting it to Barakat's success in using ancient structures and poetic devices that link him to the Kurdish archaic culture, and Kurdish literary achievements in antiquity's orality. The following passage from *Sages of Darkness* is permeated with Kurdish Sufi mysticism, and uses vocabulary from Barakat's poems:

> "Your uncles," the father [Mullah Benav] said, "but. . . And then he slipped into the abyss of the carpet's blue square. Awakening, he shrugged: "Your uncles?
>
> "Are you joking? Say you're joking. They won't believe what we would say. Your mother and father haven't taken it in as yet! And who would give his daughter in the face of a lie, O Bekas! Eh. . .
>
> The son replied: "It's your responsibility to try, O my Father. Time is short."
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> Then furious, the father said: "Whose time, I wonder? Who cares if the time is short or not? And why me?" With his finger, he pointed to his heart: "All of a sudden, I'm responsible. There's a limit to what a human being can bear. This ordeal that your brethren the starlings dreamed up—may it not exceed my limit! You hear. . . His heart

throbbed, and his cloak shook, as if the Mullah's whole body had been transmuted into a terrified heart.[9]

No," Bekas replied: "The matter is settled, and you'll do it, O my Father. Prepare me! A father knows everything, and guides us to a passageway [a passageway in Heaven]."[10] And the Mullah surrendered to his innermost heart [i.e. his son], to what his heart said to him—what made the little wrinkles around his deep-set eyes deepen.

The silver tobacco box was next to the blue square in the carpet. It was revolving of itself under Bekas' fidgeting fingers. And the father gazed at the tobacco box, searching for some solution. Bekas raised the box on the palm if his hand, and held it out to his father: "Roll a cigarette for me, O my Father."

"A cigarette?" the Mullah repeated, and reaches for the box as if in a trance.

"Yes, a cigarette."

The Mullah opened the box and rolled the diaphanous paper [a comparison to the "veil of Heaven"] over some tobacco.[11] Then he wet its edges with his tongue and it was ready. He presented it to Bekas, and lit the wick of the kerosene stove. And the son inhaled the smoke, filled his mouth without swallowing it, and calmly breathed it out.

To tell its Kurdish tale, *Sages of Darkness* is of necessity a multi-faceted text. This text uses poetic devices and even has indications of having been composed in bi-stiches. Moreover, Barakat is aware of the processes of creative thought, as seen in both his poetry and in his novel. And, the same "poem-of-his-being" that permeates this author's poetry is apparent in the novel. *Sages of Darkness* is thus both literature of the highest order—and an aware stepping stone from Barakat's written literary production carrying on from the Kurdish oral culture and its poetic output—to Barakat's modern novel.

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[9] Barakat is talking about a spiritual transmutation such as occurs in mysticism.

[10] Passageway / منفذ hinting at the passageways of heaven—see Barakāt's poem *al-Mu'jam* (The Obscure). I have recently published a book on Salim Barakat's poems showing how his transition from orality and use of ancient structures has by-the-by produced the beginning of a new trend in modern Arabic poetry: Aviva Butt (2021), *Salim Barakat, Mahmud Darwish, and the Kurdish and Palestinian Similitude: Qamishli Extended*. UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2021: 270pp. This book has an anthology of poems translated from the Arabic including the poem "The Obscure."

[11] The word "diaphanous" describes "the veil of Heaven" in Barakat's poem "The Obscure," and elsewhere. See the Anthology in A. Butt (2021).

As a modern novel, our times do not inhibit the author from writing detailed descriptions of the innermost and most private aspects of the way of life in a Kurdish Sufi family threatened with destitution but still clinging to their wealth. Thus, Barakat with his deep understanding of the prevalent psychology and personality of his own nation can offer his readers a description of the marriage ritual and successful consummation of an unlikely marriage. He describes the marriage between the retarded childish girl "Sinem," who is "Benav's" niece, and the modern Kurdish youth who is desperate to perpetuate Kurdish identity, in the shape and form of "Bekas." Bekas being Benav's super intelligent baby son, matures astoundingly fast due to his entire life cycle being only one day.[12] As a young man, Bekas pressures his father to arrange a quick, in fact "same day" marriage:

> Kirzo leads his brother and his betrothed through the snow to the spare room, swiftly, leaving behind a crackling sound in the snow. He carries a kerosene lantern with a quivering flame. Opening the door, he enters behind them. He hangs the lantern on a nail in the wall, sets it down on the stove—lighting it with a rag moistened with diesel, hung to a long wire. When he's checked the flames in the tin bottom of the heater, he slips out.
>
> The bedding laid out near the stove had been readied in haste, with the thick quilt in an untidy heap, and the scarlet sheet lying negligently placed near the pillow as if waiting for someone to lay it on the bed. Bekas sat down on top of the quilt. It looked to be high off the floor. He beckoned to Sinem to sit down, so she chose a place on the carpet near the stove, in her bare feet heading towards the tin, which was starting to glow. Once seated, she looked like a little child about to fall down only to be grabbed by someone before she'd hit her back on the ground. The idiotic smile served to transform and abstract. So that Bekas felt he was taking part in a sort of medieval shadow play.[13] He stretched out his fingers,[14] caressed her waist, and she wiggled and laughed. He crawled off the quilt, and tugged at her seductive headdress. Her black braids vibrated. He seemed a little scared, somewhat daunted, but the giggling girl's naivety, and her lightheartedness, made

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[12] The life cycle is only a "bubble" within the cycle of existence as birth, death, resurrection, and life after death according to the Qur'an; see Walid Ahmad Saleh, "Death and Dying in the Qur'an," in *Troubling Topics, Sacred Texts: Readings in Hebrew Bible, New Testament, and Qur'an*, ed. Roberta Sterman Sabbath, Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter (2021): 345-355: 348.

[13] The Arabic is "لعبة"—a medieval shadow play.

[14] In modern cinema, Bekas' spread fingers would create shadowy "flames" on the wall, a sort of shadow play.

it easier for him to go on with his unveiling of the stranger. His instinctive gasps rang out, concealing a smile like hers. His hand had crept down from her shoulder to her breast, and she hadn't shied away. Watching his hand there made the saliva sparkle at the corners of her mouth.

He drew away from her embrace, and asked her in a gruff voice: "Do you know why you're here?"

Sages of Darkness as a fantastical and philosophical tale

After a night of love, Bekas disappears into the twilight zone. We then hear about his bride Sinem's unfortunate life as a retarded child, prior to her marriage. It would seem that she grew up in a world full of idiots. Actually, the author of *Sages of Darkness* intends to portray the world as he sees it, full of idiots. Sinem is quite innocent and like the heroine "Sonya" in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* appears as society's victim:

The ghost-like figure of Bekas wandered through the gray interlaces of night and snow, trying to study the circular horizon no more than two steps away. He crouched, unable to move forward, and closed his eyes, smiling at his image of Sinem. "Idiots, why did my father choose her?

"I wanted someone to talk to." Then as if he'd come to terms with himself about his futile question, or justified it to himself: "And who could I have talked to other than that giggling girl? Everything was like what it should have been, except that I was born on a day of that kind." He was bareheaded except for hair that almost reached his shoulders, in wet, patchy tufts. He lifted his cloak over the top of his head.

Once in the twilight zone, there is a lead-up to Bekas' memories of his one-day life cycle as the newborn son of Mullah Benav:

Bekas curved his torso until his chest touched his thighs, and when he stood thus bent over, he succumbed to the vibration of a sleigh swaying like an enchanted canopy. It was none other than his sleigh, led through the snow by women who looked like Sinem. Then, after the sound of a commotion reached him, he abruptly raised his head. With one eye peering out of the opening of the cloak over his head, he saw a group of men surrounding

him. Behind them were luminous bluish mules, as if a light had penetrated from somewhere, near but hidden, and illuminated just the animals. From where they were, the men were dim, their long, shaggy beards reflecting a trail of violet light shining behind their backs. "I've arrived," he muttered to himself, then tightened an invisible bridle in his hand as if he were driving a chariot. The circle of men and mules ran farther apart, making way for Bekas' wives, who walked down a passageway between Benav Bin Kojarei's wives—sleighs sent on in advance, circling round.

The light flickered from the window of Kojarei's twenty-year-old son Benav. Then it went out, and the snowflakes outside the window that had been lit up were dimmed. As for the room with Bekas and his bride, the flickering light too was there lighting up snowflakes, as well as laughter an inch away. Inside, Sinem of the idiots, no longer sat fully clothed.

Then there is a build-up to an account of Sinem's memories:

She didn't ask the idiots why her husband was no longer, since she wasn't aware of it. She was pre-occupied with other of her memories, insignificant apparitions, haunting days that were equally insignificant. Actually, she struggled to relate to the complexity of similar situations that her body had undergone, starting with that pain Bekas caused by his enthusiastic intrusion into her hereditary secret from a first grandmother to her last mother.

On that embarrassing date, when she was twelve, Heindar's cart had rolled his bull into the courtyard of Sinem's home, which was not walled at the time, and was used as a marketplace for corn. Heindar used to rent out his bull for mating with quite a few cows, for a hundred piasters made of cheap heavy metal and three-quarters silver blend. Coins like these were repeatedly confused with pure silver government mint. The matter would not be remedied until after a long time. Each piaster would become worth more than its estimated value after a rise in the price of silver. And, them virtually all such currency was smuggled across the border in containers and virtually disappeared from the land. Eventually, the government exchanged that piaster for a coin similar in size, but of cheap nickel. The price of an egg rose, and doubled throughout the land.

Heindar entered with his bull, leading it on a rope and calling out: "Ye Folk of the House,[15] where is your cow?"

And Sinem's mother replied to him from inside, dough covering her forearms up to the elbows: "Heindar, I'm busy. Sinem will show you the way." And she shouted to the girl who was pouring water from a jug over the flour: "Take him to the barn."

So Sinem ran outside, and the disturbing memories after that would never leave her. And she, with ridiculous hand gestures, guided Heindar to the bustling and rumbling waiting cow.

There wasn't anyone else, so obviously the mother couldn't have assigned the task to anyone except that fool of a girl. And that one, making weird hand gestures, guided Heindar to where the cow waited, roaring and bellowing. The cow's constant bellowing would have bothered the household and all its residents until they decided to hire Heindar's bull. The bull's task accomplished would bring peace of mind to the usually calm dairy. Only the bull could restore the balance for those usually meek givers of milk. When the man rolled his ox into the barn the girl followed him. With her arms spread and her torso curved as the barn had a low ceiling, instinct told her to confine three sheep to a corner, lest they panic, startled by the abrupt entry of the bull into their safe kingdom.

Heindar turned around, toward the now calmed-down cow with his ox. He gently urged the ox to get on with what would bring him a hundred piasters. The cow's eyes seem perfectly serene, and even had something of a smile at the corners. The bull's belly was experiencing an elongation that was getting firmer and firmer. The girl stared at that elongation with carefree childishness. The bull raised its front legs and set them on the back of the cow. Heindar, in turn stared. He stuttered and his jaw dropped open. He was looking at the girl. Then he slipped his left hand from his abdomen to below it, and the movement caught her eye. There was a bulge under Heindar's jilbaab,[16] which had a wide leather belt tied around the waist. He smiled noxiously, breathed heavily, and whispered, "Come here," and she came closer.

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[15] *Ahl al-bayt*: a polite way of addressing the family and members of the household.

[16] جلباب jilbaab / robe.

Encouraged, with a swift movement that raised the rounded head—he grabbed her hand, and put it under his jilbaab—he pressed her hand to the junction of his thighs, and she pressed down without a murmur.

The bull's brutish movements honed in on Heindar's panting. When the bull bounced off the cow, the girl instantly reacted. She withdrew her hand, and a hot flush covered her, as she went into convulsions. She struck him with her clenched fist, beat after beat. During which Heindar yanked down his kaffiyeh from the shoulder, and quickly wiped off the girl's hand. He replaced his kaffiyeh, and then hurriedly left with his bull.

The author goes on to show the psychological effects of the above experience after telling the tale of another of the most shocking events of child molestation that Sinem endured. Then as now, parents seem to disbelieve the signs their children exhibit in favor of trusting such highly respected professionals as "Sumou," [17] a sage of darkness, whom the children addressed as "Faqih."[18] Sumou taught some school subjects and the reading of some quranic suras, such as Surah Ya-seen and the short suras. Sinem's parents decided to send their retarded daughter to his school, "and placed in her hand a Quran bound in gold. Maybe, just maybe a thread of memory would activate and she'd absorb something worthy of a girl approaching her fourteenth year— like when mist from water falls into a gutter. . .

After school hours were over, Sumou punished anyone who was backward. . . In the last days of two months extemporaneous learning, Sinem again returned home late, as her parents had begun to expect. She had returned hopping on one foot every time. Her foot would barely touch the ground when as a result of the bamboo beatings she'd lift it up in pain. But, lo and behold, exactly eight days before the closure of that barren nest, dedicated to teaching correct language by means of memorization through hearing, she set off to return, walking with light-hearted steps, without any sign of pain, despite her being late.

No one had to understand the matter except for her, since she was freed from the punishment at a price determined by the sage, Sumou. And actually, the tyrannizer Sumou

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[17] Sumou: a quranic name ("Sumu" or "Sumou"). It means "exalted in rank."

[18] Faqih / فقيه : a Muslim theologian also referred to as a "jurist" is versed in the religious law of Islam. The word "faqih" is in the English dictionary, but sometimes it seems preferable to use the word "sage" which translates the mishnaic Hebrew equivalent, חכם (ḥakham). The text in both cases is of course sarcastic, mocking, bitter.

had not kept on a "strongman" to grab his victim's legs for him to beat. He had asked just her to stay on, scowling in a way that made the other girls think that that naked room would soon be smashed: two walls to Gehenna, two walls to Heaven, and the ceiling would remain in place, suspended in the air, supported on the tongues of lizards breeding between wooden struts like the letters in their books. And how many of those lizards' young used to fall on open pages, or on laps as they sat still. A dumb wailing would crawl with them, bridled by the faqih's bamboo, which rose like a mast to save the world.

In the above passage, Barakat introduces a new "unimaginative symbol,"[19] lizard symbolism.[20] The lizard has a long tongue; it becomes Barakat's symbol for lasciviousness. When he writes, "a dumb wailing would crawl with them [the lizards], bridled by the faqih's bamboo, which rose like a mast to save the world," Barakat is not only stressing the despicable hypocrisy of the "Faqih," (usually translated as "jurist"), but also succeeds in writing a supremely successful example of sarcasm.

On the below passage, still about Sumou's school, I invite my readers to give their opinions on the turn of events:

When Sinem was late, she no longer felt upset. As long as she satisfied the faqih—at what was to her an unworthy price. And if he had asked from the beginning, she would have responded so as to spare her dull mind a punishment that would inflame her feet with an almighty pain. The faqih says: "Lift your legs up," and you lift them up. He puts the bamboo aside, pulling it through his wide leather belt: "This is your new punishment." Then he touches her body, at its hot junction, with a gentle, hot something the girl doesn't see, but rather feels. As he bends over, he extends his stimulation and then gives out, like a calf mooing.

Conclusion

In his novel *Sages of Darkness*, Barakat deals with social issues, as do Dostoevsky and the Russian writers of Dostoevsky's generation who wrote what is now known as "socialist art." He expresses the idea that the world is a world full of fools, idiots. Supporting Barakat's theme is the

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[19] See A. Butt (2018), "The Unimaginative Symbols of Salim Barakat." http://ijoks.com/ DOI: 10.21600/ijoks.383376 .

[20] Lizard symbolism is sometimes used as a love-provoking amulet, and etc.

quranic Surah 33:72, which translated by Saleh reads: "And we offered the Amanah to the Heavens, to the Earth and to the mountains, but they refused the burden and were afraid to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but he has proved a sinner and a fool."[21] In any case, it seems to the present writer that Barakat's theme points to the quranic text, and also that his theme is transparently applicable in the here-and-now when we have so much scientific knowledge, but still refuse to correct the wrong in many global issues, outstanding among them climate change. In any case, we will need to wait for the translation of the book to be completed to see how Salim Barakat, the most skilled of writers carries out the themes of his first 50 pages—his exposition. Of interest will be to see how much he uses the quranic text as a frame.

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Tasavvuf Mesnevisi Mantıku'l-Tayr'ın Üç Yazılı Kaynağı Üzerine Bir İnceleme

Veysel BAŞÇI [1] (iD)

Öz

Feridüddin Attâr, Mantık'ul-Tayr adlı tasavvufî mesnevisini kuşların diliyle benzer alegoriler kullanmış eserlerden etkilenerek kaleme almıştır. Mezkûr eserinin ismi ve içeriğindeki kimi kavramlar Kur'an temalıdır. Eserdeki hikâyelerin olay örgüsü İbn-i Sina ve Ahmed Gazzâlî'nin Risaletü't-Tayr eserlerindeki hikayelerin olay örgüsüyle benzerlik taşımaktadır. Hakanî-i Şirvânî ve Senaî-i Gaznevî'nin kuş içerikli şiirleri de bu konuda Attâr'ı etkilemiştir. Attâr söz konusu risâle ve şiirlerdeki kuş parodilerini, Mantıku'l Tayr'daki kurgusal dokuya aksettirmiş ve böylelikle metinlerarası bir yaklaşım sergilemiştir. Attâr'ı etkilemiş yazılı kaynaklar arasında Karrâmiyye alimlerinden Ebu Hanife Abdulvahab b. Muhammad'in el-Fûsul, Kerrâmilere yakın bir müfessir olan Surabâdî'nin Tefsir ve ilk dönem fıkhî-tasavvufî eserlerden birisi kabul edilen Ebü'r-Reca el-Çaçî'nin Ravzâtü'l Farikeyn adlı eserlerini de göstermek mümkündür. Zira her üç eser de Attâr'ın doğup büyüdüğü, fikirsel olarak yetiştiği Nişabûr bölgesinde, Mantık'ul-Tayr'dan önce yazılmıştır ve her üç eserde de sembolik kuş hikâyelerine, kuş parodilerine yer verilmiştir. Söz konusu üç eserin Mantıku'l Tayr ile benzer noktalarını ortaya koymak için bu makalede ilkin Mantıku'l Tayr mesnevisi hakkında bilgiler verilmiştir. Eserdeki kuşların hangi ahlâkî ve tasavvufî düşünceye denk geldiği izah edilmiştir. Eserin ortaya çıkmasında etkili olduğu düşünülen mevzubahis üç yazılı kaynak genişçe tanıtıldıktan sonra içerdikleri kuş hikâye ve rivayetleri ışığında incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Attâr, Mantıku'l-Tayr, el-Fûsul, Surâbadî, Ravzâtü'l Farikeyn

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A review on the three written sources of the Masnavi of Sufism Mantiku'l-Tayr

Abstract

Feriduddin Attar wrote his mystical masnavi called Mantık'ul-Tayr, influenced by the works that used similar allegories with the language of birds before him. The name of the aforementioned work and some concepts in its content are based on the Qur'an. The plot of the stories in the work is similar to the plot of the stories in the Risaletü't-Tayr works of İbn-i Sina and Ahmad Gazzālî. The bird-containing poems of Hakānî-i Shirvānî and Sānaî-i Gaznevî also influenced Attâr in this regard. Attâr reflected the bird parodies in the aforementioned treatises and poems to the fictional texture in Mantıkul Tayr, thus exhibiting an intertextual approach. Among the written sources that influenced Attar is al-Fūsul by Ebu Hanife Abdulvahab b. Muhammad who is a Karramiya scholar; Tafsir by Surabâdi who is one of the commentators close to the Karrāmis and Ebu'r-Reca el-Chachi's Ravzatū'l Farikeyn, which is considered an islamic law-mystical works of the first period. Because all three works were written before Mantık'ul-Tayr in the Nishabur region where Attâr was born and raised intellectually, symbolic bird stories and bird parodies are included in all three works. In order to reveal the similar points of these three works with Mantıku'l Tayr, first of all, information about the Mantıku'l Tayr masnavi is given in this article. It has been explained which moral and mystical thought the birds in the work correspond to. After the three written sources, which are thought to be effective in the emergence of the work are introduced in detail, they are examined in the light of the bird stories and narrations they contain.

Keywords: Attar, Mantıku'l-Tayr, al-Fūsul, Sūrabadi, Ravzatu'l Farikeyn

1.   Giriş

XII. yüzyıl sûfi şairlerinden Feridüddin Attâr (ö.1221), İslam coğrafyasında gelişen tasavvufî düşünceye ve bu düşüncenin yansıması olan edebiyata doğrudan etki etmiş, yaşadığı çağın ötesinde duran müstesna bir isimdir. İslam tasavvuf düşüncesinin gerek içerik ve kurgu gerekse bu kurgunun edebiyat estetiği çerçevesinde sembolik motiflerle şiire aktarılmasında yenilikçi isimlerinden kabul edilir. Attâr'ın yaşadığı klasik çağda, tasavvuf şiirinde başlatmış olduğu bu yenilikçi hareket, sonraki yüzyıllarda da benimsenmiş ve gelenekselleşerek devam etmiştir. Her ne kadar Attâr'dan önce Senaî-i Gaznevî (ö. 1131-?-), Hakanî-i Şirvânî (ö. 1199) Şemseddîn-i Kirmanî (ö.-?-), Sefiyüddîn-i Yezdî (ö. 1190 -?-) gibi şairler tarafından benzer şiirler söylenmişse de hiç birisi onun şiirde yakaladığı şöhreti yakalayamamıştır. Yazıldığı yüzyıldan itibaren geniş bir coğrafyaya yayılan şiirleri, farklı milletlere mensup pek çok şair, düşünür, mutasavvıf ve kalem erbabı tarafından kullanılmıştır. Şiirindeki derin sembolizm, sade anlatım ve farklı kurgudan etkilenenler eserlerine onun şiir ve tanımlamalarını çağrıştıracak isimler vermiştir.

