



**NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ORAL STORIES OF
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE TOLD BY IRAQI KURDISH AND
WHITE BRITISH ENGLISH-SPEAKING WOMEN**

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Hallat Rajab Ebrahim, BA, MA

School of English

University of Leicester

2016

Narrative analysis of the oral stories of personal experience told by Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women

Abstract

Narrative has long been investigated as a culturally sensitive mode of expression which may vary in terms of narrative content, linguistic expression and interactional style. This thesis builds on earlier cross-cultural studies of narrative, exploring the stories told by Kurdish and English speakers. Through the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data (80 stories told by Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women, and semi-structured ethnographic interviews with the same participants), I examine the variation in the structure and styles of the stories of personal experiences told by selected Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women using Labov's (1972) and Ochs and Capps' (2001) models of narrative analysis. The thesis then goes on to explore the implications that these variations might have for interpreting the cultural identities of the participants through their stories.

The findings show cross-cultural variation in the Iraqi Kurdish and white British English women's style and structure of storytelling. All the Kurdish participants preferred repetition in their stories, regardless of their multilingual status or whether they told stories in Kurdish or English. In contrast the white British English participants favoured lexical intensifiers in their storytelling style. Another difference emerged between the groups of participants. Whilst all the Kurdish participants perceived boosters as more vivid, it was the English monolinguals who perceived repetition as more vivid (on average). The Kurdish participants' style of storytelling is more dramatized and more interactive than that of the white British English-speaking women. This difference could not be explained by a surface level comparison based on the cultural identity of the tellers, but instead involved the complex interplay of cultural context, story genre and topics of story genres. In terms of structure, the participants in this study did not only tell narratives but also other types of

story genres including anecdotes, exemplums and recounts with exemplums being the most frequent for the Kurdish speakers. This confirmed the Kurdish women's assertion, in the ethnographic interviews, of the moral purpose of storytelling, with their frequent use of exemplums reflecting this emphasis on moral purpose.

Hallat Ebrahim

Acknowledgements

Many people deserve thanks for their support in completing this project. First, thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Ruth Page, for her academic guidance, understanding and encouragement; and to Dr. Philip Shaw, my second supervisor, for his support and valuable feedback on my work. Thanks to the staff of the school of English for their continuous help and advice. Many thanks to Mr. Aidan Lynch for the help I received from him in proofreading this thesis word by word. I also would like to thank my sponsor, KRG's Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, for their financial support during my research project. Their support was the main reason for being able to study in the UK.

I am indebted to the Kurdish and English participants for their participation in this research project. Their participation is highly appreciated. I must not forget to thank two of my friends. Thank you Afaneen for your input and support, but also the chats and the endless discussions on issues related to my thesis. Thank you Dashne for your continuous friendship, generosity and invitations. You always make me feel at home.

Endless thanks are due to my husband (Abdulrehman) and my sons (Aram and Ari) who have helped me immensely and bear with me during four years of my study. In fact, simple thank would not be enough to express my gratitude to my husband, who was and is always a great supporter, inspirator and advisor. This thesis would not have happened without his help, Abdulrehman, this thesis is dedicated to you. I also thank my parents, sisters and brothers for their support and encouragement.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xiii
List of Abbreviations	xvii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 The importance of cross-cultural comparison: Narrative and cultural identity	3
1.2 Thesis aims	5
1.3 Thesis outline	6
1.4 Conclusion	8
CHAPTER TWO: KURDISH HISTORY	9
2.0 Introduction.....	9
2.1 Kurdish identity	9
2.2 The map of Kurdistan	11
2.3 Iraqi Kurdistan	15
2.4 Iraqi Kurdish women	19
2.5 Kurdish history and dialects	22
2.6 Kurdish history and storytelling	24
2.6.1 Storytelling from the participants' perspectives	24
2.6.1.1 Contextual information about storytelling	25
2.6.1.1.1 Storytelling as a social practice	25
2.6.1.1.2 Storytelling structure.....	29
2.6.1.1.3 Cultural values	30
2.7 Conclusion	31
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	33
3.0 Introduction.....	33
<u>3.1 What is narrative?.....</u>	<u>34</u>
3.2 The Labovian Paradigm.....	35

3.2.1 Abstract.....	37
3.2.2 Orientation	38
3.2.3 Complicating Action.....	38
3.2.4 Evaluation	38
3.2.5 Coda	40
3.3 Empirically based projects that tested Labov's framework.....	41
3.4 Narrative as talk-in-interaction	48
3.4.1 Linearity.....	49
3.4.2 Tellership	49
3.4.3 Embeddedness	50
3.4.4 Moral stance.....	50
3.4.5 Tellability.....	51
3.5 Narrative and identity	52
3.6 Identity, Narrative and Culture	57
3.7 Conclusion	59
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA AND METHODOLOGY.....	61
4.0 Introduction.....	61
4.1 Approaches	61
4.3 Participants.....	67
4.4 Ethical issues.....	69
4.5 Data Collection	70
4.5.1 Initial pilot study.....	71
4.6 Description of the data.....	78
4.7 Transcription and methods of analysis	85
4.7.1 Transcription.....	85
4.7.2 Methods of analysis	86
4.8 Conclusions.....	89
CHAPTER FIVE: USES AND PERCEPTIONS OF EVALUATION	91
5.0 Introduction.....	91
5.1 Intensifiers	91
5.2 Methodology.....	95

5.3 The Labovian analysis	97
5.4 The quantification of different forms of repetition	108
5.5 The quantification of lexical intensifiers	110
5.5.1 The quantifiers	111
5.5.2 The Kurdish and English qualifiers	113
5.6 The context of use for the Kurdish and English lexical intensifiers	119
5.6.1 The context of use for the Kurdish and English quantifiers: <i>all</i> and <i>hemi</i>	119
5.6.1.1 The frequency of the lexical patterns for the Kurdish and English quantifiers by the participants of different groups	128
5.6.2. The lexical patterns (contexts of use) and functions of Kurdish and English exaggerated qualifiers	137
5.6.2.1 Functions of Kurdish and English exaggerated qualifiers	137
5.6.2.2 The lexical patterns (contexts of use) for the Kurdish and English qualifiers	142
5.6.2.2.1 The frequency of the lexical patterns (context of use) for the English qualifiers by different groups of participants	146
5.6.2.2.2 The frequency of the lexical patterns (contexts of use) for the Kurdish exaggerated qualifiers by different groups of participants	150
5.7 Perceptions of intensifiers	156
5.8 Conclusions	167
CHAPTER SIX: VARIATION IN STORY GENRES	170
6.0 Introduction	170
6.2 Story genres in the participants' stories	173
6.2.1 Narratives	173
6.2.2 Exemplums	176
6.2.3 Anecdotes	180
6.2.4 Recounts	182
6.3 Positioning	186
6.3.1 Positioning in story genres	188
6.3.2 Positioning in recount	190
6.3.3 Positioning in narrative	193
6.3.4 Positioning in exemplums	196
6.3.5 Positioning in anecdote	203

6.4 Comparison of story genres	209
6.5 Conclusions.....	213
CHAPTER SEVEN: POLYPHONY: REPORTED SPEECH AND CO-TELLERSHIP ..	214
7.0 Introduction.....	214
7.2 Methodology	224
7.3 The co-construction features: Laughter, asking questions and evaluative statements ..	226
7.4 The position of direct speech and co-construction features in the story structure.....	227
7.5 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the stories told by the Kurdish and English speakers.....	232
7.6 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in story genres	236
7.7 The variation of the direct speech and the co-tellership resources in different topics of story genres	244
7.8 The use of problematic and non-problematic story genres by all the groups of participants	250
7.9 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in problematic exemplums	254
7.10 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in problematic narratives.....	258
7.11 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non- problematic and problematic anecdotes.....	264
7.11.1 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic anecdotes.....	264
7.11.2The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non- problematic anecdotes.....	267
7.12 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts.....	269
7.12.1 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic recounts.....	269
7.12.2 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non- problematic recounts.....	272
7.13 Conclusions.....	280
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION	282
8.0 Introduction.....	282
8.1 The importance of the study	282

8.2 Research questions revisited.....	284
8.3 Answers to the research questions	284
8.4 Further research	291
8.5 Conclusion	293
Appendices.....	294
 Bibliography	 294

List of Tables

Table 4.1 The stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in English	78
Table 4.2 The stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in Kurdish.....	80
Table 4.3 The stories told by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants in Kurdish ..	82
Table 4.4 The stories told by the English monolinguals	83
Table 5.1 The frequency of all types of internal evaluation by all groups of participants...	102
Table 5.2 The frequency of sub-types of intensifiers by all the groups of participants.....	105
Table 5.3 The frequency of different categories of repetition by all the groups of Participants.....	109
Table 5.4 The frequency of the sub-types of English and Kurdish quantifiers by all the groups of participants	111
Table 5.5 The frequency of <i>hemi</i> by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish	113
Table 5.6 The frequency of the sub-types of English and Kurdish qualifiers by all the groups of participants	114
Table 5.7 The frequency of Kurdish qualifiers by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants	117
Table 5.8 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>all</i> by the English- speaking participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	129
Table 5.9 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>hemi</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participnats who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants	131
Table 5.10 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>xr</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participnats who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants	133

Table 5.11 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>hamu</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants	135
Table 5.12 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>very</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	147
Table 5.13 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>really</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	148
Table 5.14 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>so</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	149
Table 5.15 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>gelek</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants	150
Table 5.16 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>zur</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish	152
Table 5.17 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>hnd</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants ...	153
Table 5.18 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>wisa</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish	154
Table 5.19 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of <i>very</i> and <i>gelek</i> by all the groups of participants	158
Table 5.20 The perceived vividness of <i>hemi</i> and <i>all</i> by all the groups of participants ...	160
Table 5.21 The perceived vividness of verbatim repetition by all the groups of participants.....	162
Table 5.22 The perceived vividness of expressive phonology by all the groups of participants	163
Table 5.23 The perceived vividness of onomatopoeia by all the groups of participants...	165
Table 6.1 The overall frequency of each story genre by all the groups of participants ...	211
Table 6.2 The frequency of exemplums by all the groups of participants	212

Table 7.1 The types and frequency of polyphony resources (reported speech and co-tellership resources) in all the participants' stories	224
Table 7.2 The generic stages of story genres	228
Table 7.3 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story structure.....	228
Table 7.4 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources by all the groups of participants	233
Table 7.5 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in story genres.....	236
Table 7.6 The variation of the direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes	245
Table 7.7 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts	246
Table 7.8 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic exemplums	247
Table 7.9 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic narratives	248
Table 7.10 The frequency of the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes by all the groups of participants	250
Table 7.11 The frequency of problematic exemplums by all the groups of participants.....	251
Table 7.12 The frequency of the problematic narratives by all the groups of the participants.....	251
Table 7.13 The frequency of problematic and non-problematic recounts by all groups of the participants	252

List of Figures

Figure 5.1 The frequency of all types of internal evaluation by all the groups of participants.....	103
Figure 5.2 The frequency of subtypes of intensifiers by all the groups of participants...	105
Figure 5.3 The frequency of the categories of verbatim repetition and re-verbalisation by all the groups of participants	109
Figure 5.4 The frequency of <i>all</i> by the English monolinguals and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English	112
Figure 5.5 The frequency of English qualifiers by the English monolinguals and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English	116
Figure 5.6 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>all</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	130
Figure 5.7 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>hemi</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants.....	132
Figure 5.8 The frequency of lexical patterns of <i>xr</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants.....	134
Figure 5.9 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>hamu</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participant who spoke Sorani	135
Figure 5.10 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>very</i> by English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	147
Figure 5.11 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>really</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals	148
Figure 5.12 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>so</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals	149

Figure 5.13 The frequency of the context of uses for <i>gelek</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants.....	151
Figure 5.14 The frequency of the lexical patterns of <i>hnd</i> by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants.....	153
Figure 5.15 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of <i>gelek and very</i> by all the groups of participants	159
Figure 5.16 The perceived vividness of <i>hemi and all</i> by all the groups of participants.....	161
Figure 5.17 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of verbatim repetition by different groups of participants	163
Figure 5.18 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of expressive phonology by all the groups of participant	164
Figure 5.19 The weighted average of the vividness of onomatopoeia by all the groups of participants	166
Figure 7.1 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story genres structure	229
Figure 7.2 The frequency of direct speech and the co-tellership resources by all the groups of participants	234
Figure 7.3 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story genres.....	237
Figure 7.4 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes	245
Figure 7.5 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts	246

Figure 7.6 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic exemplums	248
Figure 7.7 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic narratives	249

List of Abbreviations

Int. Interviewer

ESKS English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English

ESKK English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish

K Non-English speaking Kurdish participants

EM English monolinguals

CA Conversation analysis

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

“We tell stories. What happened to you in the day? You can tell to anybody” (Meera-interview, 2013).

“I tell stories for children, usually when they come to our house. I like to give them a few stories to enjoy the staying there” (Shila-interview, 2013).

When “you know something going on for example two persons are battling about something and that thing is not really worthy. This accident or a story or something that I have been through before, I start telling them that. May be they get a lesson from it” (Angel-interview, 2013).

The quotes presented above suggest the importance of storytelling for a group of speakers whose personal narratives have not been yet scrutinized from an academic perspective: Iraqi Kurdish women. These stories are compared with those told by a selection of white British English women. The focus on these women’s narratives of personal experience is founded on the well-established premise that storytelling is a central human activity (Herman, 2007). In studies of narratives across disciplines, it is widely accepted that storytelling is practised by individuals in all cultures, regardless of whether they are educated or not (Hymes, 1996), or if they are women or men, adults or children. As Miller and Sperry (1988) argued, the desire to tell stories is expressed even in the early speech of the very young children. This is what Hymes (1996: 115) refers to as narrative’s “universal function”. The impulse to tell stories is also documented in life history, where Linde (1993: 3-4) suggested that narrative is a constitutive element of the autobiography of everyone, and is used to bring coherence to individuals’ lives. In line with this, Polkinghorne (1991: 143) argued that narrative is the central form that makes humans’ lives meaningful. More generally, narrative has been ascribed with the ability to foster “knowledge” of methods of dealing with social life (Bruner, 1990:35) and a format of

arranging human experience (Bruner, 2001: 28). Bruner (1991: 4) posited that “we organise our experiences and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative”. As such, narrative can be considered as a “perceptual activity that organizes data into a special pattern which represents and explains experience” (Branigan, 1992: 3).

Whilst recognizing that stories of personal experience are widespread, this thesis, like other studies, understands narratives to be shaped by their social context and thus open to variation. People often frame their life experiences in a form of narrative in line with certain shared values and “shared beliefs” (Briggs, 1996: 14) of their societies. In their stories, individuals can reflect and negotiate the socially constructed nature of their cultural contexts and “make presuppositions about what can be taken as expected, what the norms are and what common or social belief systems” (Linde, 1993: 3) can be employed in their narratives. Accordingly, Cortazzi (1993: 2) suggested that analysing narrative offers a lens through which we might observe individuals’ representations of, and relationship to, their socio-cultural contexts.

The socially-constructed nature of narrative is also presented in perceptions of narrative as a specialized form of “talk-in-interaction” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 5) where interlocutors tell each other about what happened (Herrnstein-Smith, 1980: 232). The interactional accomplishment of stories is explained by Sacks (1992) within the unfolding organisation of turn-taking. “Stories can be invited (‘Tell us about...’), pre-announced (‘Guess what....’) or proposed, (‘Well I have something to tell you about her’)” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 152). As Norrick (2000:1) said, humans interpret the point of their narratives and the tellability of their life through interaction. Likewise, Georgakopoulou (2007: 1) argued that, since narrative is a mode of communication, it “will be intimately linked with social practices- in this perspective, narrative will be proposed as a discourse in the broad sense of a semiotic system that comprises habitual associations with its spatio-temporal contexts of occurrence” (ibid: 1). As with storytelling, the cultural contexts in which narratives can be situated are also constructions that are open to negotiation.

1.1 The importance of cross-cultural comparison: Narrative and cultural identity

In contrast to the earlier common view of cultural identity as a stable, unified and continuous entity, the recent concept of cultural identity focuses on the theory of “articulation” (Hall, 1996: 3). According to Hall, cultural identity is articulated in relation to other subjects and is never determined. This highlights the plurality of cultural identity in that it “operates across difference and it entails discursive work” (Hall, 1996:3), also that it is not only constructed continuously within the discourse, but also in relation to the ideologies outside of the discourse (Hall, 1996). This suggests that cultural identity is linguistically constructed in different ways by different people from different cultural contexts. As Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 5) suggested, the relation between a person and language is not one of competence, because the choice of a certain linguistic style goes beyond language and relates to socio-cultural features that are signals for belonging to a group. In this respect, Gong, et al (2013: 208) stated that “from features (e.g., dialect accent, pronunciation, lexical choice and language choice) shown in a speaker’s language production, one may tell the speaker’s place of origin, gender, social status, and educational background”. In line with this, Hall (1996: 4) said, “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or where we come from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves”. Thus as Blommaert and Rampton suggested, it is crucial to study language and discourse to comprehend how “categories and identities get circulated, taken up and reproduced in textual representations and communicative encounters” (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 10). The discourse type that is seen as appropriate for this purpose can be stories of personal experiences. As Hall (1996: 4) stated, cultural identities “arise from the narrativisation of the self, but the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity” (ibid).

Following on from this premise, in contrast to a universalizing assumption that storytelling styles and structures can be treated as abstract models, there are many studies in

applied linguistics that have examined the variation of narrative by examining stories told by speakers from different cultures, and of different languages. Exactly how language choice, style and cultural identity are inter-related is a complex matter. In some cross-cultural studies, stories told by speakers of differing languages have been examined, as in Blum-Kulka (1993), who compared the style of storytelling in Israeli and Jewish American families. In this cross-cultural comparison, Blum-Kulka showed that the ways in which Israeli families told stories were affected by their Eastern-European traditions, whereas the Jewish-American families' ways of storytelling reflected the American styles of stories (p. 38).

In other cases, when speakers were proficient in more than one language, the relationship between language and the features of their narrative has traced the influence of one language on another. For example, in exploring the narrative features in adult Korean EFL learners, Kang (2003) found that the Korean narrative style in English is largely influenced by the culturally determined discourse elements of the Korean language, in that there are no significant differences in the use of evaluation. In particular, expressions of emotions and reported speech were noticed in both languages.

These cross-cultural studies are a crucial backdrop for this study for two reasons: firstly, they suggest that we need to advance our understanding of the variation of narrative features in relation to language choice and culture. Secondly, these studies show that culture is discursively constructed, open to negotiation and can be changed. Finally, these studies suggest that the cross-cultural analysis of multilingual storytellers remains an ongoing project, one that improves our understanding of the ways in which speakers might signal their identities.

From a somewhat different perspective, the relationship between narrative and identity also has been explored in studies of discourse, where cultural identity is understood to be constructed in the "everyday flow of verbal interaction" (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995: 218). Accordingly, identity is changeable and open to negotiation. This fluid and plural nature of identity differs from the earlier view of identity as abstract, static and singular (a point made by De Fina, 2003a:15-18), which is implicit in some of the variationist cross-cultural studies of narrative, such as those cited earlier. Georgakopoulou

(2007:15) maintained that the plural and fluid identities are not constructed in the narrative discourse, far from the notion of the self; rather when the tellers construct their identities in their local interaction, they tend to draw upon the less traceable but nonetheless crucial, pre-existing, “socioculturally available - capital D - discourses” (ibid). In this respect Widdicombe (1998: 200) said, “The positions we adopt tie us into those social practices while providing the content of our subjectivity”.

It is the multifunctional importance of narrative as a culturally-sensitive mode of expression, which may vary in terms of content, its linguistic expression, and interactional style, that prompted me to explore the features of Kurdish and English stories of personal experiences; a hitherto under-scrutinized comparison in stories across different cultural contexts. However, this thesis also seeks to take into account the discursive, fluid and plural identities that might be constructed through these stories, on an interactional level of discourse and at wider socio-cultural level too. Given that the Kurdish identity is complex and particularly dynamic in relation to the ancient and recent history of Middle East, the discursive means by which these identities are negotiated require careful attention at different levels. These include, but are not limited to, the language used in the stories, the interactional context of the stories, and the cultural positions that are suggested through both.

1.2 Thesis aims

This thesis will explore the variation in the structure and styles of the stories told by selected Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women, and the implications that these variations might have for interpreting the cultural identities of the participants through their stories. The thesis has three main aims:

1. To explore the similarities and differences in the narrative features of stories told by a select group of Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women using the narrative frameworks set out by Labov (1972, 1992, 2013) and Ochs and Capps’ (2001).

2. In doing so, the thesis tests how far existing models for narrative analysis can account for the stories told by selected Iraqi Kurdish and White British women.
3. To explore how the narrative analysis of the stories told by these Kurdish and English women can be interpreted as resources for constructing their identities, through choice of language, evaluation, story genres and co-tellership resources.

In response to the thesis aims, the thesis considers four main research questions:

1. How do the selected Iraqi Kurdish and White British English-speaking women tell stories of personal experience?
2. For the Kurdish women, how do their stories vary according to the multilingual status of the participants?
3. For the Kurdish multilingual speakers, how do their stories vary according to the choice of language used to tell stories?
4. How do the stories of personal experiences construct the various cultural identities for the participants?

1.3 Thesis outline

This thesis comprises eight chapters. The present chapter (the introduction) has presented a general introduction to the research project, describing the importance of storytelling and the cross-cultural comparison of narrative and cultural identity. This leads to the discussion of the main aims of this thesis and the main research questions. Chapter Two is dedicated to an overview of Kurdish history, including the Kurdish identity, Kurdish language, Kurdish grammar and the way Kurdish participants tell stories.

Chapter Three contains the theoretical background that has informed this study, including an examination of the Labovian paradigm (1972) and the empirically based projects that tested Labov's framework. In this chapter, I discuss the concept of narrative as talk-in-interaction, focusing on the work of researchers who developed narrative analysis after Labov from a conversation analytic perspective. This leads to a discussion of the main approaches that informed the interpretation of identity in relation to narrative from a

conversation-analytic perspective, and how this has been taken up to examine the construction of identity by people from different cultural contexts.

Chapter four contains an account of the data and methodology, including the quantitative and qualitative approaches used in the research design, to select the participants and to collect and analyze the data. I also discuss the ethical issues involved in the collection of the data. Finally, I included issues related to the transcription and methods of analysis.

Chapter Five examines the uses and perceptions of evaluation in the stories told by the selected Iraqi Kurdish and White British women. This chapter is dedicated to the Labovian analysis of internal evaluation (intensifiers, comparators, explicatives and correlatives), but in particular intensifiers (lexical intensifiers, repetition, expressive phonology and onomatopoeia). The discussion of these phenomena in this chapter has a quantitative element, and aims to explore how the differences in the participants' uses and perceptions of evaluation are related to language choice, and the cultural or multilingual status of the participants. The chapter explores the most frequent forms of intensifiers including repetition and exaggerated qualifiers and quantifiers, which are particularly sensitive resource for variation in narrative style. Given that the qualifiers and quantifiers are language-specific, the differences in narrative evaluation focus on bringing to light the intensifiers used in Kurdish dialects, and their characteristics as related to the language systems in question.

The analysis presented in Chapter Six focuses on variation in story genres, using the framework developed by Martin and Plum (1997). As a counter-balance to the Labovian emphasis in Chapter Five, the analysis in this chapter recognises that the narrators in this study told a variety of stories, not just those that fitted with the prototypical model set out by Labov. The discussion of the story genres has both quantitative and qualitative elements. Initially, I explore the relative preference of the selected Iraqi Kurdish women and White British English-speaking women for different genres (recounts, anecdotes and exemplums). I will then use the positioning theory to explain the differences between the story genres, and use this to explain how their choice might index particular aspects of identity for the Kurdish women.

In Chapter Seven the analysis concentrates on the reported speech and co-construction features found in the narratives, including laughter, evaluative statements and questions, as resources of incorporating multiple voices (polyphony features) in the participants' stories. Through the quantitative and qualitative comparisons of these features, I examine their location in the story structure in order to draw on their positioning functions in the stories. I also explore whether the variation in the linguistic and paralinguistic features used to co-construct the participants' stories might vary according to cultural context, story genres, or the topics of story genres. Additionally, in this chapter I investigated the relationship between the reported speech and the co-tellership resources in different types of story genres and topics, in order to explore the participants' positioning, and in turn their construction of cultural identities.

In the conclusion (Chapter Eight) I stress the importance and originality of this study, and summarize its findings. I then discuss its methodological implications for the study of narratives-in-interaction, for the study of multilingual narration, and for understanding Kurdish identity. I also suggest some potential directions for further research.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided the rationale for conducting narrative analysis and highlighted the importance of cross-cultural studies of narrative and cultural identity for the current study. Moreover, the main aims and research questions were identified. Additionally, the thesis outline was presented.