Şiirlerinde güçlü tasavvufî olgular ile bu olguların teolojik esasları dışında, tarih, biyografi, astronomi gibi konulara işaret etmiş, siyaset ve felsefeye bakışını, o dönemki sanat ve zanaâta yaklaşımını, didaktik meselelere olan ilgisini evrensel normlarla dile getirmiştir. Sözlü edebiyatta yer alan kimi hikâye ve temsili anlatımları halktan alıp yazılı edebiyata aktarmış, böylelikle onlara daha zengin manalar yükleyerek tekrar halka sunmuştur. Tasavvuf şiiri geleneğini çok ileri bir aşamaya taşımış, insanların sözünü dahi etmeye cesaret edemediği kimi dinî ve manevî değerleri, aşk esaslı cünun-amîz tefekkür içerisinde sembolize ederek, kavramsallaştırmıştır (Purnamdaryan, 1386: 8-10). Öyle ki onun açtığı bu yoldan Mevlâna (ö. 1273) gibi şairler yetişmiştir. Çünkü o bağımsız, özgür düşünebilen, pek çok tarikat geleneği ile ilişkisi olmasına rağmen herhangi özel bir mürşide intisap etmeden *Üveysî* kalabilmeyi başarmış, doğunun idealize ettiği ender kişilerdendir. Hiçbir zaman saray şairi olmayı kabul etmemiştir, asla kimsenin sofrasından yemeği huy edinmemiştir. Şifalı bitki ve kokularla uğraşan, sıradan bir eczacıdır, dünyaya meyletmeyen, gönlü geniş, kalender meşrep bir şairdir. Attâr'ın bir şair ve mutasavvıf olarak etkisi o denlidir ki klasik İran edebiyatında, hayatı, düşüncesi, dini kimliği ve etkisi hakkında nice efsaneler, nice hikâyeler üretilmiş, pek çok yanlış ve sübjektif bilginin kendisine nispet edildiği tarihi kişiliklerin başında gelmiştir (Zerrinkûb, 1385: 136). Edebiyat tarihinde, sahip olduğu eserlerin dokuz on katı fazla esere sahip kılınmış başka bir şair örneği yoktur. Ölümünden sonra, Attâr mahlası ile onun şiirlerine benzer şiirler kaleme almaya çalışmış yaklaşık otuz farklı Attâr yaşamıştır tarihte (Nefisî, 1320: 43; Kedkenî 1383: 79) ve farklı tarikatlar, onu kendi mensubu ve müntesibi gibi göstermişlerdir.

Mantık'ul-Tayr, Attâr'ın en önemli eseri, kendi adı ile özdeşleşmiş en uzun mesnevisidir. Yüzyıllardır Attâr'ın eserleri arasında adından en fazla söz ettiren bu eserin hikâyeleri alegorik bir dille yazılmıştır. Kuşdili ya da kuşların dili anlamına gelen Mantık'ul-Tayr; her biri farklı bir düşünce ve yaklaşımı temsil eden kuşların, kendi aralarındaki diyaloğunu konu edinir ve söz konusu bu kuşların, kesretten vahdete giden uzun sürreal yolculuğunu, İbn-i Arabî (ö. 1240)'nin yaratıcıyı, alemi ve alem içindeki olguları, *hayal içinde hayal* olarak tahayyül edişi gibi hikâye içinde hikâyeler şeklinde anlatır. Hikâyenin kahramanları olan kuşların birçoğu sözü edilen bu uzun yolculuğa dayanamaz, birer ikişer kaybolur, silinir giderler. Geriye kalan otuz kuş (si-mûrg) ise yolun sonunda kendileri ile (simûrg) yüzleşirler. Kendini bilmek, tanımak, görebilmek ve kendi ile yüzleşmek eserin ana temalarından birisidir.

İslam edebiyatlarında kuşları sembolik dille tersîm eden yazılı literatürün tam olarak ne zaman ortaya çıktığı kesin olarak bilinmemektedir ancak Attâr'dan önce bu türden yazılan bazı risâlelerde söz konusu sembolizmden yararlanılmıştır. Kuran'ı Kerim ve Ahd-i Atik'te yer alan Süleyman kıssası ve onun kuşlarla olan ilişkisine bakılırsa bu sembolizmin efsane ve mitlere kadar inebileceğini söylemek mümkündür. Nitekim uçabilme kabiliyeti ve birer kanatlara sahip olmak, mitsel sembollerde birer üstünlük sıfatı olarak görülmüş ve öyle algılanmıştır (Zumrudî, 1385: 219). Attâr özelinde bu mesele ele alındığındaysa bunun kadim İranî zevk ve edebiyatının boy aynası olduğu anlaşılacaktır (Purcevâdî, 1998: 50). Nitekim günümüzde, Attâr ve eserleri üzerine araştırmalar yapmış pek çok isim onun Mantık'ul-Tayr eserini oluştururken, olay örgüsünü ve sembolik mantığını kendinden önce bu hususta yazılmış metinlerden esinlenerek oluşturduğu konusunda hemfikirdir (Purnamdaryan, 1386: 131). Bu araştırmacılardan en önemlisi ve bu makalede de görüş ve tespitlerinden faydalandığımız Şefiî Kedkenî'ye göre (1383: 102-138) Attâr'dan önce kuşların sembolik diliyle ya da bağımsız olarak *Simûrg* kavramı üzerine eser vermiş olanlar arasında İbn-i Sina (ö. 1037), Şahmerdan ibn-i Eb'il-Hayr-i Razî (ö. 1102 sonrası -?-), Sühreverdî (ö. 1234), Aynul-Kudat Hamedanî (ö. 1131), Ahmed Gazzâlî (ö. 1126) ve Şeyh Necmeddîn-i Razî (ö. 1256) gibi isimler yer almaktadır. Aynı şekilde *Behrü'l-Fevâid* gibi eserlerde de Simûrg'dan söz edilmektedir (Kedkenî, 1383, s. 162-168). Senaî ve Hakanî gibi şairlerin de Mantık'ul-Tayr olarak adlandırılabilecek kaside ve şiirleri mevcuttur (Kedkenî, 1383: 105-108). Kimi araştırmacılara göreyse Firdevsî (ö.1125)'nin *Şahname*'sinde yer alan ve özellikle Rüstem'in babası Zal'ın büyütülmesi ile *Rüstem ve İsfendiyar* hikâyesinde karşılaştığımız Simûrg imajı, aynı şekilde Huneyn bin İshak (ö. 873)'ın Yunancadan çevirdiği *Selamân û Ebsal*'ındaki sembolik hikâyeler (Purnamdaryan, 1386: 132) ile *Kelile ve Dimne*'ki kuş parodileri de Attâr'ın Mantık'ul-Tayr eserini oluştururken esinlendiği kaynaklar arasında olup genel hikâyenin konusuyla benzer niteliktedir (Gülen, 2016: 520). Attâr'ın yaşadığı yüzyılda İran sahasında kuşları konuşturmuş sufî şair ve müellifler olduğu gibi Arap edebiyatı alanında da benzer risâleler kaleme alınmıştır. Arap edebiyatında Mantıku'l-Tayr ismiyle kaleme alınmış risâlelerin en eskisi Halepli şair Ömer b. el-Verdî ya da el- Muzaffer (ö. 749)'e ait Mantıku'l-Tayr adlı manzum bir risâledir. Aynı şekilde İbn-i Nedim (ö. 995 -?-)'in rivayetine göre Hişam el-Kelbî (ö. 822)'ye ait benzer bir risâle daha vardır (Kedkenî 1383, s. 169). Ancak Arap edebiyatında kaleme alınan bu risâlelerin en önemlisi İbn-i Gânim lakaplı İzzüddîn el-

Makdisî (ö. 1280)'nin *Keşfü'l-esrâr an-hikemi't-tûyur ve'l-ezhâr* adlı risâlesidir (Kedkenî 1383: 136).

Adı geçen bu eserlerin dışında Attâr'ın Mantık'ul-Tayr eserinden önce, özellikle Kur'an menşeli Süleyman kıssasından yola çıkarak benzeri isimlendirmelerle eserlerinde bölüm ya da metinler ortaya koyan, tefsir çalışmalarında "mantık'ul-tayr" kavramını ifade ederken, kuşların esrarlı hikmetinden söz eden müelliflerde olmuştur. Bu müelliflerin en eskilerinden birisi de Kerrâmiyye fırkasının önemli isimlerinden Ebû Hanife Abdülvahab b. Muhammed (ö.-?-)'tir. H. IV. yüzyılın ikinci yarsında yaşamış bir müfessir olan Ebû Hanife, *el-Fûsul* adlı eserinde kuşların dilinden ve ötüşlerindeki sırlardan haber vermiş aynı şekilde Kerrâmîlere yakın bir isim olan Ebûbekr Atik b. Muhammed el-Hirevî el-Nişâburî-i Surabâdî (ö. 1101)'de bu hikayeleri ilk dönem Farsça tefsirlerden biri kabul edilen *Surabâdî Tefsiri* adlı eserinde işlemiştir. Eserinin belirli yerlerinde Mantıku'l-Tayr'da olduğu gibi temsili olarak kuşları konuşturan bir başka eser de Ebü'r-Recâ el-Çâçî ya da Şâşî (ö. 1123)'nin *Revzâtü'l Farîkeyn* adlı eseridir. Ebü'r-Recâ, sıcak bölge kuşları ile soğuk bölge kuşlarının bir yerde toplandığını, kendilerine bir padişah bulmaları gerektiğini, bu padişahın da ancak Simûrg olabileceğini söyledikten sonra yola koyulduklarını anlatır. Ancak sıcak bölge kuşlarının soğuk bölgelerde, soğuk bölge kuşlarının da sıcak bölgelerde can verdiğini, hiçbirinin Simûrg'a kavuşamadığını tasavvufî ilkelerle işler.

Her üç eser Attâr'ın doğup büyüdüğü, fikirsel olarak yetiştiği, ölene kadarda hayatını orada geçirdiği mezkûr Kerrâmîlerin merkezlerinden birisi olmuş Nişabûr (Kutlu, 2002: 294) ya da Horasan sahasında kaleme alındığından, Attâr'ın bu eserlerdeki kuş hikâye ve kuş yorumlarını görmemiş olması zayıf bir ihtimaldir. Bu ihtimalden hareketle makalede Ebû Hanife Abdülvahab b. Muhammed'in *el-Fûsul*, Ebûbekr Atik b. Muhammed Surabâdî'nin *Tefsir-i Surabâdî* ile Ebü'r-Recâ el-Çâçî'nin *Revzâtü'l Farîkeyn* adlı eserlerindeki kuş hikâye ve rivayetlerine değinilecek, bunların Attâr'ın Mantıku'l-Tayr eserindeki olay döngüsüyle benzerlikleri üzerinde durulacaktır. Mantıku'l- Tayr ile ilgili olarak Türkiye'de yapılan araştırmalar vardır hatta bu araştırmalarda eserin olay örgüsü ile ilgili mevcut karşılaştırmalar da söz konusudur ancak Attâr'a ait bu eserin makaleye konu üç eserle karşılaştırılması Türkiye'deki herhangi bir çalışmada işlenmemiştir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada söz konusu eserlerdeki kuş hikâye ve rivayetlerine ilk kez yer verilecek ve her üç eser bu yönleri ile literatüre kazandırılmış olacaktır.

2.   Mantıku'l-Tayr'ın isim ve muhteviyatına dair

Mantık'ul-Tayr adı, *mantık* kelimesinden gelir ki bu da Arapçanın *nutk-nutuk* (نُطق) kelime kökünden türemiştir. Açık bir biçimde konuşmak, ses çıkarmak, anlaşılır söz söylemek manasına gelir. *Tayr* ise uçabilen, kanatlı kuş anlamındadır. Bu iki kelime yan yana getirildiğinde *kuşun nutku* veya *kuşun dili* olur ki bunu da *kuşdili* veya daha kapsayıcı anlamıyla *kuşların dili* şeklinde okumak mümkündür. Tarih boyunca felsefe, kelam, tasavvuf ve edebiyat sahasında kavramsallaştırılmış bu kelime, Kuran'daki; "*bize kuşların dili öğretildi*" (Neml 27/16) tabirinden alınmadır. Esere ismini veren bu tanımlama gibi eserin içinde de Neml süresinde geçen *karınca, Süleyman, cin, hüthüt* vb. daha pek çok kelime ve kavram birer metafor olarak kullanılmıştır. Dolaysıyla telmih ve anıştırmalarla kutsal bir terminolojiye dönüşmüş eserin adı gibi içeriğinin bir kısmı da Kur'an ve Ahd-i Atik menşelidir. Zira Kuran'da geçen bu kavramlar Tevrat'ta da benzer şekillerde yer almaktadır. Esere, kuşların makamı anlamına gelen *Makamât-ı Tuyûr*, *Lisani't-Tuyûr* ya da kanatlıların mektubu şeklinde *Tuyûrnâme*'de denmiştir (Füruzanfer, 1353: 75; Sevgi, 2003: 29) ancak Mantık'ul-Tayr olarak şöhret bulmuştur ve Attâr, mezkûr eserin iki yerinde bu ismi açıkça anmış, ifade etmiştir (Kedkenî, 1383: 259, 435). Üstat Füruzanfer, aynı isimlendirmenin Attâr'ın *Musibetnâme* ve *İlahinâme* eserlerinde de yer aldığını ancak söz konusu bu isim farklılıklarının nüsha yazıcıları tarafından kaynaklanabileceğini ifade etmiş, eserin Mevlâna döneminde Mantık'ul-Tayr ismi ile anıldığını belirtmiştir (Füruzanfer, 1353: 315). Mantık'ul-Tayr isminin, tasavvuf inanışından geldiğini söylemek de mümkündür. Çünkü tasavvuf inanışına göre ruh, bedende hapsolmuştur, orada kafese tıkılmış bir kuş gibidir. Ruh, nefsanî bağlılıklarından kurtuldu mu ya da ölüm gerçekleşti mi kafesteki kuş da özgürlüğüne kavuşur. Dolaysıyla eserin isimlendirilmesinde mecazî bir kavram olarak bu düşüncenin göz önünde bulundurulmuş olması da ihtimal dâhilindedir. Ayrıca felsefî anlamıyla *nefs-i natıkânın*, dünyada gördüğü şeyleri birer sır ve sembol olarak algılaması, bir sır dilinin varlığına inanması, eserin sembolik ve alegorik olarak kuşların diliyle isimlendirilmesinde önemli bir yer tutmuştur. Eserin isimlendirilmesinde, göz önünde bulundurulması gereken bir başka hususta eserin ortaya çıkmasından önce bu sahada yazılmış benzer eser veya isimlendirilmelerden esinlenilmiş olmasıdır. Lakin Attâr, *İlahinâme* eserinde bu isimlendirmenin sadece Süleyman kıssasından kaynaklandığının altını şöyle çizmiştir: "*Onun (Süleyman'ın) hatemî adıyla adlandı, başka bir şeyden değil, (böylece) karıncanın sırları keşfoldu ve de mantıku'l-tayr*" (Füruzanfer, 1353: 314).

Attâr'ın, *fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün* arûz vezni ve remel bahrinin kısa kalıbıyla kaleme aldığı Mantık'ul-Tayr adlı mesnevisi, bir çerçeve hikâye ile bu hikâyenin arasına yerleştirilmiş pek çok uzun ve kısa hikâyeden oluşur. Birkaç istisna dışında hikâyeler arasında insicam vardır. Bir konunun temsili hikâyesi onun da başka bir temsili hikâyesi şeklinde kaleme alınmıştır. Beyit sayısı, nüshalara göre 4500 ila 5000 beyit arasında değişiklik gösterir. Üstat Şefîi Kedkenî'nin karşılaştırmalı tashih ettiği en eski nüsha kabul edilen Merağî nüshasında beyit sayısı 4724'tür. Attâr, eserine besmele ile başlar. *"Canı yaratan, toprağa can ve iman bahşeden, o tertemiz Allah'a hamdolsun"* (Kedkenî, 1383: 231) diyerek giriş yapar ve ardından tevhitten, yaratılış hikmetinden ve Allah'ın kudretinden bahseder. *"Kim olursa olsun herkes padişahını bilmelidir, herkes yaradanı tanımalıdır"* diyerek çerçeve hikâyenin maksadını daha ilk beyitlerde açıklar (Kedkenî, 1383: 231). Toplam 244 beyitlik tevhit kısmını bitirdikten sonra bir haydutun mürüvvetinden söz ettiği 20 beyitlik temsili bir hikâye anlatır. Ardından uzun bir münacaâtla Allah'a yakarışta bulunur. Bu yakarışın ardından Hz. Peygamber'i ve dört halifeyi över. Hz. Peygamber'den şefaat dilenir. Ardından taassuptan, mezhebi körlükten söz eder. Bu kısım, Şiilerin halife ve sahabeler hakkındaki iddialarına karşı, bir tür reddiye şeklinde kaleme alınmıştır. Bu bölümdeki sözlerini ve nasihatlerini de temsili hikâyelerle destekler. Arada, halifelerin faziletlerini bildiren hikâyeler anlatır. Ardından kitabın başlangıcına geçer ve hikâyedeki kuşları tek tek selamlayarak, her birinin özelliğini, hasiyetini sıralayarak tanıtır. Hüthüt ile başlar, papağan, keklik, tavus, bülbül, kaz, şahin ile devam eder. Sonra sıra Simûrg'a gelir. *"Tüm bu yaratılış eserleri onun nurundandır, cümle nakışlardaki ışık, onun kanadındandır"* (Kedkenî, 1383: 231) der onun için ve onun aranmasını, bulunmasını salık vererek hikâyeyi genel bir çerçeveye oturtur.

2.1. Mantıku'l-Tayr hikâyesinin genel çerçevesi

Padişahsız kalmanın kötü bir şey olduğunu, başsız kalan ülkelerde nizam intizam olmadığını söyleyen ve bu durumdan yakınan kuşlar, bir araya gelirler. Ne yapmalı diye düşünürken hüthüt öne atılır. Kendisini Süleyman peygamberin mahremi ve postacısı olarak tanıtır. Kuşlara; *"bizim zaten bir padişahımız var; ama bizim ondan haberimiz yok. O bize bizden daha yakındır, biz ondan uzağız. Daima padişahımız odur. Adı Simûrg'dur, binlerce nur ve zulmet perdeleri ardındadır. Gelin hep beraber onu arayalım, onu bulalım"* (Kedkenî, 1383: 264) der. Kuşlar

hüthütün teklifine sıcak baksalar da işin mahiyetini öğrenince özür beyan etmeye, mazeret getirmeye başlarlar. Ancak ne kadar özür beyan etseler de hüthüt onları ikna etmeyi başarır. Hepsi birden hüthütün arkasına koyulur ve Simûrg'u bulmak için yola düşerler. Yol uzun, engebeli ve çetindir. Önlerinde aşılmayı bekleyen yedi de vadi vardır. Bunlar; *"talep/istek, aşk, marifet, istiğna, tevhit, hayret ve fakr û fenâ"* (Kedkenî, 1383: 264) adı verilen yedi vadidir. Hüthüt, bu vadilerin aşılmasından sonra Simûrg'a ulaşacaklarını söyler. Onlardan biraz daha gayret ve sabır ister. Ancak her kuş bu sabrı gösteremez. Kimisi yoldaki zahiri şeylere takılır, kimisi yem buldum deyip başka bir yola girer, kimisi aç susuz can verir, öbürü yorulur ve daha fazla güç yetiremez, bir diğeri bu meşakkatli yolculuktan vazgeçer. Nihayet yüzlerce kuştan sadece otuzu, söz konusu yedi vadiyi aşabilir, onca kuştan geriye yalnızca otuz kuş kalır. Merakla Simûrg'u sormaya başlarlar. Tam bu sırada Simûrg'un dergâhından bir haberci kuş çıkagelir ve karşısında gördüğü kuşlara, bir kâğıt uzatır. Onlardan kâğıdı dikkatle ve sonuna kadar okumalarını ister. Kuşlar kâğıdı okuyunca bütün yaptıklarının, kâğıtta yazılı olduğunu görür, gördüklerine inanamazlar, okuduklarına şaşırmışlardır. Tam bu esnada Simûrg da tecelli eder, karşılarında belirir. Fakat tecelli edenin kendileri olduğunu, Simûrg'dan, yani mâna bakımından otuz kuştan ibaret olanın kendileri olduğunu görünce büsbütün hayrete düşerler. Simurg; *"Siz buraya otuz kuş geldiniz, dolaysıyla otuz kuş göründünüz. Daha fazla ya da daha eksik gelseydiniz, geldiğiniz kadar görünürdünüz. Anlayacağınız burası bir aynadır"* (Kedkenî, 1383: 427) der. Böylelikle hepsi Simûrg'da fâni olurlar.