CHAPTER TWO: KURDISH HISTORY

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a general overview of the Kurdish identity. Then it proceeds to give an introduction to the Iraqi Kurdistan and the position of women there. Furthermore, it provides a brief introduction to the Kurdish dialects and grammar. Moreover, it discusses storytelling from the participants' perspectives and provides contextual information about it.

2.1 Kurdish identity

As with the majority of people on this planet, the Kurds have their own identity, which is defined by their common traits, such as religion, race, language and the geographical region named Kurdistan (Kakeyi, 2010: 1). However, the geographical basis for Kurdish identity is complicated, for Kurdistan was divided according to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) between Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. The outcome of this treaty not only divided Kurds geographically, but also culturally, socially, linguistically, territorially and politically (Sheyholislami, 2011: 51). Sheyholislami (2011: 51) has argued that the Kurdish identity “has been violently and unjustly fragmented”. The Kurds are thus considered “to be the largest ethnic group in the world” who do not have their own state (Aziz, 2011: 4), or at least that is internationally recognized, and are known as the “largest stateless nation in the Middle East” (ibid). This has sharpened the Kurds' sense of injustice, which is expressed in part through their national identity, through which they call for independence, or at least autonomy for Kurdistan (Kakeyi, 2010). As Sheyholislami (2011: 54) put it, the

national identity of the Kurds is “expressed and articulated in discourses of rights and citizenship and claims to popular sovereignty”.

The identity of Kurds is not only fragile because of its fragmentation among four states, but also because of the lack of accurate and precise information regarding their origin (Galip, 2015). The division of Kurds among four nations resulted in the lack of written historical information tracing back to ancient periods, which could explicitly show the origin of the Kurds (Galip, 2015). As such, some claimed that Kurds are descended from “the ancient Medes (whose power collapsed after a succession of defeats), who settled 2000 years ago in the boundary of current Kurdistan” (ibid: 13). Others have attempted to relate the term “Kurds” to geographical territories in order to define their origin (ibid: 13).

2.2 The map of Kurdistan



<https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=map+of+kurdistan&tbm>

This map shows the territories inhabited by the Kurds, with the dots signalling the main Kurdish cities. The black lines mark the national borders that divide Kurdistan among Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria. McDowall (1992) estimated the number of Kurds that comprises each state in 1991, and stated that Kurds occupied "19% of the population in Turkey, 23% in Iraq, 10% in Iran, and 8% in Syria" (p. 12). He suggested the total number of Kurds to be 22.5 million, with 48% of the Kurdish population living in Turkey, 18% in Iraq, 24% in Iran, and 4% in Syria. The Kurds that inhabit the four states (Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq) have experienced different types of assimilation and discriminations. One such discrimination prevented Kurds from practicing their mother tongue, the Kurdish

language. Kurdish belongs to the western group of Iranian languages, from the Indo-Iranian branch, which in turn belongs to the Indo-European family (Kim, 2010). In Turkey, the use of the Kurdish language was widely banned by the Turkish government. It was prohibited in schools, hospitals and formal institutions, and also in urban sectors (Hassanpour, 1992). Kurdish farmers were fined if they spoke even a single Kurdish word (Hassanpour, 1992). Erbey (2007: 2) reflects on this situation and his report published by the Institute for International Assistance and Solidarity (IFIAS Brussels), argues that:

It is time for a change. Ridiculous laws regulating the use of a language which is the mother tongue for millions of people in Turkey have to disappear [...] it is time to act. People should no longer be scared to use their local language in public, in meetings, in media, everywhere. Children and youth must have access to Kurdish books and libraries. Turkish and Kurdish language must have curricula in schools and universities in Turkey.

Similar to the situation of the Kurdish language and Kurds in Turkey, Kurds were also discriminated against in Syria. Previously, most lived without Syrian citizenship (for example, denying them a passport), a matter that hindered simple living rights for the Kurds of Syria in terms of travelling and finding a job. The Kurdish language was also banned in Syria. However, in 2012 the circumstance changed. The government allowed Kurds in Syria to introduce Kurdish to universities and schools (Glioti, 2014). Now Kurds are experiencing a fragile democracy, but still their future is ambivalent due to the current political situation in Syria.

Similarly, in Iraq the Kurdish language was treated as a language of the minority. It by no means had equal standing with the Arabic language (Öpengin, 2015). Arabic, rather than Kurdish, was the dominant language, and was used in education and administrative institutions (ibid).

In addition to the discrimination related to the status of the Kurdish language, the Kurds that were divided between Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq were deprived of their simple rights to identify themselves as individuals from Kurdistan, and were not allowed to include the term 'Kurdistan' with the name of the nation state that ruled over them

(Spendari, 2005: 42-50). For example, they were not permitted to identify themselves as individuals from Kurdistan of Iraq, Kurdistan of Turkey, Kurdistan of Iran or Kurdistan of Syria. Instead, they were obliged to identify themselves as Kurds from Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. This has become the site of conflict between Kurds and the nation states that ruled over them.

The contentious nature of Kurdistan's identity accompanies Kurds wherever they go. I can testify to this through personal experience. Whilst I was doing my MA degree in Malaysia at IIUM University, Arabs from Jordan, Syria and Palestine who were also studying at that University constantly argued that Kurds should not identify themselves as from 'Kurdistan'. Once, I was invited to a party where a group of Arabs including Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians and Iraqis were present. Everybody introduced herself according to her nation state, but when I started to introduce myself as from Kurdistan, an educated Arab woman shouted at me and said, "You are from Iraq, not from Kurdistan". This denial of the Kurdish identity sharpens the national identity of Kurds.

The complex nature of Kurdish identity, characterised by its fragmentation and history of discrimination, makes the discursive construction of this identity through personal narratives a particularly worthwhile project. Although all the Kurds from the four states of Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq must negotiate their complex cultural identity, this thesis is interested in the analysis of the cultural identity of selected Kurdish participants from Iraqi Kurdistan. This is because the Iraqi Kurdish identity after 1991 tended to be more complex compared to the cultural identities of the Kurds in Iran, Turkey and Syria. In this respect Aziz (2011: 5) stated:

The political changes that took place in Iraqi Kurdistan after 1991, the May 1992 election and existence of the de facto Kurdish state since 1992 coalesced to cause a sense of politicalized and national cohesiveness among urban and literate Kurds in which a widely accepted identity as 'Kurdistani' displaced the former designation of 'Iraqi Kurds' or 'Iraqi'.

Kurds in Iraq assumed a new type of identity, that of 'Kurdistani'. Kurdistani is a mixture of ethnic, political and national identities (Eliassi, 2015: 47) that recognises the freedom that these people have gained in line with having their own politics, where

imaginary borders have divided them from Iraq. In terms of politics, after the 1992 elections Kurds in Iraq set out their own parliament that was used to negotiate all the political, economic and social issues related to the Kurds' lives within Iraq (<http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?l=12&p=180>), and took decisions far from the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. Moreover, the parliament decided to assign the Kurdish army (Peshmerga) the task of defending Kurdistan from outside military attacks, particularly from the Iraqi side. After 1992 the Kurdistan regional government established check points in the borders between Kurdish cities (Duhok, Hawler, Sulaymaniyah and the territories between them) and the Iraqi Arab cities. Since then, Arabs could not enter Iraqi Kurdistan as before. Instead they could do so only after a long negotiation and investigation with the security guards at the check points. This was to ensure security for Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan.

With regards to the status of the Kurdish language post-1992, the Kurdish language became the official language in all administrative sectors of Iraqi Kurdistan including schools, universities, media and ministries (Öpengin, 2015) . It became the primary language of communication and instruction. Currently, in Iraq, the Kurdish language is taught in schools and universities as a minor subject (ibid). In official recognition of the relationship between language and identity, the Iraqi passport is written both in Kurdish and Arabic.

Based on the political transitions in Iraqi Kurdistan, I intentionally chose the Kurdish participants in the current study from the young generation who recently graduated from university (between 2008-2012). The reason for this choice is that these participants were born around 1991 and have therefore grown up in federal Kurdistan (de facto state of Kurdistan), a state that has witnessed new cultural, political and social changes.

2.3 Iraqi Kurdistan

Iraqi Kurdistan is called Kurdistan Region or South Kurdistan. Geographically, it shares borders with Iran in the east, Turkey in the north, Syria in the west and Iraq in the south (www.bcci.bg/resources/files/نبة عن اقليم كردستان.pdf). Iraqi Kurdistan comprises three major cities: Duhok, Hawler and Sulaymaniyah (ibid). There are two main political parties that are in power in Kurdistan Region, namely the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by President Massoud Barzani since 1979, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, led by Jalal Talabani since 1975 (Stansfield, 2003). The capital of Kurdistan Region is Hawler. The majority of Kurds in Iraq are Sunni-Muslims (ibid), and very few are Shia-Muslims. The society of Iraqi Kurdistan is heterogeneous, or in other words, multi-cultural, comprising several minorities such as Assyrians, Chaldeans, Turkmen and Armenians. These minorities speak Kurdish as their second language and as a means of communication with Iraqi Kurds.

The majority of Iraqi Kurds are either bilinguals¹ or multilinguals² (m.lerntippsammlung.de/The-Kurdish-Culture.html), speaking Arabic as their second language and other languages such as Dutch, Swedish, German, Turkish, Persian and English as their third or fourth languages. With regards to the Arabic language, Kurds were mostly obliged to learn it, as it was the official and administrative language of Iraq and was the only means of communication with Iraqi Arabs. In terms of other languages, Kurds probably speak them because they are the languages of the countries that they migrated to in the 1990s and subsequently returned home with them.

Within the landscape of multilingualism in Iraqi Kurdistan, the English language gained an important status after the Kurdish uprising against the Ba'ath regime in 1991. The emergent importance of English language in Iraqi Kurdistan is echoed by the Iraqi

¹ Bilinguals “are often described as persons who use two languages” (Kemp, 2009: 14).

² Multilinguals are persons who have “the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code mixing” (McArthur, 1992: 673).

Kurdish participants in this study. In their interview responses about learning English, they expressed their willingness to learn and speak it. In response to the question “Do you like to speak English?” Almost all the participants assertively answered “yes”:

“Yea, even in my dreams I speak English” (Angel-interview, 2013).

“Yea, definitely” (Meera-interview, 2013).

“Yes I do. But I do not have such a good English” (Shila-interview, 2013).

The emergence of the importance of English in Iraqi Kurdistan is evidenced in several other more general aspects. The ministry of education decided that English should be taught in very early stages of schooling. This is reflected in almost all of the English-speaking Kurdish participants’ responses to the question “when did you start to learn English?” Their answers dated back to the learning of English in primary schools. However, the importance of English in Iraqi Kurdistan was not limited to its teaching at early stages of Kurdish primary schools, but also in English private schools which were opened in Kurdistan in 2001. Two English varieties-British and American- were used as the language of instruction in these schools. Additionally, the entertainment and instructive English language children’s magazine named “Palatink”, was produced on a monthly basis. As a result, English in Kurdistan has become a matter of prestige. Most rich families and families of the authorities used to send their children to English private schools in Iraqi Kurdistan, so the modern use of English in Iraqi Kurdistan is related to the social and economic status of the speaker.

The use of English in educational contexts is not limited to children. The ministry of higher education established English departments in some universities in Kurdistan, particularly in Duhok University. Three departments of English language (where British English was the language of instruction) were opened in the college of Arts, college of Education and college of Basic Education. Additionally, a good knowledge of the English language has become one of the conditions to be accepted onto any Master or PhD course. Outside education, the importance of the English language was also recognized when the willingness for watching Arabic movies was replaced by movies in English, particularly American movies. Three evidences emphasize this claim. Firstly, whilst I was teaching in the Department of English, at the beginning of the academic year some of the students in

year three gave each teacher a list of some American movies. The teachers were required to tick the movies that they had watched. Secondly, the public cinemas in Iraqi Kurdistan used to display English movies, and particularly American movies, rather than Arabic movies. Thirdly, a student of mine told me once that she watches only American movies in her spare time.

The importance that the English language (in both American and British varieties) has gained in Iraqi Kurdistan might be due to several reasons. One reason, in line with Ige's (2010: 3048) claim suggests that "the language use is influenced by the attitudes and values of users and non-users of ...the language". The positive attitudes that Iraqi Kurds have towards English are of two types. Firstly, people valued English as important as it is seen as the global language of communication. Crystal (2003: 9) stated that a language becomes global when it is "taken up by other countries around the world. They must decide to give it a special place within their communities, even though they have few (or no) mother tongue speakers". The concept of English as a global language was emphasized by some English-speaking Kurdish participants in this study when they responded to the question "why do you learn English?":

"Well main reasons for learning English is are two. English is a universal language for communication when I look at news, for higher degrees" (Meera-interview, 2013).

"Well the main reason would be my love for languages because I really love languages and that is why I started to learn English. And as a language I am really going to make use of it in the future. I wanted to learn more about it" (Shila-interview, 2013).

"Because is a nice language, is useful. Everywhere there are people who speak English. You never get lost" (Meera-interview, 2013).

Secondly, positive Kurdish attitudes towards the English language emerged as a reaction to the Iraqi government's political oppression towards Kurds in Iraq. Iraqi Kurds suffered different types of violence during the Ba'ath regime, including genocide, using chemical weapons, Arabising Kurds (migrating Kurds from their Kurdish territories to Arab regions), everyday killing and psychological and physical torture. All these brutal practices against Kurds culminated in a negative view towards Arabs and Arabic language. As stated by Ige (2010), "multilingual contexts have shown that the choice of language

usage has significant meanings for the identity of multicultural people in the community” (p. 3048). Accordingly, the use of Arabic language is a symbol of oppression for Kurds, whereas the use of English for Kurds is a symbol of freedom. This is because Kurds could only gain their semi-autonomy through the support of the American government after the uprising of 1991 against Saddam Hussein and his Ba’ath regime. As Aziz (2011: 6) stated, “the US established a ‘safe haven’ for the Kurds to keep Saddam’s troops from carrying out further operations as part of his nefarious Anfal campaign which destroyed thousands of Kurdish villages and cost multiple thousands of Kurdish lives”.

Due to the positive attitudes that Kurds have towards the role of the USA in gaining their autonomy, when the American allies entered Kurdistan after 2003, they were warmly welcomed by the majority of Kurdish people. Thus, the motivation to learn English increased among Iraqi Kurds (educated and non-educated). As an example, a relative of mine who is uneducated and was selling hand watches, learned to speak American English due to his contact with the American forces whilst purchasing watches. After this, my relative worked with those forces as a translator, translating simple words and sentences for the American soldiers when they were talking with people in the markets and on the street.

In addition to the political reasons for the rising importance of English in Iraqi Kurdistan, the English language also helped the humanitarian work that took place. After 1991, Iraqi Kurdistan witnessed an intensive establishment of human rights organizations, which helped to rebuild the destroyed Kurdish villages, supplied shelters for the poor and to those who had special needs (Leezenberg, 2000). The language of instruction in these organizations was English, regardless of the English variety used, since the employers in these organizations came from all over the world, with countries such as India, China, Canada, America, Britain, Korea and Australia represented. The existence of these organizations in Kurdistan prompted Kurds to pay more attention to improving their English in order to obtain a job there, as salaries were noticeably higher.

As this suggests, the importance of English in Iraqi Kurdistan is also related to economic factors. The strategic geographical location of Kurdistan, crossing Turkey, Iran and Syria, opened the doors for foreign investment in the Iraqi area. Lots of companies from Turkey and Iran come to invest in Iraqi Kurdistan

(<http://investingroup.org/country/kurdistan/>), and to take part in the process of rebuilding in various cities. The thriving of their economy, the safety provided and the architecture encouraged multinational corporations from remote countries to come and invest, including companies from China, Korea, Britain and America (<http://investingroup.org/country/kurdistan/>). The language of communication in these companies was English, a point that encouraged Kurds who worked in this domain to learn English and acquire its skills.

In addition to the investment of foreign companies in Iraqi Kurdistan, some Kurdish companies, operating in various sectors, started to bring in workers from a wide range of countries including Indonesia, Georgia, Bangladesh, India, Iran, Turkey and Ethiopia. (Kamal, 2014). For example, in the health sector, the majority of cleaners in some hospitals are from Georgia. In the economic sector, especially in big supermarkets and shopping malls, the cashiers are from Bangladesh and Indonesia. Additionally, in some electronic companies, the workers are from India. This also enhanced the importance of English, since it was the only common language of communication amongst those workers.

Finally, social media also played a role in enhancing the place of English in Iraqi Kurdistan. The wide access to internet after 1991 (which was forbidden during the Ba'ath regime), encouraged individuals to socialize through Facebook and Twitter, where the language of interaction is both in English and Kurdish.

2.4 Iraqi Kurdish women

Although there have been changes in recent years in raising awareness of violence by the Kurdistan Regional Government, women's organizations and Islamic scholars, still women in Iraqi Kurdistan are required to "chaste prior to marriage, obedient, subservient, docile and to comply with the demands of male members of their families" (Hague et al, 2013: 387-388). There are reported cases of honour violence³ against women in Iraqi

³ Honour violence was experienced against women when they had sex relations outside the marriage borders.

Kurdistan. Between 2004 and 2008, 980 cases of violence against women in Iraqi Kurdistan were recorded (IRC report: p. 9). Moreover, 170 cases of violence against women were registered in 2012 (Barzinji, 2013).

Although the majority of Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan are Muslims, and according to Islamic principles honour violence against women is rejected, Kurds still sometimes experience this type of violence. These practices are rooted in Kurdish tribal traditions, and stem from cultural (Mazher, 2015) rather than religious perspectives. According to Islamic principles, both men and women are punished when they violate Islamic rules (but are not killed). However, when men in Iraqi Kurdistan violate the moral values related to honour issues, they are neither treated in a similar way to women, nor are they killed or punished (Hassanpour, 2001). There is evidence to assert that honour violence in Iraqi Kurdistan is rooted in Kurdish cultural traditions rather than Islam, such as the practices of honour killing among the non-Muslim Kurdish Yezidians. For example, a non-Muslim teenage Yezidian girl named Doa was stoned to death (Jaber, 2007) by her male cousins in 2007 in Kurdistan (the village of Bahzani near Mosul), for she had fallen in love with the wrong man (a Kurdish Muslim man).

Although Kurdish society is regarded as open minded to some extent, in some of the Kurdish districts and villages within Iraqi Kurdistan, women can be forced into an arranged marriage (Bahaddin, 2012). In such cases, the woman is either obliged to marry her cousin or a relative whom she may not love. In other cases, the father will force his daughter to marry someone who might be older than her, sometimes by 30 to 40 years, for his high economic status, or because the father has the intention of marrying the old man's daughter (as a second wife)⁴. Consequently, women refuse this arranged marriage and attempt to escape with their lovers and marry them away from family rules and pressures. As a result, these women will be accused of violating the moral values of Kurdish society, and thus are killed. However in some cases these women will not have the opportunity to escape from their families' arrangements. In some cases, they have been known to commit suicide.

The violence against Iraqi Kurdish women could be due to the division of Kurdistan among the four states (Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria). The Kurdish minority in Iraq has

⁴ Having a second wife is legal in Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan.

always been oppressed, in particular women. Sometimes, some soldiers and some who were in authority, used to rape and kill women, accusing them of being dishonest. Unfortunately, no one could prevent this atrocity. As Alinia (2013:4) stated, honour violence in Iraqi Kurdistan might be a response to military and political oppression, injustices from nation states, violence, ethnic oppression and dictatorship. Alinia (2013: 23) said, “violence against and the killing of women have for decades been institutionalized and legitimized by the state’s gender and sexual politics, the legal system’s support for killings and the media and other institutions, all under strict state control”.

In an attempt to minimise the barbarousness of honour violence against women in Iraqi Kurdistan, in 2007, the Prime Minister took initial steps to develop effective strategies to fight these problems (Hauge et al, 2013). This step was taken with the help of Islamic scholars and the women’s rights organisations within Kurdistan. The government created a rule against honour violence, showing that these practices are not related to Islam in any way. The government established a centre against female violence called (Centere Tondu Tezhi Dzhi Afrate). This centre comprises lawyers, police officers and Islamic scholars. Its main objective was to prevent and minimize honour violence against women, providing lectures to educate the public about this heinous practice and its negative consequences and punishments. Furthermore, in 2007, shelters for accommodation were provided for those women who were under the threat of honour violence (Mazher, 2015), and “360 women had been accommodated in the shelter and given help. Some of them would have been killed if they had not come to the shelter” (Alinia, 2013:93).

In contrast to the “honour-based” violence against women who violate sociocultural norms and beliefs related to honour issues, the women who stay in line with these norms and beliefs have recognizable and important positions in Kurdish society in terms of education, politics and economy. In regards to education, women are on an equal footing with men, having the absolute freedom and rights to gain different types of education and jobs (Buckley, 2013) . Women can work as the dean of colleges, head of schools and head of educational organisations and institutions, earning equal pay compared to their male counterparts. In regards to politics, Iraqi Kurdish women were famous for their roles as activists against the Ba’ath regime. They were just as active as men in this domain. A very famous Kurdish activist who was a student at Baghdad University named Layla Qasm,

participated in political activities against Saddam Hussein's regime in the 1970s (Challi, 2011). As a result of her political activities, she was executed by the Ba'ath regime in Baghdad, 1974. Accordingly, the Kurdish government decided to build a secondary school named after Layla Qasm, as an appreciation of her endeavours. In the current situation, women in Iraqi Kurdistan can be ministers (m.lerntippsammlung.de/The-Kurdish-Culture.html).

Additionally, women in Iraqi Kurdistan can participate in parliament (m.lerntippsammlung.de/The-Kurdish-Culture.html). Of the 111 parliamentary seats, women hold 39. It is not a new phenomenon for Kurdish women to have such a privileged role in politics. In 1916, when the Kurdish government was first established in Sulaymaniyah; the first minister of justice was a woman. With regards to the economy, women, as well as men, participate in developing and managing different types of businesses and trades, and can freely travel abroad for these purposes. As a group who are shaped by highly sensitive moral codes and cultural values, but who also exercise emerging political and economic freedom, women's identity as construed through their personal narratives is a particularly important topic and hence the focus of this thesis.

2.5 Kurdish history and dialects

Some researchers have classified Kurdish dialects into different types, and among them was Mackenzie (1961: 177), who classified them into three groups based on the areas that they were used: Northern (Kurmanji), Central (Sorani), and the Southern Group (Hawramani). Kurmanji is spoken by Kurdish communities living in Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, as well as in the northern part of Iraqi Kurdistan, in the Sinjar Mountain and Badninan area (Allison, 2007: pp 137-138). Within Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurmanji is particularly spoken in Duhok city, Zaxo and Akre districts. Whereas, Sorani, which is also called "middle Kurmanji or central Kurdish" (Allison, 2007: 138), is spoken by the majority of Kurds in the region particularly in the cities of Hawler,

Sulaymaniyah, Kurkuk and the urban areas surrounding them. Hawramani is spoken in the mountainous Hawraman and Sanandaj areas of Iran (Allison, 2007: 148). Within the three dialects; Kurmanji, Sorani and Hawramani, Kurmanji and Sorani are the major dialects spoken in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The stories told by Kurdish women in the body of data examined in this thesis were told in Kurmanji and Sorani dialects. In order to understand the analysis of evaluation in these stories from a linguistic perspective, some initial knowledge of Kurmanji and Sorani grammar is useful. However, a detailed explanation of all the grammatical features in Kurmanji and Sorani is beyond the scope of this research. Kurdish dialects share similar syntactic features to Persian in that both are inflectional (Haig and Matras, 2002: 5). One of the common inflectional features is the “Iranian Izafe” (ibid), which is used in both Kurmanji and Sorani as a marker of “definiteness and number” (ibid). Consider the following example that is taken from Strunk (2003: 4):

<i>mal-a</i>	<i>[DP m³n]=a</i>	<i>[AP sor]</i>
house-EZ.FEM.SG	my= EZ.FEM.SG	red
My red house		

In this example, the morpheme “a” that post- modifies the noun *mal* (*house*) shows that the house is definite and singular. Meanwhile, the Izafe “a” that post-modifies the possessive pronoun *mn* (*my*) also refers back to the word house, identifying it as singular and definite. Additionally, the Izafe “a” is also used to link the sentence elements together.

In contrast to the word order in English, which is subject-verb-object, Kurdish dialects have the “default word order” of “OV” (Haig and Matras, 2002: 7). The difference between the word order in Kurdish and English can be seen from the word-by-word translation of the following sentence that is taken from the data of the current study:

Deyka	mnži	Holendi	ne	dzani.
Mother	my	Dutch	not	did know
S		O		V

My mother did not know Dutch.

This example shows that in Kurdish language the verb phrase “ne dzani” (Translation: did not know) followed the object “Holendi” (Translation: Dutch).

2.6 Kurdish history and storytelling

2.6.1 Storytelling from the participants’ perspectives

As storytelling in Iraqi Kurdistan is relatively under-studied⁵, and as this thesis incorporates the participants’ perspectives in the data and analysis of the materials, in this section I supplement the historical overview of Kurdistan with contextual information about storytelling gained from interviews with the Iraqi Kurdish participants. Full details about the participants and their interviews are presented in chapter (4).

5

1. Very recently narrative analysis has been conducted on three Kurdish folktales by Rasul and Abdulla (2015). They analysed the folktales using Labov (1972) narrative structure. However, this study dealt with the folktales from the syntactic structure perspective. Moreover, this study is not a sociolinguistic study in that it did not deal with the relationship between the narrative structure of the folktales and features as class, age, people, and cultural identity. Instead, it just showed how Labov’s model was applicable to the Kurdish folktales.

2. A narrative study was conducted by Elyasi et al (2013). They applied Berman and Slobin’s (1994) model to compare the functions and forms of the Persian and Kurdish narratives told by Kurdish-persian bilinguals.

2.6.1.1 Contextual information about storytelling

Storytelling as a social practice, structure and cultural value were dominant themes across all the participants' interviews. Storytelling as a social practice was discussed in response to the questions: "From whom do you like to hear stories?" and "When do you like to hear other people's stories?"

2.6.1.1.1 Storytelling as a social practice

For both the Iraqi Kurdish and white British women, storytelling occurred when people could socialise with each other. In this respect, the participants contextualised storytelling activities within groups of relatives. For example, the English participants explained that they liked to hear stories in everyday social occasions. Wendy said, "I like to hear stories in social occasions and what happening in their life". "In social situations" (Wendy-interview, 2013), "usually in every day conversation when you meet a friend" and "if you have time" (Suzi-interview, 2013) and "in social situations" (Rose-interview, 2013).

As with the white British women, the Iraqi Kurdish women talked about particular social groups whom they associated storytelling practices with, such as friends, old people, educated people and family members. For example Ban said, "when we gather, I prefer to hear stories from the old people" (Ban-interview, 2013). On the other hand, Meera said that she preferred "to hear stories from my friends usually" (Meera-interview, 2013) but Nabila stated that she likes "to hear stories from the knowledgeable and educated people who are equivalent to my level of understanding" (Nabila-interview, 2013).

The white British women also associated storytelling practices with pupils, and people who have specific stories about different cultures, as Kate mentioned, "I like to hear stories from my pupils in my class" (Kate-interview, 2013) and Sana "from people who have got different stories about culture" (Sana-interview, 2013). Whereas some Iraqi Kurdish women preferred to hear stories from television, poets, people that tell real stories and from neighbours. As Ilaf stated, "I like to hear stories from any one unless that one is lying" (Ilaf-interview, 2013), Rozh, "from poets" (Rozh-interview, 2013) and Jin, "most

like from others not from mine's family, from others, from neighborhood, from television” (Jin-interview, 2013). This suggests that the social contexts for Iraqi Kurdish and white British women were culturally specific in some ways.

Although the interview responses showed that both Iraqi Kurdish and White British women tell stories in their day-to-day conversations, I was not able to collect their stories from these naturally occurring contexts (see chapter 4 for more details). Instead, I elicited stories using semi-structured interviews. The main constraint which drove this choice was that although the Iraqi Kurdish women who could speak English reported that they told many stories in their day-to-day activities, they did not tell these day-to-day stories in English as their interlocutors were Kurds, and did not necessarily share the same English language proficiency. In order to elicit comparable stories told in both English and Kurdish dialects, an inevitably more constraining format of narrative interviews was used instead. As the Iraqi Kurdish women explained in response to these interview questions: “when do you like to tell stories in English and Kurdish”, “what was your feeling when I told you to tell stories in English and why?”, the choice to use English in their storytelling happened only on certain occasions. For example in this excerpt, an Iraqi Kurdish woman who speaks English said that she told stories in English only in instances where the listener knows and understands English:

Telling stories in English well not in front of everybody because not everybody speaks and understands English. In front of those who speaks and understands English like someone like you. I tell with no problem. When you tell a story, there is a lesson behind the story. So if you tell it to someone who does not speak English. So what is the benefit of it?

(Angel-interview, 2013)

However, the other English-speaking Kurdish participant referred to the relative scarcity of contexts within which English was used: “rarely... I use English at my department only. I did not use it too much” (Ban-interview, 2013). On the other hand, social media contexts seem to offer additional opportunities for storytelling in English. One of the Kurdish women who had friends who spoke English talked about telling stories in English on the social network site Facebook, but still qualified this possible use of English.

Meera said, “Yea, When I am on Facebook when I tell/ something happened I just say it in English and write. And you know because we usually talk Kurdish. We are in Kurdistan. We do not use English too much” (Meera-interview, 2013).

Finally, one of the Kurdish women reflected on her preference to tell stories in Kurdish rather than in English, also as a matter of social identity and language competence:

I do not usually tell stories in English. Well if I am only obliged to. Almost we tell stories in Kurdish because it is our language and most of people here people here does not understand. Also may be because I do not have enough vocabularies and expressions to such stories.

(Shila-interview, 2013)

In contrast to telling stories in English, the Iraqi Kurdish women who speak English explained that the contexts in which they might tell stories in Kurdish were much wider. For example, in response to the question: “When do you tell stories in Kurdish?”, two English-speaking Kurdish women stated that they told stories in Kurdish every day. “It happens every day when I come to work and go back home. I tell what happened to me, to my sisters, or my husband or any relatives” (Ban-interview, 2013), in “daily life. Daily events we tell stories. What happened to you in the day. You can tell to anybody” (Meera-interview, 2013).

Also the Iraqi Kurdish women who took part in this project explained that storytelling carried particular moral meanings, and this was more likely to show itself in Kurdish:

It depends again on the situations you know. You know something going on for example, two persons are battling about something, and that thing is not really worthy. This accident or a story or something that I have been through before, I start telling them that. Maybe they get a lesson from it.

(Angel-interview, 2013)

This suggests that it is not a simple task for the Iraqi Kurdish women to convey their moral messages in English, and it is only possible (at least for these speakers) when

they tell stories in Kurdish. Thus they mostly prefer to tell stories in Kurdish, not in English.

Despite recognizing the prestige associated with English, the English speaking-Kurdish women in this study were still cautious about telling stories in this language. This was shown in their responses to the interview question, “what was your feeling when I told you to tell stories in English?” Most of the participants expressed their feelings of surprise, strangeness and nervousness when I invited them to tell stories in English. This could be related to what Sueyoshi (2008: 59) claimed, that “the process of preparing a story in another language is quite complex”. Consider the following excerpts:

“It was surprising because I never told stories in English orally. I did that in writing when I was a student. I mean in composition classes. I just write it, not talk it” (Ban-interview, 2013).

“It was strange for me because it was first time that someone ask me to tell stories in English and Kurdish (Jin-interview, 2013)”.

“At first I was very nervous. I was thinking like how comes I am going to tell stories in English. I am not that good at English. I was really nervous. But when time passed by and I contributed in this and I saw and hear my friends telling stories, I was a bit encouraged” (Shila-interview, 2013).

With regards to the white British women who participated in this study, my access to their everyday storytelling was also somewhat constrained. Being a foreigner in the United Kingdom, with limited relationships with white British women, I had no access to the locations where they usually socialise and tell natural stories in conversation. Moreover, given that the stories told in English by the Iraqi Kurdish women had to be elicited through interviews, the only way to ensure a comparable set of stories of personal experience from these women was to use a similar method of elicitation.

2.6.1.1.2 Storytelling structure

The participants were all asked what factors might “make a good story”. Inevitably, this is a subjective matter, but several participants, both British and Iraqi Kurdish, mentioned characteristics that are well-documented in existing studies of narrative. For example, all the participants perceived a good story to be monologic (developed by a single person who is the story teller), and that was interpersonally effective in engaging the audience. Consider the following excerpts:

Well, a good story first comes from a good narrator where he can develop a good story line and a good introduction of characters and their psychology and their personalities. And the story line is very important because for example if everything is not clear from the beginning the story won't be interesting. The story line which is developed gradually is the best story line for me.

(Shila-interview, 2013)

“Well it depends on the one who tells the story. He should be able you know to convince the one in front of him. Not everybody can tell a story. It had some characteristics. Most important thing is the way you tell the story, intonation, you know?” (Angel-interview, 2013).

“First of all the storyteller's style. He should have a strong style that gets your attention” (Ilaf-interview, 2013).

“I think those kind of speakers who are enthusiastic and get your attention” (Suzi-interview, 2013).

“The good stories, the good points, good topics, the good.... The main characters and the good subjects. All of these make good stories” (Jin-interview, 2013).

“The story is said to be good if it has a beginning, middle and end” (Rozh-interview, 2013).

“If the story's parts are connected to each other” (Ilaf-interview, 2013)

“The plot of the story is important. Something that comes to you and you want to know what happened next” (Kate-interview, 2013).

“Is the story that you want to know what happened and want to find out more about it” (Wendy-interview, 2013).

Other participants evaluated a “good story” in relation to its topic. A good story “needs good characters. If it is a fantastic one, it will have an interesting topic” (Rose-interview, 2013), and “I think having something good to talk about and knowing how to talk about” (Sana-interview, 2013).

Some participants echoed the assumption that the topic of “good” stories should be something out of the ordinary, echoing the claim made by many narrative scholars such as Bruner (1997) and Norrick (2000). As Kate said, “Or a story which goes against the norm or does something does something unexpected” (Kate-interview, 2013).

In the Iraqi Kurdish context, there were other expectations of storytelling that seemed to reflect distinctive cultural values. According to the Iraqi Kurdish women, a good story conveys a moral lesson that complies with cultural norms. As Hayen stated, “The story is good when it conveys an advice” (Hayen-interview, 2013) and “how the storyteller has used the characters, how they match with the society where the story is told” (Ilaf-interview, 2013).

2.6.1.1.3 Cultural values

Similar to the participants from Fort Wanye in Johnstone’s (1990) study, who assumed that factual reality is an element of a good story, one of the Iraqi Kurdish women emphasised that the story is good when it is real. As Shilan said, “Her jirokeka heqiqetet bt bes xeyali nebit” (Shilan-interview, 2013) (Translation: “Any story which is real not fantasy”).

The concept of reality as an element of a good story in the Kurdish context, could be related to the point that storytelling in Kurdistan is regarded in some ways as part of the narrator's moral conduct. Moral values in Kurdistan include the importance of friendship, generosity, helping others and obeying parents, teachers and older people. However, the focus of moral values in Iraqi Kurdistan is mostly associated with women: how she should behave, dress, talk and maintain her virginity before marriage, obey her father, older brothers and her husband. Do not have relations outside the scope of marriage, do not accompany men and do not go outside alone at night.

In contrast to the cultural values in Iraqi Kurdistan, none of the white British participants mentioned the "moral" aspect of storytelling. Instead, they seemed to emphasise stories as a means of entertainment and excitement. This was expressed by a white British English-speaking woman, when she said, I like to hear others' stories "when I am in good mood" (Sana-interview, 2013).

2.7 Conclusion

The overview of Kurdish history showed that Kurdish identity is complex due to its fragmentation among four nations (Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria) and the Iraqi Kurdish identity being the most complex due to the de facto Kurdistan state that they have lived in since 1991. During this time English language has gained an important status in Iraqi Kurdistan. However, women's positions within Iraqi Kurdish contexts are complex. On the one hand they are still subject to patriarchal oppression in some matters, whilst in other, socio-economic matters, they enjoy relative gender equality. These cultural factors shape the expectations that the Iraqi Kurdish women who took part in this study had of their storytelling practices. Whilst storytelling remains a strong social practice, their choice of language, topic and motivation of storytelling are shaped by the linguistic and socio-political contexts of Iraqi Kurdistan.

The theoretical and methodological approaches used to analyze the personal narratives told by the Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women in this

thesis are discussed in chapter 3, which describes in detail the theories and concepts that have informed this work.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical context and conceptual framework which informs the analysis of the personal experience stories examined in this thesis. As stated in the previous chapter, this study addresses two research questions:

How do the Kurdish and English women in this study tell stories of personal experience?

How do the stories of personal experience construct the cultural identities of the narrative participants?

These research questions address both narrative and identity: firstly in relation to localised practices and story content, and secondly in relation to the cultural context in which these practices and identities are situated. Consequently, in this chapter, the first section provides some definitions of narratives and then follows to examine the influential models of narrative analysis within discourse-analytic approaches to narratives of personal experience (with a special focus on Labov, 1972 and Ochs and Capps, 2001) and their later application within studies of narrative and identity. In the second section, I turn to the qualitative and quantitative studies which have explored the relationship between social practice, interactional processes, evaluation and structure of the stories with a particular interest in cultural variation.

3.1 What is narrative?

There has long been a controversy about the definition of narrative. Taking a structural perspective, some scholars have defined it as a text type, including Polanyi (1985:639) stating that narrative represents past events by “matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events” (Labov & Waltetzky, 1967: 196). These events are not randomly produced but as “a connected sequence” in that, they unfold in a logical and causal order, event A causes event B (Minami, 2002: 13). In short, narrative is a fully-fledged form that has a beginning, middle and an end (Labov, 1997:1).

In contrast to the structural view of narrative as a text type, some researchers looked at narrative as a cultural conduct (Fawcett, et al 1984). Polkinghorne (1988:1) maintained that narrative is the central form “by which human existence is rendered meaningful”. Narrative is the window of mind (Hardy, 1987 and Chafe, 1990), a format of arranging experience (Bruner, 2001: 28), “knowledge” about the ways of dealing with social life (Bruner, 1990:35) and a “perceptual activity that organizes data into special pattern which represents and explains experience” (Branigan, 1992: 3).

Narrative is also defined as a mode of communication (Hymes, 1996 & Ricoeur, 1990). In other words, it is a “talk-in-interaction” (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 5), a social practice and process (De Fina, 2003 and Polanyi, 1981). Put simply, narrative means that “someone telling someone else that something happened” (Herrnstein-Smith 1980: 228). As such, narrative is not a finished product but changeable in line with its context of occurrence (Georgakopoulou, 1997: 3). In this respect, “narrative will be proposed as a discourse in the broad sense of a semiotic system that comprises habitual associations with its spatio-temporal contexts of occurrence” (Georgakopoulou, 2007:1).

Viewing narrative as talk in interaction brings to the fore its relation to identity. Lakoff (2001: 211) stated that narratives are means by which individuals make sense of their life, attempting to elaborate and find reasons of what happened (Bamberg, 2012: 3-4). Narratives represent the narrators’ subjective views and perspectives towards the narrated events (Georgakopoulou & Goutes, 1997:48). In doing so narrators evaluate “the world which teller and story recipient share” (Polanyi, 1985: 16) and highlight what is deemed

significant in the individuals' activities (Lee et al., 2004: 39). Consequently, narrative is a main device for the presentation and organization of self (Bamberg, 2012: 8).

In summary, it seems that narrative can be defined from various perspectives, namely: structural, cultural and interactional. Yet, only those related to the social practice and process (i.e. interaction and identity) are of interest in the current study. It is hoped to gain various insights to the identity and interactional aspects of the participants and how those aspects affect the construction of the Kurdish and English women's stories. While these issues are significant, a closer characterization of narrative analysis will be given.

3.2 The Labovian Paradigm

The Labovian (1972, 2013) framework (at first Labov and Waletzky, 1967) is often regarded as one of the pioneering approaches in the sociolinguistic field of narrative analysis. Whilst this model was a product of its time, it has been heavily drawn upon by studies from different fields and disciplines including psychology, linguistics, education, sociology and anthropology. As Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997: 64) pointed out, the Labovian framework emerged in response to the wide range of narrative studies that had been conducted on the complex types of literary narratives. This research on literary narratives was restricted to the linguistic features of narrative (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 3), focusing primarily on the narrative text. In contrast, Labov developed his model of oral narrative analysis (ibid: 3) and attempted to link abstract language elements with the social cultural characteristics. The guiding assumption of his approach was that the identification of the formal structural features of simple stories would help to understand the structure of complicated narratives (Labov and Waletzky, 1967: 12).

Identifying the formal features of the stories in his data, Labov analyzed the language of the African-American English Vernacular, to explore how these African-American's verbal skills vary in relation to their ethnicity, age and class (1972: 355). Gaining spontaneous data in the face-to-face interviews (1972: 354), Labov developed an effective elicitation technique, primarily by asking the participants if they had ever been in

danger of death. The emotional nature of this question and its relation to the participants' life experience (p. 354) served to reduce the formality of the interview situation, and partially solved the challenges of the "Observer's Paradox" (Labov, 1972: 66), for the narrators became deeply involved with details of their stories, and they were "no longer free to monitor his own speech as he normally does in face-to-face interviews" (ibid: 355).

Working from a structuralist perspective, Labov defined the narrative of personal experience as: "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov, 1972: 359-360). These events, according to Labov, were temporally ordered, so that any change in their order will alter the intended meaning of the events (pp.359-360). This account of narrative suggests that Labov's model is "text-centered", in that it understands the personal experience narratives as a text, and paid little attention to the context, and was similarly "event-centered" in that it looked at narrative as a production of events (Patterson, 2008: 23). Labov's view of narrativity is similar to that of the literary narratologists working at the same time. Across these two fields, there was broad consensus regarding the key elements of narrative. For example, Chatman (1990: 9) considered narratives as a chronological ordering of events. Prince (2003: 53) agreed with Chatman that events are ordered chronologically but also causally. Thus, Prince defined a minimal narrative as "two states and one event" (2003: 53) that unfold in a chronological and causal order, with a temporal juncture between clauses (Prince, 2003).

Based on the presence and absence of the temporal juncture, Labov divided the clauses into "narrative clauses" and "free clauses" (Labov, 1972: 361). Narrative clauses have temporal juncture (ibid) and refer to "actual events" (Bamberg and Damrad-Frye, 1991: 690), whereas free clauses do not have temporal juncture (Labov, 1972: 361). However, the narratives in Labov's data did not only comprise short sequences of narrative clauses, but also more developed and fully formed narratives (p. 363) that included both narrative and free clauses. Accordingly, Labov posited six narrative units that would constitute a fully formed narrative: Abstract, Orientation, Complication action, Evaluation, Result and Coda (Labov, 1972: 363).

There is a rich depth of both old and recent literature that has cited and referred to Labov's six narrative units. This literature includes: Watson (1972), Kernan (1977), Pratt (1977), Brady (1980), Bunselmeyer (1981), Carter and Simpson (1982), Wolfson (1982), Peterson and McCabe (1983), Hunt and Vipond (1986), Taylor (1986), Wilkinson (1986), Toolan (1988), Hicks (1990), Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991), McCarthy (1991), Viney and Bousfield (1991), Jin (1992), Cortazzi (1993), Riessman (1993), Linde (1993), Renkema (1993), Eagle (1994), Coates (1996), Liskin-Gasparo (1996), Shrubshall (1997), Ferns (1997), Georgakopoulou and Goutos (1997), Cortazzi and Jin (1999), Johnstone (2001), Klapproth (2004), Smith (2006), Patterson (2008), Chang (2008), Mason (2008), De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) and Rasul and Abdulla (2015). This wide range of literature, which has dealt with defining and explaining Labov's units of narrative structure, suggests the importance of these features in the construction of narratives. Some of this literature will be referred to in the detailed discussion about each narrative unit below.

3.2.1 Abstract

The abstract usually comprises "one or two clauses" (Labov, 1972: 363). They are called "free clauses" (Peterson & McCabe, 1983: 29), are regarded as optional (McCarthy, 1991: 5) and are located at the beginning of the story (Patterson, 2008:25). The abstract has many functions. It highlights the point of the narrative (Peterson & McCabe, 1983:89), indicating that what follows is worth listening to (Johnstone, 2001: 638) and summarising the whole story (Labov, 1972: 303). To put it more clearly, the abstract serves "to introduce the story and depending on the context to make a bid for the floor" (Patterson, 2008:25) (for this point also see Linde, 1993: 69). However, the abstract is not only used to make a bid for the floor, but also to initiate an interaction between the storyteller and the listeners (Toolan, 1988: 150; Sacks, 1992 and Klapproth, 2004: 95).

3.2.2 Orientation

Similar to the abstract, the orientation also consists of free clauses (Labov, 1972: 364). The orientation might be located at the beginning of the narrative (p. 368) or integrated within other points throughout the story (Johnstone, 2001: 638). Orientation functions to set out the “context” of the narrative (Smith, 2006: 474, Eagle, 1994: 63 and Patterson, 2008: 25). To put it more clearly, the orientation includes information about people, places and time (Labov, 1972: 364) and has syntactic features in that it involves past continuous clauses (ibid: 364).

3.2.3 Complicating Action

Complicating Action is considered as the “the spine of the narrative” (Linde, 1993: 68) that “shows a turning point, crises or a problem” (Cortazzi, 1993: 45). Unlike the abstract and orientation, the complicating action comprises narrative clauses (mostly in simple past and rarely in present simple) that convey the most salient events, which are temporally ordered (Klapproth, 2004: 95). In Labov’s terms, the complicating action answers the question: “what happened?” (p. 366).

3.2.4 Evaluation

Evaluation is comprised of free clauses (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 35) which are called by Polanyi (1981: 100) “durative descriptive information”. The main objective of evaluation is to bring the importance of the narrated events to the fore (Bamberg & Damrad-Frye, 1991: 690). In other words it is used to highlight “the point of the narrative, its *raison d’être*: why it was told and what the narrator is getting at” (Labov, 1972: 366). As

such, the speaker will provide an answer to the “so what question” (ibid: 366). Unlike Labov & Waletzky (1967), who considered evaluation as a separate section located between the complicating action and resolution (ibid: 35), in his later work Labov (1972) claimed that evaluation is spread throughout the narrative (Labov, 1972: 369).

Labov (1972) made a distinction between three types of evaluation, namely: external, embedded and internal evaluations (pp. 371-378). Through external evaluation, the narrator stops the narrative and turns to the audiences to explicitly comment on the events and characters (p. 371). However, the narrator does not always provide explicit comments, but rather embeds them in the narrative to maintain “dramatic continuity” (Labov, 1972: 372), so as “to quote the sentiment as something occurring to him at the moment” (ibid: 372). Labov looked at internal evaluation from a syntactic perspective, one that distinguished between the different subtypes according to the textual patterns in which they occurred (Labov, 1972: 378). Accordingly, he classified internal evaluation into four types: intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explicatives (Labov, 1972: 378-392).

Intensifiers are employed to emphasize a particular event in the story (Labov, 1972: 378). According to Labov (1972: 378-380), intensifiers are features such as gestures, expressive phonology, lexical intensifiers (quantifiers and qualifiers), repetition and ritual utterances. Unlike the other types of internal evaluation, intensifiers are characterised as simple or involved in the basic syntax, and do not occur in the verb phrase of the narrative clause (p. 380).

Comparators compare and contrast what happened and what could have happened, thus departing from the actual events to account for possibilities (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:30). Comparators can occur in the verb phrase of the narrative and include negatives, futures and modals (Labov, 1972: 380-387).

Correlatives bring together events that actually happened and link them in a single independent clause (Cortazzi, 1993: 48). Correlatives involve: the progressive form of the verb, double progressive, double appositive (a knife, a long one, a dagger) and double attributives (a great big guy) (Labov, 1972: 387-390).

Explicatives are clauses that are embedded and appended to the main narrative clause (Labov, 1972: 390), and can be introduced by: *since, though, because, that* and *while* (p. 390).

Labov's evaluation devices have been highly scrutinized in the research that tested and refined his narrative model. Evaluation has been employed across different fields and disciplines: in developmental psychology (Kernan, 1977; Peterson and McCabe, 1983 and Bamberg and Damrad-Frye, 1991), in literary analysis (Bunselmeyer, 1981 and Pratt, 1977), in anthropology (Watson, 1972), and education (Cortazzi and Jin, 1999; Jin, 1992 and Cortazzi, 1993). However, evaluation has not only been influential for the studies in these disciplines, but was also considered important in Labov and Waletzky's study as a way of distinguishing between the complicating action and the resolution (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 39) in the story structure:

We can establish the break between the complicating and resolving action by locating the placement of the evaluation. Thus the resolution of the narrative is that portion of the narrative sequence which follows the evaluation. If the evaluation is the last element, then the resolution section coincides with evaluation. (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 39)

However, Martin (1992) considered Labov's definition of resolution as problematic because evaluation is "non-discrete" (p.556). There is no specific location for the evaluation in narrative because it is dispersed through different points (p.556). As such, defining the resolutions requires "a localized evaluation" (Martin, 1992: 556).

3.2.5 Coda

The coda functions as "a bridge between the story world and the moment of telling" (McCarthy, 1991: 5). This means it brings the teller and audience back to the present time, the time of the narration (Patterson, 2008: 25), and may "hand the floor over to the hearer" (ibid).