2.2. Mantıku'l-Tayr'daki kuşların sembolik makamı ve tasavvufî olarak neye karşılık geldikleri

Genel çerçevesi yukarıdaki şekilde kurgulanmış hikâyede hemen hemen her kuş, her küçük hikâye, her rakam ve makam sembolik ve temsilîdir. Kuşlar, her biri farklı bir yaklaşımı, başka bir düşünceyi ifade eder. Örneğin **Simurg**; eserde efsanelerde olduğu gibi kuşların şahıdır, alegorik olaraksa Hakk'ın zuhûru, mutlak hakikatin bir yansımasıdır. Kaf dağının ardındadır. Anka veya benzer isimlerle adlandırılmıştır. Güneşle aynı hakikat manasında ele alınmıştır (Zumrudî, 1385: 219). **Hüthüt**; başındaki tacıyla rehber ve mürşittir. Bu kelimenin hidayet eden/yönlendiren/sevk ve idare eden anlamına gelen "*hâdi*" kelimesi ile arasındaki ses eşleşmesi, aynı şekilde Süleyman kıssasındaki üstlendiği önemli görevler, Süleyman'ın inayetine mazhar olması (Neml 27/29-30), mürşit olarak seçilmesinin de başlıca sebepleri arasında gösterilir. Hayvanî özelliğiyle kötü bir kokusu olan hüthüt, Süleyman tarafından seçilmiş olması özelliğiyle

tıpkı insan gibi hem hayvanî hem de rahmanî sıfatlara haiz bir semboldür ve mutasavvıflar bu iki sıfata haiz varlıklara, insanı çağrıştırdığı için ayrıca teveccüh gösterirler. **Mûsice kuşu**; güvercinden küçük, ev ve eyvanların köşesinde yuva yapan kahverengi veya griye çalan bir tür kırlangıçtır. Çıkardığı ses itibari ile Horasan ve Nişâbur bölgelerinde ona *"Musa'yı arayan kuş"* denir (Kedkenî, 1383: 171). Dolaysıyla Tur dağında Hakk'ı görmeyi murad etmiş Musa ile sembolize edilerek, Simûrg'u görmeyi arzulamış kuş olarak eserde karşımıza çıkar. **Papağan**; yeşilimsi rengi ile tasavvufta önemli bir yeri olan Hızır'ı çağrıştırmaktadır. Hızır, sâlikin, fenâfillah makamında kavuşmayı arzuladığı sonsuzluğun da sembolüdür. Ayrıca papağanın boynundaki ateşten/kızıl halkalar, sâlikin yüreğine düşmüş olan ilham ve varidatın da sembolüdür. **Keklik**; kırmızı gagası, dağların eteğinde yer edinmesi, küçük ve değerli taşları yutmayı seven özelliği ile mücevher sevdasının dolaysıyla gücün ve kudretin sembolüdür. **Bülbül**; Hakk'ın cemalini zahiri şeylerde gören sâlikleri sembolize eder. Bu tür sâlikler, zahiri güzelliklere saplanır kalırlar. **Tavus**; cennet arzusuyla yanıp tutuşan, sırf cenneti arzuladıkları için Allah'a ibadet eden kişileri sembolize eder. Bu kişilerin Allah'a olan ibadeti belli bir karşılık almak için yapılan ibadettir. Cennet arzusu, onların Hakk'a kavuşmasının önünde engeldir. **Şahin**; vahşi arzulara sahip kişinin veya sâlikin, terbiye ile ehlileşmesini, Hak yola girdikten sonra arzularının Hakk'ın arzusuna tebdîl edilişini temsil eder. **Kaz;** beyaz rengiyle güzel giyinmeye özen gösteren, vesvese derecesinde temizlik bağımlısı olan zahitleri, durmadan temizlik yapmayı her şeyin üstünde gören anlayışı sembolize eder. **Huma kuşu**; efsanelerde güç, onur ve kudretin temsili görülse de (Zumrudî, 1385: 223) eserde iktidara tapanları, gücün doruğunda olanlara yamanmayı temsil eder. Bunlar mutasavvıflar için de geçerlidir. Zira tarihte tarikatını iktidarın hizmetine sunmuş nice mutasavvıflar ve sufîler olmuştur. **Bûtimar kuşu**; Arapça'da *malikü'l hüzn* ve *yemâm* denen efsanevi bir kuş türü olan bûtimar, ifrat derecesine varacak şekilde hayatı kendisine zorlaştıran zahit ve sâliklerin sembolü olarak kullanılmıştır. Gönül denizine bakıp duran, o denizden bir damla eksilmesin diye onu sadece seyretmeyi yeğlemiş, bu yüzden de arzu edilen makama kavuşamamış müritleri de temsil eder (Yıldırım, 2008: 183-184). **Baykuş**; yeri viraneler olup, efsanelerde uğursuzluğun mazharı olarak görülür (Zumrudî, 1385: 223). Eserde, uzlete çekilen, her daim karanlıklarda oturup, halktan kaçan sâlikleri temsil eder. **Serçe kuşu**; zayıflığın ve güçsüzlüğün simgesidir. *Hakk'a ermeye güç yetirilmez* diyenlerin kendini avuttuğu bir çaresizlik ifadesidir (Kedkenî, 1383: 169-180).

2.3. Mantıku'l-Tayr'daki yedi vadi ile yedi rakamı

Kuşlar dışında, eserde kuşların aşması gereken yedi vadi de temsilîdir. Yedi sayısına, pek çok inanışta olduğu gibi İslam'da da vurgu yapılmıştır. Örneğin Kur'an-ı Kerim'in pek çok süresinde geçtiği üzere; *yedi gece, yedi gündüz, yedi cehennem, yedi deniz, yedi gök, yedi başak, yedi çift, yedi kapı, yedi yol* vesaire vardır (Gülen, 2016: 519). Ayrıca İslam tasavvufunda da önemli bir yer edinen 7 sayısı kemale ermenin, bütünlüğün, birliğin sembolü olarak bilinir. Tasavvuf inancına göre, birliğe ulaşma yolunda, nefsin yedi mertebesi vardır; bu mertebeler sırasıyla; *nefs-i emmare, nefs-i levvame, nefs-i mülhime, nefs-i mutmainne, nefs-i raziye, nefs-i merdiye* ve *nefs-i kâmile*'dir ki her nefsin de bir âlemi, seyri, hâli, vâridi, mahalli, müşahedesi, ismi ve nuru vardır (Uludağ, 2012: 274). Yine bir başka tarife göre insan *yedi letaiften* müteşekkildir. Bunlar; *kalp, ruh, sır, hafî, ahfâ, nefs ve cesed*'tir. Eserde bu sayılar, kemalât yolunun, taleb/istek vadisinden başlayıp fenâ vadisine doğru yükselen kademelerini simgeler (Gülen, 2016: 519).

2.4. Genel hikâye içerisinde yer alan diğer hikayeler

Mantık'ul-Tayr'da, yukarıda ifade etmeye çalıştığımız çerçeve hikâye içerisinde işlenmiş bir takım uzun hikâyelerde vardır. Bu uzun hikâyelerden en önemlisi kuşkusuz Şeyh-i San'an hikâyesidir. Said Nefisî'ye göre bu uzun hikâyenin kaynağı İmam Gazzâlî (ö. 1111)'ye nispet edilen *Tuhfetü'l-Mülûk* adlı eserdeki Abdürrezzak San'anî (ö. 827) adındaki bir şeyhe nispet edilen kısa ama benzer bir hikâyedir ancak Kedkenî bu iddiayı kabul etmemekte ve benzer hikâyelerin İslam coğrafyasındaki örneklerini kanıt olarak sunmaktadır (Kedkenî, 1383: 181-207). Attâr eserinde, Şeyh Sen'an hikâyesini de kendi şiirsel yorumuyla anlatmış ve ona farklı anlamlar katmıştır. Şöhreti, dini, imanı ve gururu aşk uğruna ayaklar altına almayı ifade eden bu hikâyede, domuz çobanlığından, zünnar bağlamaya, hırka yakıp puta tapınmaya varana kadar, bir Müslüman için en kötü işleri görmek, aşkın tesiri ve aşığın maşukuna feda ettikleriyle açıklanmıştır. Hikâyenin sonunda Şeyh'in âşık olduğu kızın İslam'ı seçmesi ise sadakatin ve doğruluğun etkisini mecazen resmetmesidir. Hikâye, kişinin ne olduğu değil ne olacağı ile ilgili ahlâkî bir mesaj da taşır. Kötülüğe düşene hakaretamiz bakılmamasını salık verir zira henüz hadise sona ermemiştir. Metafizik âlemden maddi aleme inen, ancak bu alemde birtakım bağlılıklara giriftar olan, her türlü kötülüğe bulaşan, her türlü günahı işleyen, kendi melekûti cevherini ve aslını unutarak maddi bağlılıklarla hem-hâl olan, lakin gaybî bir cezbe ile tekrar

özüne dönen, temiz bir ruhun hikayesidir (Kedkenî, 1383: 286-302). Bu uzun hikâye dışında eserde, mutasavvıflara, kâmil ve mürşitlere ait geçmiş menkıbeler yahut ibretlik hadiseler de anlatılır. Aynı zamanda Attâr'ın kendi zamanında yaşamış erenlerden veya vaizlerden de çeşitli münasebetlerle pek çok hikâye rivayet edilir. Bu hikâyelerin birçoğu Attâr'ın *Tezkiretül Evliya* adlı eserinde de yer almıştır. Söz konusu hikâyelerden bazıları da meczuplara ait hikâyelerdir. Okunduğu zaman kişinin yüzünde tatlı bir tebessüm uyandıran bu hikâyeler, Gölpınarlı'nın yerinde tespiti (2015: 369) ile Bektaşi fıkraları ile de benzerlik göstermektedir. Eserinde sade ve yalın bir anlatımı tercih eden Attâr, yukarıda sözü edilen temsili hikâyelerle esasında vahdet-i vücud anlayışını yani çokluktan birliğe giden felsefî inanışı konu edinmektedir. Tasavvufî bu konuyu işlerken de temsillere başvurup çerçeve hikâyeler içinde açık ve anlaşılır bir plana uygun, iç içe geçmiş, daha küçük hikâyeler anlatarak, konuyu sıradan biri için bile daha net ve anlaşılır kılmaktadır. Vahdet-i vücud anlayışının epistemolojisine girmeden, sadece şeriat, tarikat, hakikat ve yakîn derecelerini biraz daha açarak herkesin anlayacağı, basit anlatımlarla ve pey der pey hikâyelerle bu felsefeyî sunmaktadır. Bir çerçeve hikâye kurgusu içerisinde sunmuş olduğu bu felsefesinin en zayıf halkası ise eserin en güçlü olması gereken yerde kendini hissettirmektedir. Şöyle ki; otuz kuşun Simûrg'un dergâhına eriştiği yerde fenâ makamının felsefesi zayıf işlenmiştir. Şairin, kurgunun bu kısmındaki argümanları olabildiğince zayıftır, sanki bir tür kendini avutma, kendi kendine teselli veriyormuş gibi bir durum hissedilmektedir. Onca yolu katetmiş kuşların katlandıkları zahmet hiç görülmemektedir, çabaları küçümsenmektedir. Oysaki hüthüt, onları o yola çıkarmak için bayağı çile çekmiştir. Simûrg ile buluşma anı hikâyenin en zayıf halkasını oluşturur (Kedkenî, 1383: 422-424).

3.   Attar'dan önce kuş hikayelerine yer vermiş üç eser

Yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi Attâr'dan önce Mantık'ul-Tayr ya da benzeri isimlendirme ve çağrıştırmalarda bulunarak kuşların hikâyesini dinî, tasavvufî veya felsefî ilkeler ışığında işlemiş müellifler olmuştur. Araştırmacılara göre bu müelliflerin en önemlisi Ahmed Gazzâlî'dir. Gazzâlî'nin *Risaletü't-Tayr* adlı eseri ile Mantık'ul-Tayr'ın olay örgüsü neredeyse aynıdır. Ayrıca her iki eserin esin kaynağı da Süleyman kıssasıdır. Bu esinlenmeyi Gazzâlî eserinde şöyle dile getirir: "…de ki ahdini tazele ve kuşların ağına düş, onların yuvasında makam edin ve ruhun huzurunu arzula ta ki Süleyman-sıfat olup kuşların dilini öğrenesin. *"Bize kuşların dili öğretildi"* (Neml 27/16) deniliyorsa kuşların dilini ancak kuşlar bilir" (Mücahid, 1358: 79). Belirtmek

gerekir ki Ahmed Gazzâlî gibi marifet makamına erişme yolculuğunu sembolik bir dille betimlemiş inisiatik risâle sahibi müelliflerin eserleri Mantık'ul-Tayr'daki kuş hikâye ve sembolleriyle üslup açısından benzer olsa da bu benzerlikler esere direkt değil dolaylı etki etmiştir (Çakmakçı, 2012: 169). Kedkenî'ye göre (1383: 103) Attâr'dan iki yüz yıl önce kuşların diliyle benzer hikâyeler anlatmış ya da benzer rivayetlere yer vermiş bu müelliflerin en eskilerinden birisi Kerrâmiyye fırkasının önemli isimlerinden Ebû Hanife Abdülvahab b. Muhammed'tir. H. IV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında yaşamış bir müfessir olan Ebû Hanife, *el-Fûsul* adlı eserinde kuşların dilinden ve ötüşlerindeki sırlardan haber vermiş aynı şekilde Kerrâmîlere yakın diğer bir isim olan Ebûbekr Atik b. Muhammed el-Hirevî el-Nişâburî-i Surabâdî'de bu hikayeleri ilk dönem Farsça tefsirlerden birisi kabul edilen *Surabâdî Tefsir*'in de işlemiştir. Eserinin belirli yerlerinde Mantıku'l-Tayr'da olduğu gibi temsili olarak kuşları konuşturan ya da kuş sembolleriyle tasavvufî mesajlar vermiş bir başka eser de Ebü'r-Recâ el-Çâçî[2] ya da Şâşî'nin *Revzâtü'l Farîkeyn* adlı eseridir. Mezkûr üç eser Attâr'ın doğup büyüdüğü, fikirsel olarak yetiştiği, ölene kadarda hayatını orada geçirdiği mezkûr Kerrâmîlerin merkezlerinden birisi olmuş Nişâbûr ve Horasan'da kaleme alındığından, Attâr'ın bu eserlerdeki kuş hikâye ve yorumlarını görmemiş olması zayıf bir ihtimaldir.

3.1. Ebû Hanife Abdülvahab b. Muhammed'in *el-Fûsul* eserinde kuşlar

Ebû Hanife Abdülvehhâb b. Muhammed, Kerrâmiyye fırkasının kurucusu Ebû Abdullâh Muhammed b. Kerrâm (ö. 869)'nın müritlerinden olup Nişâbûr merkezli Kerrâmî hangahlarında yetişmiş bir müfessirdir. Hayatı hakkında pek bilgi olmayan Ebû Hanife'nin H. IV. yüzyılın ikinci yarsı yahut H. V. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde yaşadığı tahmin edilmektedir. Kendisine ait yegâne eser *el-Fûsul* adlı tefsir eseridir. Nişâbûr'da yazılmış bu eser, Kerrâmîlere ait en önemli eserlerin başında gelir zira eserde Kur'an tefsir ve yorumları olduğu kadar Kerrâmiyye'nin kurucusu Muhammed b. Kerrâm'ın söz ve menkıbeleri de mevcuttur ve müellif birçok yerde *"Ebû Abdillah buyurdular ki"* diyerek Muhammed b. Kerrâm'dan söz ve kaviller nakletmiştir. Halen yazma eser olarak dört farklı kütüphanede (British Museum, Astan-ı Kuds, Tahran

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[2] Özbekistan'ın başkenti Taşkent'in eski adıdır. Şâş diye de geçer. Geçmişte kemanları ile ünlü bir şehir olarak anılırdı ki klasik edebiyatta pek çok şairin divanında *"Çâç kemanı"* diye kavramlar kullanılmıştır. Örneğin Nizâmî-i Gencevî (ö. 1214-?-) İskendernâme'sinde bu kelimeyi aşağıdaki şekilde kullanmış şairlerdendir: *"Çâç ve Çin kemanları ile doludur keza ağır kıymetli kılıçlar da vardır"* bkz. Gencevî, 1383: 889.

Üniversitesi Merkez ve Meclis-i Şura-yi İslami) yazmaları bulunan eseri ilk olarak Şefîi Kedkenî tespit ederek tanıtmıştır. Kedkenî'ye göre (1385: 5-14) toplam dört nüshası mevcut bu yazmalarda bazı eksiklikler söz konusudur. Eser Kur'an-ı Kerim'in tasavvufî bir tefsiridir ve Arapça kaleme alınmıştır. Eserde kıyamet, cennet, cehhenemin mahiyeti ve ruyetullah gibi akidevî meseleler ile sekr ve sahv gibi tasavvufi konular işlenmiştir. Kedkenî'ye göre (1385: 9) el-Fûsul ile aşağıda bilgilerini paylaşacağımız Surâbadî Tefsiri'nin yazılması arasında altmış yıllık bir zaman dilimi söz konusudur ve bu eser Surâbadî'nin tefsirinde yararlandığı yazılı kaynakları arasında yer almıştır. Eser üzerine çalışmaları halen devam eden Kedkenî'ye göre (1383: 104) bu eserin belirli yerlerinde Süleyman Peygamber'in kuşlarla sohbetine değinilmiş, kuşların esrarlı dilinden söz edilmiştir. Özellikle *"(Süleyman) kuşları gözden geçirdi ve şöyle dedi: Hüdhüd'ü niçin göremiyorum? Yoksa kayıplara mı karıştı?"* (Neml 27/20) ayetinin tefsirinde kuşların esrarlı dilinden bahsedilmiştir. Aynı şekilde kuşların ötüşlerindeki hikmetten ve her bir kuşun öterken Allah'ı nasıl tespih ve zikir ettiğinden söz edilmiş ve aşağıdaki şekilde Hz. Ali'den bir de rivayet nakledilmiştir:

> Hz. Ali devrinde bir grup Musevî huzura gelerek kendisine bazı sorular yöneltirler. Hazret onların tüm sorduklarına cevap verir böylelikle onlar da İslam'ı kabul ederler. Musevîlerin Hz. Ali'ye sordukları soruların bazıları da kuşlarla ilgili sorulardır. Ona kumru, horoz, turaç ve güvercin gibi kuşların ne söylediklerini sorarlar. Hazret her birine ayrı ayrı cevap verir ve şöyle buyurur: Kumru der ki; *"en yüksek nazarda iken görüp de görülmeyen ne de yücedir. Allah'ım namazı inatla terk edene lânet et"*. Horoz der ki: *"O, doğurmamış ve doğurulmamış olan ve hiçbir şeyin kendisine denk olmadığı ne de yücedir. Allah'ım merhameti terk edene lânet et"*. Turaç der ki: *"Bizi kesintisiz besleyen ne de yücedir! Allah'ım sen şarap içine lânet et…*
> (Kedkenî, 1383: 103- 104)

Kedkenî'nin belirttiğine göre nüshanın bu kısmından sonrası yıprandığı için okunamamıştır (Kedkenî, 1383: 104) ancak kuşların dili ve ötüşlerindeki sırlar hikmetli birer metafor olarak eserde işlenmiştir. Ayrıca Hz. Ali'ye dayandırılan rivayetin sahih olması halinde; kuşların ahlak ve hikmet esasınca belirli bir düşünceyi temsil ettikleri inanışı, İslam'ın doğduğu ilk yıllara kadar geriye gidiyor demektir ki bu da Attâr'ın, Mantık'ul-Tayr eserini kaleme alırken olay örgüsünü

ve kuş motiflerini bu inanç mirasından mülhem kullandığı anlamına gelir. Yine Kedkenî'nin yerinde bir tespitine göre söz konusu eserin Nişâbûr'da kaleme alınmış olması, Attâr'ın bu eserden faydalanmış olma olasılığını artırır (Kedkenî, 1383: 104).

3.2. *Surâbadî Tefsiri*'nde kuşlar

Nişâbur Kerrâmîlerinden aynı zamanda Hanefi mezhebine intisab etmiş (Efe, 2013: 230) müfessirlerden olan Ebûbekir Atik b. Muhammed el-Hirevî el-Nişâburî el-Surâbadî veya Sûriyanî yahut Sûrâbânî'ye ait en eski Farsça Kur'an tefsirlerinden birisi olan *Tefsir-i Surâbadî* H. V. yüzyılda kaleme alınmış bir Kur'an tefsiridir ve bugüne dek farklı tarihlerde birkaç kez Tahran'da tâb olunmuştur (Muderris Sadikî, 1399: 31-32). Farsça kaleme alınmış olsa da eserde yoğunluklu olarak Arapça'da kullanılmıştır. Eserin en önemli özelliklerinden birisi mümtaz, sade bir Farsça nesir ile kaleme alınmış olması ve Kur'an kıssalarına genişçe yer vermesidir. Müelllif Kur'an kıssaları arasında ciddi bir insicam sağlamıştır ki bu da eserin edebi yönünü zenginleştirmiştir.