The Labovian elements of narrative structure are important for the current study. In this study, I explore how far Labov's forms of evaluation, and the different structural elements, might occur when the data taken for the analysis goes beyond the African-American Vernacular speakers that Labov interviewed, and instead is applied to speakers of different multilingual and cultural status (in this case the English speaking Kurdish participants, non-English speaking Kurdish participants and the white British English-speaking speakers). Many researchers who followed Labov, from a wide range of disciplines including linguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive psychology and education, have already tested his model. The development and application of Labov's framework has taken place in two main phases. In the first of these, researchers began to explore the variation of the Labovian structure across different cultural contexts, and in relation to stories that were collected using different methodologies. These stories were collected not only in interviews, but also in conversations and with different speech events. However, whilst the researchers that followed Labov in the first phase of research widened the focus of narrative research with respect to cultural variation, they also showed how some elements of Labov's narrative structure, in particular evaluation, remained salient across all cultural contexts and methodologies, even when that evaluation might have occurred in more flexible ways than predicted by Labov.

3.3 Empirically based projects that tested Labov's framework

Chafe (1980) was among the researchers who examined Labov's model in new cultural contexts. He explored the narrative structure of stories told by speakers from a wide range of cultural groups including English, Chinese, Malay, Thai, Persian, Greek, German, Creoles and Guatemalan. All of these speakers were educated women aged below 30. The participants of this study are also educated women under 30. Similar to Labov's methodology, Chafe used interviews as elicitation tools. But Chafe's study was more cognitively based (i.e. based on consciously verbalizing experiences and their meanings: Chafe, 1980: xii). For this purpose, a movie with no verbal action was constructed that

included events that varied in terms of importance and production (spontaneous and in sequence), aiming to prompt tellings that might show linguistic and cultural differences in the participants' narration (p. xii). The duration of the movie was 16 minutes and it was referred to as the "pear film" (p. xii). In the film, while a man was cutting pears and collecting them in a basket, a boy who was riding a bicycle passed by and stole the pears (p. xii). Chafe's findings showed similarities and differences between the participants' structure of the pear narratives. In terms of similarities, unlike the Labovian narrative structure which was built on the temporal order of clauses, the pear narratives told by all the participants were structured around "brief spurts of language" (1980: 13) that Chafe called "idea units" (ibid). They either occurred in the form of a single clause (one verb and a noun phrase) or sometimes as an "information unit" (p. 14). These idea units conveyed the participants' focus of interest in the film. Another point of similarity in the structure of all the participants' pear narrative was that the orientation section presented information about people, time and space in relation to the participants' focus of interest. Any shift in the focus of interest towards the people, place and time served to structure the evaluation stage (p.49). However, differences also appeared between the participants' narrative structure. German speakers produced longer sentences of idea units and used "undifferentiated series of focuses of consciousness" (p. 25). Similar to the German speakers, the English speakers began with various series of consciousness, but towards the end, they tended to have a single focus of consciousness (p. 26).

In a different cultural context to Chafe's study, Viney and Bousfield (1991) investigated the narrative structure used by Australian AIDS-affected speakers. Unlike Chafe and Labov's methodologies, Viney and Bousfield employed unstructured interviews to collect narratives that involved the participants' feelings towards being infected by AIDS (p. 761). Also, unlike Chafe's study, where the participants' gender was constrained to just females, all the participants in Viney and Bousfield's study were men aged between 24-37. Their education varied in that some of them had attended six years of high school, whilst others were professional trainers working at the University (p. 761). In contrast to Chafe's findings, the results of Viney and Bousfield's analysis suggested three story formats. One type of story format followed the exact structure of Labov's narratives of personal experience, the second type was the narrative that the participants started with but left

undeveloped (p. 759), and the last type was the “core narrative” (Viney and Bousfield, 1991: 759). This type of narrative was short but extended the boundaries of a summary or abstract, and like Labov’s evaluation, represented the most salient information of the story and its interpersonal relations (p. 759). This suggests that evaluation remained an essential element but occurred in a very flexible way i.e. in the form of a core narrative for these Australian speakers.

Evaluation as a resource that is sensitive to cultural variation is salient to the current study, thus it is important to review some studies that show how evaluation varies in different cultural contexts. Polanyi (1981) examined evaluation in the conversational stories that occurred naturally among American friends around the dinner table. The speakers comprised a woman and two married couples (p. 102). Polanyi’s methodology of analysing the conversational stories was similar to Labov’s text-centered approach. Polanyi divided the text into clauses: “event” and “durative clauses” (Polanyi, 1981: 100), then quantitatively counted the evaluation propositions associated with both event and durative clauses (Polanyi, 1989: 27). In Polanyi’s work, the heavily evaluated main and descriptive events were combined to create the “Adequate paraphrase” (Polanyi, 1989: 27). This construct is “a paraphrase designed to capture those elements of the story which the speaker himself evaluated as particularly important and worth attending to by his own emphasis on them during the telling” (Polanyi, 1981:101). In summation, the structure of evaluation in the American conversational stories was different from that used with the speakers of the African-American vernaculars, whose stories were studied by Labov, in that in Polanyi’s study, evaluation occurred in the form of an adequate paraphrase (small text) associated with propositions (Polanyi, 1989: 27).

In a different type of data and cultural context to Polanyi’s study, Wennerstrom (2001) examined evaluation in the oral narratives of native graduate students speaking American English, and Japanese bilinguals who spoke English. Unlike the conversational narratives in Polanyi’s study, the narratives in this study were elicited. Both American and Japanese students were put in small groups. The former were required “to tell a story about a mistake that their parents had made in raising them” (p. 1188), and the latter was asked to tell “a story from their own life that was either embarrassing or frightening” (p.1188).

Although the stories in the current study were also collected in interviews, the participants in this study were not restricted to narrating certain type of events.

The findings in Wennerstrom's (2001) analysis suggested two points: firstly, the use of quoted speech was more frequent in stories told by the Japanese speakers than in their American counterparts' stories (p. 1190). Secondly, in both sets of stories (that were told by Japanese and Americans), intonation was linked to the structural juncture (time and place) (p.1203) and was used frequently in the evaluation section. This suggests that certain elements of evaluation, such as expressive phonology, occur in different forms in different cultural contexts. In Labov's study, expressive phonology occurred in a form of vowel lengthening, but in Wennerstrom's study, it occurred in the form of intonation. Expressive phonology as a form of intensifier will also be examined in this study.

Gonzalez (2009) examined evaluation and the way in which Labov's elements were organized in the narratives that were told by British English and Catalan speakers. The participants in Gonzalez's study comprised both men and women within the age range of 25-35 years. They were university graduates, and in this respect, similar to the participants in the present thesis. Unlike Polanyi, Chafe, Viney and Bousfield, and Wennerstrom, Gonzalez followed Labov's elicitation techniques and employed the question recalling danger of death.

The findings of the analysis led to a number of observations. The structure of the narratives told by both Catalan and British English speakers followed the Labovian narrative structure. However, the introductions in Catalan narratives were longer (Gonzalez, 2009: 563) than those of the speakers of the African-American vernacular in Labov's study. This suggests that even though a similar elicitation technique was used by Labov and Gonzalez, there was still a slight difference in the structure of the stories in these studies, which could be traced to differences in the cultural context. In particular, evaluation segments occurred differently in the story structure used by Catalan and British English speakers. In the narratives of British English speakers, evaluation was embedded with the narrative clauses (p. 541), whereas in Catalan, evaluation was organized in "separate chunks" (Gonzalez, 2009: 541).

In contrast to the cultural context and type of data used in Gonzalez's study, Tannen (1989, 2007) examined evaluation in the spontaneous stories told by American friends, Greek women and a Brazilian man. The evaluative devices used in Tannen's study were called "involvement strategies" (Tannen, 2007: 1). This notion of involvement is similar to Labov's (1972) concept of evaluation in that involvement and evaluation are used to encode the narrator's emotions, attitudes and perspectives towards the narrative (Tannen, 1989). However, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) identified a slight difference between the two notions in that in Labov's study, evaluation was used to indicate "the degree and type of embedding of the point of the story in the telling" (ibid: 69), but in Tannen's research, evaluation was "more of stylistic-rhetoric nature" (ibid: 69). Tannen examined similar categories to Labov's evaluation, including repetition, minimal external evaluation, second person singular, historical present verbs and direct quotation in reported verb as involvement strategies. Tannen's observations demonstrated that involvement strategies shaped all the participants' narratives (p.1). However, Greek narratives showed a greater use of those strategies. The concept of involvement is important to the current study in order to explore how the participants align or misalign to each other, and in turn to draw on their identities in the process of storytelling.

In a different cultural context from Tannen's study, Holmes (1998) explored evaluation and narrative structure in the stories told by Maori and Pakeha New Zealander women and men. The type of stories in Holmes' research was similar to Polanyi and Tannen's, in that they were spontaneous conversations which emerged among friends, however, some of the stories in Holmes' study took place at work and not just at home (p. 28). Holmes' findings suggested that although there were many areas of overlap between the structure of the Maori and Pakeha narratives, there were also differences that had the potential to lead to cultural misunderstandings (Holmes, 1998: 25). The Maori narratives were characterised by the lesser use of lexical items, in that evaluation was deeply embedded and interpreted prosodically and paralinguistically (p. 50). Unlike the American speakers' narratives in Polanyi's study, where the shared knowledge was achieved by means of the construct of the adequate paraphrase (high level of lexical evaluation), shared knowledge within Maori speakers was assumed to be understood implicitly and by lack of linguistic elements (p. 35). Also, the coda and resolution sections were almost omitted in

the Maori stories, and were therefore evaluated by Pakeha speakers as unfinished stories (p. 32). In contrast to the Maori narrative structure, Pakeha stories followed Labov's structure of personal experience narratives. Pakeha narratives were fully formed with an explicit beginning, middle and end (p. 42), and were found to be rhetorically rich (involving many lexical details) in the evaluation, complication sections and in the audience's feedback (p. 42).

Although all of the earlier studies highlighted cultural differences in terms of the application of the Labovian paradigm, they did not pay much attention to the variation within a particular category, namely internal evaluation. The current study attempts to address this gap.

Labov's model of narrative structure has been assessed in other fields, not just the narrative analysis. For example, in systemic functional linguistics, Martin and Plum (1997) applied Labov's model to a community of students' narratives in Australia. The findings of their study highlighted the strength of Labov's element of evaluation, which brought generic structural components for three varying story genres: recounts, anecdotes and exemplums (p. 301). Recounts indicate the sequential unfolding of the events (Martin and Plum, 1997: 301). Anecdotes are "accounts of a remarkable event, the point of which is to invite a listener to share a reaction - a laugh, a tear" (Martin and Plum, 1997: 301). Finally, exemplums, unlike anecdotes, involve the listeners' interpretation of events and judgment of the protagonist, either showing agreement or disagreement towards the narrator or the characters rather than indicating an emotional reaction (p.301).

Other researchers also explored story genres. For example, Eggins and Slade (1997) have examined narratives, anecdotes, exemplums and recounts in casual conversation and Rothery(1990) has analysed observations, narratives and recounts in primary school students' written stories. Applying the generic structure analysis, Eggins and Slade and Rothery demonstrated that each genre type, and each stage within a given genre, indicated the emergence of different lexico-grammatical realisation patterns. Their meanings created different social functional features for each genre. Linguistic and functional variations are also identified by Page (2002) in her data of childbirth anecdotes told by British men and women. Although Rothery and Page have explored patterns beyond the Labovian model in

their data, their analysis focused only on certain types of story genres. Rothery did not examine anecdotes and exemplums whereas Page did not explore exemplums, narratives and recounts. These story genres are also important for the current study, and will be explored to see how they might vary between stories told by speakers in Kurdish and English cultural contexts.

In summation, based on the wide range of research literature that examined the Labovian narrative structure, it seems that Labov's model remains robust and was relevant as a means of explaining stories told by speakers from different cultures, within different age ranges, in different gender groups and with different types of data, whether elicited (face-to-face interview) or spontaneous speech. However, Labov's narrative units occurred differently and with different emphasis in different cultures, particularly evaluation and the forms that it takes. In Holmes's study, the Pakeha speakers used complication action and resolution but Maori speakers did not. In Polanyi's study evaluation took the form of adequate paraphrase, but in Wennerstrom's research, evaluation was associated with intonation.

According to Holmes, Polanyi and Wennnerstrom's findings, it could be claimed that evaluation is a salient feature that foregrounds cultural variation. However, there is more work to be done in exploring evaluation as a source of cultural variation beyond these studies. This is because these studies dealt with cultural identity on an etic basis. For example, the Greek speakers in Tannen's study, the Maori in Holmes' research and the German and English participants in Chafe's analysis, were categorized as such by the analysts, and were then treated as one group. To put it another way, these analysts treated culture in a homogeneous way (as a broad macro-social element) which left further scope to explore how cultural variation might also occur more flexibly, even within a particular category. Thus, in the current study, like Holmes, I will show how evaluation will work as a key in distinguishing between the different patterns in the data. Unlike Holmes, this study goes further to consider the participants' perceptions of evaluation as a source of cultural variation.

3.4 Narrative as talk-in-interaction

The methodologies and assumptions adopted by Labov and his successors in the first phase of research, which took place in the initial decades after the publication of Labov's (1972) work, have been challenged by more recent narrative researchers who followed Labov, many of whom employed methods from conversation analysis (CA) (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008: 381). The intrinsic premise of CA is the assumption that the structure of the oral narrative should be considered as talk-in-interaction (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 2-3). These later researchers were rather more radical in their rethinking of what a narrative might be, and focused on what might constitute the narrative structure from the CA perspective, rejecting the autonomous, detached and self-contained view of narrative structure (Norrick, 2000; De Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2007: 4 and De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012).

According to Sacks (1974) and Jefferson (1978: 220), a related assumption of CA is that narrative structure is considered embedded in the "surrounding discourse activity" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008: 381). As such, narratives "are sequentially managed; their telling unfolds on-line, moment-by-moment, in the here and-now of interactions" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008a: 381). Consequently, different tasks and actions might be raised for the participants (Goodwin, 1984: 227). This brings to the fore the consideration of the audience's role (Goodwin, 1986) or co-construction (Ochs and Capps, 2001; Goodwin, 1984, 1986) in the unfolding process of narration. The story listener becomes an active audience who might add information to the telling, reject or evaluate it based on what she/he knows about the subject (Goodwin, 1986: 284). Likewise, here in this study I will examine co-construction as a potential source of variation in the participants' stories.

For the purpose of this study, it is crucial to discuss the relation between the local processes (context or here-and-now of interactions) and the construction of the stories. Thus, emphasis is given to Ochs and Capps's (2001) contextual framework of narrative dimensions. Ochs and Capps (who were also aligned to CA) expanded Labov's model by departing from the textual assumption of the canonical narrative form (that comprised fixed

elements unfolding step-by-step), and by examining the flexibility of Labov's model in a different cultural context. Instead, Ochs and Capps, like some literary narratologists, were interested in the actions (plot) of the narratives rather than the temporal order of narrative clauses. Unlike the classical narratologists, according to Ochs and Capps (2001), the plot does not necessarily comprise "a beginning, middle and end" (p. 57) but instead is created and developed in collaboration by the interlocutors (p. 57). The development of a story and its order depends on the type of events involved, in that they might be fully developed, resolved, left incomplete, challenged or rejected by the interlocutors (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 57). Accordingly, Ochs and Capps considered storytelling as an "activity and genre" (p. 19) that has a flexible structure depending on the type of activity (De Fina, 2003b: 369) and can convey "reflections on self" (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 58). Based on this view of narrativity, Ochs and Capps (2001) developed a range of narrative dimensions that might constitute the narrative structure Linearity, tellership, embeddedness, moral stance and tellability (pp. 24-54).

3.4.1 Linearity

Like Labov's concept of narrative structure, linearity deals with the temporal and causal organization of events (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 41). Yet unlike Labov, Ochs and Capps noticed that the temporal and causal events do not develop in a uniform way (p. 41). Instead the events are developed "from a single, closed, temporal and causal path or, alternatively, in diverse open, uncertain paths" (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 41). Linearity resembles Martin and Plum's description of the recount, in that both emphasise the step-by-step unfolding of events.

3.4.2 Tellership

This study will investigate co-tellership in the personal experience stories that were told by the Kurdish and British women. Unlike linearity, co-tellership centers more on interlocutors' interactions in the storytelling process (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 24). Co-tellership refers to "the extent and kind of involvement of conversational partners in the actual recounting of a narrative" (ibid: 24). Ochs and Capps were building on the earlier

work in conversation analysis where Sacks (1992) and Jefferson (1978) emphasized that the story listeners play an essential role in the sequential development of the story. The listeners collaborate with the storyteller and “co-construct” the story with her/him (Duranti, 1986: 242). According to Coates (2005: 91) “collaborative narration involves two narrators making contributions to the story which join together seamlessly”.

3.4.3 Embeddedness

Similar to tellership, embeddedness emphasizes the contextual dimension of the story (Page, 2012:11). Thus, embeddedness indicates that the narrative occurs within a “surrounding discourse and social activity” (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 36) emphasizing the interactional unfolding of the narrative. Based on these two elements (surrounding discourse and social activity), the narrative possibilities range from relatively detached to relatively embedded (pp.36-37). Ochs and Capps suggest that relatively detached narratives have long turns that are different from the short turns of interaction and are related to the topic of the conversation (pp.36-37), whereas relatively embedded narratives also have long turns associated with listeners’ evaluation, elaboration or suggestions (p. 37).

3.4.4 Moral stance

The current study will investigate moral stance in the participants’ stories. Moral stance conveys the narrators’ and listeners’ points of view on events, reflecting their cultural values and social moral perspectives towards events (Ochs and Capps, 2001:45). There is a possibility that these perspectives are negotiated or challenged by the recipients and shift through the telling of the story (p.51). The concept of the moral stance dimension is connected to Martin and Plum’s exemplum in that both invite the audience to judge the events and protagonists in the story by either agreeing or disagreeing with them.

3.4.5 Tellability

Tellability indicates the reportability (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 33) or the point of the story (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). In the story, tellability could be assigned when the listeners contribute to it by evaluating, discussing or elaborating it (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 33). This raises the question of why the interlocutors contribute to the story, or in other words, what accounts for the tellability of the story. The answer to this question is not just implied in the topic or content of the story, but in fact goes further and considers other criteria, for example, the relevance of the story to the interlocutors (Ochs and Capps, 2001:33-34). However, Polanyi (1981 and 1985) related tellability to cultural values and norms. She purports that stories are tellable when they are “generally agreed upon by members of the producer’s culture to be self-evidently important and true” (1979: 207). Georgakopoulou (2006) associated tellability with contextual norms, but in a more localized way, with the concepts of “effectiveness, appropriacy and consequentiality for the local business on hand” (p.251).

The contextual approach taken by Ochs and Capps, and more generally, the concept of narrative as talk-in-interaction, opens up a way of thinking about narrative as a social practice (Georgakopoulou, 2007:5). The guiding assumption in narrative as a social practice involves looking at it beyond local processes and considering macro-social levels (culture, ideologies and society) (De Fina, 2003a: 26-30). This concept of storytelling was emphasized by Quasthoff and Becker (2005), who brought into focus “the cultural-semiotic concept” (p. 4) of narrative.

According to the cultural-semiotic perspective, narrative structure is a constituent of multiple resources, including language, society, culture and individual psychology (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004), and is “a pattern which is constructed by the individual and by the individual’s interactions embedded in society with respect to particular values, self-concepts and sense making patterns” (Quasthoff and Becker, 2005: 5). Intrinsically, this pattern is used by the interlocutor to “position himself or herself within the cultural coordinates and by society to provide the basis for interpreting and attributing meaning to social action as well as thoughts” (ibid). This suggests that narrative from the cultural-

semiotic perspectives is part-culture, part-language and part-identity. In short, the aim of the cultural semiotic approach is to navigate through the micro (linguistic) and macro (culture, society and identity) structures of narrative (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012).

Considering the narrative structure as a constituent of local interaction, social and cultural processes, the researchers that followed Labov in the second phase were also interested in cultural identity, but they dealt with it in a different way to those that followed him in the first phase. In line with the focus on localised contexts and meanings, the researchers that followed the second phase applied emic methods, combined with qualitative approaches to narrative variation, to deal with the ways by which the macro-social identities are construed and indexed (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 155-156). In this strain of narrative research, identity was understood from a social constructionism perspective. The assumption of this perspective contrasts with the essentialist view of identity as a stable, coherent and given product and locates the emergence of identity as a process (De Fina, 2003a:15-18). The identities that are constructed in interactional sites present plural identities rather than a single identity (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006:2) prompted by negotiation (Bauman and Briggs, 1990), and involves a “discursive work” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 4). This view of identity construction will be adopted in the current study in order to explore the cultural identities of the participants.

3.5 Narrative and identity

Many of the approaches that have informed narrative interpretation of identity from a conversation-analytic perspective do not deal with narratives per se, but are important here for understanding the co-construction of narratives (building on the work of Ochs and Capps (2001)) and the use of narratives as social practice. Within the conversation analysis, identities are considered as parts of discourse practices (Widdicombe, 1998) through which “the ways individuals and groups present themselves to others, negotiate roles and conceptualize themselves” (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006: 2). These discourse

practices can create social relations (Widdicombe, 1998: 197) and produce activity systems that may influence the process of identity construction (Goodwin, 1999).

The social relations and activities that are created in discourse bring to the fore the role of the membership and bound categories that were initially developed by Sacks (1972). Sacks (1972), Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) considered the process of categorisation as central to the formation of identity. According to Widdicombe, categorisation is “a person’s identity as his or her display of, or ascription to, membership of some feature-rich category” (Widdicombe, 1998: 178). Any single category or combination of categories ascribed to any participant is locally changeable in that they could be challenged, accepted or neglected (*ibid*). This idea has been taken by narrative theorists as a way of enriching the understanding of how narratives are constructed in particular interactional contexts. For example, Ochs and Capps’s idea of moral stance dimension is built on the concept of categorization, in that moral stance is negotiable in the local context of the story.

Influential approaches to identity construction have not only been proposed in conversation analysis, but could also be found in the interactional analysis of face-to-face communication in ordinary conversations, as in Goffman’s (1981) participation framework of footing. Footing is defined as “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (Goffman, 1981: 128). According to Goffman (1981: 144-147), footing includes four production roles: “animator” (the physical production of utterance), “author” (the original creator of the utterance), “principal” (the one who is responsible for the utterance) and “figure” (character in the story world). The deconstruction of the concept of the speaker brings to the fore the interactional construction of the self by showing his/her alignment towards the participants in the story world (Goffman, 1981: 128).

The representation of self through footing is most forcefully seen in relation to reported speech (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006: 10), one of the resources associated with involvement or evaluation (Tannen 2007). While the speech is reported or animated, interaction is prompted in the story world context (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 169). Consequently, the relationship between the narrator and the characters are invoked, and the speaker’s involvement in regards to the context of the tale world is

achieved (p. 169). In turn, a shift from the tale world into the telling world is performed (Tannen, 1989, 2007). This concept of participation (footing) could be taken up in relation to both Labov's (1972) view of embedded evaluation and Ochs and Capps's (2001) notion of co-tellership. Footing helps the narrator to embed his stances rather than indicating them obviously in order to create a dramatic continuity (Labov, 1972: 372), and this is related to polyphony since it builds a collaborative sense in the story by bringing in absent voices to develop it.

Identities were not only dealt with in the local context of specific interactional exchanges, but also in broader social contexts. An instance of this is indexicality (Kiesling, 1998 and Johnstone, 1996). This social process focuses on the referential meaning beyond the linguistic elements, or in other words is the symbolic process of language use (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006: 4). "Sounds, words, expressions of a language styles are associated with qualities, ideas, social representations and entire ideological systems" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 176). These ideological systems in turn invoke the shared notions and conceptualisations of a particular social group, presuppositions about social life, epistemic evaluation, stances of a social group or an individual, and practices and arrangement of structures (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 594).

To interpret identities beyond local context, Zimmerman's (1998) roles are particularly helpful. In his approach to identity, Zimmerman made a distinction between discourse, situational and transportable identities (p. 91). "Discourse identities are integral in the moment-by-moment organisation of the interaction" (Zimmerman, 1998: 90). Interlocutors assume discourse identities when they orient to activities in the story world such as taking the role of the narrator, audience, evaluator, questioner and answerer (p. 90). In contrast to discourse identities, situated identities are related to particular situations, that is to say, the interlocutors will align and orient to a specific type of identity in a particular situation (p. 90). Finally, "transportable identities travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant for any situation and in any space of interaction" (Zimmerman, 1998: 90). Transportable identities are signalled in relation to social and cultural wider contexts (p. 91). As such, discourse and situated identities attribute to the construction of

identity locally, whereas transportable identities (gender, ethnicity, professions and etc.) reveal the global accounts of identity (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 181-182).

The best approach that is seen to bridge the local and global levels of interaction, and that brings these notions of footing, indexicality and social meaning, is the model of positioning proposed by Bamberg (1997) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008). Bamberg (1997) developed three levels of positioning analysis. According to Bamberg (1997), level 1 positioning deals with ways of positioning characters in relation to each other in the story world by employing linguistic devices. Level 2 refers to the ways narrators and audiences position themselves in the storytelling world (interactional world) (Bamberg, 1997). Level 3 connects to the ‘who am I’ question: ‘How do narrators position themselves to themselves’ (Bamberg, 1997: 337). Level 3 positioning has been redefined by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008). They add “how the speaker/ narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regard to dominant discourses or master narratives” (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008: 385) and how she/he “makes these relevant to the interaction in here and now” (ibid: 391) therefore presenting herself/ himself as “a particular kind of person” (ibid: 391). Positioning will be used in this thesis to uncover the cultural identities of participants.

Although Bamberg’s positioning model has been influential in providing analytical tools to link between the local and global accounts of identities, there has been a debate about positioning level 3. The researchers were questioning the ways through which analysts can discover identity beyond local context (Georgakopoulou, 2007, 2013: 91). Georgakopoulou argued that Bamberg’s level 3 positioning, like Labov and the researchers that developed his model in the first phase, treats cultural identity “as static and as posing the existence and significance of master discourses a priori of actual storytelling data” (ibid.:91). For the purpose of looking at macro-social identity differently to Labov and his successors in the first phase, Georgakopoulou (2007, 2013) developed the small stories paradigm.

In her work on the small stories paradigm, Georgakopoulou (2007) analysed Greek women’s identities through positioning. She extended the interpretation of the social meanings of identity associated with Bamberg’s level 3 positioning by employing

ethnographic methods (p. 20). Georgakopoulou collected spontaneous conversations in a longitudinal study where she was an observer participant. She also interviewed the participants before and after the process of storytelling in order to collect their perspectives about their practices of telling stories, and to find out the type of master and ideological discourses that dominated these practices. Following Georgakopoulou, I interviewed the participants after they had told their stories. This is because in this study, the way they viewed their (the participants' perspectives) is important, and it is not necessary to limit the analysis to the Labovian paradigm to analyze only what is there in the narrative text (narrative content).

3.6 Identity, Narrative and Culture

The conversational analytic approaches and concepts of identity have increasingly been taken up in a wide range of narrative studies as analytical tools to examine the identity construction of people from different cultural contexts. Four main collections brought the identity approaches together. These collections include, *Narrative and Identity* (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001), *Narrative Interaction* (Quasthoff and Becker, 2005), *Discourse and Identity* (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006) and *Narrative inquiry* (Bamberg, McCabe and Bassal, 2013). In *Narrative and Identity* by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001), Carbaugh used the principle of the discursive construct to explore the identity of the Blackfeet native American man in the “Rising Wolf” (p. 123) narrative. In the “Rising Wolf” narrative, Carbaugh examined the forms of language that were related to the Blackfeet’s cultural values and beliefs, including “prayer, listening, and spiritual ceremonies” (p. 124). In contrast, Langellier used performance devices including reported speech to analyse the identity of a Franco-American woman who was diagnosed as having breast cancer.

In Quasthoff and Becker’s (2005) collection, some of the contributors used a single identity approach, but some other contributions combined two identity approaches to explore the construction of the participants’ identities in different cultural contexts. For example, Günthner employed Goffman’s participation framework as a central analytical tool to analyze the speaker and the protagonists’ identities in the complaint stories told by a German girl. However, Georgakopoulou and Monzoni focused on “intersubjectivity” (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006: 10) tools (i.e. the interactional features). More specifically, Georgakopoulou investigated the participation modes and roles in shared stories told by Greek female friends. Monzoni shed light on the participants’ interventions, including the questions, evaluation and humour strategies in an Italian family members’ spontaneous stories. Branner combined both the strategies used by Günthner and Monzoni, namely the humorous strategies and Goffman’s participation framework, to analyse German teenage girls’ identities in the success and disaster stories told in the informal conversations between friends. Similar to Branner, some of the analysts in De Fina,

Schiffrin and Bamberg's (2006) collection combined identity approaches. For example, De Fina integrated membership categorisation and performance devices to explore the group identities of Mexican immigrant workers in the crossing borders' exemplums. In contrast, Baynham combined positioning (level 1 and level 2) with performance devices (constructed dialogue) (p. 384) to analyse identity in the narratives of Moroccan migration (p.377).

In De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg's (2006) collection, positioning was also employed by some researchers to show how cultural identities are tied to personal categories like gender. For example, Bell employed positioning level 1 and 3 to analyse a woman's identity about "becoming or being a mother" (p.234). The analysis indicated that this woman's identity as a mother is influenced by the "cultural discourse of science (medicine)" (p. 251). Wortham and Gadsden focused on positioning level 1 and 2 to analyse the gender identity of an African-American man "who became a father as a teenager" (p.315). Unlike Wortham and Gadsden, Kiesling used indexicality to show how lexical items like "bitch boy" (p. 281) indexed social and cultural norms about masculinity, and in turn the construction of "hegemonic identities" (p. 261) in the narratives told by Northern Virginia males. Similar to Kiesling, Moita-Lopes employed indexicality, but combined with interactional positioning (level2), to explore "the social identities of whiteness, heterosexuality and masculinity" (p. 291) in three narratives told by Brazilian males.

In Bamberg, McCabe and Bassal's (2013) collection some analysts combined positioning with other approaches of identity, whilst some used only positioning to analyse identity in their studies. For example, Quasthoff examined identity in the stories told by German speakers about "encounters with public authorities" (p. 135) by integrating positioning level 1 and 2 with membership categories. Similarly, Depperman combined all the levels of positioning with membership categorisation to explore cultural identity in a mock story told by a German speaker. In contrast, De Fina and Georgakopoulou investigated positioning level 3 in their studies. De Fina analysed positioning level 3 in a narrative told by a female Latina-American immigrant to explore the relationship between her identity construction and the ideologies and discourses of migration and language (p. 40). Georgakopoulou employed positioning level 3 to examine identities in the breaking

news “about the participants’ new media engagement” (p. 89) told by students in a high school with a diverse population in London.

In summary, the investigation of identity in the four collections had both strengths and limitations, which influenced the interpretation of the narrative data collected for this thesis. The studies shared a common belief that identity and culture should be dealt with in a flexible manner and gave close attention to the details of identity constructions. However, their data samples were small and have been taken from particular cultural contexts such as German, Greek, American, Italian, Moroccan and Brazilian. Another limitation is that although these studies brought identity approaches together, they did not link them to other aspects, such as story genres (that emerged from the development of Labov’s model). The current study will not only bring the approaches to identity together, but also will combine them with story genres and in new cultural contexts, namely Kurdish and British.

3.7 Conclusion

The literature review has provided some essential insights for the current study. If Labov’s narrative features are not universal, and can occur flexibly in different types of data and cultural contexts, I will test his model in the data of this study, to see to what extent his narrative elements might occur in the stories told by Kurdish and English women, with particular focus on evaluation. It has been the most salient element in the Labovian paradigm and has occurred in flexible ways in different types of data and cultural contexts. Similar to Labov and his successors in the first phase, I will conduct a quantitative analysis of evaluation. However, the expansion of Labov’s evaluation element in the current study, is not restricted to testing it on a new type of data and new cultural context, but I go further to see how participants perceive it.

The literature review has also provided relevant insights into the relationship between local practices, local identities and the construction of the stories. Hence, I will examine co-tellership, tellability and moral stance as elements that foreground interaction, and through interaction will perform identity work in the story world. Additionally, another

important insight is gained from the relationship between local practices, identities and cultural context. Accordingly, I will conduct qualitative analysis to explore positioning and bring it together with story genres, to explore the cultural identities of the participants in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodological issues related to the current thesis. In the first part of the chapter, I give an overview of the mixed methods used in this study; I also provide information about the participants and the criteria for selecting them. Furthermore, attention is given to the ethical issues arising from the methods employed, the stages of data collection (including the two pilot studies and the fuller stage of data collection), and the description of the data. The second part of the chapter considers the methods used for transcription and translation of the data, and the methods of analysis used to examine the narratives contained therein.

4.1 Approaches

The approaches that are used to collect and analyze data in the current study comprise mixed methods. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998: 167) defined mixed methods as bridging between both quantitative and qualitative approaches. These two approaches are distinct in terms of their underpinning claims and data collection. Creswell (2003: 18) argued that quantitative approaches imply post-positivist claims to the interpretation of knowledge, in that they seek to identify the causes behind the research findings and test stated hypotheses and theories. In contrast, qualitative approaches use knowledge claims in relation to constructivist views, for instance, elaborating patterns, exploring the meaning of social and historical constructs, and the participants' perspectives (Creswell, 2003: 18). In terms of data collection, Dornyei (2007: 24-27) pointed out that in quantitative research, data is numerical and is measured using statistics, often comprising large samples of individuals or texts. In contrast, qualitative approaches prefer smaller datasets or case

studies of individuals, as they are interested in the meanings of the performances as presented in the collected materials.

In spite of the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches, researchers of social sciences believe that they are complementary and can be combined. Tahsakori and Creswell (2007: 4) have suggested several ways through which the quantitative and qualitative approaches could be integrated: firstly, by including a range of questions (some of which have a quantitative emphasis whilst others are qualitative), secondly, using different types of data collection, and finally by analysing materials using different but complementary methods such as “statistical and thematic” (ibid).

Researchers have identified many advantages of mixed methods. Creswell (2014: 218) mentioned that mixed methods may provide a comprehensive understanding of the research questions by comparing distinct views drawn from quantitative and qualitative data, and by elaborating quantitative outcomes with a qualitative follow-up analysis and data collection. Page et al (2014: 53) maintained that quantitative analysis may “provide contextualizing information about large-scale trends in language use, while an in-depth, qualitative analysis can allow the researcher to focus on just one aspect of the larger dataset” (ibid: 53). Page et al (2014: 53) followed that researchers might also adopt a numerical test to examine how they interpreted the data. However, “this may not show how that feature was meaningful to the participants: a follow-up interview to check how phenomena are perceived would be more useful” (p. 53). For example, Page, in her study of Facebook updates (2012), did not examine only the frequency of features that signaled affect such as “emoticons” (p. 84) in the stories of women and men, (which gave a general view of the data), she also explored how these men and women perceived the use of the “emoticons” as communicating similar or different pragmatic meanings.

Researchers have also suggested different types of mixed method designs. According to Creswell (2014: 219-227), there are three main types of mixed methods: convergent parallel, explanatory sequential and exploratory sequential. Convergent design entails collecting and analyzing both the quantitative and qualitative data separately to explore whether the findings agree or disagree with each other. Also in the convergent design, one "type of data is transformed (qualitised or quantitised) and then analysed both

qualitatively and quantitatively” (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003a: 706). In contrast to convergent design, in explanatory methods the quantitative data is first collected, then analysed. The results of this analysis are used to build the qualitative data (Creswell, 2014: 224). Creswell followed that the quantitative and qualitative data must be collected from the same participants, as the aim of this design is to explore the findings in more depth (p. 224). In contrast, the exploratory methods collect qualitative data first, which is then analysed so that the findings can be used in outlining the quantitative databases (Creswell, 2014: 225-226).

Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009: 145) suggested another two types of mixed methods: multilevel and fully integrated designs. Multilevel methods “are multistrand designs in which QUAL data are collected at one level of analysis (e.g., child) and QUAN data are collected at another (e.g., family) in a parallel or sequential manner” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009: 156). Teddlie & Tashakkori followed that these data are analysed to make “multiple types of inferences, which then are integrated into meta-inferences” (p. 156). Conversely, the fully integrated design “is a multistrand parallel design in which mixing of qualitative and quantitative approaches occurs in an interactive (i.e. dynamic, reciprocal, interdependent, iterative) manner at all stages of the study” (ibid: 156).

4.2 Research design

The specific types of mixed methods used to collect and analyse data in the current study combine aspects from the methods used in the work of the two narrative traditions (summarized in chapter three). These include Labov and his successors in the first phase quantitative methodologies, where culture was treated as a macro-construct, and the researchers that developed Labov’s work in the second phase, who used qualitative methods through which cultural identity was explored on a micro level (as indexed discursively by the participants). The combination of these methods could fit in with the explanatory and interactive mixed methods view, in that the Labovian quantitative methodologies, as well as the qualitative methods used by researchers after Labov, are used interdependently in this study. The purpose of this combination of methods is to gain a full

picture with rich information of the storytelling style in the Kurdish context, a perspective which has not been investigated before.

In terms of the mixed methods relative to the data collection, I used two tools: sociolinguistic interviews and ethnographic interviews. I used the sociolinguistic interviews for two reasons. Firstly, as stated by Plum (1988), eliciting narratives in sociolinguistic interviews is widely used in scientific research, for it provides a large number of texts in an economic way. Secondly, in line with one of my research questions, which seeks to explore the ways the Kurdish and English participants tell stories, I needed to collect natural narratives.

The terms *natural narratives* are understood somewhat differently in different research contexts. Fludernik (2002: 10) described what Labov collected as “naturally occurring” narratives because they are narratives of personal experience (about human life) and authentic. It is assumed that they had actually happened as opposed to the fictional stories which formed the object of study in classical narratology. However, the conversationalist Goodwin (1997: 107) considered the narratives that evolve spontaneously in conversation as natural, because they are related to participation framework and social objectives. An example of these types of narratives can be found in Blum-Kulka’s (1993) study, where the stories emerge around the dinner table amongst American-Jewish family members. Striking a middle ground, De Fina (2009) considered both the types of narratives elicited in sociolinguistic interviews and those that emerge in ordinary conversation as “natural” (De Fina, 2009: 237), but different in terms of their “interactional rules and social relationships” (ibid: 237).

In keeping with De Fina’s (2009) stance, I recognise that the narratives elicited for the present thesis are natural insofar as they are authentic accounts of personal life experience, but use the type of sociolinguistic interviews inspired by Labov and some of his successors, such as Wennerstrom (2001), Gonzalez (2009) and Viney and Bousfield (1991). Although the eliciting tool that I employed is similar to these researchers’ tools in terms of using an interview context, it is also different. The types of interviews that I used are semi-structured in terms of both the methods of eliciting data and the prompts. With regard to the methods of eliciting data, in Labov’s study, the data was collected in pairs by

Labov and one of his research team who interviewed the participants individually. Similar to Labov's methods of eliciting the data, in Chafe's research the participants were interviewed individually, but by a person of the same age and gender as the participants. In contrast to Labov and Chafe's research, in Wennerstrom's study the participants were put into small groups. The participants were then given a prompt to tell the stories. However, in the present study, I conducted the interviews by myself in a range of different contexts, either individually or in groups (I will elaborate this point in more details later in this chapter).

In relation to the prompts, unlike those used in other studies of narrative, such as Labov's single question of danger of death, Chafe's fixed stimulus of the structured movie, and Wennerstrom's questions about mistakes and frightening experiences, I avoided constraining the participants to narrating stories about particular topics. I asked them only one question (can you tell me about the stories of your real life experience?) The reasons for giving the participants such a prompt was twofold. Firstly, since I was interested in narratives, I wanted to make sure to elicit narratives rather than non-narratives. Riessman (1993) indicated that questions similar to Labov's provoke a human reaction, and that our "impulse to narrate is so natural, and apparently universal, it is almost inevitable that these kinds of questions will produce narrative accounts" (p. 54). Secondly, similar to the elicitation techniques adopted by Martin and Plum (1997), who did not limit their Australian participants to the danger of death or a single question, (which resulted in diversity of narratives), the prompted interview question in the current study aimed for a divergence in the story content and topics. In contrast to the materials that were limited to a single topic (danger of death) gathered by Labov, in this study it was not necessary to control the topics that will presuppose to be representative of the participants' experiences. This thesis is not a purely quantitative study and does not treat culture as a macro-social construct. Instead, the divergence of topics helped to gain a rich picture of the participants' cultural identity, which could be constructed in terms of a whole range of topics, not just those relating to near-death experiences.

My second research question was related to how the stories of personal experiences constructed the cultural identities of the narrative participants. Therefore I arranged follow-up ethnographic interviews. These methods stand in contrast to the sociolinguistic

quantitative methods that are etic and treat culture as a static entity. Instead, the ethnographic interviews are qualitative and emic in nature, and aim to interpret the social meanings of cultural identity which is indexed discursively by the participants during the storytelling. Thus, using the ethnographic interviews, I could elicit the participants' perspectives of their storytelling practices and what the stories meant to them.

The ethnographic data elicited in the current study has two advantages: firstly, they helped to gain more in-depth and detailed information about the Kurdish cultural context of storytelling (that has not been researched from this perspective before) compared with their English counterparts. Secondly, storytelling practices including evaluation, identity and positioning issues are participant oriented and may "have a cognitive component" (De Fina, 2013: 44), therefore to "avoid the danger of....extrapolating from data" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 85), I intended to include the participant's views about their practices in storytelling, in order to "shift the balance of power away from the researcher [and] towards the research participants" (Wilkinson 1999: 64).

The sort of ethnographic interviews that will be advocated in the current study are inspired by the narrative researchers that followed Labov, particularly Georgakopoulou (2007, 2013). However, unlike Georgakopoulou's interviews which were un-structured, included only qualitative materials and conducted during longitudinal observation of the participants before, during and after the recordings, in the current study the ethnographic interviews are semi-structured, conducted after the recordings in a non-longitudinal observational context, and triangulate both qualitative and quantitative data.

More specifically, the design of the ethnographic interviews in the current study comprises both open-ended and close-ended questions (to see the interview list please refer to Appendix 7, 8 and 9). I used the open-ended questions to let the participants elaborate on issues related to storytelling in the Kurdish and English contexts. In contrast, I employed the close-ended interviews to restrict the participants' responses on the perceptions of a specific phenomenon (intensifiers) that they used frequently in their stories. I wanted to know whether there was any relation between the uses and perceptions of these phenomena by the participants (see further Chapter five).

To design the open-ended ethnographic interviews that followed the participants' storytelling process, I followed the "standardized open-ended" (Patton, 2002: 349) format. In this format "the exact wording and sequence of questions are determined in advance" (ibid: 349) and I asked all the participants the same main questions. Following Roulston (2006: 523-524), I asked the participants open-ended questions and then followed up on responses with further questions that took the form of semi-structured interviews of conversational analysis. Except for two questions about story vividness, they were fully structured. The semi-structured parts of the interviews followed Tashakkori & Teddlie's (1998) concept of the "funnel interview in which the researcher starts with very broad questions and gradually limits the scope of the questions to a few focused issues" (p.102).

There were three sets of open-ended questions: one was designed for the English-speaking Kurdish participants, one for non-English speaking Kurdish participants, and the other for the English monolinguals. The three sets of questions were different in that the one designed for the English-speaking Kurdish participants included general questions about issues of learning and using English. However, the interview questions were similar in that all included general questions about storytelling, and specific questions about the stories, the participants' own data, co-tellership and perceptions of evaluation. For the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, the open-ended questions were written in English but conducted in Kurdish. This is because I did not require the participants to write their responses but instead I interviewed them orally.

4.3 Participants

The participants in the current study were selected in line with the research questions. The research questions of this study are more of a qualitative nature, which inevitably limits the number of participants who might be included. Thus, the current thesis comprises 15 participants: five English-speaking Kurdish (multilinguals) speakers, five non-English speaking Kurdish speakers and five English monolinguals¹. As a first step in

¹ Monolinguals are persons who speak one language (Kemp, 2009: 15).

exploring the styles of personal storytelling in a Kurdish context, the qualitative approach, although focusing on a small number of speakers, would help to build a rich and deep view of the materials. Accordingly, the emergence of the narrative style was examined in relation to the possible influence of the cultural and multilingual status of the participants, in order to see whether culture or language choice plays a role in the variation of evaluative features, participants' perceptions of evaluation, the co-construction features, and story genres in the data of this study.

The criteria for selecting the English-speaking Kurdish participants were that they should have received English language education and are able to tell stories in English. Therefore I intended to invite five participants who have graduated from the English Department in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Duhok. These participants had undergone twelve years of English schooling (starting from primary school grade 5 until they graduated from the English Department). They were aged 21-23 years old. All speak Kurdish dialects as their first language, Arabic as their second language, and English as their third. All the participants spoke the Kurdish Badini dialect, except for one who spoke the Sorani dialect. The five graduates had known each other for four years as they had worked in the same institution (University of Duhok) and were already friends. They were also friends with me because I was working as a teacher in the same institution; a point that served to keep my participants relaxed during the interview. Furthermore, as stated by earlier researchers such as Tannen (1989) and Geourgakopoulou (2007), familiar relations such as friendships between participants produce rich interactional data. This was the case with the narratives collected from the English-speaking Kurdish participants.

In contrast to the English-speaking Kurdish participants, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants speak two languages, Kurdish as their first, and Arabic as their second. They are graduates from different universities and departments. Three of the non-English speaking Kurdish participants studied with the Department of Kurdish language at the University of Duhok. The fourth participant finished her study at University of Mosul/Department of Arabic language, and the fifth is a graduate from the University of Nawroz/Department of Law. All of them were aged between 21-23 years old. Two of them were close friends and worked at the University of Duhok library. The other two women

were teaching in secondary schools and the last one was working in the electricity office. These three women were related (and were also relatives of mine).

Similar to the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, the English monolinguals are also graduates from different schools and universities. Two of them finished their undergraduate studies at the University of Nottingham in the Department of Geography. The other two also studied at the University of Nottingham, one of them in the Department of Psychology and the second in the School of English. The last participant graduated from the School of Management at the University of Birmingham. Three of these participants were working as teachers in Medway Community School, and they met regularly, but the other two were postgraduate students at the University of Leicester. Unlike the English-and non-English speaking Kurdish participants, none of the English monolingual speakers were friends with each other or with me. However, I was familiar with one of them as we both did a course on research methods together prior to the data collection. The social distance between me and four of the participants created inevitable limitations in that the stories of personal experiences collected from them were not interaction rich. But the stories I collected from the participants that I was familiar with were interactionally rich.

All of the fifteen participants in this study are females, because rather than introducing gender as a variable, I preferred to keep to the same gender as mine, and did not intend to provide gender as a possible further influence on the participants' storytelling style.

4.4 Ethical issues

It was important that permission for collecting data from the Kurdish and English participants was sought in the initial stages of conducting this research. The reasons for this were twofold. Firstly, the data in this study, similar to that in the social research, is related to the individuals' life (Dornyei, 2007:63). Secondly, data collection in the current study complied with the processes of collecting data at the University of Leicester. Ethical approval was secured from the University of Leicester before collecting the data for this

project. Full details of the ethical approval process at the University of Leicester are available at <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/ethics/approval>.

Hart and Bond (1995: 198-201) produced different protocols for analysts to clarify, for the participants, their rights and the project's objectives. Anderson (1998: 26) indicated that "ethical responsibility begins with the individual researcher and the researcher is the main determinant of ethical standards". For example, it is the responsibility of the researcher to provide consent forms. In this study, I designed consent forms. These forms included some explanation about the nature of this project, i.e. who supervises it and in which institution it will be conducted (a copy of the consent form is provided in Appendix 2). The purposes of the research project were highlighted and the participants' rights were outlined. For example, participants had the right to withdraw from the project at any stage and could ask for a copy of the thesis. Furthermore, the privacy of the project was explained to the participants in that their real names would be concealed through the use of pseudonyms. The consent forms involved information about the confidentiality of the project, in that as soon as the study is complete, their data and responses will be destroyed. After constructing the consent forms, the English-speaking Kurdish and English participants were able to read them very carefully, and then asked to sign the forms. For the non-English speaking Kurdish participants the consent forms were translated orally into Kurdish. After listening to the translation, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants signed the forms. After gaining permission from both the University of Leicester and the participants, I started to collect the data for this project.

4.5 Data Collection

Data collection in this study was iterative in that it underwent several stages as the research evolved, some of which were taken forward whilst others were left incomplete. The stages of data collection included an initial pilot study, fuller pilot study, full data collection and speculative collection of Facebook data.

4.5.1 Initial pilot study

There are several purposes for conducting the pilot study which took place in the early stages of developing this research project. Firstly, the pilot study helped to implement part of my research design, particularly the sociolinguistic interviews. Secondly, it ensured the quality of the data prompted through this elicitation tool. Finally, it identified any problems in the procedures of data collection in terms of conducting the interviews and the choice of sample.

The participants of this pilot study were five non-graduates English-speaking Kurdish, who were students in their third year of School of English at the University of Duhok. I started to collect data from these students in 2013 during final exams. However, the data collection lasted for just two days because all of the participants decided to withdraw from the project. There were many potential reasons for this withdrawal. Firstly, I chose an inappropriate period of time for the data collection, as it was during the last days of the participants' third year exams, and during their summer holiday. Secondly, all the students were living far from campus. This made it hard for them to get there easily during their summer holiday, when no university bus service was available. Thirdly, the participants found it difficult to tell stories, and one of them kept silent during the recording. This might have been because of either the observer paradox, or the social distance (formal teacher-student relationship) between the interviewer (me) and the students, or it might be because they felt self-conscious about telling their personal stories. Clearly, this was an unsatisfactory result, as this pilot study was not completed. The participants in this phase of the pilot study did not give me any permission to record them at their houses either.