Müellif eserinde bazen soru-cevap tekniğini de kullanmıştır (Efe, 2013: 231). Müellifin bu teknikle ifade ettiği ayet ve sürelerden birisi de mezkûr Neml süresinde geçen Süleyman kıssası ve bu kıssadaki Süleyman'ın kuşlarla olan geniş diyaloğudur. Müellif mezkûr eserinde, Süleyman ve kuşların hikâyesi başlığıyla ayrı bir bölüm açmış ve tıpkı Attâr'ın Mantıku'l-Tayr'ın ilk bölümlerinde yaptığı gibi tüm kuşları birer ikişer tanıtmış, yaratılış ve ötüşlerindeki hikmetler üzerine yorum yapmıştır. Aşağıdaki örnek bölüm, Süleyman'ın kuşlarla olan diyaloğunu yansıtır:

> Kuşların dilini anlama özelliği Süleyman'a has bir özellikti. Rivayet olunur ki
> bir gün tahtında otururken kuşlar birer ikişer tahtının üzerine gölgelik yapacak
> şekilde hazır edilmişler. O esnada horoz ötmüştü. Süleyman ne diyor diye
> sormuştu etrafındakilere. Etrafındakiler; *"Allah ve resulü daha iyi bilir"*
> demiştiler. Süleyman cevap vermişti: Horoz diyor ki; *"Rahman, arş üzerine
> istiva etmiştir"* (Taha 20/5). Derken kumru ötmeye başlamıştı. Süleyman
> tekrar sormuştu: *"Ne diyor?"* *"Bilmiyoruz"* demiştiler. Bunun üzerine kendisi
> cevap vermişti: *"Kumru diyor ki; ölmek için doğanlar da yıkmak için gelenler*

de gidicidir".[3] Bu sefer de tavus ötmeye, bağırmaya başlamıştı. Süleyman ne dediğini yanındakilere sormadan cevaplamıştı: *"Tavus diyor ki; kınadıkça kınanacak, sorguladıkça yargılanacaksın"*[4] . Bu sefer de papağan bağırmıştı. Süleyman onu da cevaplamıştı; *"papağan diyor ki sessiz kalan selamette kalır"*. Tam o esnada hüthüt seslenmişti. Süleyman hüthütün; *"merhameti olmayana merhamet edilmez"* diye öttüğünü söylemişti. Derken şahin ötmüştü. Süleyman şahin için *"şahin; Allah'a tövbe edin ey günahkarlar diye bağırıyor"* demişti. Sonra güvercin ötmeye başlamıştı. Süleyman güvercinin; *"Yüce Rabbim her türlü noksan sıfatlardan münezzehtir"* diye öttüğünü söylemişti. Bu seferde saksağan ötmeye başlamıştı. Süleyman, saksağanın öterken; *"O'nun zatından başka her şey yok olacaktır"* (Kasas 28/88) diye öttüğünü söylemişti (Kedkenî, 1383: 104-105).

Kuşların ötüşlerindeki hikmetten nakiller paylaşan müellif eserinde ayrıca tefsir ettiği Kuran kıssalarından Miraç hadisesinde de Mantık'ul Tayr'ın olay döngüsüyle benzer betimlemelere yer vermiştir. Şöyle ki; müellifin eserdeki Cebrail ve Burak tasvirleri, Mantıku'l-Tayr'daki Simûrg tasvirlerine yakın bir betimlemeyle yapılmıştır. Mesela Cebrail'in Miraç gecesi sidretü'l müntehâya yaklaşmasıyla ilgili aşağıda kurduğu cümleler yine kuş örnekleriyle verilmiştir ki bunda, dört büyük melekten birisi olan Cebrail'i birçok semavi dinin kültürel kodlarında olduğu şekliyle kanatlı bir varlık olarak tahayyül etmenin de payı vardır:

Geri döndüğümde Cebrail'i onun makamında, kızarmış küçücük bir serçe gibi gördüm. Ey Cebrail bu sen misin? Diye sordum. Dedi ki; Ya Resulullah! Burası heybet ve azamet makamıdır. Bu makama geldiğimde Cabbar olanın heybet ve ihtişamı karşısında tıpkı küçük kuş gibi kızarırım (Muderris Sadikî, 1399: 1920).

3.3. Ebü'r-Recâ el-Çâçî'nin *Ravzetü'l Ferikeyn*'inde kuşlar

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[3] Çılgın lakabıyla ünlü Abbasi devri Arap şairlerinden Ebü'l Atâhiye (ö. 826)'ye ait bir kasidenin ilk mısrasıdır.
[4] Bir Arap atasözüdür.

Ravzetü'l Ferikeyn adlı eser, XI. yüzyıl muhaddislerinden aynı zamanda Hanefî fıkıh alimi ve Horasan tekke şeyhlerinden olan Emâlî Ebü'r-Recâ el-Mu'mil b. Mesrûr b. Ebî Sehl b. Me'mun el-Çâçî el-Hûmrikî (ö.1122)'ye ait bir eserdir. Hayatının büyük bir kısmını Buhara, Merv ve Belh'te geçirmiş olan müellif, hem Hanefî hem de Şafii esaslara dair fıkıh ve ilmihal görüşlerine yer verdiğinden eserine farklı iki bahçe anlamına gelen *Ravzetü'l Ferikeyn* ismini vermeyi tercih etmiştir. Görüşlerini tasavvufî bir bakış açısı ve tasavvufî bilgilerle de destekleyen müellifin söz konusu bu isimlendirmeyle gönül ile zahir ehli arasındaki farkı çağrıştırmaya çalıştığı da görülmektedir (Habibî, 1359: 5-21). Eserde, namaz, oruç, zekât, kıble tayini, gusül, meyyit, teyemmüm, ezan, sahiv secdesi vb. fıkhî meseleler her biri ayrı bâbta verilmiş her bâb farklı fasıllarla genişletilmiş, her fasılda farklı hikâye ve meseller anlatılmıştır. Hanefî ve Şafii mezheplerinin bakış ve fetvalarına göre izahat ve yorumları yapılan konularda, sufî ve zahitlerin istinbât ve çıkarımlarına da yer verilmiştir. Hem şeriat hem tarikat ehlinin istifade etmesini murad etmiş olan müellifin bu eseri, birçok açıdan Gazzâlî'nin *İhya-yı Ulûmid-din* ve Pir-i Herat Hâce Abdullah-ı Ensarî (ö. 1089)'nin *Tabakat-ı Sufiyye* adlı eseriyle benzer özelliklere sahiptir. Eserde Hz. Peygamberden hadislere yer verilmiş, dört halife ve sahabeden hikâye ve rivayetler nakledilmiştir. Arapça ve Farsça şiirleri de havi bu eserde en dikkat çeken özelliklerden birisi de müellifinin şathiyeleriyle ünlü mutasavvıflardan Pir-i Harâkanî (ö. 1033)'den nakil ve kavilleri yoğunluklu olarak kullanmış olmasıdır. Harâkanî dışında Hasan-ı Basrî (ö. 728) Ebû Hafs Haddâd (ö. 874) Ebû'l-Hasan Serî es-Sakatî (ö. 865) Nuh-i Ayyâr (ö. 1068) Ebûbekr eş-Şiblî (ö. 946), Ma'ruf-i Kerhî (ö. 816 -?-), Ebû Said Ebû'l-Hayr (ö. 1046), Şeyh Ebû Ali Siyah (ö. 1033) gibi ilk dönem tasavvuf büyüklerinden hikâyeler ve menkıbeler de paylaşılmıştır. Ayrıca Malik b. Dinâr (ö. 748-?-) gibi ilk dönem zahitlerden ve dahi Samanî (819-1005) sultanlarından hikâyelere de yer verilmiştir. Toplam 282 sayfa olup Farsça kaleme alınmış olan eser ilk olarak 1980 yılında Abdülhay Habibî tarafından edisyon kritiği yapılarak geniş bir mukaddime ile Tahran'da yayınlanmıştır.

Fıkıh ve tasavvuf sentezli bu eserin "korku namazı" bölümünde kuşlardan ve bu kuşların tinsel yolculuklarından söz eden bir bölüm vardır. Aşağıda tercümesini vereceğimiz bu bölüm, Attâr'ın Mantıku'l-Tayr mesnevisindeki kuşların hikâyesi ile olay örgüsü açısından hemen hemen aynıdır. Bu hikâye Attâr'ın tasavvuftaki *fenâfillah* düşüncesine de en yakın hikâyedir. Ayrıca Kedkenî'nin yerinde tespitine (1383: 125) göre bu hikâye, Ahmed Gazzâlî'nin *Risaletü't-Tayr* adlı eserinden önce kaleme alınmıştır. Binaenaleyh Gazzâlî'nin söz konusu eseri İran'ın batısında

yer alan Hamedan'da kaleme alınmışken el-Çâçî'nin eseri Nişabûr'u da içine alan Horasan yani doğu İran'da kaleme alındığından Attâr'ın el-Çâçî'nin eserindeki bu kuş hikâyesini görmemiş olması zayıf bir ihtimaldir. Mezkûr bölümde el-Çâçî, Ebûbekr eş-Şiblî'den nefsin terbiye edilmesi hususunda söz ve kaviller paylaştıktan sonra anlatımlarının teyidi için aşağıdaki kuş hikâyesini bir sembol olarak şöyle rivayet etmiştir ki olay örgüsü Attâr'ın Mantıku'l-Tayr hikâyesine son derece benzemektedir:

> Sıcak bölge kuşları ile soğuk bölge kuşları toplanmışlardı. Bu topluluk suda ve karada yaşayan diğer kuşları da çağırmışlardı. Hepsi birden; beraberce bir şeyler yapmalı, bir şeyler düşünmeliyiz, yaşayan her topluluğun, her canlı türünün bir sultanı ve bir padişahı var, bizim de bir padişahımız olmalı demiştiler. Daha sonra; kuşlardan padişahlığa en layık olan hangisi diye sormuştular. Kuşkusuz kuşlardan padişahlığa en layık olanı, en büyük olanıdır, yani Simûrg'tur demiştiler. Karar almış; haydi öyleyse hazırlanın Simûrg'a doğru yola koyuluyoruz, onu kendi durumumuzdan haberdâr etmeye gidiyoruz, demiştiler.

> Hepsi birden kanatlanmıştı. Soğuk bölge kuşları, sıcak bölgelere vardıklarında hararet ve sıcaklığa dayanamamıştılar. Hepsinin tüyleri dökülmüş ve sıcakta öylece kalakalmış, can vermiştiler. Sıcak bölge kuşları ise soğuk bölgelere geldiklerinde soğuğa dayanamamış onlarda diğerleri gibi sonunda can vermiştiler. Keza karada yaşayan kuşlar da sulak badireleri atlatamamıştılar. Suya düşüp boğulmuştular. Suda yaşayan kuşlar ise karada aciz kalmış, oldukları yerden öteye gidememiştiler. Hiçbirisi arz-ı hâl etmek için Simûrg'a kavuşamamıştı.

> İşte Simûrg'un hikâyesi, hadisesi budur. Onu talep edenlerin hepsi yolda kalmış ona varamamıştı. Hiçbiri maksadına ulaşamamıştı. Dil ile *"Lâ ilâhe illallâhu / Allah'tan başka ilah yoktur"* demek kolaydır, ama kendini (nefsini ve benliğini) yol üzerinden alıp kaldırmak ise zordur. Sen kendini ve nefsini gördüğün ve kendine bir şeyleri yakıştırdığın sürece *"vahdehu lâ şerike lehu / O tektir ve ortağı yoktur"* demen mecazî olmaktan öteye geçmez. Nefsi

terbiye etmenin otağına girmek ve orada yürümek büyük bir iştir (Habibî, 1359: 222-223).

Bu anlatıda kuşlar tıpkı Mantıku'l-Tayr'da olduğu gibi nefis terbiyesinin sonunda kendilerini bekleyen fenâ makamına ulaşacak sürreal bir yolculuğa çıkmış ancak yoldaki badireleri atlatamamışlardır. Simûrg'a ulaşamadan yok olan kuşların bu gayreti, fenâ makamına ulaşamadan ölseler de eserde taltif edilmiştir.

4. Sonuç

Attâr ve Mantıku'l-Tayr üzerine çalışmaları olan araştırmacılar Attâr'ın özellikle Ahmed Gazzâlî'nin *Risaletü't-Tayr* adlı eserinden etkilenerek kendi eserindeki olay örgüsünü bu risaleye göre kaleme aldığını ifade etmişlerdir. Ancak bu çalışmada da görüldüğü üzere Ahmed Gazzâlî'den çok önce kuşların mantığına, ötüşlerindeki hikmete ve mutlak hakikati temsil eden Simûrg'a doğru giden sürreal yolculuklarına değinmiş eser ve tekstler de vardır. Bu eserlerden birisi Ebû Hanife Abdülvahab b. Muhammed'in *el-Fûsul*, diğeri Surabâdî'nin *Tefsiri* üçüncüsü ve en önemlisi de Ebü'r-Recâ el-Çâçî'nin *Revzâtü'l Farîkeyn* adlı eserleri ve bu eserlerde yer alan kuş hikâye ve kuşlarla ilgili rivayetleridir. Söz konusu bu üç eser, Attâr'dan çok önce onun yaşadığı Nişabûr ya da dolaylarında kaleme alındığından Attâr'ın bu eserleri görmüş ve kendi eseri olan Mantık'ul-Tayr'ın konusal alıntısı için bu rivayet ve anlatılardan esinlenmiş olması kuvvetle muhtemeldir ki bu durum Mantıku'l-Tayr özelinde metinlerarasılığı göstermesi açısından oldukça önemlidir. Yukarıda incelenen üç eserde de görüldüğü üzere Attâr'dan önce, kuşların hikâyesini tasavvufi veya dinî ilkeler ışığında işlemiş bu eserler, Mantık'ul-Tayr'ın çerçeve hikâyesinin konusu ile üslup ve içerik olarak benzerlikler göstermektedir. İslam coğrafyasında kuşların hikâyelerine yer vermiş bu eserlerin menşei ise kuşkusuz kutsal kitaplardır yahut burada mitsel inanışlara kadar uzanan çok kadim bir hafıza söz konusudur. Attâr'ın başta kutsal kitaplar olmak üzere sözü edilen eserlerden esinlenerek kuş sembolleri üzerinden kendi dinî ve tasavvufî düşüncesini işlemiş olması eserindeki kendine has oluşturduğu algoritmanın hayal gücünden, kurgu ve yaratıcılığından bir şey eksik etmemiştir. Zira yukarıda gösterilen benzerliklerin, Mantık'ul-Tayr gibi kendine has üslubuyla ayrıcalıklı bir konuma sahip bir esere, direkt etkisinden ziyade ancak dolaylı etkisinden söz edilebilir.

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Article

In the Name of Traditions: A Comprehensive Study on the Impact of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) on Women and Girls *An Overview of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Iran*

Kameel AHMADY[1] (iD)

Abstract

A comprehensive study was undertaken to investigate, explore and analyse the existence of female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM or FGM/C) in Iran. The timespan of this study began in 2005 and ended in 2014. The aim of this study was to provide in-depth data on FGM in Iran and, at the same time, provide the building blocks for a comprehensive programme to combat FGM in Iran and bring this issue onto the world's agenda. The methodological approach adopted by this study was primarily participatory, due to the sensitivity of the subject matter. Most parts of this research were completed by the end of 2014, and much has been achieved over a decade of studying the subject of FGM in Iran.

The study included travelling thousands of kilometers and interviewing over 3,000 women and 1,000 men from various areas and social classes, including key role players, community leaders, clerics and religious leaders in order to compile comprehensive data about the practice of FGM in Iran. The findings demonstrate that FGM in some locations is widespread among women and girls (around 60% in some villages of Qeshm Island in the southern province of Hurmozgan, especially in the villages of the four provinces in the north-west, west and south of Iran). FGM was not, however, practised in the northern parts of West Azerbaijan, where people are Turkish Azeri and Kurmanji Kurdish speakers, nor in the southern parts of Kermanshah and northern parts of Hormozgan.

This research study, along with a short documentary film, has gained global recognition and was launched by *The Guardian* and the BBC on 4 June 2015 through their websites. Shortly thereafter it was discussed at a United Nations meeting of the Human Rights Council in Geneva, on 19 June 2015 at a session on eliminating FGM. Reuters[2] also published an analysis of the research and considered it one of the rare contributions in the history of Iran.

Keywords: Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting, Iran, Islam, Culture, Kurds

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Introduction

Combating female genital mutilation (also known as female genital cutting – FGM or FGC) is a controversial subject globally, and its elimination is considered imperative by feminists, human-rights campaigners and social activists as well as international organisations such as UNICEF and responsible governments. The practice generally involves the partial or, in some extreme cases, the total removal of the external parts of female genitalia. In English, the term 'female circumcision' has been used for this practice, to compare it with male circumcision. Nowadays, however, as a result of the work of feminist activists against this practice, 'female genital mutilation' (FGM) is the preferred expression. An extreme form of FGM can have serious health consequences for a girl, including traumatisation and even, in some cases, death due to severe bleeding and infections. In the long term, women who have been subjected to FGM suffer undesirable health effects in their lives, especially in marriage.

Recent data from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) indicates that roughly 130 million girls and women alive today, worldwide, have undergone some form of FGM (UNICEF 2014). Further research shows that 92 million of them are over the age of ten and most live in Africa. According to official UN data, FGM is practised in 29 countries in western, eastern, and north-eastern Africa, in parts of the Middle East and Asia, and within some immigrant communities in Europe, North America and Australia (EndFGM 2012, UNICEF 2013). Its prevalence in several countries exceeds 80% (UNICEF 2014). The age of girls undergoing FGM varies from one culture to another. In general, it is performed on a girl between the ages of 4 and 12; however, in some cultures it is practised on new-borns or just prior to marriage.

FGM is a longstanding ritual that continues to violate aspects of women's sexual rights. It prevails in societies because of certain beliefs, norms, attitudes, and political and economic systems. While there is some data available on FGM in Iran, it is limited in scope. This research has, for the first time, given a complete overview of the prevalence of FGM in the whole of Iran, with a focus on the most FGM-affected areas in the western provinces West Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Kermanshah, and in some areas of southern Hormozgan province and its islands.

Objectives of the Research Study

The central objective of the current research study was to benefit communities with its findings and recommendations and to give the Government, individuals and NGOs large, updated, authentic datasets about the existence of FGM in Iran.

The findings of the study contribute to two larger perspectives. Firstly, it works as a baseline for future studies and research in Iran, which is required; secondly, it will help create and increase awareness about the presence of FGM, to focus the attention of the Iranian Government on its international liabilities and responsibilities.

More broadly, the research also refutes the longstanding belief that Africa is the only continent where FGM takes place, and at the same time provides enough evidence to ensure that FGM is never again denied in Iran. Exposing this data will assist Iranian society, children's-rights lobbies and international organisations in starting dialogues with the relevant stakeholders to help address and combat FGM in Iran.

The study introduces FGM along with the well-known justifications given by communities that practise it. Besides revealing the truth about the practice of FGM in Iran, this study discusses historical perspectives on the ritual, the prevalence of the practice across the region and the globe, the emerging reduction in the occurrence of FGM, and the range of beliefs and reasons underlying it. It also highlights the number of practices/programmes adopted so far to tackle the issue in the specified areas of Iran. The report also considers the historical fight against FGM; some legislative measures against it; the role of clerics, the community and governments; and, most importantly, men's perceptions in this regard.

Historical Perspective and Global Prevalence

In most cultures, talking about women's sexuality is a taboo, and for that reason it is difficult to get precise information on the historical roots of the ritual of FGM. The origins of FGM are not precisely known, although historians and anthropologists have done much research on the topic. Several sources have traced it back more than 2,000 years and generally point to ancient Egypt, specifically areas around the Nile, as its geographical heartland, from where it spread (Slack 1988). Some historians claim that it is a pharaonic practice[3] and that its roots lie in 5th century BC Egypt. Anthropologists mention it as an African Stone Age way of 'protecting' a young female person from rape (Lightfoot-Klein 1983). Some research has linked it with early 17th century Somalia, where it was carried out to get a better price for female slaves, and with an Egyptian practice to prevent pregnancies in women and slaves (Lightfoot-Klein 1983). The early Roman and Arabic civilisations linked FGM with virginity and chastity; in ancient Rome female slaves were made to undergo it to oppress sexual activity and to raise their values (Tankwala 2014).

It is well known that FGM was traditionally practised in many parts of the world and is not limited to Africa and the Middle East. It was practised by Australian Aboriginal communities (Harris-Short 2013), the Phoenicians, the Hittites, the Ethiopians (Rahman and Toubia 2000), and ethnic groups in Amazonia, some parts of India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the

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[3] 'Pharaonic circumcision', an expression prevalent in popular discourse, is sometimes considered to be a proof of the claim.

Philippines (Guiora 2013). In the 19th century, FGM was practised in Europe and the US, where some physicians embarked on clitoridectomy to prevent masturbation or counteract female homosexuality and some mental disorders such as 'hysteria' (Brown 1866). In fact, FGM sporadically continued in the USA until the 1970s in one form or another.