To address this problem I conducted a second pilot study (a fuller pilot study). In this stage of data collection, I improved the weak points identified in the first pilot study in terms of recruiting the participants. I selected alternative participants, who were not students, to avoid the problems related to transportation, and the difficulties of getting to campus during the summer holiday. Thus, I invited five different English-speaking Kurdish females to participate in the pilot study instead. As explained earlier, these women were

graduates from the school of English at the University of Duhok, and worked there during the summer holiday.

I interviewed the participants during their leisure times. Unfortunately, not all of the participants had leisure hours simultaneously. Thus, it was difficult to gather them all in one place to collect their stories. Sometimes all of the women were present during the recording of stories, and sometimes only one, two or three of them were present. I recorded the interviews with the English-speaking Kurdish women in a variety of natural and semi-natural settings, including the university café in a quiet corner, a common room in the university building, in a restaurant garden, and in one of the private offices belonging to one of the participants. Krueger and Casey (2000: 104) recommended drinking and eating together to enhance conversation and communication within the participants. Therefore I provided some refreshments and soft drinks to be consumed during the data collection.

During the data collection, the English-speaking Kurdish participants were prompted to tell stories in Kurdish and English. Following Jen-Chang (2008), who collected Taiwanese narratives prior to English ones from Taiwanese bilinguals, in order to gain narratives that have a sufficient content, I collected the Kurdish stories before the English stories from the English-speaking Kurdish women. When the participants began to tell stories in English, they expressed concerns about making linguistic errors. Thus, it was crucial to let them know that my interest was in exploring their narratives, not their language proficiency. I reassured them that they should not worry about their grammatical mistakes, given that the study was on the analysis of their narrative styles. However, only one participant was confident about telling stories in English. The presence of this participant was significant because she enhanced the other participants' confidence into telling stories in English.

Although the elicitation tool in the fuller (second) pilot study proved to be effective in that it yielded a proliferation of narratives of personal experiences in Kurdish and English, there were still limitations. I did not restrict the number of stories that the participants were required to tell. As a result, I collected 179 stories in Kurdish and 97 in English. For this reason, the data collection in this phase was time consuming and lasted for more than a month. From the rich pool of data that was elicited in the second phase, I

selected and analysed only 40 stories of varying topics; 20 told in Kurdish and 20 in English (I chose four stories told in English and four in Kurdish for each English-speaking Kurdish participant). After analysing the participants' stories, it seemed that their multilingual status might be an important factor in their storytelling styles. In order to test further whether this factor indeed made any difference, I elicited comparable data from five non-English speaking Kurdish women and five monolingual English women in the third phase of the data collection. However, I could not recruit English women who also spoke Kurdish to tell stories in English and Kurdish. English speakers of Kurdish are relatively rare in comparison to Kurdish speakers of English (and I did not have access to them). Also it was not easy to find a symmetrical group, in that the English participants who speak Kurdish would probably have been poor comparators for my English-speaking Kurdish participants, since they would probably have been individuals of various ages and backgrounds, whereas my Kurdish participants were broadly of similar ages and backgrounds. This has inevitable limitations in that I did not have a symmetrical set of participants in terms of their multilingual status. Thus, in the following chapters, I cannot make any claims about multilingualism from my data because I did not have enough data to show how the multilingual status of both sets of speakers works. A justification for this limitation would be that the research questions of this study are general in that their primary concern was in exploring the cultural identity of the participants rather than their multilingual identities.

In the third phase, I conducted a fuller data collection. I collected two types of data: the narratives of personal experiences from both the non-English speaking and English monolingual participants, and the ethnographic data from the non-English speaking and English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals. To elicit more data from both the English-speaking and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, I returned to Kurdistan in July 2014. In terms of conducting the ethnographic interviews with the English-speaking Kurdish participants, I contacted the same participants who were interviewed in the fuller (second) pilot study and asked for their permission to be interviewed again. After obtaining their acceptance, I interviewed them individually in their offices during their leisure time.

Unlike the long gap between eliciting the narratives (from the sociolinguistic interviews) and the participants' responses (from the ethnographic interviews) from the English-speaking Kurdish participants, there was a very small gap (three days) between eliciting the sociolinguistic and ethnographic data from the non-English speaking Kurdish participants. When conducting the sociolinguistic interviews, two of the non-English speaking Kurdish participants were interviewed together in the University of Duhok library,² whilst the other three women were interviewed in their houses, sometimes together and sometimes individually, depending on their availability. Following Georgakopoulou (2007, 2013), I obtained the data that comprised stories first, followed by the ethnographic data. In this phase of data collection, on the basis of the rich narrative data gained in the second pilot study, I limited the number of the stories that the participants were asked to tell. I asked each non-English speaking Kurdish participant to tell four stories in Kurdish.

After eliciting the data from the non-English speaking Kurdish women, I returned to the United Kingdom to collect data from the English monolingual women. Recruiting English participants was not easy, for being an international student I was not familiar with them. However, I was familiar with only one English monolingual woman, who did a course on research methods with me. I emailed her and asked her to participate in my project, to tell stories of personal experiences. Then she replied, informing me of her acceptance. Looking for another four English participants, I made an announcement via the university e-mail that was sent by the School of English coordinator to postgraduate students. In the announcement, I explained the purpose and type of my project, and asked for five female graduates from any department to volunteer and participate in telling stories of personal experiences. However, two weeks after the announcement, only one participant had emailed me to inform me of her willingness to participate in this project. Therefore I had to recruit another three participants from outside the university, in this case through contacts in the local community (teachers at a local school).

The three teachers were interviewed in their schools, more specifically in their classes after school hours, but the other two graduate students were interviewed in the

² While I was interviewing one of the non-English speaking Kurdish participants (Zerin) who was working in the university library, one of the English-speaking Kurdish participants (Jin) was also present as she worked there too.

David Wilson library café at the University of Leicester. Each English monolingual woman was required to tell four stories in English. After telling the stories, I directly conducted the ethnographic interviews as it was proving difficult to arrange follow-up interviews.

In the three phases of data collection, I employed a tape recorder to collect my data and ensured that it was set up beforehand. Importantly, I made sure that the tape-recorder was visible to all participants. I was a participant-observer in the process of data collection. Observation is regarded as a common source of collecting qualitative data (Patton, 2002). Being an observer, I could gain access to the holistic scenario of the process of data collection. I believe that my participation was vital in encouraging the participants to tell stories, and meanwhile facilitated and clarified the prompt for them. At the beginning of the first recordings, some of the English and non-English speaking Kurdish participants were reluctant, expressed their incapability to remember their personal experience stories, and did not know what stories to tell. For example, consider the following excerpt that was taken whilst I put the recorder on and gave the English-speaking Kurdish participants the prompt to tell their stories:

1. Shila Behse mobiyala bkayn?
 Shall we talk about mobiles?
2. Interviewer Hema tştek hatbeta sare we yan hewa hevalet we.
 Something that happened to you or your friends.

Then there was a silence for 30 seconds. The silence was followed by a set of questions raised by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Jin:

1. Jin Ye'ni st çiroket ejtemae mathalan mrov bežtn çetbtn?
 Is it fine to tell stories about our social life?
2. Interviewer Hema yet ejtemaye beže. Me yet ejtemae dven.
 Yes tell the stories about your social life. I require stories from your social life.
3. Jin Ye'ni methelen eka mrova me btadaye dashe.
 For example, a story like a relative of mine has been forced to get married.
4. Interviewer Hema avana

Yes these types

After the conversation between Jin and me, Jin directly started to tell a story about one of her relatives.

Similar to Shila and Jin, the non-English speaking Kurdish participant Rozh also demanded some clarifications.

1. Rozh Kirê dest pê bkem raste? Kirê dest pê bkem?

Hold on, from where do I have to start? From where do I have to start?

2. Interviewer Hema te kirê bvêt.

As you like

The potential reasons for the English-speaking and non- English speaking Kurdish participants' concerns in remembering stories, and the difficulty in beginning them, could be due to issues related to the observer's paradox, and also to the fact that this experience was new to them.

In contrast to the English and non-English speaking Kurdish participants, the English participants did not express any reluctance or hesitation to tell stories. Instead, at the beginning of the recording, one of them (Kate) just asked about the type and length of the stories that she had to tell.

1. Kate Is it any any story? How long does it need to be?

2. Interviewer Whatever, it is up to you.

Although I facilitated the process of storytelling for the participants at the beginning of the recordings, during the recordings I limited my interventions to facial expressions, gestures; back channels like *hmm*, *mmm*, laughter, agreement, the occasional evaluative comments, and questions for clarifications. This inevitably has limitations for the data in terms of the extent to which the narratives were teller led, and to some extent artificial.

Conversational analysts including Schegloff (1997), Goodwin (1997), Edwards (1997) and ethnomethodologists argued about the inadequacy of such types of data (elicited in sociolinguistic interviews). Potter (2004:207) asserted, "CA and ethnomethodological

work have eschewed interviews” because they consider narratives that emerge from interviews as artificial (De Fina, 2009). According to Edwards:

Interview data can be rich and revealing, providing many of the elements and moves that make up discursive life. However, they are likely (may even be designed) to underplay what talk “does”, how versions accomplish actions and counter alternatives, how stories are themselves activities and are not just about activities and provided as off stage recollections and commentaries.

(Edwards, 1997: 140)

In contrast to the conversational analysts’ and ethnomethodologists’ concerns about interviews being artificial, some analysts (De Fina, 2009, Baker, 2002, Quasthoff, 2013 and Wortham et al, 2011) regarded interviews as interactional data. For example, Wortham et al (2011) stated that interviewees present both propositional and interactional information. The propositional information involves “relevant information about the topic” (Wortham et al, 2011: 40). The interactional aspects of the interview “carry valuable information about habitual positioning and social evaluation done by interviewees” (Wortham et al, 2011: 41). In line with this, Quasthoff (2013) considered narratives in interviews as a link between the narrators’ identity construction and the interaction with the interviewer (p.135). Thus, De Fina (2013) argued that whenever identity construction is interpreted in narratives that emerge in interviews, such types of narratives are contextualized (p. 42) and this could be a response to the conversational and ethnomethodological accounts of interviews as abstract data (De Fina, 2013). Accordingly, the narratives that are elicited in this study can provide a suitable territory to examine the participants’ local and global accounts of positioning and identity.

The last set of data that I started to collect was from Facebook. Collecting data from Facebook, I intended to analyse the narrative features of the participants’ stories that were told in social media. A number of Facebook posts that included stories were collected from five English speaking Kurdish multilinguals. However, this type of data did not seem to yield examples of stories. As the data sample was small (10 posts) and the participants stopped using Facebook, this strand of data collection was discontinued.

To summarise, collecting the data for this study in different stages and contexts (recording some of the participants together and some separately) resulted in some inevitable limitations. In terms of co-tellership, this created differences in the data because some contexts for elicitation offered more opportunities for co-tellership than others. With regards to statistics, I could not apply complex quantitative statistics since the data was mismatched. However, this study is not purely quantitative. It is the first attempt that a researcher has made at examining storytelling in Kurdish culture. I do not intend to make generalisations about the stories told by the Kurdish women. Instead, I am examining only a specific group of speakers, far from the quantitative approaches of the construction of cultural identities from an essentialist view. I attempt to explore how a specific group of women, through narrative performances, indexes their identities as storytellers in different contexts, and in relation to different story topics and genres.

4.6 Description of the data

The main dataset comprises four hours (247 minutes and 42 seconds) of audio taped stories, 80 in total. These stories are of different types and length and are thematically associated with issues of significance to the participants. The themes of the stories were focused on educational goals and experiences, health problems, accidents, marriage, celebrations, student-teacher challenges, and family and ethnic challenges. More details about the stories can be found in tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.

Table 4.1 The stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in English

Pseudonyms	Topics of the stories	Word length	Duration of the record
Angel	Racism	319	1m41s
	Meeting with the boss	606	3m05s

	My friend was teasing me in the class	580	3m23s
	Happy news	446	2m40s
Ban	The recovery of my deaf uncle	181	1m50s
	Planning to visit my mother's house	304	2m09s
	Knock at the door	270	1m60s
	Snow picnic	316	2m16s
Meera	The Arab teacher's insults	463	2m98s
	Quarrel with the teacher in the class	983	5m05s
	My graduation day	914	6m
	Taking a holiday	610	3m55s
Jin	My nephew was kidding with me	269	1m83s
	Love between cousins	618	3m97s
	The bride and her mother- in-law	359	2m12s
	How my husband approached me to marry him	559	4m23s
Shila	A small girl in the school	330	2m23s
	My nephew	182	1m77s

	A quarrel with the teacher	578	6m76s
	Cheaters in the class	646	4m17s

Table 4.2 The stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in Kurdish

Pseudonyms	Topics of the stories in Kurdish with English translation	Word length	Duration of recording
Angel	Waxtê mrov israre bket When you have persistence	568	4m27s
	Tondrawi dgel giyanawara Torturing animals	426	4m96s
	Wextê mamê mn hate şehidkrn When my uncle was murdered	364	3m10s
	L beşê navxoy In the hostel	384	2m1s
Ban	L koligê In the college	189	0m99s
	çume mala dotmama dayka xo Going to my mother cousin's house	291	1m99s
	L beşê navxoy In the hostel	269	1m27s

	Ek dif ma dhat l bazari Being chased in the market	555	2m38s
Meera	Wextê em l Holenda dżiyayn When we were living in Holland	191	1m1s
	Invitation Da'wet	176	0m55s
	Waxtê l amadaye In the high school	260	1m8s
	Xezanamn briyar da bzvrite Holenda My family decided to return to Holland	859	6m
Jin	Mşkek l mala mamêmn A mouse in my uncle's house	200	1m15s
	Dotmama mn ya zk reş My selfish cousin	250	3m42s
	Tasarfa mamêmn My uncle's behavior	447	2m16s
	Nasaxekê Arab l nexoşxanê An Arab patient in the hospital	103	0m84s
Shila	Seredana dxtori Visiting a doctor	100	0m43s
	Ez barze bum I got lost	205	1m05s
	Trane krn dgel havalamn Kidding my friend	197	1m01s
	Brayêmn az qurtal krm My brother rescued me	219	1m16s

Table 4.3 The stories told by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants in Kurdish

Pseudonyms	Topics of the stories	Word length	Duration of recording
Hayen	Nesaxiyia deyka mn My mother's sickness	364	2m
	Dapîramn nadhêla metamn şiket My grandmother rejects my aunt's marriage	422	2m42s
	Wênê derçunê Graduation picture	341	2m13s
	My daughter's body burn Sotna leşê kçamn	422	3m12s
Ilaf	Enjamêt ezmona My exam results	770	4m47s
	Haditha ketnê Falling accident	328	2m19s
	Sotna mezelê The burning of the room	1367	8m6s
	My brother's accident Haditha brayemn	1088	5m94s
Zerin	Enjamêt ezmonêt mn My exam results	1040	5m42s
	Goharkêt mn brn They stole my earrings	731	3m35s

	Hevalamn My friend	1182	6m70s
	Dawata brayê havala mn My friend's brother's wedding	707	3m40s
Nabila	L da'irê In the office	447	2m36s
	şeva ezmona The exam night	275	1m56s
	The election day Roža helbžartna	454	2m56s
	Xandna êvaran Studying in evening classes	950	5m35s
Rozh	My relative Mrovamn	783	5m02s
	regretting pahemane	917	06m22s
	My nephew's falling accident Katna kcha teye mn	1242	8m7s
	My daughter's accident Haditha kchamn	861	4m51s

Table 4.4 The stories told by the English monolinguals

Pseudonyms	Topics of the stories	Word length	Duration of recording
Kate	My exam results	404	0.33s
	My birthday present	300	2m03s
	My little kitten	334	2m03s

	The horrid child in my class	369	2m63s
Rose	The experience of diving	428	2m24s
	Getting back to the university	698	3m58s
	Summer night	333	1m52s
	Diving in Sharmal Sheik	886	5m07s
Sana	My internship in Gambia	603	3m41s
	Working at the rescue canal	450	3m06s
	The Divali party	271	1m57s
	Coming to Medway schools	742	5m01s
Suzi	Work experience	1026	5m25s
	My trip to Sri Lanka	1036	5m44s
	The scary story	1204	6m09s
	My trip to Paris	907	4m40s
Wendy	The holiday	172	1m
	When I was in Spain	116	38s
	Get lost	351	1m44s
	Changing house	330	1m53s

4.7 Transcription and methods of analysis

4.7.1 Transcription

Denzin and Lincoln (2002: 829) suggested that transcripts and tapes are public records available to the scientific community that can be replayed. Following the recorded interviews with the research participants, my task was to listen to the recordings and transcribe the narratives and interview responses. Doing so facilitated the analysis, since the spoken words were transformed to written text and become accessible to the analyst.

In the process of transcription and translation, the narratives were divided into clauses. Berman and Slobbin (1994: 657) defined a clause as “any unit that contains a grammatical unit containing a predicate which expresses a single situation, activity, event or state”. Scholars have used some criteria to set the boundaries of clauses in verbal discourse. For this purpose, Chafe (1980) employed three criteria: *intonational*, *hesitational* and *syntactic* (p. 14). When using spontaneous speech in the English, either the rising or falling pitch is the marker of intonation in oral discourse (p. 14). A short pause or hesitation might indicate the end of the clause (p. 14). Syntactically, the unit comprises a verb and its associated noun phrase (p. 14). Chafe stressed that all three criteria do not always exist in one unit of speech, nor does the occurrence of one indicate the boundary of the unit (p. 14). Moreover some units start with the conjunctions “and”, “but” and “or” (p.14). As with English, in Kurdish “the variation in pitch creates intonation” (Rahimpour and Dovaie, 2011: 79). Another similarity to English in the Kurdish language is that, the syntactic unit comprises a verb (V) and an object (O).

A combination of the criteria (*intonational*, *hesitational* and *syntactic*) proposed by Chafe was employed to distinguish the clauses in the narratives of this study. These criteria are described by Chafe as “spurts of consciousness” or “idea units” (Chafe, 1980: 13-14). Others have described these idea units as “information units” (Halliday, 1967: 200), “information blocks” (Greimas, 1975: 276) and “tone units” (Crystal, 1975: 11).

Based on the purpose of the research in this study i.e. to explore the relationships between interactional processes, the construction of the stories and the cultural identities of the participants; the transcription conventions that I used to transcribe the narratives went beyond determining the boundaries of the clauses. They also included the interactional features of the speech delivery, which involved the speakers' turn-taking, pauses, non-verbal speech such as laughter, intonation, stress and loudness (Atkinson, 1992). Thus, I adopted Jefferson's (1984) transcription notation symbols (provided in Appendix 1). I used these types of notation symbols for two reasons. Firstly, as stated by Riessman (1993: 59), Jefferson's notation symbols are widely used, particularly in conversational and discourse studies. Secondly, Jefferson's symbols do not signal the conventional grammatical units but rather present the characteristics of speech delivery (Atkinson and Heritage, 1999: 245). Unlike the fine-grained transcriptions that were applied to the stories of personal experiences in this study, when I transcribed the ethnographic interview responses, I employed only a "rough transcription" (Atkinson, 1992: 4) in that I only gave the participants' words.

Furthermore, while transcribing the personal experience stories and the participants' responses in the ethnographic interviews; I made sure to transcribe the actual words of the participants in order to get accurate data. In other words, I did not attempt to correct language mistakes (in terms of both grammar and vocabulary) in both sets of data. Also, in order to facilitate the readers' understanding of the Kurdish stories, they were then transliterated "i.e. replaced with approximate phonetic equivalents" (Kinght and Graehl, 1998: 599), into English using the Roman Alphabet. Initially, each line in the Kurdish stories were transliterated employing the Roman Alphabet, and the second lines were translated into English.

4.7.2 Methods of analysis

In terms of data analysis, the quantitative part of this study operates at the level of descriptive statistics. More complex statistical tests are not employed as the type of data I

collected is not amenable to this kind of test in terms of the sampling strategies (explanatory and interactive mixed methods-collecting data in sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews), sample size (small), time spent selecting samples (not simultaneously), methods of data and sample selections (iterative that underwent several stages) and the form of data (the stories I collected are of different topics and length) that makes a purely quantitative study. Instead, the quantitative analysis in this study adopted simple statistics (word counts). These simple statistics were used for two purposes, firstly, to gain a general picture of the quality of data in terms of the narrative features. Secondly, the simple statistics helped me “to identify important constructs” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 777) (that are elaborated further on in the analysis) and provided “data for systemic comparisons across groups” (ibid). However, I did not only count the narrative features that occurred in my data, but also interpreted their meanings by employing qualitative analysis, which in turn provided depth to the picture created by the quantitative analysis of the narrative features.

To facilitate the quantitative analysis, I used Microsoft Excel software to process the data. Excel is acknowledged by Rasinger (2008) as the best way for coding questionnaires. However, I did not use excel just to process the responses to the questionnaires, but also to process the other types of data (stories). All of the 80 stories were coded for different elements. For example, Labov’s (1972) evaluative devices (external, embedded and internal), perceptions of intensifiers’ vividness, and type of story genres, story genre topics and interactional features were analysed and coded in relation to the speakers’ variables (cultural and multilingual status).

In chapter five the focus will be on the quantitative analysis only. In chapter five, I quantitatively will examine how Labov’s features of intensifiers occurred in the data of the current study and in turn will explore the cross-cultural differences between the participants in terms of using evaluation (intensifiers). Another aspect of evaluation (i.e the perceptions of evaluation) will be examined quantitatively in chapter five.

In chapter six I will conduct the qualitative analysis first in order to closely examine the structure of the stories in relation to Labov’s (1972) narrative structure and Martin and

Plum's (1997) story genres in order to find out how story genres are culturally situated. Second, the qualitative analysis will be used to analyze systematically the patterns of the implicit and explicit self-representation, positioning oneself and others in interaction, the construction of the cultural identity in relation to narrative patterns and social broader meanings in the story genres. Then I quantitatively will compare the participants' groups in terms of the frequency use of different types of story genres.

In Chapter seven, the co-construction features and the reported speech will be normalized to see which group of participants use them more frequently and to explore their places of occurrence within the story structure. These features will be also examined quantitatively to see if there are cross-cultural differences between the stories told by Kurdish and English participants. Again the quantitative analysis will be conducted to find out how the use of the co-construction features and reported speech vary according to the story genres and the different topics of story genres. Then I will conduct a qualitative analysis to explore the relationship between reported speech and the co-tellership resources in terms of positioning.

It is crucial to mention that the participants' stories were not analysed or coded in terms of features such as code switching. This is because few examples of these features were found in the participants' stories. For example, the 20 stories that were told in English by the English-speaking Kurdish participants contained 12 examples of code switching, where the participants switched between Kurdish and English as well as, very rarely, between Arabic and English. For example, in the story about *the graduation party* that was told by Meera, she switched between Kurdish and English in a few parts of her story: 'My friends say "Meera, (denge xo blnd kr asabebo gelek) what is this? "'. In another story about an ethnic challenge that was told by the same participant, Meera, there was a switching between Arabic and English as in 'She was like, " Ha, entu, entu, you you don't not know nothing who you are you are Kurds" '. However, the stories that were told in Kurdish by English-speaking Kurdish participants included three examples of code switching between Kurdish and Arabic, and one example of code switching between Kurdish and English. Consider the following excerpt that is taken from the story *when you*

have persistence that was told in Kurdish by Angel. She told line two of her story in Arabic, whereas she included English in line three.

- 33. Mn ži bexum >gelek kefm be xwêdn dê<
- 34. I myself >like school very much<
- 35. Al kitab ehem şî bheyati
- 36. Book is the most important thing in my life
- 37. I love it really.

Additionally, in some stories that were told by the Kurdish speakers (particularly by one Kurdish participant), the participants used the word “ye’ni”. This word is an Arabic word and it means “I mean”. It becomes a part of the verbal production of most Kurds. They do not realize that “ye’ni” is an Arabic word, and it is used by the Kurdish participants of this study (specifically one participant over-used it) in the stories told in both Kurdish and English. I think this is not a case of code-switching, but of the participants using it to prepare for the unfolding of the clauses in the verbal communication.

4.8 Conclusions

Chapter four outlined the research design (mixed methods) for the data collection and analysis, in line with two narrative traditions (Labovian’s quantitative methods, and the qualitative methods used by the researchers that developed Labov’s model in the second phase). The data was collected using both sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews. Within the ethnographic interviews a mixed methods design was used. It included both qualitative and quantitative materials. The application of the mixed methods was iterative and has happened in more than one phase. This is because the current study is not a purely quantitative analysis, and intended to gain a deep view of storytelling styles in the Kurdish context, and of the participants’ cultural identities.

In terms of the data analysis, although both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used, the quantitative methods were merely descriptive, and did not apply complex statistics. This is due to the fact that the objectives of the quantitative analysis in the current study, were to gain a generalised view of the data in terms of using Labov's evaluative features, co-tellership resources, reported speech, participants' perceptions of evaluation, story genres, and different topics of story genres, whereas the qualitative analysis was used to closely scrutinise and interpret the meanings of these features.

CHAPTER FIVE: USES AND PERCEPTIONS OF EVALUATION

5.0 Introduction

As discussed in chapter three, Labov's evaluation devices have been widely explored in the fields of sociolinguistics, narrative studies, psychology, cognitive studies, as well as in relation to stories elicited employing different methodologies, and told by tellers from different cultural groups. For example Chafe (1980), Viney and Bousfield (1991), Polanyi (1981), Wennerstrom (2001), Gonzalez (2009) and Holmes (1998) applied quantitative approaches to examine Labov's features of evaluation as a source of cultural variation. Within Labov's categories of evaluative devices, one subtype has been shown to be of particular importance: intensifiers.

5.1 Intensifiers

Intensifiers as a form of evaluation were the focus of studies by scholars including Yemenici (2002), Peterson and McCabe (1983), Chang (2008), Shrubshall (1997), Page (2012) and Liskin-Gasparro (1996). Intensifiers are trans-generic features and have also been studied in other kinds of texts that would not be counted as narrative per se, for example Tagliamonte (2008), Brown and Tagliamonte (2012), and Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), examined intensifiers in a corpus of informal conversations.

Outside the field of narrative research, intensifiers were defined by Bolinger (1972: 17) as "any device that scales a quality, whether up or down or somewhere between the two". This suggests that intensifiers are inherently scalar i.e. the degree of modification signals that something could be more or less intense. Similarly, Quirk et al (1985: 589-590)

echoed Bolinger's definition of intensifiers, and linguistically divided them into two subsets based on this scalar notion:

1. Amplifiers scale up the intensity:
 - Maximisers (e.g. completely)
 - Boosters (e.g. very much)
2. Downtoners scale down the intensity:
 - Approximators (e.g. almost)
 - Compromisers (eg. more or less)
 - Diminishers (e.g. partly)
 - Minimisers (e.g. hardly)

From a narrative perspective, Labov's (1972) categorisation of intensifiers seems to share similarities and differences with those identified by Bolinger (1972) and Quirk et al (1985). Labov (1972) claimed that intensifiers have "a marked evaluative force" (p. 378). Intensifiers include lexical items such as *so*, *very* and *all*, items that could be considered boosters. However, he also included other non-lexical phenomena such as gestures, expressive phonology, repetition and ritual utterances within the category of intensifiers. Many of the intensifiers identified by Labov (1972) are still scalar. For example, prosodic features such as volume, pitch and pace can be increased and decreased for evaluative effect. However, unlike linguistic frameworks, such as Bolinger's distinction between amplifiers and downtoners (which can modify intensity (both up and down)), the intensifiers identified by Labov seem generally to be used for scaling up.

Although Labov's evaluative devices each have the potential to scale up the evaluated entity, they are syntactically and qualitatively different from each other. Within the lexical resources used to indicate intensification, there are different classes of items including qualifiers and quantifiers. Words like *very*, *really* and *so* are lexical items that are classified among amplifiers (as types of qualifiers), and more specifically boosters, that are, adverbs, modify an adjective or another adverb by scaling up their qualities (Quirk et al, 1985 and Paradis, 2008). Syntactically, *very*, *so* and *really* always precede an item and exaggerate its quality. However, *all* is classified by Quirk et al (1985: 258-259) as a quantifier (and as a determiner) that modifies plural, singular, abstract nouns, prepositional

phrases, pronouns and articles. Unlike *very*, *so* and *really*, *all* can either precede the modified item or occur in the adverbial location (Quirk et al, 1985). *All* can function as a degree modifier when it precedes an adjective (Buchstaller and Traugott, 2006: 346). Quirk et al included *all* within “emphasiers which add to the force (as distinct from the degree) of the adjective” (p. 447).

As verbal resources, the qualifiers and quantifiers in Labov’s categories of intensifiers are language specific. That is to say, the syntactic patterns, semantic range and word classes to which the items discussed in the previous paragraph each belong may vary in different language varieties. Studies of intensifying adverbs in other languages suggest that other possibilities may be available to speakers. As a comparison of the intensifiers in English and Kurdish, my analysis does not assume that the lexical forms found in the Kurdish stories will necessarily be the same, in frequency or type of syntactic context, as those found in the stories told in English. As other researchers have pointed out, there may not be simple isomorphic equivalents between the lexical items among different languages. This is true of lexical intensifiers. For example in Italian, *molto*, *assai* and *troppo* refer to *very* in English (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 417). In Dutch, intensifying prefixes such as *bere*, as in “beregoud” (“very good”), and *kei* as in “keibelachelijk” (“very ridiculous”) are used as equivalents for *very* (Klein, 1998: 59).

Other types of Labovian intensifiers employ varying semiotic resources including prosody (as forms of expressive phonology), gestures, onomatopoeia and repetition. Each can be used with all languages, but with different emphasis and frequency. Expressive phonology is a prosodic resource said to “lengthen vowels” (Labov, 1972: 379) and Bolinger refers to it as “to exaggerate certain components of accents: length” (p. 279). Gestures are non-verbal features in narrative that have been associated with the “deictic this or that” (ibid: 378) and described as a “vision-based gesture interaction” (He et al, 2008: 217). Onomatopoeia “implies an imitative-driven transformation of a sound of nature into a word” (Assaneo et al, 2011: 2). Finally, repetition was defined by Bolinger (1972: 289) and Norrick (2000: 57) as the occurrence of words or phrases repeatedly in discourse. Repetition can be combined with other evaluative resources such as lexical items, expressive phonology, gestures, ritual utterances and onomatopoeia.

Some of the intensifiers identified by Labov (1972) are similar to those indicated in the strategy of “peak marking”, which is said to “heighten vividness” (p. 40) as identified by Longacre (1983). Three of the elements which Longacre claimed can heighten vividness are also identified by Labov as intensifiers, namely, gestures (deixis and onomatopoeic expressions), repetition and expressive phonology. However, Longacre did not explain what heightening vividness entails. Instead, he focused on the structural potential of these resources to occur as a form of peak marking in narrative. Peak is described as “an episode like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the climax or denouement in the notional structure” (Longacre, 1983: 37). Longacre (1983: 37) mentioned that climax implies the increased tension area, whereas denouement refers to the resolution part of the story. Longacre (1983) described a peak as a “zone of turbulence” (p.38). On the basis that the peak entails the disruption of textual norms, it would seem that “heightened vividness” also implies a sense of relative emphasis that can be more or less, triggered by different phenomena.

The variation in the rhetorical effects of intensifiers can be explained in line with the notion of high and low tellability (Ochs and Capps, 2001). Ochs and Capps defined tellability as “a narrative dimension that varies from a rhetorical focus on a highly reportable breach of expectations and its eventful consequences (high tellability), to reporting relatively ordinary events (low tellability)” (p. 76). Tellability “also ranges from an orientation to narrative as performance (high tellability), to an orientation to narrative as dialogic sense-making (low tellability)” (ibid). The interpretation of tellability, as with intensifiers, is a relative concept. The variation in tellability is triggered by the amount of rhetorical devices used to report an event, the direction of the narrative and the content (subject matter) of the narrative performance. Likewise, vividness i.e. the effect of evaluation (tellability), can vary in relation to the types of intensifiers (as some types of intensifiers might assign more evaluative emphasis than others) and frequency of evaluative devices in the stories.

In order to explore variation in the uses and effects of different intensifiers, this chapter examines their frequency in the participants’ stories, and carries out some preliminary empirical research to identify how the participants in this study perceived those intensifiers in terms of vividness. This chapter attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How do the Labovian internal evaluation devices occur in the stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants, non-English speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals?
2. How are the intensifiers perceived in terms of vividness by the different subgroups of participants in this study?

5.2 Methodology

In order to answer the research questions in this chapter, all 80 stories were coded for Labov's (1972) intensifiers (lexical intensifiers, repetition, expressive phonology (vowel lengthening) and onomatopoeia)¹. Moreover, I used double coding in that I coded *really*, *very*, *so*, *all* and onomatopoeia as intensifiers, and at the same time as instances of repetition, where the participants doubled their use in their stories, for example the participants used (*really really*, *very very* or *so so* etc.). In the case of exaggerated qualifiers and quantifiers, I began by identifying all those present in the English stories. For Kurdish stories, I identified all the Kurdish lexical intensifiers by first checking the English examples with their Kurdish equivalents. For this I used Karadaghi's (2009) dictionary, entitled *The Azadi English–Kurdish Dictionary*, Nawkhosh's (2013) *Oxford Dictionary: Kurdish-English* and the online dictionary *The Glosebe English-Kurdish dictionary*. This accounted for all but two instances of lexical intensifiers in the stories told in Kurdish (*mayê* and *ma*). Neither of these examples was found in a dictionary. However, in the data, these two lexical items functioned as intensifiers.

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1. Mayê | krêt | bu. |
| Intensifier | adjective | copular be |
| very/so? | ugly | was |
| He was so/very ugly. | | |

¹ Ritual utterances were not coded because they were absent in the participants' stories. Gestures also were not coded because the data was not recorded using video.

2. Guti, "ma keyfa mn hat".
 Verb intensifier adjective pronoun Verb
 Said, "very/so? happy mine became
 She said, "I became very/so happy".

However, while coding the data for the Kurdish intensifiers, I found that some of them had more than one variant that was equivalent to the English intensifiers. For example, as indicated by Nawkhosh (2013: 293), *all* is equivalent to *hemi* (هه مهي) in the Badini (Kurmanji) dialect and *hamu* (هه مو) in the Sorani dialect. However, in the data used by this study, some of the Badini participants used *hemi* and *xr* interchangeably. Based on my intuitive knowledge as a native speaker, *xr* is used in Badini dialect as a slang word equivalent to *hemi*. It is a complex task assigning each English intensifier to the Kurdish equivalent, in that some of the English intensifiers have a wide range of uses, but not all of them as intensifiers. Stating that a dictionary translates *all* as *hemi*, for example, does not necessarily tell us whether the dictionary is focusing specifically on the intensifying use of *all*, or whether it is translating some other use/sense of *all* as *hemi*. I took the simple approach and used the dictionary, as the exploration of lexical intensifiers in this section is not semantic. Moreover, *so* is translated by Nawkhosh (2013: 14) as *hnd* (هند) in the Badini dialect, but the *English-Kurdish Glosbe Dictionary* translated it to *wisa*. The participants used *hnd* but also one instance of *wisa* was found in their stories. In other respects, the online dictionary Glosbe (<https://glosbe.com/en/ku>) translated *very* as *gelek* and *zur*. Only *gelek* is used in Badini but both *gelek* and *zur* are used in the Sorani dialect. The participant who spoke Sorani dialect in this study used both *gelek* and *zur* interchangeably, but the Badini speakers used only *gelek*.

In regards to repetition, there are different forms of this, such as “rephrasing”, “false starts” or “cut-offs” (Norrick, 2000: 58), which occur mostly at the beginning of the stories (Norrick, 2000: 58). “Parallel structures for key events” (ibid: 58) which includes “parallel semantic, syntactic and phonological structures”, “repetition for dramatic events” (ibid: 61) or “reverbalization of a single idea in different words” (ibid) and “repetition to highlight

evaluation” (ibid: 63), in which “both verbatim repetition and reverbalisation in different words often serve to highlight evaluation in narrative” (ibid). For the purpose of the current study I focus only on the repetition that highlights evaluation. The exclusion of false starts and repetition of parallel structures is due to their organisational rather than evaluative functions in the narrative (Norrick, 2000: 65). The verbatim repetition in this study involves the repetition of the same lexical words, phrases and sentences in the participants’ stories of personal experiences. However, I exclude repetition of the same grammatical items such as prepositions, conjunctions, coordinators, subordinators, and articles since these have organisational rather than evaluative functions (Hoey, 1991).

5.3 The Labovian analysis

The Labovian analysis of the stories told by speakers in this study identified all the subtypes of internal evaluation, which are listed (with examples from the data) below:

Intensifiers:

a. Expressive phonology

1. She was a ni:::ghtmare, little living nightmare.

(English monolingual speaker)

2. Wextê me to inaye der to ya shi:::n buy.

Translation: When we got you out of the water, you were blue:::.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant)

b. Repetition

1. It will play in my mind and play in my mind the whole – the whole time.

(English monolingual)

2. Hnd em trsiyan hnd em trsiyan.

Translation: We got so scared. We got so scared.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

c. Lexical intensifier (Quantifier)

1. I met *all* these people from *all* over the place

(English monolingual)

2. Veja hemi tsht ye erzane.

Translation: All the things are cheap.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

d. Lexical intensifier (Qualifier)

1. It was a *very* different dive to what I have dived nowadays.

(English monolingual)

2. They are *so* racist.

(English monolingual)

3. I am *really* unhappy with life.

(English monolingual)

4. Defme zhi *gelek* yê gherib bu.

Translation: It was *very* strange for us.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

5. Mn gut, "*Hnd* keyfa mn hat".

Translation: I said, "I got *so* happy".

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

e. Onomatopoeia

1. Gut," mabaynekeda ket shup shup".

Translation: She said, "Suddenly she fell shup shup".

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

Comparators

a. Questions

1. What- What is it going to be like?

(English monolingual)

2. Gute::: (.) "dxtur ma ez lkire me?"

Translation: He said, "Doctor, where am I?"

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

b. Negation

1. I never interfering anything.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in English)

2. Gut,"ho:: tu nzani em chdi dxoyn".

Translation: I said, "o::hh you do not what we eat".

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

c. Modals

1. I will do what I want.

(English speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in English)

2. Lazm yê mukabli mrovi hnd mrovi ne hjz ket.

Translation: It is supposed that a close person to you must not annoy you.

(Non-English speaking Kurdish participant)

d. Futures

1. All those people could know that.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in English)

2. Gûtê, “bêžmete ne axvi. Tu na şikev”.

Translation: She told her, “Shut up, you will not get married”.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

e. Imperatives

1. "Alright sh-shut the hell up!"

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in English)

2. Deykamn zhi gutê, "dê bxo eikê temkê".

Translation: My mother told her, “Taste one”.

(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

f. Superlatives

1. We decide there would be nothing less relaxing than going walking in the lake Street in the pouring rain for three days.

(English monolingual)

g. Or – clauses

1. I was not like always eating particularly healthily:: Or kind of taking care of myself.

(English monolingual)

Correlatives

a. Double appositive

1. We decide there will be nothing less relaxing than going walking in the lake street in the pouring rain for three days.

(English monolingual)

b. Ing –progressive

1. People just screaming and shouting when they are going under rain.

(English monolingual)

c. Appended Participle

1. All the Madridistas speaking and sitting on the chair beside me
(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in English)

d. Left-handed participle

1. “There’s an unsavory- looking passenger in the back of the club”.²
(Labov, 1972: 389).

e. Right-handed participle

1. “The house that jack built”. (Labov, 1972: 390).

Explicatives

1. He was upset because of something else and he did not want to come.
(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in English)
2. Mn sheshê i'dayiyê ne xandbo chnko nebo.
I did not study year 12 because it was not available.
(English-speaking Kurdish participant, telling a story in Kurdish)

The frequency of all types of internal evaluation, including intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explicatives, was calculated in the stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish (ESKK), English-speaking Kurdish participants telling stories in English (ESKE), non-English speaking Kurdish participants (K) and English monolinguals (EM). These results were then normalised by calculating the total number of evaluative instances relative to the total number of words in the stories per participant for each group: (total number of each type of internal evaluation

² This example is taken from Labov (1972: 389) for illustrative purposes, as none of the participants in my study used this subtype of evaluation.

per each group of participant \div the total number of words in the stories per each group of participant $\times 100$).

The quantitative results are summarised in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 The frequency of all types of internal evaluation by all groups of participants

Groups of participants	Number of stories	Total length of stories (number of words)	Intensifiers		Comparators		Correlatives		Explicatives	
K	20	14691	639	4.34 %	119	0.81%	0	0%	2	0.01 %
ESKE	20	9533	402	4.21 %	261	2.73%	6	0.06 %	51	0.53 %
ESKK	20	6253	330	5.27 %	36	0.57%	0	0%	1	0.01 %
EM	20	10960	507	4.62 %	114	1.04%	9	0.08 %	55	0.50 %

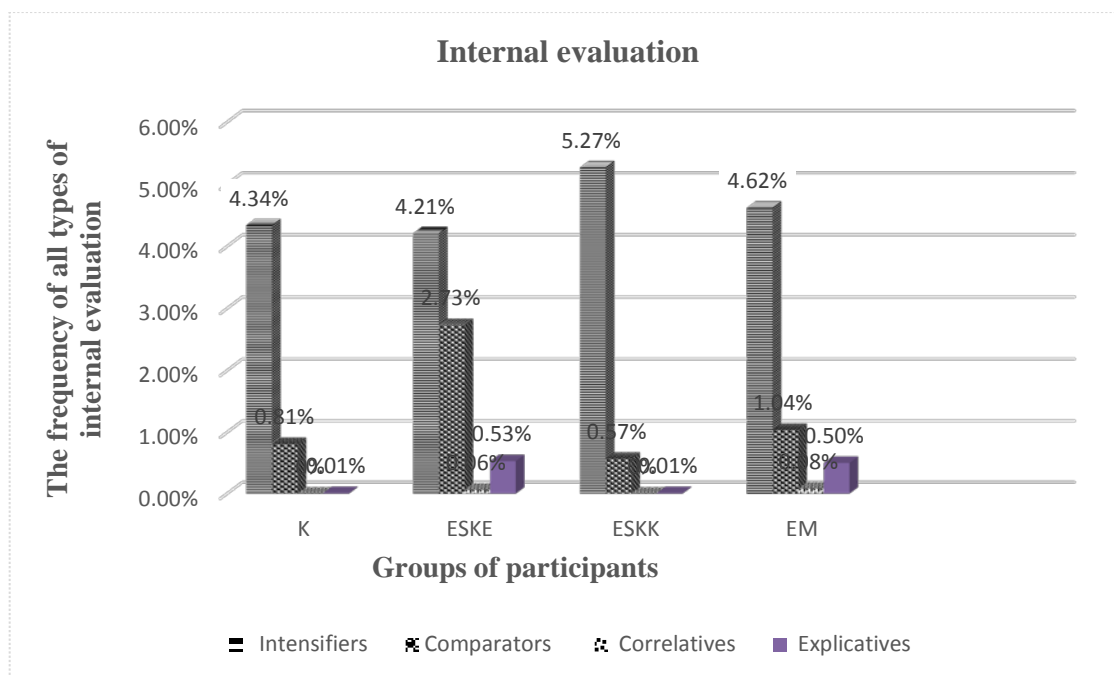


Figure 5.1 The frequency of all types of internal evaluation by all the groups of participants

The results in figure 5.1 suggest similarities and differences in the frequency of the types of internal evaluations in all the groups of participants. Of all the types of internal evaluation, intensifiers were the most frequent for every group of participants: for the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish, this accounted for 5.27% of the words in their stories, English monolinguals 4.62%, non-English speaking Kurdish participants 4.34% and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English 4.21%. However, the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish used intensifiers slightly more than the other participants. For all groups, the second most frequently occurring type of internal evaluation was comparators. They were used more frequently by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English, with 2.73% of the words in their stories, compared to English monolinguals 1.04%, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants 0.81% and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish 0.57%. On the other hand, the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals used explicatives at similar rate, which accounted for 0.53% and 0.50% of the words in their stories respectively. In contrast, explicatives were nearly completely absent in the stories

told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants, who used it with only 0.01% of the words in their stories. Likewise, English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals used correlatives very rarely, 0.06% and 0.08% of the stories' words respectively, but the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants did not use correlatives at all.

These findings support those of Yemenici (2002), Peterson and McCabe (1983), Tannen (2007), Shrubshall (1997), Liskin-Gasparro (1996), Brown and Tagliamonte (2012), and Page (2012), in that as in these previous studies, intensifiers occurred frequently in the data. However, this initial analysis of evaluation devices does not address the complexity of the different types of intensifiers. Therefore, I then questioned whether the various participants used similar or different subtypes of intensifiers to evaluate their stories. The stories were then analysed according to Labov's different types of intensifiers, including lexical intensifiers, expressive phonology, repetition, and onomatopoeia³. The quantification was normalised by calculating the total number of these features' instances in relation to the total number of the stories' words per participant in each group. The results of the quantification are presented in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.2.

³ Ritual utterances were not quantified because they were absent in the participants' stories

Table 5.2 The frequency of sub-types of intensifiers by all the groups of participants

Groups of participants	Number of stories	Total length of stories (number of words)	Lexical intensifiers		Expressive phonology		Repetition		Onomatopoeia	
K	20	14691	211	1.43%	148	1.00%	286	1.94%	0	0%
ESKE	20	9533	92	0.96%	66	0.69%	243	2.54%	1	0.01%
ESKK	20	6253	95	1.51%	72	1.15%	171	2.73%	3	0.04%
EM	20	10960	249	2.27%	130	1.18%	128	1.16%	0	0%

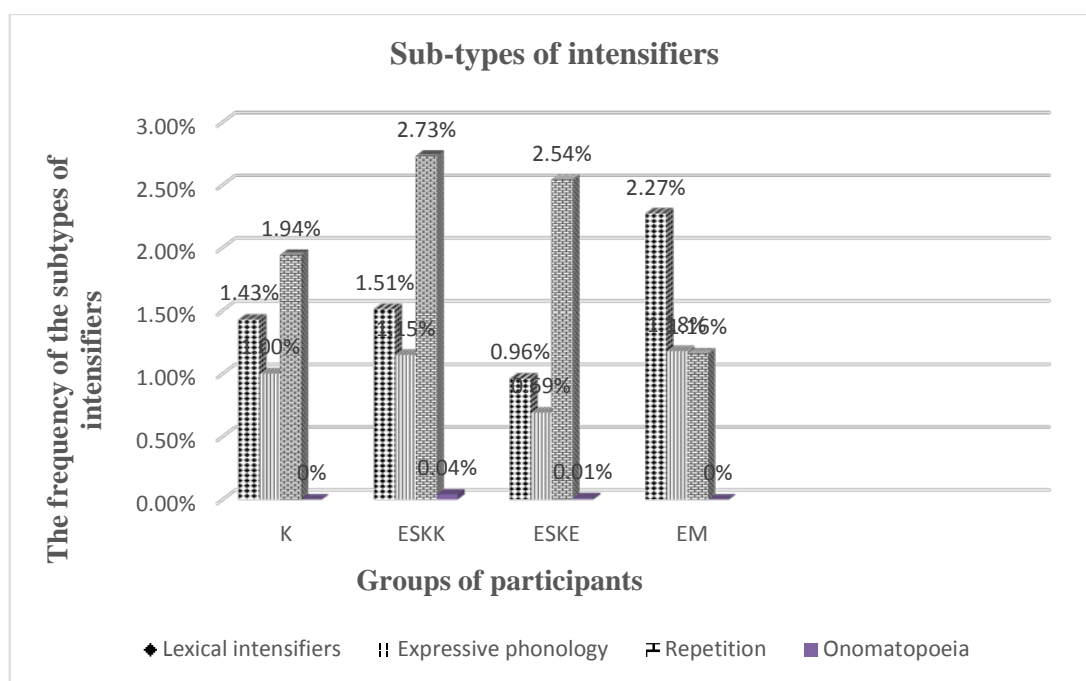


Figure 5.2 The frequency of subtypes of intensifiers by all the groups of participants

The results in Figure 5.2 prompt a number of observations in relation to the frequency of subtypes of intensifiers in all the participants' stories. It is found that within all the subtypes of intensifiers, repetition was the most frequent in all the Kurdish speakers' groups. English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish used repetition with 2.73% of the words in their stories. English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English employed repetition for 2.54% of their words. Non-English speaking Kurdish participants used repetition for 1.94% of their words. Although the differences are small, the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish used more repetition in comparison to the non-English speaking Kurdish women and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English. Again noting that the differences are small, English monolinguals employed less amounts of repetition, using it in 1.16% of their words. In contrast, among all the subtypes of intensifiers, lexical intensifiers were the most frequent in the stories told by English monolinguals and were accounted for in 2.27% of the words in their stories. This is in comparison to the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish, non-English speaking Kurdish participants and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English, who employed lexical intensifiers at a rate of 1.51%, 1.43% and 0.96% of their words respectively. On the other hand, the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish, English monolinguals and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants used expressive phonology almost identically at 1.15%, 1.18% and 1% of their words respectively. Talking about extremely small differences, expressive phonology was less frequent in the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English with 0.69% of the words using expressive phonology. Onomatopoeia was almost completely absent in the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish, at 0.04% of their words, and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English, with 0.01%. Onomatopoeia was not used at all by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals.