FGM predates Islam and Christianity; however, most communities that perform FGM are Muslim, and so religion is frequently cited as a reason for its continuation (Bob 2011). Nonetheless, Islamic scholars do not all agree with this notion and some condemn the attachment of the practice to Islam. FGM also occurs among small groups of Christians, animists, and Jews and members of other indigenous religions (Bob 2011, Nyangweso 2014); for example, in Eritrea and Ethiopia, Coptic and Catholic Christian communities practise FGM. In the Jewish groups Beta Israel and Falasha, FGM is widespread (Favali and Pateman 2003).

According to UNICEF data, FGM is most common in 29 countries in Africa, as well as in some countries in Asia and the Middle East and among certain migrant communities in North America, Australasia, the Middle East and Europe (UNICEF 2013). There is no evidence for it in southern Africa or in the Arabic-speaking nations of North Africa, except Egypt (Toubia 1995). Increased migration of people from practising countries has resulted in the spread of FGM to other parts of the world, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the US and European nations (Boyle 2005). The practice can also be found to a lesser extent in Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and India (Isiaka and Yusuff 2013). In Iraq, FGM is practised among Sunni Kurds, some Arabs, and Turkmens. A survey done by a number of NGOs in 2005 suggests 60% prevalence among Kurds in Iraq (Ghareeb and Dougherty 2004, 226). Later studies from the same area, following the launch of a number of local and regional campaigns to combat FGM, suggested a lower rate. According to the Kurdish Regional Government, UNICEF and local NGOs, FGM rates have been dropping rapidly.

Reliable figures on the prevalence of FGM are increasingly available. A statistical review by UNICEF mentions that national data have now been collected in the Demographic and Health Survey Program (DHS) for six countries: the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Eritrea, Mali and Sudan. In these countries, the rate among reproductive-age women varies from 43% to 97%. Data for these countries also subdivide the rates among different ethnic groups. However, the statistics have, until recently, been silent about FGM's presence in the US and a few other Western countries (UNICEF 2013). Iran is now also on the list of practising countries.

Background of the Research Study

This paper is based on a study that attempted to identify the prevalence of FGM in Iran and investigated the role of diverse contributing factors. In 2005, a field study in a number of neighbouring regions began, and, at the same time as the data was collected, a documentary was made from the interviews and related footage.

The first and only (publicly available) documentary about FGM in Iran, *In the Name of Tradition*[4] was filmed in the Kurdish villages and neighbourhoods of Mahabad, in some villages of the nearby Kurdistan province, in regions of Hawraman in Kermanshah province, and in Hurmozgan province in the south of Iran (Ahmady 2006). This anthropological documentary contains recorded footage and interviews from the regions and villages of Kermanshah and Hormozgan province and from its islands (e.g. Qesham, Hormozgan, and Kish). As well as interviewing local women and female cutters (*bibis*; i.e. professional cutters), the documentary records the opinions of local men, medical staff, doctors and clerics.

Based on the findings of the film, it was clear that there was a need for further research to examine FGM systematically in Iran, especially in the geographical pockets where there is a high prevalence. A scientific, country-wide research project was therefore started. Local resources were required to carry out such a comprehensive study; training was provided for a number of young, enthusiastic male and female students and individuals who were willing to participate and conduct most of the face-to-face field interviews. UNICEF-style standardised questionnaires were used to collect data.

Evidence from the preliminary research and documentary indicated that FGM is less likely to occur in towns; the focus of the research was therefore rural areas. Initially, villages were picked randomly from predefined geographical positions in the north, west, east and south. However, as the research progressed, more comprehensive, village-by-village training and pilot projects were implemented. As the fact-finding mission progressed and more areas from each province were visited and samples taken, the research teams were led to neighbouring villages and regions and, finally, to the south of Iran and the province of Hormozgan, where the rate of FGM is highest.

Maps, local guides, clerics and personal connections were utilised throughout the study. The research was conducted over the span of ten years by a small, but very enthusiastic group. Since the study was not a full-time project and was conducted during different seasons, the initial fact-finding mission, field work and training took place between 2005 and 2015. The study employed multiple approaches such as different phases, strategies, methods, and tailor-made training manuals to fit the various tastes and languages of each region. A number of pilot programmes were run in different regions to the east and west, where face-to-face visits with community stakeholders took place.

Awareness-raising sessions, using different approaches, mainly with young women, were arranged to highlight the dangers of FGM on female bodies and human lives. The sensitisation of men was also part of the approach. The team engaged with groups of men in mosques, houses, and many public places to measure levels of success. Different sessions of lobbying were held with community leaders and, most importantly, with clerics and local women as well as local and regional Sheiks to gain their support for banning FGM and issuing local *fatwas*. After each piece of fieldwork and face-to-face training/lobbying, follow-up visits to the same

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[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RID4FnKf7oE&feature=youtube

villages were carried out twice and one year later to assess the success and impact of the pilot programmes.

Research Methodology

International data on FGM have been collected through a separate module of the Demographic and Health Surveys Program (DHS) since the beginning of 1990. The module has yielded a rich dataset comparable over many countries, mainly in Africa. Since the prevalence of FGM in Iran has not been addressed by UN/UNICEF or any other international organisation, a module similar to that of the DHS's was used to conduct the first ever country-wide data-collection project.

The methodological approach adopted by this study was primarily participatory, due to the subject matter. This methodological framework took into account the views of women and girls, in particular those of actual victims, so that the findings would reflect their true views. The language of the interviews was simple and user-friendly to avoid any ambiguity or misunderstandings between participants. Since the research stretched over a period of ten years, the methodology was adjusted along the way as we came up with new strategies.

UNICEF-style standardised questionnaires were used to collect data in the style of the DHS and UNICEF's Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS). Importantly, good communication and networking allowed the researchers to win support from the local population, some community and religious leaders, and a number of academics. Local individuals were chosen for the work, the aim being to ensure they adhered to ethical standards and maintained confidentiality. As May puts it, ethical standards in research 'are binding, hence need to be adhered to irrespective of the circumstances surrounding the research; they remind us of our responsibilities to the people being researched' (May 2011). She adds that it is easier for participants, also, if they can take part with peace of mind, having all the relevant information about the research (May 2011).

For this research, participants were asked for their consent and were informed prior to the commencement of the research how the data would be utilised and what we aimed to achieve with the findings. In some cases, interviews were conducted over the phone rather than in person, applying the same standards. A total of 4,000 interviews were carried out in the provinces of Hormozgan, West Azerbaijan, Kermanshah, and Kurdistan. In each province, 1,000 interviews were conducted, involving 750 women and 250 men. For the first time in Iran, there was a focus on the male perspective to examine their role in the perpetuation of FGM. However, getting female opinions was a bit tricky due to the conservative nature of the area and the sensitivity of the research topic.

FGM in Iran: A Detailed Display of Findings
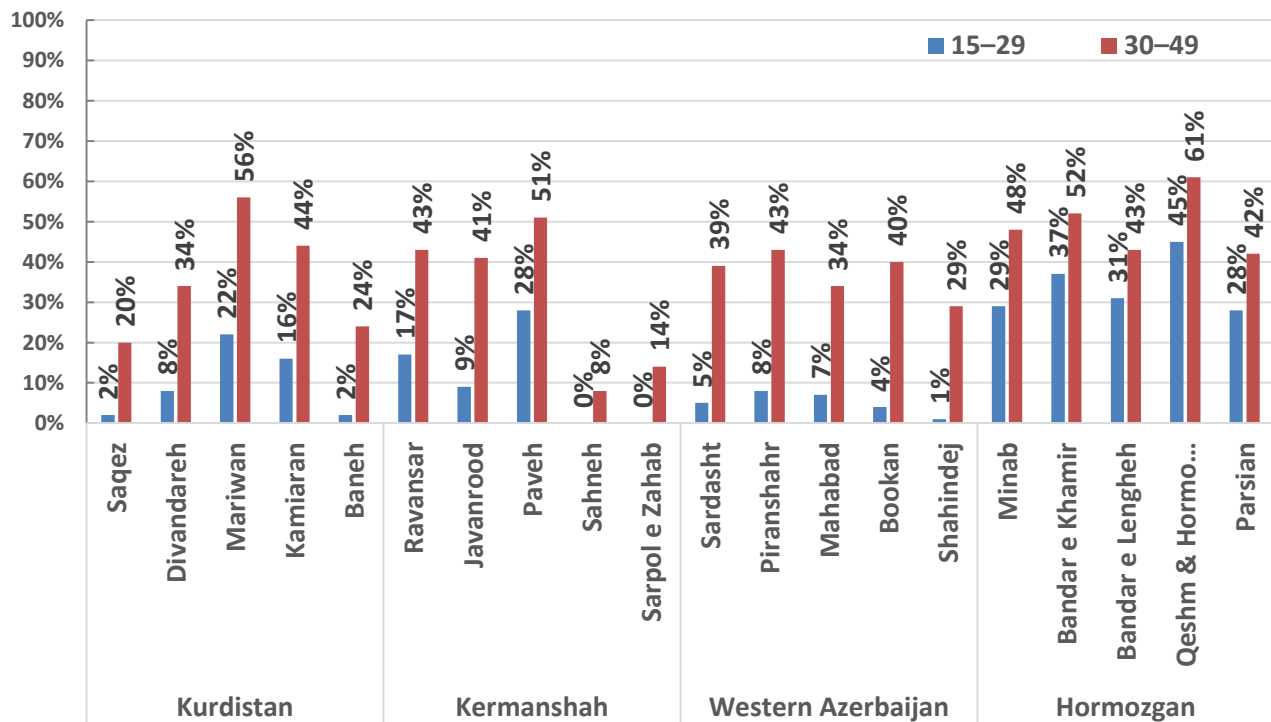*Prevalence of FGM by Age*

Chart 1 below gives an overview of the number of women who have undergone FGM, broken down by age, in our chosen four provinces. For uniformity in result, a number of villages per province were selected for the research.

The results clearly show the regional differences in FGM prevalence. Chart 1 shows that the percentage of women who have been cut is high in Hormozgan province, where it can reach 60% in some of the villages of Qeshm, Hormuz, and Larak islands. It is at its lowest in villages of Parsian, at 31%; northern parts of the province were FGM free. Kermanshah province had the second-highest prevalence, of 41% in villages of Paveh. However, in Kurdistan and West Azerbaijan, the numbers are comparatively low.

Analysis shows that the proportion of women in the 30–49 age bracket who have been cut is higher than that of women and girls aged 15–29. In Hormozgan and Qeshm Island, the prevalence of FGM among women aged 29–49 reaches 61%; on the other hand, it appears to have been eliminated in Sahneh/Lakastan in Kermanshah, where we found no evidence of it among women and girls aged 15–29.

These findings demonstrate an encouraging trend of FGM decreasing in all four provinces. For instance, in Piranshahr, West Azerbaijan, the rate is less than 10% among the younger generation. Similarly, in Javanrood in the same province, there is a sharp decline from 41% in older women to 9% in younger women and girls. In some of the villages of Ravansar, it again drastically decreased to 17% from 43%.

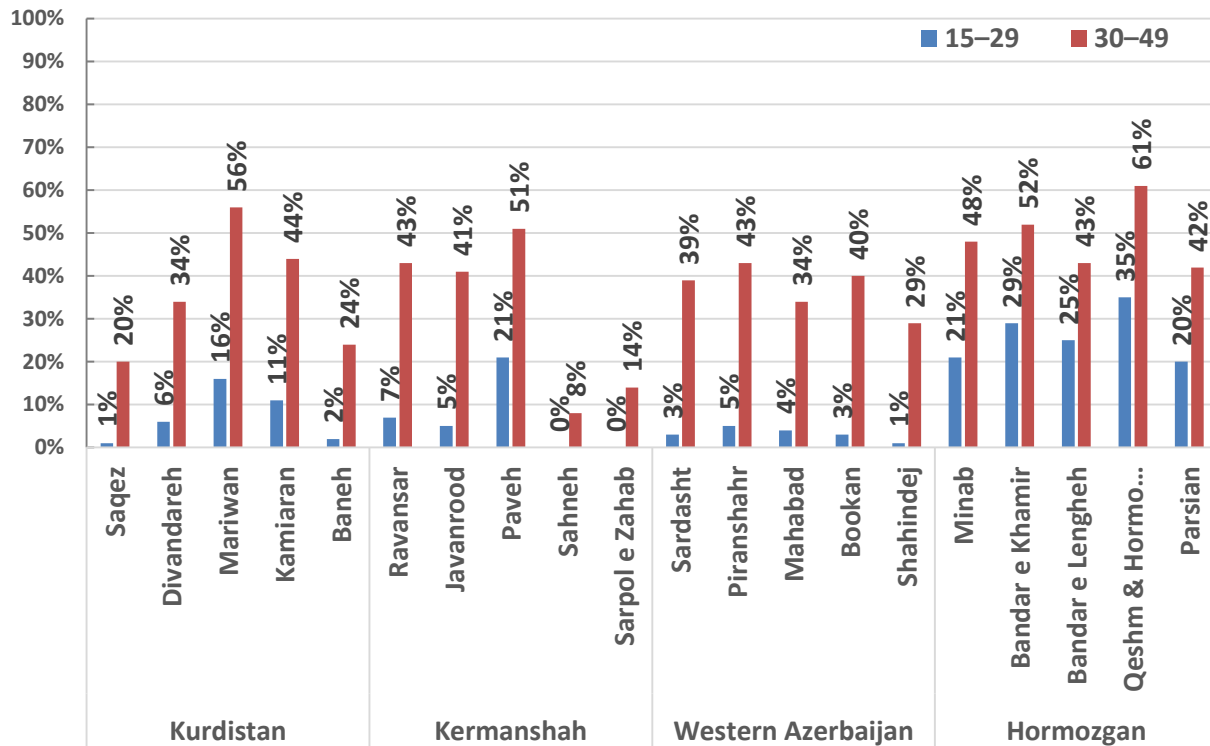**Chart 1.** Proportion of women who have undergone FGM, by age
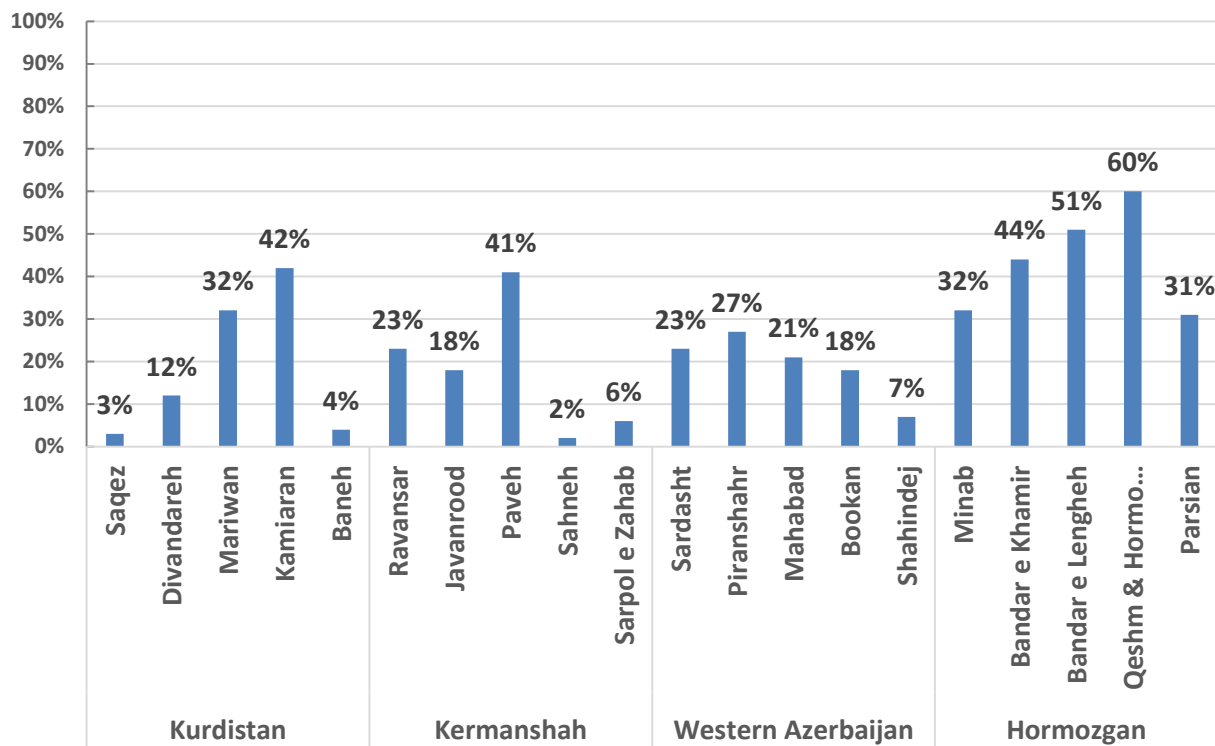
Chart 2. Overall proportion of women (aged 15–49) who have undergone FGM

Generational Trends

The inverse relationship between age and FGM prevalence reveals that women who have undergone FGM know the suffering this practice brings. Our feedback indicated that the new generation are aware and have their own thinking about how to lead their lives. Therefore, when a couple gets married, they prefer their daughters not to suffer the way women of previous generations did.

Data were gathered through separate analytical questions to analyse the attitudinal change of mothers towards FGM over time. The findings of the survey revealed a big change in favour of ending FGM. Chart 3 shows the ratio of women who have undergone FGM aged 15–49 who have at least one daughter who has been cut. The difference between the 15–29 and 30–49 age brackets is very prominent in Kermanshah, where we see a decline of almost 90% in Javanrood and Ravansar; and around 50% in Paveh. As mentioned earlier, we found no evidence of FGM in the 15–29 age bracket in Sahneh/Lakastan, and the same applies in Sarpol e Zaheb. In Hormozgan province, the data show about a 50% decrease; in West Azerbaijan, roughly a 90% decrease between the generations was noted. Kurdistan also mirrored Hormozgan, showing a decrease in excess of 90% in some areas.

It is pertinent to mention that the following data reflects those mothers who had the opportunity to cut their daughters and refused. There were also a large number of women who mentioned that their other daughters were still too young, but that, once they reached an 'appropriate' age, they would undergo FGM.

Chart 3. Proportion of mothers who have undergone FGM with at least one daughter who has been cut, by age
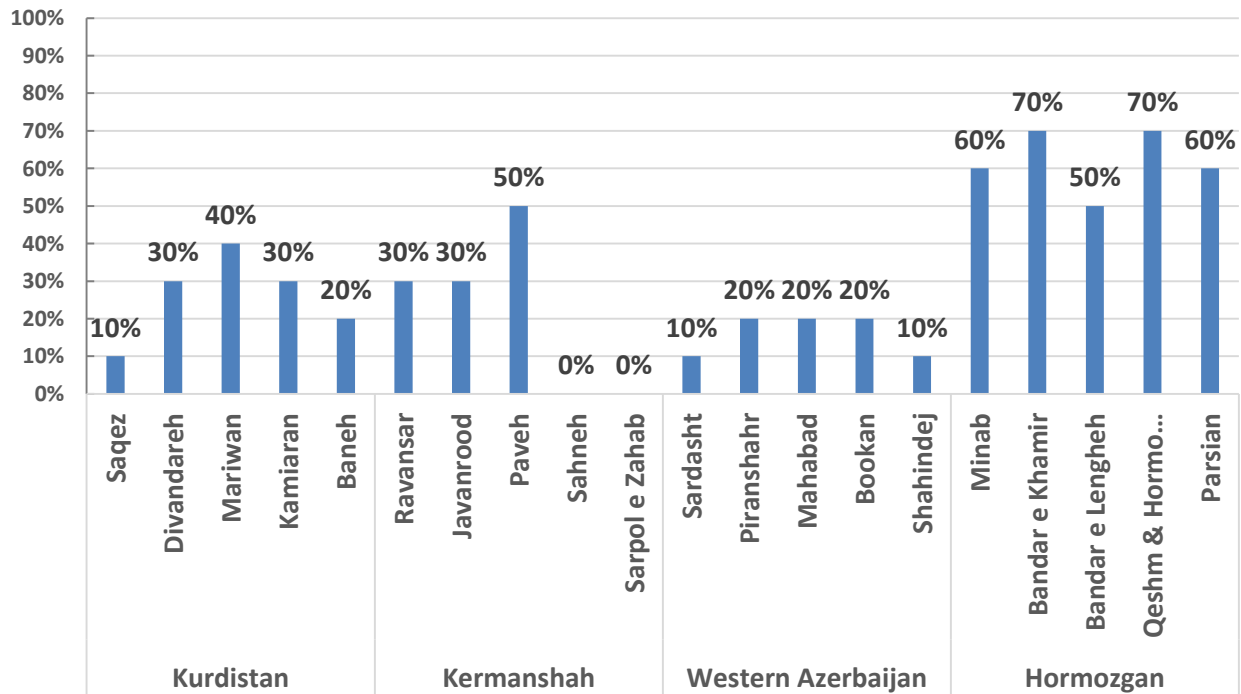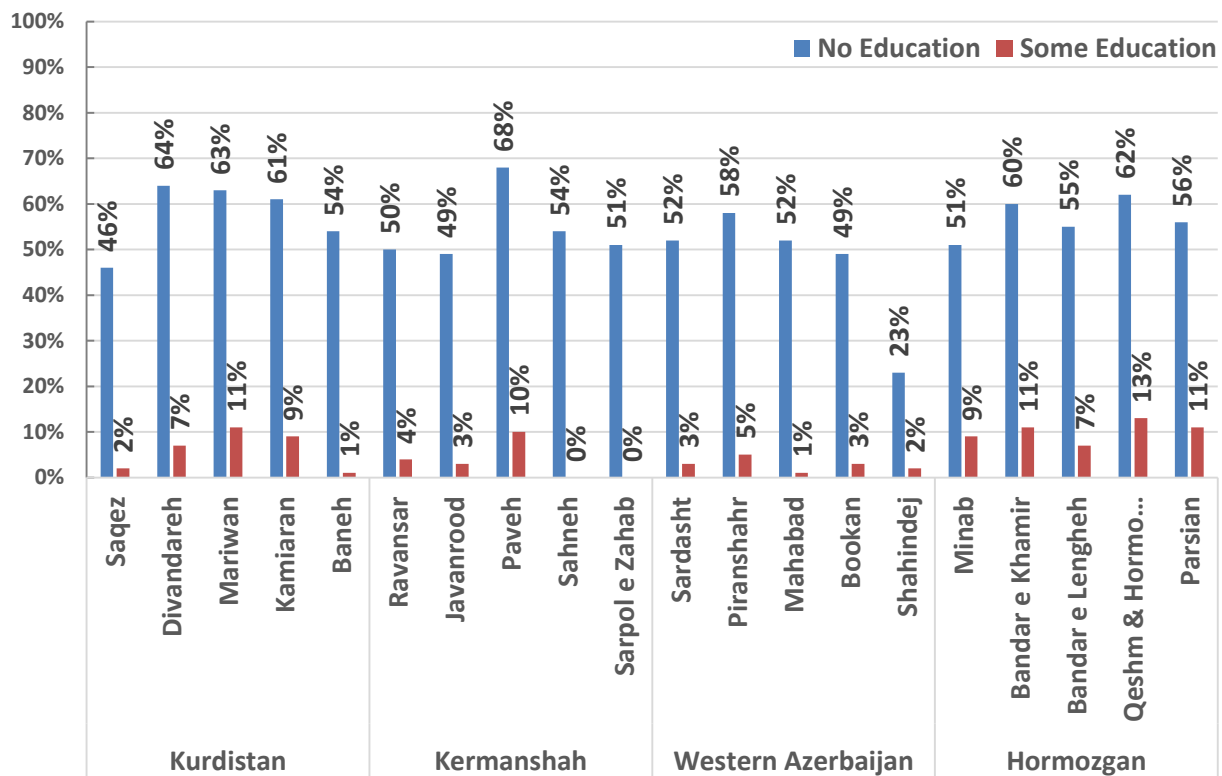

Chart 4. Overall proportion of mothers who have undergone FGM and have at least one daughter who has been cut
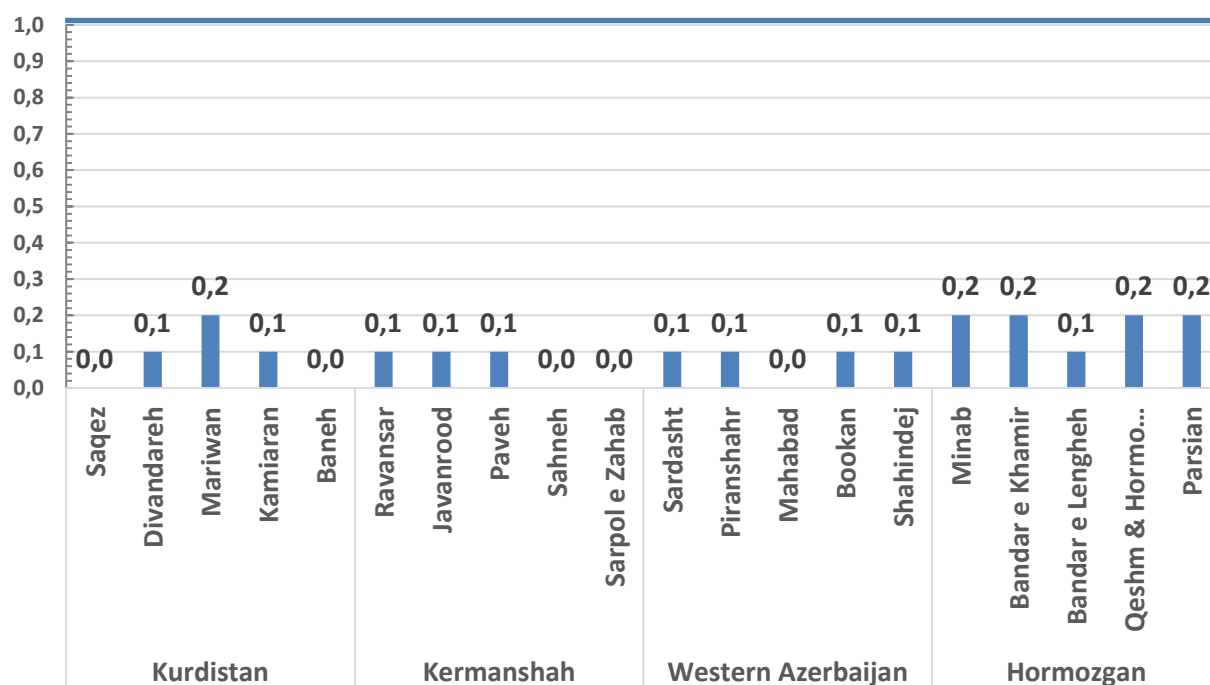
Impact of Education

Per the guidelines of the DHS and MICS, data were collected to examine the relationship between the educational attainment of mothers and FGM prevalence in their daughters. Chart 5 shows the significant impact of having an educated mother on whether a girl is subjected to FGM or not.

It can be seen through the available findings that a woman's educational attainment is one important factor in whether or not her daughter will undergo FGM. The research and conversations with women revealed that momre highly educated women prefer not to victimise their daughters in this way; the lower a woman's educational attainment, the more likely she is to follow tradition blindly, considering it a social norm or religious duty. Some highly educated mothers have had one of their daughters cut, although the rate is vanishingly small (or nonexistent) in four of the provinces. The data collected from the Kurdish region suggests that the practice is in decline due to a higher level of education among women.

The findings also show that highly educated women are less likely to support FGM generally, with fewer than 20% of those surveyed doing so. However, for such attitudes to make a practical difference, empowerment of women is also required.

Chart 6. Mothers with at least one daughter who has undergone FGM:
ratio of mothers with some education to mothers with no education

Impact of Religion

Previous studies and the underlying research found that FGM as a ritual performed by a majority of Sunni minorities in Iran. Though it is a myth, most of the world considers FGM to be an Islamic practice; however, even within Islam there is division in opinions on its practice. For Shias, who are the majority in Iran (the official religion of Iran is also based on Shia faith), this is a practice related to the Sunni sect. They refused to consider this a part of their religious obligations. Therefore, the prevalence of FGM is very low in the Shia population. The findings of the study into the prevalence of FGM in different sects clearly indicate that Shias in Kurdistan do not practise FGM; in West Azerbaijan, only 2% of Shias do, in Shahindej villages. In Sahneh and Sarpol e Zahab villages, the rates are 4% and 5%, respectively, among Shia. In Hormozgan province, minimal traces of FGM were recorded in Shia communities in selected villages, which shows that, though minimal, FGM is a part of Shia people's culture in Hormozgan.
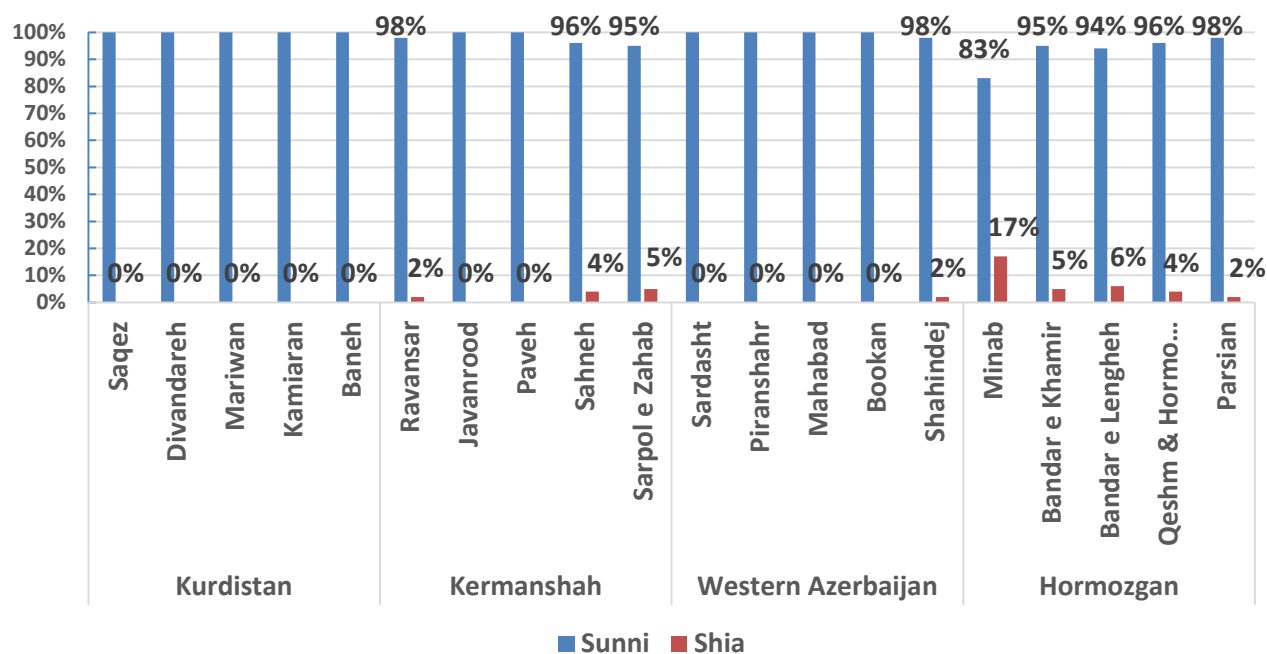
**Chart 7.** Percentage distribution of women who have undergone FGM, by sect

Impact of Household Wealth

Poverty is closely linked with the practice of FGM in Iran. In order to measure the impact of financial status, DHS and MICS questionnaires were used to gather information on household assets and household ownership, along with characteristics of dwellings, such as sanitation facilities used and access to safe drinking water. Each asset was assigned a weight, and individuals were ranked according to the total score of the household in which they reside.
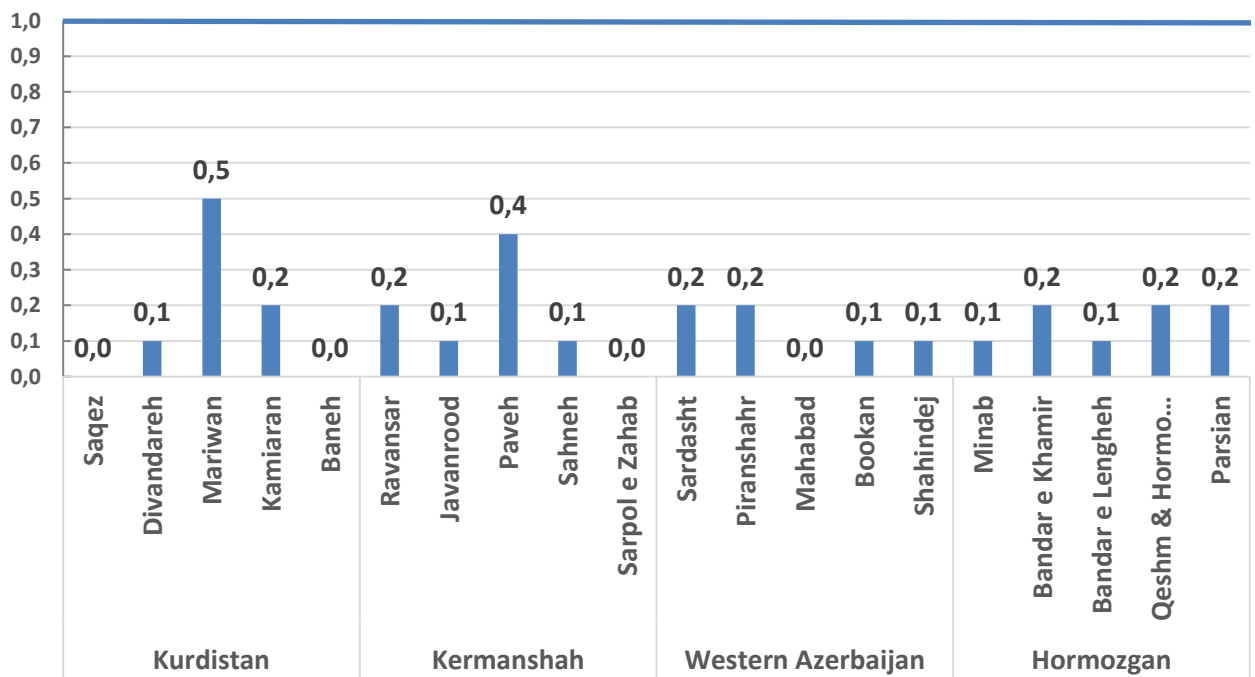
FGM prevalence appears to fall among women from families with wealthy backgrounds, but the relationship between household wealth and FGM is not always consistent. Overall, as Chart 8 shows, FGM prevalence appears to be lower among women from families with wealthy financial backgrounds. In all four provinces, the prevalence of FGM among richer women was less than 15%.

The findings revealed that, in the selected four provinces, there is homogeneity in terms of prevalence of FGM among wealthy households. Only in Mariwan villages in Kurdistan and Paveh villages in Kermanshah were the rates higher, at 23% and 19%, respectively, among wealthy households, while in the rest there was less than a 15% occurrence among richer women. An improved financial status makes it easier for families to access better lives, education, exposure to messaging, and knowledge; therefore, their perceptions about life and practices are different. However, some among the wealthy still adhere to FGM.
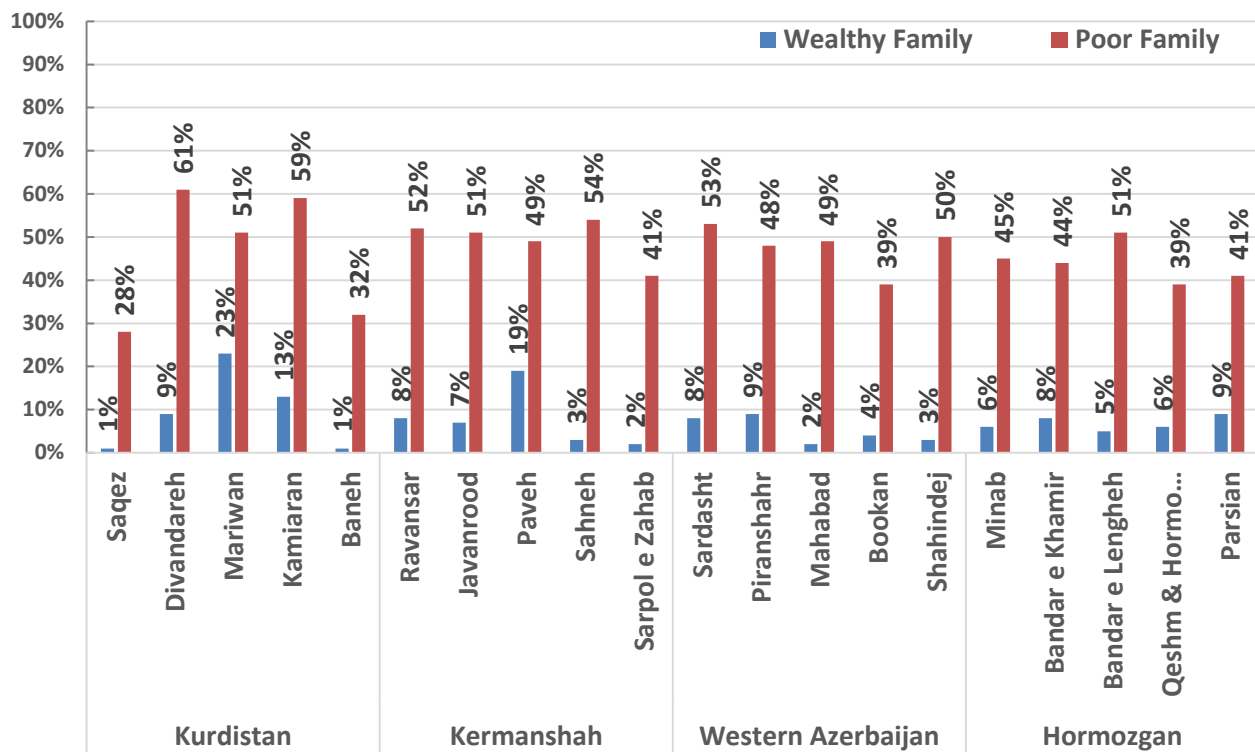
**Chart 8.** Proportion of women who have undergone FGM, by financial status

Chart 9. Ratio of FGM prevalence among women from wealthy families
to FGM prevalence among women from poor families

It is important to discover how the men's and women's perceptions of FGM influence its survival and who plays a prominent role in making decisions to go ahead with FGM. The research used gender-focused questionnaires to try to get at the facts. The data show that the most prominent figure in determining whether a girl is subjected to FGM is female, mostly the mother or grandmother, but sometimes another female relative; men have some say in this, but not a dominant one.

As for general support for FGM, the figures show that, in Hormozgan, support is felt by up to 44% of women in Qeshm, Hormoz, and Larak islands, while the corresponding level among men is 33%. In Paveh and Javanrood in Kermanshah, support is lower at 21% of women and less than 10% of men.

The results show that, despite the patriarchal nature of society, men appear less concerned about FGM than women. However, many women feel a silent pressure from the patriarchy and so are compelled to continue the ritual.
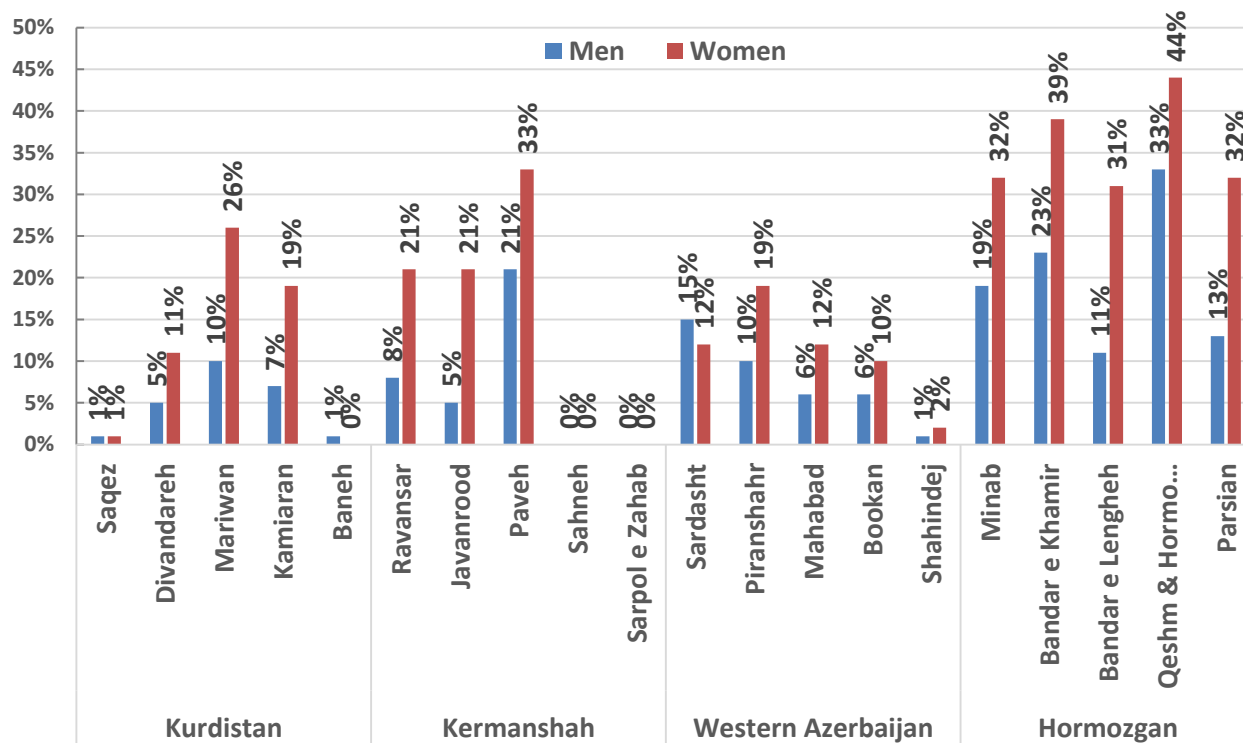
Chart 10. Prevalence of FGM supporters – men and women
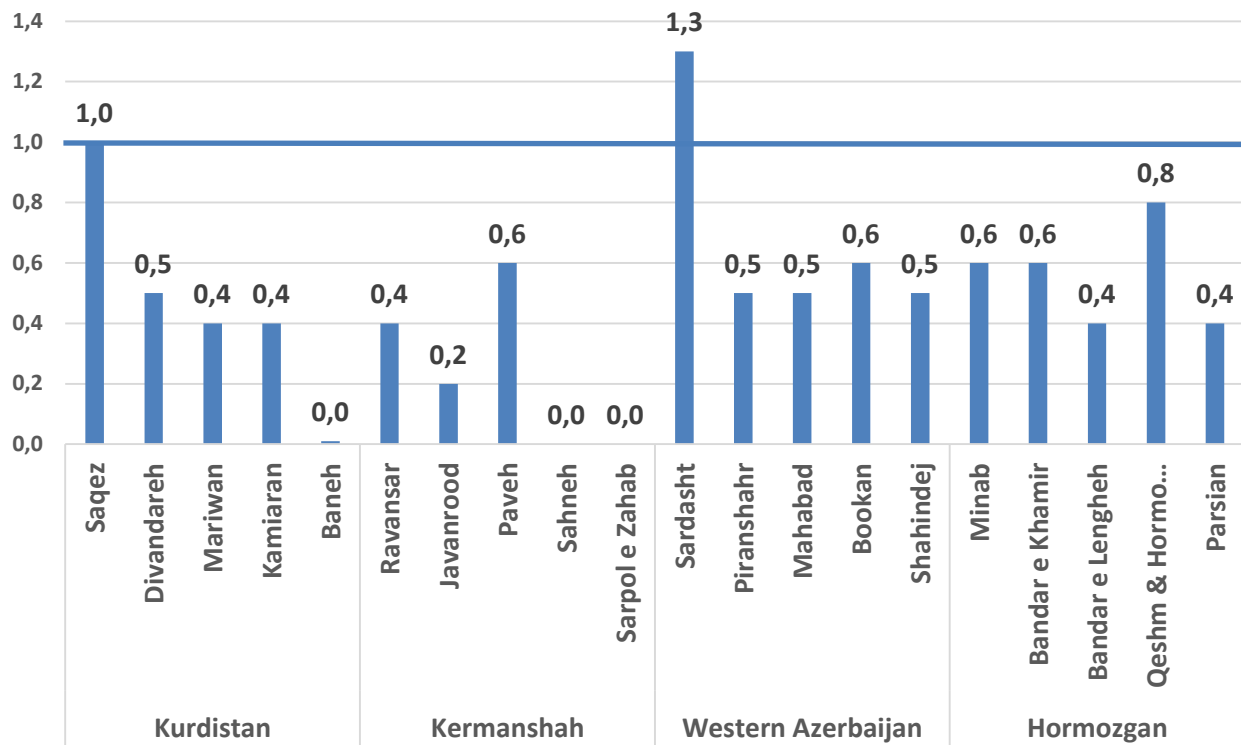

Chart 11. Ratio of FGM supporters – men to women

Influence of the Type of FGM Practitioner

Another contributing factor to the perpetuation of FGM is the vested interest of the cutters who are available within each community and the financial rewards they receive. FGM in Iran is performed by three types of people: Roma groups, *bibis* (midwives) and family members (in practice, older women).

The scenario in every province is distinctive. In Hormozgan, FGM is mostly performed by traditional practitioners, including *bibis*; however, in some areas or situations, family members may get involved. In West Azerbaijan, FGM is mainly performed by Roma groups who illegally cross from Iraqi Kurdistan into Iranian Kurdistan and West Azerbaijan province. They stay in the area for most of spring and summer, but fear arrest from the Iranian border police and keep away from towns and large cities (due to not having passports/visas). These groups are making good money by carrying out FGM in the area. Mostly, they do not use safe methods, which causes multiple types of disease. Besides Roma groups, a mix of cutters have been found among family members and traditional practitioners. In Kermanshah and Kurdistan villages, FGM is carried out by traditional practitioners, although, in some villages, Roma groups and *bibis* are active. They perform FGM with a razor or knife, without anaesthesia; there is no concept of medicalised and hygienic cutting.
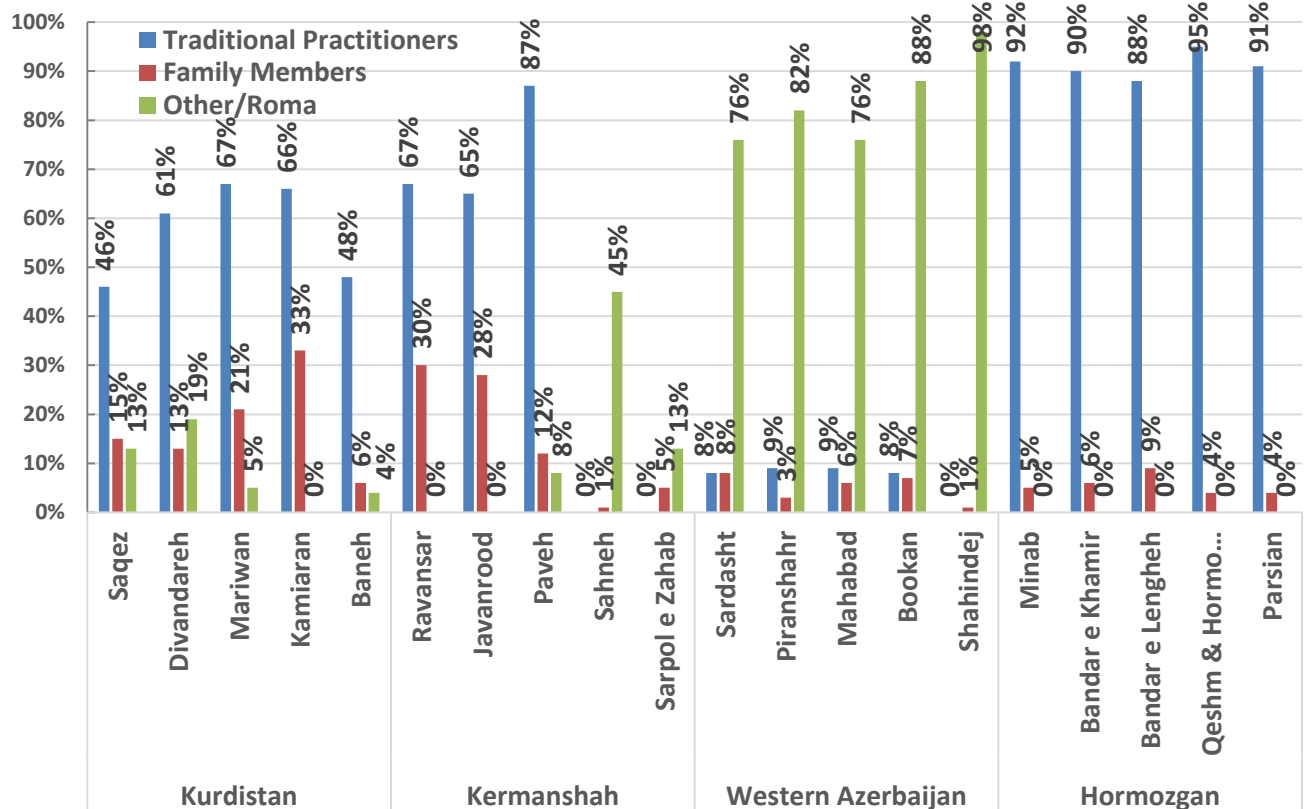
Chart 12. Percentage distribution of FGM by type of practitioner ('unknown/no information' not shown on graph)
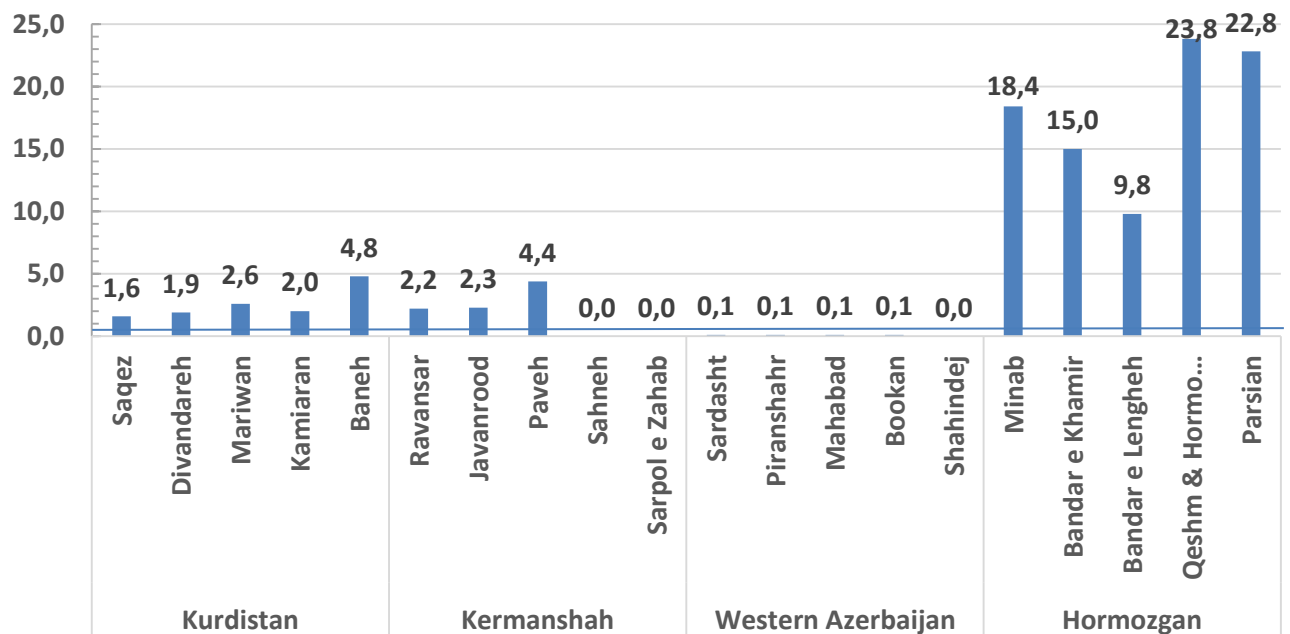

Chart 13. Ratio of FGM practitioners – traditional practitioners to other practitioners

Role of Women's Education in Support of FGM

Education plays a significant role in shaping people's opinions and influencing their points of view. In order to gauge whether or not differences in levels of education can affect levels of support for FGM, a survey was carried out in the four selected provinces in Iran.

The findings show that highly educated women are less likely to support the continuity of the practice. The percentages of educated women who support FGM are higher in Hormozgan province, falling between between 11% and 19%. In West Azerbaijan, the level of support for the practice among educated women is very low. Similarly, in Kermanshah province, FGM is supported by 6%, 7% and 18% of women in Javanrood, Ravansar, and Paveh villages, respectively. There is a similar situation in Kurdistan, where some educated women support the continuation of the practice, while the remainder are against it. It shows that education can influence behaviours, attitudes and opinions; however, there are other factors of empowerment which, all together, can make a difference.
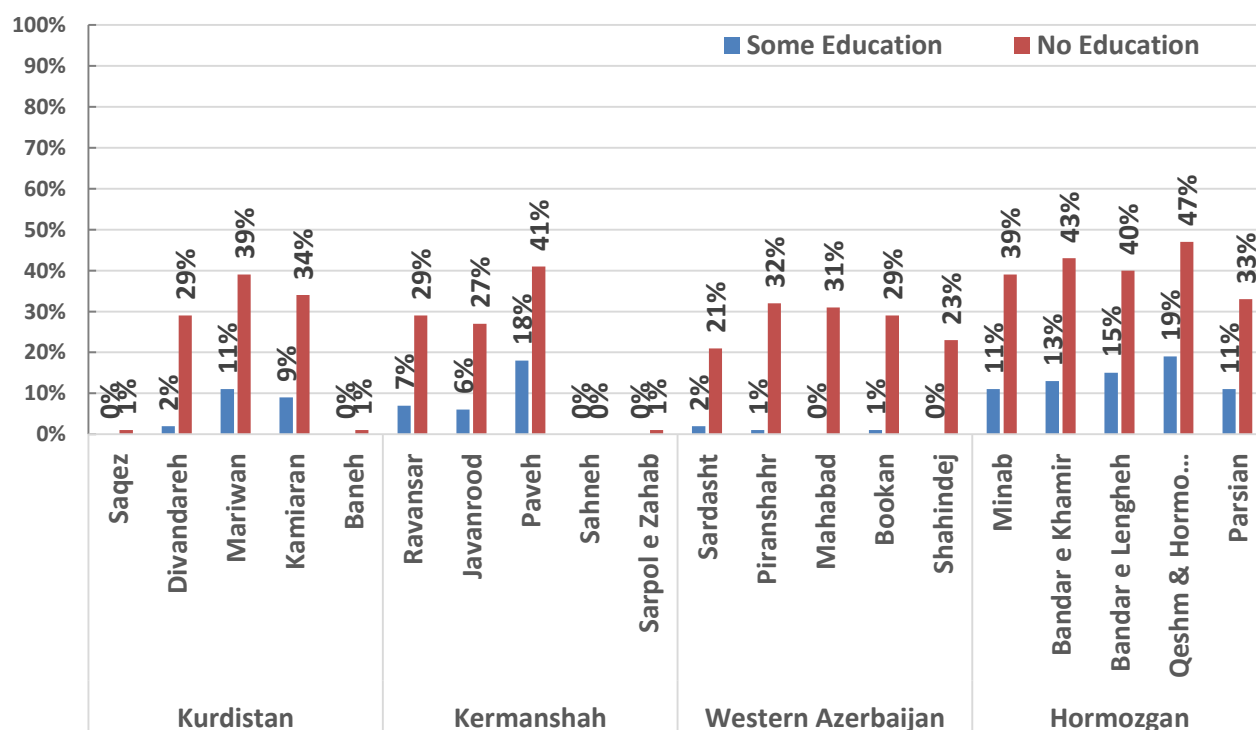
Chart 14. Percentages of women who support FGM, by level of education
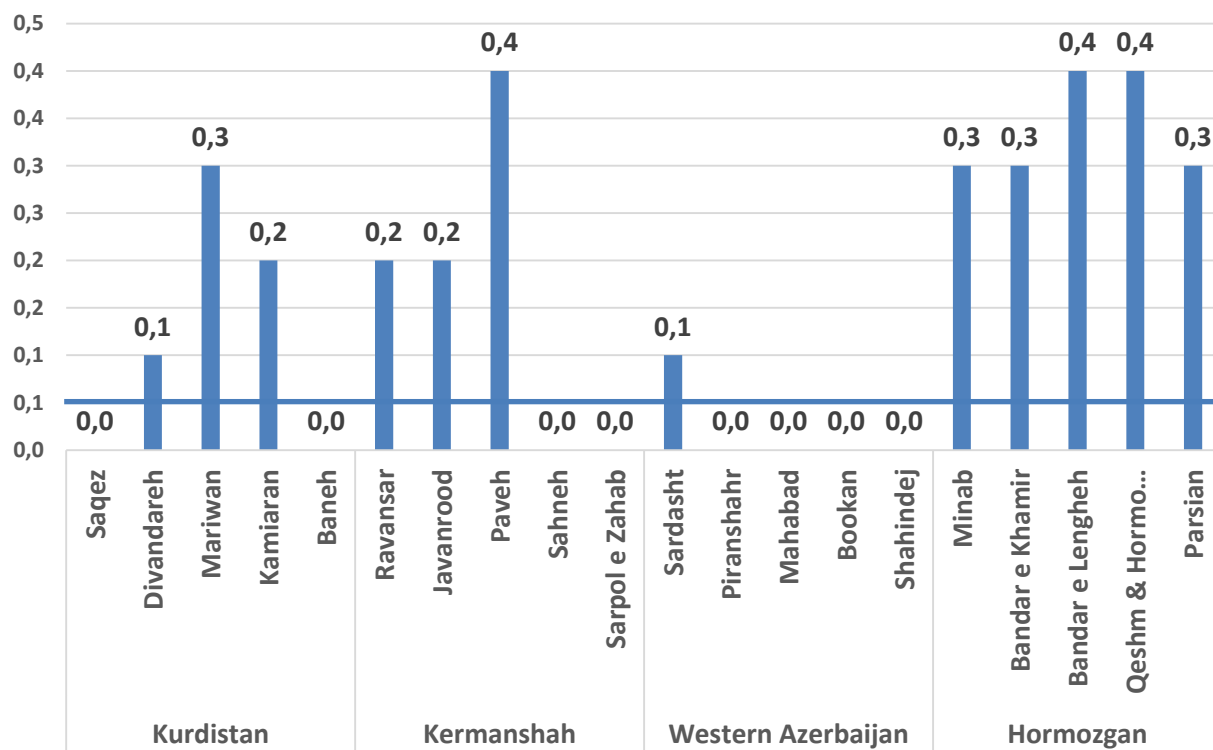
Chart 15. Women who support FGM – ratio of women with some education to women with no education

Summary of Findings

FGM in Iran is not new; however, the unavailability of data made it practically invisible. Furthermore, the Government was reluctant to admit its existence, and ordinary people were also silent as the whole subject was taboo. Data clearly show that the highest prevalence of FGM can be found in Hormozgan province, although it is also common in a few other provinces in the north-west and west of Iran. The study revealed that FGM occurs in some villages of three western provinces and one southern province. Western provinces are populated by a majority of Sunni Shafi'i, and the southern province of Hormozgan and its islands have significant Sunni Shafi'i communities. Given that the different religious and ethnic groups are dispersed through all these provinces, drawing an exact FGM-affected-area map with rates of FGM is problematic. For example, the practice of FGM in Iranian Kurdistan is patchy and will show sharp variations from one region to another –even from one village to a nearby village.

Most parts of this research had come to a stop by the end of 2014. Despite this apparent setback, much has been achieved over a decade of studying the subject of FGM in Iran. It included travelling over thousands of kilometres, visiting more than 200 villages and interviewing more than 4,000 women and some men from various areas and social classes to collect data about FGM practice. Although this research has not been fully evaluated, our preliminary findings demonstrate that FGM in some selected villages is widespread among women and girls (around

60% in some villages of Qeshm Island) in villages of four provinces in the north-west, west and south of Iran. Within these provinces, however, FGM was not practised in the northern parts of West Azerbaijan, where people are Kurmanji Kurdish speakers, or in the southern parts of Kermanshah and northern parts of Hormozgan.

The real rate of FGM today is something that must be gleaned from the number of new-borns and young children who are being cut. It is a good sign that the prevalence of FGM among women and girls aged 15–29 is lower by 30% than among women aged 30–49, and it appears lower than 8% among children below the age of ten. These points lead us to conclude that the rate of FGM has fallen steadily in the last few decades.

From our interviews with people of both sexes aged 15–49, 38% still support the practice of FGM for reasons of religion, tradition and culture. Such a rate clearly shows that launching immediate intervention and awareness programmes, along with public engagement projects, is urgently required to change attitudes.

Although it is clear that support among younger generations is lower and FGM rates have declined in each of the past ten years, it is difficult to decide whether FGM as a whole is declining quickly. A few important factors in this decline are what we might term 'modernity'; better access to education; a lack of interest in religion among youth; greater access to all sorts of media, partly through the impact of technology; and the impact of migration from villages to towns (a large number of villagers have secondary homes in nearby towns). What's more, elderly *bibis* may not be able to travel around to perform FGM and are not being replaced with a younger generation of practitioners.

To assess whether other regions of Iran are affected by FGM, throughout the fact-finding mission and field work, we continued to identify evidence of FGM in other provinces, such as Ilam, Lorestan, ChaharMahaal and Bakhtiari, Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad, Khuzestan, Bushehr, Sistan and Baluchestan, Golestan, Khorasan-e Shomali, Janobi and Razavi, Gilan, and in the more central parts of Iran such as Fars and Yezd. Despite the fact that some Sunni Muslims live in several of the abovementioned provinces, the study revealed no evidence in those locations of FGM. The study also confirms that there is no evidence of FGM in the following: Sistan and Baluchistan (which has a significant population of Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi sect, Hanafi being the *fiqh* with the largest number of Sunni Muslims); there is also no evidence of FGM among the forcibly migrated Kurds of Khorasan as well as the Turkmens of Hanafi Muslim of Golestan province; or the small populations of Turkish Sunni Shafi'i groups in Ardabil province and West Azerbaijan province. Interestingly, the Sunni-populated areas of Larestan region, located in Fars province and bordering Hormozgan province, are also FGM free. Furthermore, while there are some large Sunni areas of Hormozgan province itself, such as Bastak and its many villages, which do practice FGM, this is at a much lower rate than in the more the southern regions and islands of the same province.

In the provinces of Khuzestan and Bushehr, FGM was not found among either Sunni Arabs or Shi'a Lur, although there was some evidence of FGM among older women in southern areas of

Khuzestan province. FGM was also not found in the provinces of Lorstan, Chahar Mahaal and Bakhtiari, or among the Shi'a Kurds of Ilam, and only in very small numbers in the villages near town of Mehran, which neighbours Kermanshah province: a low rate of FGM was found among women above the age of 50. The study also found that no young girls are now being cut, which indicates that the tradition of FGM has died away in most of the Shi'a communities of both Ilam and Kermanshah.

The research methodology for this study employed mixed research techniques (interviews used both open-ended and closed questions and the data was prepared with a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods). This was because the raw figures cannot give an accurate picture of the actual, on-ground situation. Likewise, when trying to evaluate the impact of even a simple development intervention, the researchers found that it took complex procedures to bring about behavioural changes, which cannot be captured by a single evaluation process. Mixed methods, through the combination of apparent and hidden realities given by the outcomes of qualitative methods, and statistical information provided by the quantitative methodology, produce a comprehensive analysis of the problem (Bamberger 2000). An example is Chart 10, which shows there is a higher percentage of women who support FGM than men, and women are therefore having the more prominent role in FGM. According to women's responses to the research questionnaire, the virginity of a woman is of vital importance to secure her future and gain her a good marital status. If a woman can't protect her virginity, she has ruined the honour of her family. This ultimately overburdens her to preserve the family's reputation by any means and, to meet that objective, women continue the ritual of cutting throughout the family.

FGM: A Declining Trend in Iran

In some cases, elements of FGM tradition are very evident, but in others (even nearby villages), FGM has been in decline for the past two or three generations. Changing times and modern life, the deaths and non-replacement of *bibis*, the lack of willingness to accept FGM by the younger generation, education, and the impact of the media, as well as some level of support from clerics, are all factors in the decline of FGM. During the decade of this study, it was observed that the rate of FGM declined every year, for the reasons above and because of the training and awareness-raising campaigns conducted by this study. The following graph demonstrates the reduction of FGM practice during the last six years in Hormozgan, West Azerbaijan, Kermanshah and Kurdistan.
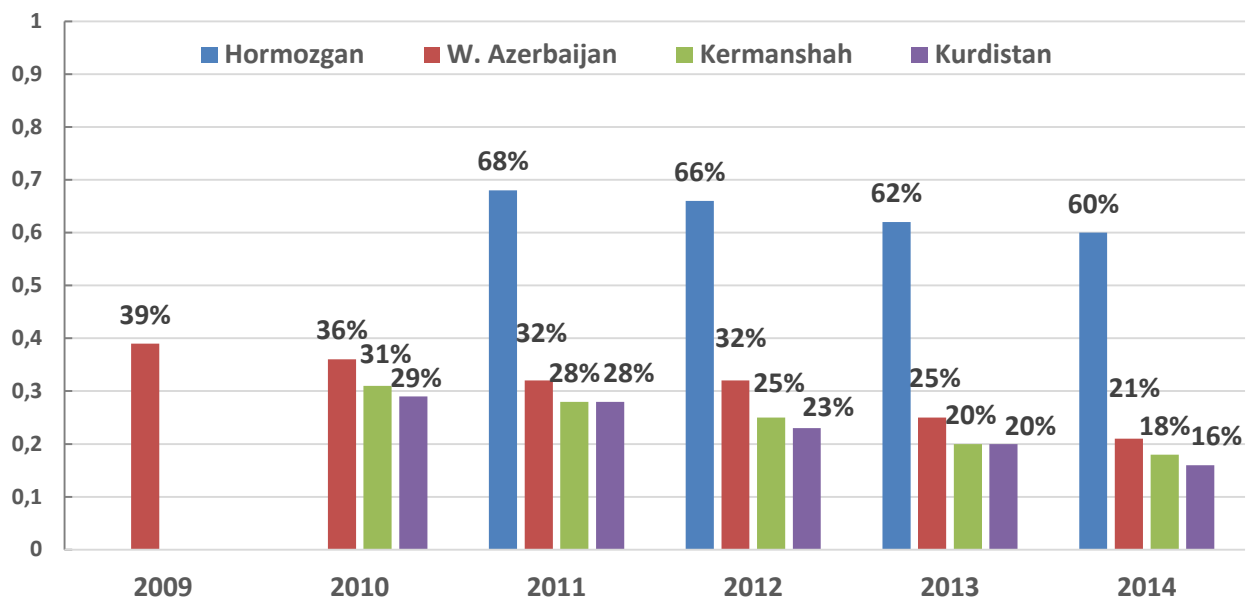
Chart 16. Decline in FGM prevalence in Iran during six-year period

As previously discussed, the prevalence of FGM is declining across the globe, including in the secret pockets in Iran. They are 'secret pockets' because the world has very little knowledge of the presence of FGM in these provinces. Within Iran, a very limited number of people, all of whom belong to FGM-affected provinces, have knowledge of its practice in the country.

Chart 16 shows a slow pace of change during the six-year timeframe. The data begin with West Azerbaijan in 2009. During the year 2010–2011, Kurdistan and Kermanshah also showed responses to the wave of change. Hormozgan province, where the prevalence of FGM is the highest in the country, still had a prevalence of more than 60% at the end of 2014, while for the same year, it was 21% in West Azerbaijan, 18% in Kermanshah, and 16% in Kurdistan. It is quite evident from the graph that the process of transformation has been initiated and the affected regions are responding to and adopting change.

Vulnerability Under Human-Rights Laws in Iran

Since the practice of FGM is centuries old and so embedded in the culture and norms of the communities that practise it, it can be difficult for new laws criminalising FGM and the incorporation of measures against FGM into penal codes and existing laws to bear fruit. Because FGM is a taboo in the Middle East, with the exception of Iraqi Kurdistan, there was no official acceptance of the practice's existence, so enforcing a law against something that does not officially exist is unrealistic.

Nevertheless, there have been some government actions against FGM. For example, Iraq has enacted a law to tackle FGM, especially in the south of Iraqi Kurdistan. The results were minimal at the beginning, but are now improving. Similarly, Egypt still has a high rate of FGM

and takes little action against practitioners. The Arab Spring has, however, provided some opportunities to give FGM a higher profile.

In the case of Iran, taking action against FGM is even harder, because there is a lack of support from the Government and a lack of organised NGO groups. Indeed, Iran refused to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). During the tenure of President Muhammad Khatami, the Iranian Parliament passed a bill in favour of joining CEDAW, but it was vetoed by Iran's powerful Guardian Council on the basis that it contradicts Islamic principles.

Nevertheless, Iran has laws that can be used to prosecute and punish mutilation of the body. These include the Women's Responsibilities and Entitlement Charters on the rights to life, physical integrity, protection against victimisation, mental and physical health and protection against family violence; however, since most of the abovementioned laws are patchily enforced, it is hard to find successful claims made by victims of FGM. In addition, the law does not mention FGM specifically and, therefore, the Islamic law of Iran does not protect women from FGM (Alawi and Schwartz 2015). These laws mean that FGM is carried out in people's houses by midwives and not by medical practitioners (Alawi and Schwartz 2015).

The lack of information has been coupled with the Government's denial of the existence of FGM, making it difficult for the issue of FGM to catch the attention of the relevant ministries.

Iran has incorporated some general anti-mutilation laws in its penal code and, according to Article 479 and Article 663 of the Islamic Penal Code, *qisas*[5] can be invoked when there is cutting of the female genital organs (ARC 2013, Kelly and Breslin 2010). Mutilated persons can also look to the Iranian Protection Law for People with Disabilities, which was enacted in 2003, and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which became law in 2007. In addition, Iran has ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Article 2, paragraph 2 of the CRC states that 'States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members.'

Similarly, Article 24 of the CRC puts emphasis on the health of the child, which would be violated if a child is a victim of FGM.

Major Contributing Factors

FGM originated as one form of control over the fidelity of women, particularly when men were away for long time. Salam and De Waal link this to the social acceptance of women by their communities and societies. Often it is governments that violate the human rights of citizens by not properly implementing laws. Similarly, the implementation of many human rights is not

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[5] The amount of blood money owed to the woman depends on the extent of the damage done.

possible without the support of the government concerned. However, patriarchal culture and norms often prevail even where the government is trying to do something, especially in the context of women's and children's rights, as ongoing FGM in Iran and Egypt shows.

Despite governments' efforts to ban it and despite many *fatwas* about the forbidden status of the practice in Islam, FGM is still flourishing (Abiad 2008). In addition to patriarchy, the political structure and system are equally responsible for this. FGM is performed without any direct involvement of men. However, it appears that a large majority of men in the Kurdish and southern areas of Iran are at least aware of the practice.

This 'disconnection' of men seems to apply to other 'women's issues', as well. Many studies confirm that men have no knowledge of the reproductive health of women; in most of the societies we are focusing on, it is considered to be a 'women's issue' or 'secret' and men have no say in it (Momoh 2005). However, men may be influenced by clerics and imams who preach about the practice as having diverse benefits and a connection with religion. It is interesting to discuss the attitudes of some of the women who have undergone FGM. According to them, those who are not cut are not 'full women'. For them, FGM is something that needs to be done to bring dignity to both women and girls and to preserve their chastity (Kelly and Breslin 2010). These women do not question FGM as they consider it an old tradition. Importantly, FGM is mostly done when a girl is too young to have any say in the matter. The practice is perpetuated when women put their daughters through FGM as they consider this mandatory for getting married.

More on the Male Perspective

Although FGM is something that happens within the female realm, the role of men cannot be overlooked. Some men take cover behind religion and see any endeavour to end FGM as a Western idea on women's liberation. In addition, FGM may give men more pleasure because of the tighter vaginal opening and, in most conservative, FGM-practising societies, men refuse to marry uncut girls.

Some Iranian men from practising communities believe that FGM controls women's sexual drives, and they may say that their community is much purer, with fewer moral problems, compared to Shia Persian or Turkish communities. A common argument used by men in the Sunni populations studied is that, if their women were not cut, they would not be able to control them, which could result in behaviours similar to their Shia counterparts or women in sexually orientated TV programmes or films.

During our study, some men shared that they had sexual intercourse with uncut women from other parts of Iran. They stated that cut women's genitals are much smoother, smaller in shape, and enjoyable for sex; however, they also claimed that uncut women were better for foreplay. A few of the male interviewees had no knowledge of FGM or whether their wives had been cut. Interestingly, once they were informed of the dangers of FGM and its negative impacts on women's sexual enjoyment (such that they cannot enjoy sex with their husbands because their

clitoris has been partly or fully cut; therefore, they can't be aroused fully), most confirmed this was the case in their sexual relationships with their wives and said their women were 'not hot' or 'do not give us pleasure'. They also admitted that, to satisfy their sexual desires, they had other sexual partners or simply married a younger second wife. Later they were asked whether, in light of their new knowledge of FGM, they would be willing to have their own daughters cut, therefore suffering the same agony and perhaps being cheated on by their husbands. The interviewees could not answer and instead remained silent and looked away.

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Book Review

Şivanê Kurmanca[1]

Ebubekir GÖREN[2] ⓘD

Abstract

Novel type that is a literary invention of the Modern era, needs folklore's Treasury. This is why the subject of many of the novels is taken from folklore. Kurdish novelist Arab Shamo, based his literary works on Kurdish folklore. He wrote, "Şivanê Kurmanca" which opened the door for Kurdish literature have led to a new field. Because "Şivanê Kurmanca" is the first Kurdish novel. In this study, the first Kurdish novel that is Arab Shamo's Şivanê Kurmanca is discussed.

Keywords: Arap Shamo, Kurdish folklore, Kurdish novelist, Kurdish novel

Erebê ŞEMO, Weşanên Lîs, Stenbol, 2009, 155 rûpel, ISBN: 9786055683061

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[1]   Berhem bi zaravayê Soranî hatiye nivîsîn. Navê wê bi Kurmancî "Nazdar yan Keçeke Kurd ya li Gundekî" ye.
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Şivanê Kurmanca, yekemîn romana Kurdî ye. Romana Kurdî bi vê berhemê dest pê kiriye. Ji aliyekî din ve, ji ber du berhemên wêjeyî yên li Kurdistana Başûr hatine çapkirin yekemîn romantiya Şivanê Kurmanca tê nîqaşkirin. Ji van du berheman a pêşîn berhema Ahmed Mûxtarê Caf a bi navê "Meseley Wîjdan" e. Ev berhem, dikare weke çîrokeke dirêj bê hesibandin. Ji aliyê bûyer û lehengan ve, pir zehmet e ku ew weke roman bê hesibandin. Ger ev berhem weke roman bê qebûl kirin jî, erê ew di sala 1927an de hatiye nivîsandin lê di sala 1970yan de hatiye weşandin. Bi vî awayî sala weşandina wê, sî û pênc sal piştî Şivanê Kurmanca ye. Loma jî ev berhem nikare weke yekemîn romana Kurdî bê hesibandin. Namzeta dûyemîn (bi Şivanê Kurmanca, ya sêyemîn), ya yekemîntiyê ji bo romana Kurdî "Nazdar ya Kiçî Kurd le Ladê" ye. Nivîskarê berhemê Mihemed Alî Kurdî, sê beşên vê berhemê heya sala 1936an di kovara "Rûnakî" de weşandiye. Lê di wê salê de weşana kovarê bîdawîbûye, beşên mayîn ên berhemê ne êdî di tu kovarê de ne jî weke pirtûk nahatine weşandin. Bi vî awayî berhem nîvço maye û nebûye xebateke bidawîbûyî. Ji ber van sedeman em Şivanê Kurmanca weke romana yekemîn a Kurdî dipejirînin. Em ê niha li raboriya weşandina vê romanê binêrin.

Şivanê Kurmanca, di sala 1931an de ji aliyê Erebê Şemo ve bi Rûsî tê nivîsandin û heman salê tê weşandin. Ev berhem bi navê Rûsî Kurdiskî Pastûx (Şivanê Kurd) li Lenîngradê, ji aliyê Weşanên Moloday Grandya ve tê çap kirin. Pirtûk 64 rûpelan e. Di sala 1935an de Erebê Şemo vê pirtûkê ji nûve û bi Kurdî dinivîse. Pirtûk di heman salê de li Êrîvanê, ji aliyê weşanxaneya hukumetê ve bi tîpên kirîlî tê weşandin. Roman ji 155 rûpelan pêk tê. Ev pirtûk, ne wergera Kurdiskî Pastux a bi Rûsî ye ya ku beriya wê çar salan hatibû çap kirin e, lê xebateke orîjînal e. Ji xwe ji ferqa hejmara rûpelan jî ev yek eşkere tê dîtin. Diyar e ev roman, yekemîn romana Kurdî ye û unvana Bavê Romana Kurdî daye Erebê Şemo. Di sala 1935an de romana Erebê Şemo di heman salê de bi Kurdî nivîsî bû, bo Rûsî hate wergerandin û çap kirin. Erebê Şemo, di sala 1959an de romana xwe ya Şivanê Kurd, li ber çavan derbas dike. Hinek beşan lê zêde dike û wê bi navê Berbang diweşîne. Ev pirtûk, li Êrîvanê, ji aliyê Weşanên Heypetratê ve hatiye waşandin û 280 rûpel e. Şivanê Kurd, di sala 1964an de cara duyemîn bo Rûsî û bi navê Kurdiskî Pastux hatiye wergerandin. Şivanê Kurd, di sala 1972yan de cara sêyemîn, ji aliyê Erebê Şemo û Ostogorskaya ve, bo Rûsî tê wergerandin. Ev werger ji aliyê Weşanên Destkay Lîteratura ve, li Moskowayê tê çapkirin. Di sala 1976an de çapa duyemîn a pirtûkê jî tê weşandin. Pirtûk 208 rûpel e. Şivanê Kurd, cara pêşîn di sala 1977an de bo zimanê Tirkî tê wergerandin. Roman, bi navê Kürd Çoban, ji aliyê Weşanên Özgürlük Yolu ve, li Stenbolê tê çap kirin. Ev di heman demê de yekemîn çapa wê ya li Tirkiyê ye û yekemîn romana Kurd e ku li Tirkiyeyê tê çap kirin. Di sala 1986an de ji aliyê Weşanên Komkarê ve bi navê Der Kurdische Hirt (Şivanê Kurd) li Kolnê bo Almanî roman tê wergerandin û çap kirin. Wersiyona romanê ya bi navê Berbang, weke cara duyemîn di sala 1988an de li Stokholmê ji aliyê Weşanxaneya Kurdistanê ve tê çap kirin. Di sala 1989an de Enstîtuya Kurdî ya Parîsê romanê werdigerîne Frensî û bi navê Lé Berge Kurde (Şivanê Kurd) diweşîne. Di sala 1990an de Weşanên Riya Azadî, li Kolnê vê romanê bi navê Şivanê Kurd diweşîne. Di sala 1993yan de roman, cara duyemîn bo zimanê Tirkî tê wergerandin. Weşanên Kaynak, li Stenbolê romanê bi navê Kürt Çoban diweşîne. Di sala 1994an de Weşanên Deng, romanê li Tirkiyê cara yekemîn bi zimanê wê yê orîjînal ango bi Kurdî diweşîne. Roman bi navê Şivanê Kurd li Stenbolê tê weşandin. Di sala 2005an de roman, cara duyemîn li Tirkiyê bi Kurdî, ji aliyê Weşanên Aram ve li Stenbolê tê weşandin. Di sala 2006an de roman, li Hewlêrê ji aliyê Weşanên Aras ve tê weşandin. Di sala 2009an de roman, cara sêyemîn li Tirkiyê bi zimanê wê yê orîjînal, lê vê carê ne li Stenbolê lê, li Amedê, ji aliyê Weşanên Lîs ve tê çap kirin. Ev çap 201 rûpel e. Weşanxaneyê di vê çapê de cî daye orîjînala romanê ya bi tîpên kirîlî ku di sala 1935an de li Êrîvanê hatiye çap kirin.

Roman, weke otobiyografiyekê hatiye nivîsandin. Şemo, ji zaroktiya xwe destpê kiriye û jiyana xwe vegotiye. Şiklê vegotinê ezî/minî ye. "Dîtineke îlahî" serdest e, ango nivîskar her tiştî dibîne û dizane. Roman, bi devoka Serhedê hatiye nivîsandin. Her wiha ji ber pir çandiya herêmê Şemo romanê de behsa gelek gelan dike. Têkiliyên wan ên di navbera hev de vedibêje û nêrîn û baweriyên wan ên derbareyî jiyanê de neqil dike. Di romanê de gelek peyvên Rûsî, Ermenîkî û Tirkî hene. Ev jî pirzimaniya Şemo û berhemên wî nîşan dide.

Şemo, nivîskarekî realîst û sosyalîst e. Ev yek bi awayekî eşkere di Şivanê Kurmanca de xuya dike. Bo nimûne, di romanê de behsa begên kurdan tên kirin. Her yek xwediyê çend gundan e. Çend keriyên pezên wan hene. Heta ku karê wan hebe gundî nikarin tu karê xwe bikin. Karê wan ê navmalê jî ji aliyê jin û qîzên gundiyan ve têkirin. Mafê tu kesî tune ku devê xwe li ber wan qul bike û bibêje pit. Ku yek bêhemdê xwe be jî çewtiyekî bike çermê pişta wî bi daran ve radibe. Ew dikarin bi dek û dolaban heqê şivanan nedin, bi ser de wan deyndar derxin û ji çend salan carekê kulavekî nû ji wan re nestînin. Di zivistanên xedar de ew şivanê nîv tazî ji serma nexweş dikevin û dimirin. Lê dîsa jî deyndarê beg in. Lewre wî şivantiya xwe nebiriye serî û mafê wî yê mirinê tune ye. Ku deyndar bimire wê ew deyn ji can û cesedên jin û zarokên wî bê derxistin.

Nêrîna Şemo ya li hemberî beg û axayan hişk e û bi yekserî wan nebaş nîşan dide. Her wiha gundî û kesîban (belengaz, feqîr) jî bi yekserî baş û mafdar nîşan dide. Li cem wî axa, beg, serekeşîr, dindarên êlan tev zulimkar, talanker, neheq, merîvkuj û bêwijdan in. Gundî, pale, kesîb û belengaz jî kesên pozîtîv in. Ev teswîrkirina reş û spî rê li ber hinek rexneyan jî vedike. Helbet di nav axa û began de merîvên neheq ên xerab hebûne, lê derheqê tevan de xerab nivîsandin, qelsiyeke wan nivîsan e. Ewî rind dizanîbû ku di nav navên Şivanê Kurd de bi xerabî daye navên wisa hene ku êlên xwe ji qirê xilas kirine, anîne gihandine Ermenistanê. Wan jî mîna her kesî zehmetî, belengazî kişandine. Heta niha jî navên hinekan di nav Kurdên Ermensîtanê de bûne efsane. Kilam avêtine ser wan û ew bi keder tên bibîranîn ku di salên Sovyetê yên ewilîn de komunîstan û Komsomolan, belesebep çiqas neheqî li wan kirine.

Şemo di Şivanê Kurmanca de, cî dide jiyana koçer û gundiyên Kurd. Di romanê de nivîskar gelek delal jiyana Kurdan a koçeriyê dide nîşan. Gelek cih daye dostanî û hogirtiya pale û gundiyên bindest ên gelên cîran. Şemo, di gel vê yekê, ji ber ku di herêmê de gelên cuda jî dijîn, vê rastiya pişt guhê xwe re navêje û di romanê de cî dide jiyan û adetên wan gelan jî. Ew ne tenê derheqê jiyana Kurdan de, lê wisa jî derheqê gelên wê herêmê yên din de gilî dike. Kifş dike ku hejarî û zordarî miletiyê nas nake. Zalimê her gelî weke hev in, hejar jî weke hev in.

EREBÊ ŞEMO

Tîpguhastin & Veçapkirin

ŞIVANÊ
KURMANCA

WEŞANXANEYA LÎS