These findings both support and contrast with those of some earlier research. For example similar to the Spanish speakers in Liskin-Gasparro's (1996) study, the Kurdish participants used a high proportion of repetition. Likewise, the British English speakers in this study, similar to the Ontario speakers in Brown and Tagliamonte's (2012) research, used lexical intensifiers frequently. In contrast to this, all the participants in this study used expressive phonology less than the Spanish speakers in Liskin-Gasparro's (1996) study. In terms of onomatopoeia, its occurrence in my data is not consistent with Longacre's (1983: 48) claim. He suggested that onomatopoeia expressions may be more common at peak, however, my data showed that onomatopoeia was not common.

Generally, the findings suggest that the frequency of some subtypes of intensifiers varied in line with the cultural status of the participants. The differences in the use of lexical intensifiers suggest a contrast between the English monolinguals and Kurdish speakers, whereby the English monolinguals used more proportion of lexical intensifiers than the Kurdish participants (English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish 1.51%, non-English speaking Kurdish participants 1.43%, and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English 0.96%). However, in other respects the Kurdish narrators appeared to have a great similarity to each other, suggesting that there were differences in line with the cultural status of the participants (Kurdish vs. English). All of the Kurdish speakers (non-English speaking Kurdish participants 1.94%, English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English 2.54%, and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish 2.73%) used repetition more than the English monolinguals at 1.16%. This finding supports the pattern of cultural difference suggested by the frequency of repetition in Chang's (2008) study, where the Taiwanese participants used more repetition than the British English speakers did. Although there are similarities in terms of the linguistic practices of the Kurdish and Chinese participants (both used frequent repetition) and both are distinguished from English speakers, who used less repetition, this does not mean that there are cultural similarities between Chinese and Kurdish participants. On the other hand, no difference was sustained for the frequency of expressive phonology and onomatopoeia in the stories told by the Kurdish and English participants, where no pattern emerged.

5.4 The quantification of different forms of repetition

As one of the two most frequently occurring forms of intensifier, repetition was studied in more detail. The forms of repetition identified in this study are based on Norrick's (2000: 63) categories of evaluative repetition, which includes both verbatim repetition and re-verbalisation. To clarify these types of repetition, consider the following examples from the data:

a. **Verbatim repetition**

1. I was the top not praising myself
2. but I was really the top.

In this example, the noun phrase "the top" is repeated in line 2.

3. See see see the the craziness the limit of the craziness.

In this example, the verb "see" and the noun phrase "the craziness" are repeated.

b. **Re-verbalisation**

41. They were swearing.
42. Shila ((*laughter*))
43. They know who:::told on them ye'ni.
44. And he just sat down and did not do anything, of course to not cheat.
45. Dr. Sa'ad ((*laughter*))was ((*laughter*)) really controlling the class completely

Line 45 is the re-verbalisation of the idea in line 44. In both lines the dominant idea is that the teacher controlled the class so as to avoid cheating.

The quantification of the categories of repetition was again normalised by calculating the total number of instances of repetition relative to the total number of the words in the stories per participant for each group. The quantitative results are summarised in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 The frequency of different categories of repetition by all the groups of participants

Groups of participants	Number of stories	Total length of stories (number of words)	Verbatim repetition		Re-verbalisation	
K	20	14691	269	1.83%	17	0.11%
ESKE	20	9533	209	2.19%	34	0.35%
ESKK	20	6253	147	2.35%	24	0.38%
EM	20	10960	123	1.12%	5	0.04%

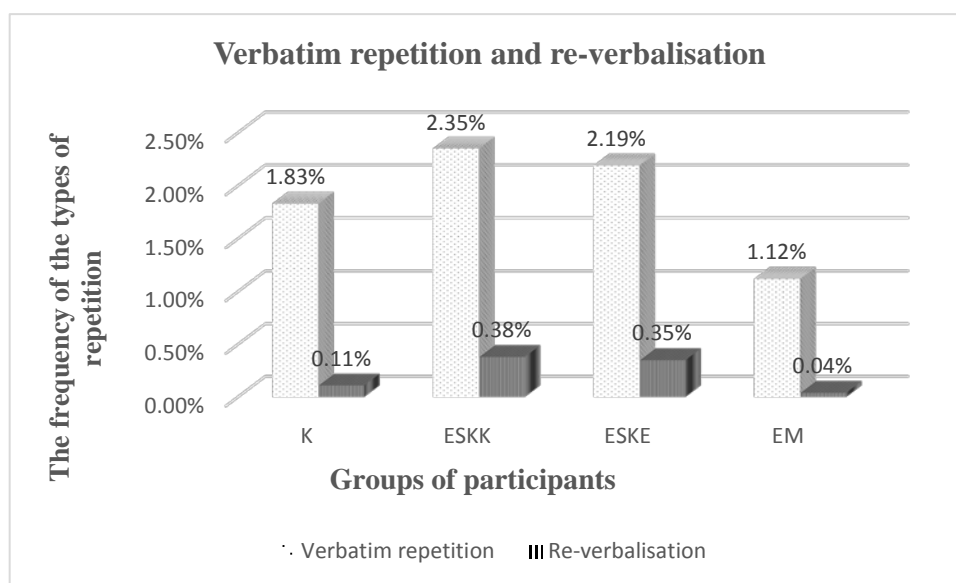


Figure 5.3 The frequency of the categories of verbatim repetition and re-verbalisation by all the groups of participants

Figure 5.3 summarises the frequency of verbatim repetition and re-verbalisation, displaying small similarities and differences amongst the participants. Within all the groups, the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish used the highest proportion of verbatim repetition, which accounted for 2.35% of the words in their stories. This was followed by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English, who used verbatim repetition at 2.19% of the words in their stories. This category of repetition was used with 1.83% of the words by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants. English monolinguals used the least amount of verbatim repetition compared with the Kurdish speakers for 1.12% of the words in their stories. In terms of re-verbalisation, it was used more, and to a similar extent, in the stories that were told in Kurdish and English by the English-speaking Kurdish participants. However, it was rare in the stories told by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals.

The findings related to the frequency of verbatim repetition by the English-speaking Kurdish participants (both in Kurdish and English) support those in Yemenici's (2002: 27) study, where Turkish speakers used frequent amounts of exact repetition. Yemenici (2002: 13-17) interpreted this finding in line with the poetic, artistic and coherent effects that in turn serve persuasive purposes. The use of frequent amounts of verbatim repetition by the Kurdish speakers in this study could be related to the tellability of the events. In the earlier example, the narrator repeated the noun phrase "the top" in "I was the top not praising myself but I was really the top" to show that being a top student in the class is an important point for the narrator.

5.5 The quantification of lexical intensifiers

As the most frequently occurring subtype of intensifier for the English and Kurdish narrators, lexical intensifiers are also given a detailed discussion in terms of their frequency. The full range of lexical intensifiers in both Kurdish and English were identified and then normalised by calculating their total number in relation to the total number of

words in the stories per participant for each group. Cumulative words in K = 14,691, in ESKK = 6253, in ESKE = 9533 and in EM = 10,960.

5.5.1 The quantifiers

In this section I compare the frequency of Kurdish and English quantifiers. The quantitative results of these quantifiers are presented in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 The frequency of the sub-types of English and Kurdish quantifiers by all the groups of participants

Quantifiers in English	EM		ESKE		Quantifiers in Kurdish	ESKK		K	
All	48	0.43%	30	0.31%	Hemi	29	0.46%	50	0.34%
					Hamu	9	0.14%	0	0%
					Xr	5	0.07%	26	0.17%
						43	0.67%	76	0.51%
Many					Gelek	5	0.07%	21	0.14%
Half					Niv	0	0%	3	0.02%
Little	17	0.15%	0	0%	Pichek	0	0%	4	0.02%
Every	7	0.06%	0	0%	Her	1	0.01%	0	0%
A bit	4	0.03%	0	0%	Kem	0	0%	0	0%
Some	0%	0%	1	0.01%	Hndek	1	0.01%	10	0.01%
None	0	0	0	0%	Ch	1	0.01%	14	0.09%
A lot	0	0	0	0%	Tzhi	1	0.01%	0	0%

Table 5.4 shows that within all the subtypes of English and Kurdish quantifiers, *all* and its equivalents (*hemi*, *hamu* and *xr*) occurred most frequently in different participant groups, and so form the main focus of the discussion here. The normalised results of the frequency of *all* from Table 5.4 are presented in Figure 5.4, whilst the normalised results of *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* from Table 5.4 are presented in Table 5.5.

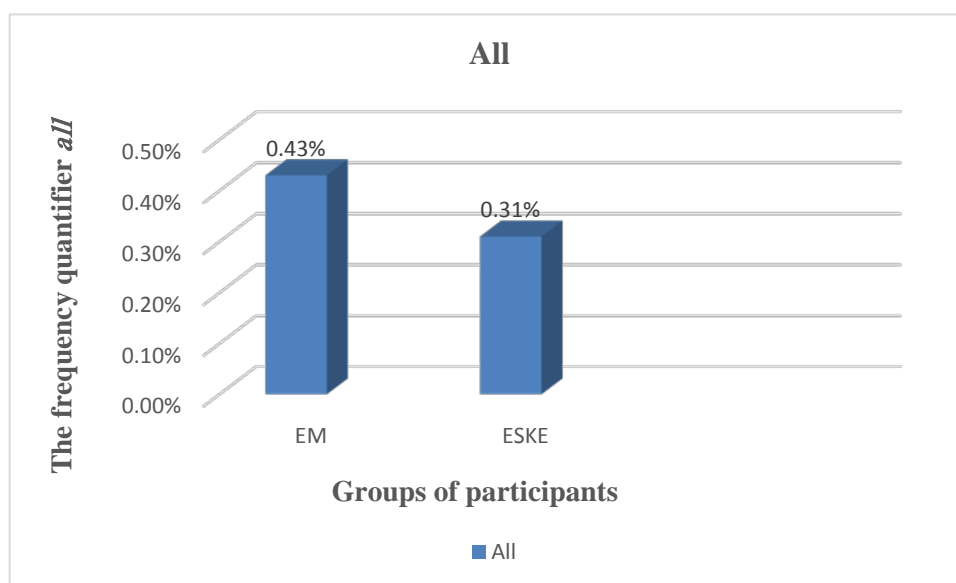


Figure 5.4 The frequency of *all* by the English monolinguals and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English

The quantitative comparison of the frequency of *all* between the English monolinguals and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English in Figure 5.4, suggests that the English participants used *all* more than the English-speaking Kurdish participants, as it accounted for 0.43% of the words in their stories and for 0.31% of the words in the English-speaking Kurdish participants' English stories, though these differences are extremely small. However, a different picture emerged when the use of *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* by the Kurdish speakers was normalised in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 The frequency of *hemi* by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish

Quantifiers in Kurdish	ESKK		K	
Hemi	29	0.46%	50	0.34%
Hamu	9	0.14%	0	0%
Xr	5	0.07%	26	0.17%
	43	0.67%	76	0.51%

Table 5.5 summarises the results of the frequency of *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* by the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish. All the differences are quite small but the results suggest a number of observations. Within all the subtypes of Kurdish quantifiers, *hemi* was the most frequently used by both the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish, and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants. It accounted for 0.46% of the total words in the English-speaking Kurdish participants' stories, and for 0.34% of the total words in the non-English speaking Kurdish participants' stories. The English-speaking Kurdish participants used *hemi* slightly more than the non-English speaking Kurdish participants. The next most frequent quantifier for the non-English speaking Kurdish participants was *xr*, accounting for 0.17% of the words in their stories, but this quantifier was less frequent for the English-speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 0.07% of the total words in their stories. The English-speaking Kurdish participants used *hamu* with 0.14% of the words in their stories, while the non-English speaking Kurdish participants did not use it at all.

5.5.2 The Kurdish and English qualifiers

Table 5.6 found below summarises the types and frequency of the Kurdish and English qualifiers used by different groups of participants in this study.

Table 5.6 The frequency of the sub-types of English and Kurdish qualifiers by all the groups of participants

Qualifiers in English	EM		ESKE		Qualifiers in Kurdish	ESKK		K	
Really	49	0.44 %	18	0.18 %	Brasti	0	0 %	0	0%
Very	43	0.39 %	16	0.16 %	Gelek	37	0.59%	105	0.71 %
					Zur	3	0.04%		
						40	0.63%		
Quite	28	0.25 %	0	0%	Btmami	0	0%	0	0%
So	15	0.13 %	13	0.13	Hnd	14	0.22%	22	0.14 %
					Wisa	1	0.01%		
						15	0.23%		
Just	3	0.02 %	1	0.01%	Bes	0	0%	0	0%
Completel y	4	0.03 %	0	0%	Btmami	0	0%	0	0%
Absolutely	2	0.01 %	0	0%	Btmami/ekj ari	0	0%	0	0%
Pretty	4	0.03 %	0	0%	Heta radaki	0	0%	0	0%

Such	1	0.0%	0	0.0%	Awende	0	0%	0	0%
Lovely	1	0.0%	0	0%	Zeri	0	0%	0	0%
Totally	2	0.01%	0	0%	Btmami	0	0%	0	0%
Only	1	0.0%	0	0%	Tanha/btne	0	%	0	0%
Incredibly	2	0.01%	0	0%	Besheweye ki brwa	0	0.0%	0	0%
Actually	1	0%	0	0%	Brasti	0	0%	0	0%
Definitely	2	0.01%	0	0%	Be goman	0	0%	0	0%

Table 5.6 suggests that within the English qualifiers, *really*, *very*, *quite* and *so* were the most frequently used, and within the Kurdish qualifiers, *gelek/zur* and *hnd/wisa* were the most frequently occurring. Thus, the discussion will begin with these qualifiers, but will exclude the English qualifier *quite* (regardless of its frequency). The exclusion of *quite* is due to two reasons. Firstly, although *quite* is a degree modifier and is classified under amplifiers, it is slightly different from *really*, *very* and *so* in that it is a moderator (Paradis, 2008: 321), not a booster. Secondly, *very*, *so* and *really* are the most common adverbs in contemporary English (Tagliamonte, 2008, Brown and Tagliamonte, 2012 and Ito and Tagliamonte, 2003). The normalised results for the frequency of *really*, *very* and *so* in the stories told in English, as extracted from Table 5.6, are presented in Figure 5.5 below.

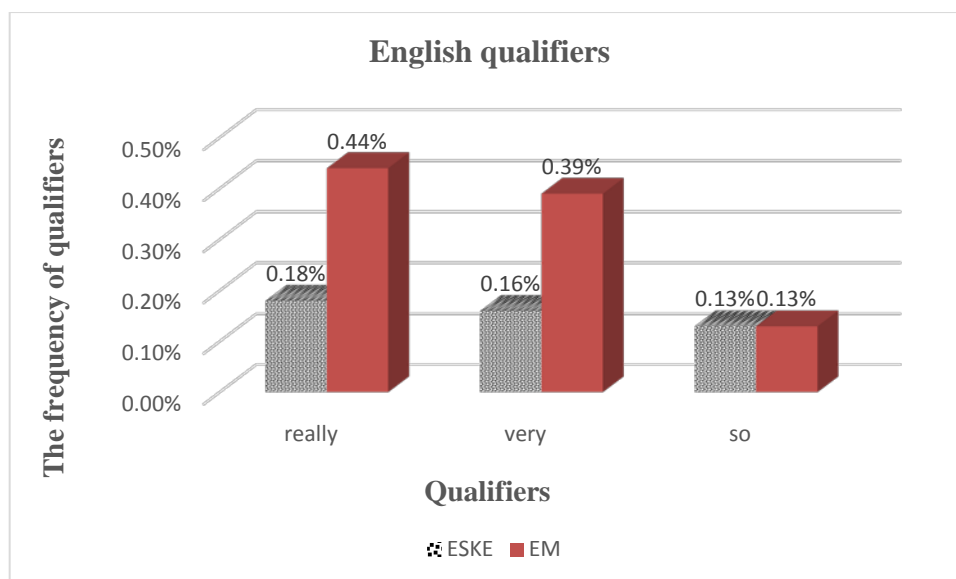


Figure 5.5 The frequency of English qualifiers by the English monolinguals and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English

Figure 5.5 summarises the normalised results of the frequency of *really*, *very* and *so* by different participants and prompts a number of observations. Taking into account extremely small differences, within all the English qualifiers, *really* is used most frequently by English monolinguals, accounting for 0.44% of the total words in their stories, with the English-speaking Kurdish participants using it for 0.18% of the total words of their stories. The English monolinguals employed *really* more than the English-speaking Kurdish participants. These findings suggest that Labov's (1985: 44) finding that *really* is "one of the most frequent markers of intensity in colloquial conversation" in American English, can be applicable to another group of speakers (in this case white British English-speaking women). The next most frequent English qualifier for both English monolinguals and the English-speaking Kurdish participants was *very*, though this was used slightly more by the English monolinguals, accounting for 0.39% of the total words in their stories, compared to the English-speaking Kurdish participants who used it somewhat less, accounting for 0.16% of the total words in their stories. However, it was noticed that similar frequency of *so* was employed by the English monolinguals and the English-speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 0.13% of the total words in their stories.

Putting the results of the frequency of the English qualifiers in Figure 5.5 together with those of the English quantifiers in Figure 5.4, it was noticed that English monolinguals

and the English-speaking Kurdish participants favoured *all* a head of *really*, *very* and *so*. However, a different picture emerged when the Kurdish qualifiers were normalised in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7 The frequency of Kurdish qualifiers by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Qualifiers in Kurdish	ESKK		K	
Brasti	0	0 %	0	0%
Gelek	37	0.59%	105	0.71%
Zur	3	0.04%		
	40	0.63%		
Hnd	14	0.22%	22	0.14%
Wisa	1	0.01%		
	15	0.23%		

Table 5.7 compares the frequency of Kurdish qualifiers as used by the English-speaking Kurdish participants and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, and suggests several points. Within the Kurdish qualifiers, *gelek* was the most frequent for both the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 0.71% of the words in their stories, and the English-speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 0.59% of the words in their stories. Although I am talking about small differences, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *gelek* more than the English-speaking Kurdish participants. The second most frequent qualifier is *hnd* which was employed more frequently by the English-speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 0.22% of the words in their stories, as opposed to the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 0.14% of the total words in their stories. However, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and

the English-speaking Kurdish participants did not use *brasti*⁴ at all. In other respects, whilst the English-speaking Kurdish participants used *zur*, accounting for 0.04% of the total words in their stories, and *wisa*, accounting for 0.01% of the words in their stories, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants did not use them.

The comparison of the quantitative findings in Table 5.6 with those in Figure 5.5 prompts several observations. The English intensifier system for qualifiers seems to be different from the Kurdish system of qualifiers in terms of the resources that are used and the frequency of use of those resources by the participants. The English intensifier system in this study confirms previous findings regarding it. *Really*, *very* and *so* were documented in Tagliamonte (2008), Brown and Tagliamonte (2012), Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), and Page's (2012) studies. In Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), *very* was the most frequently used intensifier, followed by *really* and *so*. However, in Tagliamonte (2008), Brown and Tagliamonte (2012) and Page's (2012) works, *really* was the most frequent intensifier, followed by *very* and *so*. The intensifiers that the English-speaking Kurdish participants used in their English stories in the current study followed the same pattern that is used in the English intensifier system, in that they used *really*, *very* and *so* in their stories, where *really* was the most frequent intensifier followed by *very* and *so*.

In contrast, there were a smaller range of qualifiers used by the Kurdish speakers in the stories collected for this thesis. Of that smaller range, four are equivalent to those found in the English intensifier system: *gelek/zur* (*very*) and *hnd/wisa* (*so*). These were used as the four Kurdish qualifiers. Unlike the frequency of the English qualifiers, where *really* outranked *very*, *gelek* (the equivalent to *very*) was the most frequent form for the Kurdish speakers. *Brasti* (the equivalent to *really*) did not occur at all in this data set.

The analysis of the internal evaluation in this chapter has thus far traced the distinctive patterns of frequency of use, suggesting that the Kurdish speakers tend to use repetition more than any other type of intensifier.

⁴ In the data of the current study, the English-speaking Kurdish participants used two instances of *rasti* in Badini dialect, and two instances of *barasti* in Sorani dialect, however, not as intensifiers, but as non-degree adverbs meaning *indeed* as in the following examples.

1. Tubem krđiya be rast. (I repented indeed.)
2. Rasti ch nabne mala dey babê mrovi. (Indeed, no one can be your family.)

In the next section I explore further differences between the Kurdish and English lexical intensifiers in terms of the context of use.

5.6 The context of use for the Kurdish and English lexical intensifiers

5.6.1 The context of use for the Kurdish and English quantifiers: *all* and *hemi*

In this section I explore whether the English quantifier *all* and its Kurdish counterparts *hemi/xr* (and their other dialect variant in Kurdish, namely *hamu*), occurred in similar or different lexical patterns. Quantifiers in English are restricted to the context of noun phrase (Jackendoff, 1968: 431) and this is also true for the Kurdish quantifiers (Strunk, 2003: 1-2). Quirk et al (1985) proposed different lexical patterns for the quantifier *all* in English. According to Quirk et al (1985:258) *all* could be used as a pre-determiner, preceding head nouns and central determiners including articles (*all the time*), possessive determiners (*all my time*) and demonstrative determiners (*all this time*). Additionally, *all* can function as a pronoun that can take the “of-phrase” construction (*all of the girls*) (p. 258) and can be used in the sentence as an independent pronoun, as in “*all passed the exam*” (Quirk et al, 1985:258). Furthermore, *all* can follow the head noun, “either immediately or in the M adverb position (after the operator)” (ibid). M position refers to “MEDIAL position” (Quirk et al, 1985: 491).

All of the aforementioned lexical patterns for *all* that were stated by Quirk et al appeared in the stories told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English, and the English monolinguals, along with another four lexical patterns that are not mentioned by Quirk et al. These lexical patterns include the occurrence of *all* after the main verb, after a pronoun at the end of sentence, before a prepositional phrase, and after a

preposition. The following are examples taken from the data to illustrate the different lexical patterns for *all*.

1. **Preceding the definite article *the*:**

I had heard *a::ll* the horrid stories during my pre-visits to the school.

2. **Preceding a possessive pronoun:**

Mohammad actually end up making outstanding progress last year in *all* his subjects.

3. **Preceding demonstratives:**

I found *all* these things.

4. **Preceding of-phrase:**

I said, "Oh my goodness and *all* of these scary pictures"

5. **As an independent pronoun:**

Then *all* went into the hall had some dancing, the traditional Hindu music-Hindu stick dancing.

6. **After the head immediately:**

I was like tapping to myself in my heart, "alright you *a::ll* stupid lady. Thank God you are out of here. Else I would have kicked (.) your(.) bud".

7. **In M adverb position:**

They were all wearing in black.

8. **Before a noun:**

I very soon became quite ill (Interviewer: yea) because I have been working *all* week really hard.

9. **Before an adjective:**

You did couple of dives in swimming pool is fine, learning to equipment, safety procedures-*all* fine.

10. **After a main verb:**

We gathered *all* there.

11. **After a pronoun in the final position of the sentence:**

He put his arms out to stop us *all*.

12. **Before a prepositional phrase:**

We noticed the forecast for the Lake Street was nothing but showering from morning to evening *all* through the night.

13. After a preposition:

I called my mom which I wish I should not done this at *all*.

In contrast to the detailed information about the syntactic contexts for *all* in Quirk et al's book: *A Comprehensive Grammar of English Language*, little has been documented so far about the Kurdish quantifiers. For example Strunk (2003: 2) indicated that *hemi*, which he translated as “*gîşt*” (*all*) in Kurdish “always occurs before the head noun”. However, analysing the syntactic context of *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* in the Kurdish stories in the current study, I found that in addition to the location “before the head noun”, there are a range of contexts where *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* can occur (as the data showed). *Hamu*, *hemi* and *xr* appeared in the sentence final location, after a possessive pronoun and before *Izafe*. Also they occurred after the head immediately and as independent pronouns. These two categories are not simply the imposition of the English categories of *all* but they arose from the Kurdish data itself. The following are examples of the lexical patterns for *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* as occurred in the data:

a. Examples of the lexical patterns for *hemi*:

1. After the head immediately:

Em *hemi* pêkve bezinê.

We *all* together ran towards

We *all* ran towards her.

3. Before the noun:

Hemi gava babê wê an bapirê wê dakene pşta xu.

All time the father her or grandfather her hold her backs the

All the time her father or grandfather hold her on their backs.

4. Independent pronoun:

Guti “*hemi* chuna dhaware”.

Said, “*All* went to rescue her”.

She said, “*All* went to rescue her”.

5. In the sentence final location:

Na bes ghurfek btnê sutbu, ne *hemi*.

Not only room a only burnt was not *all*

But not *all* the house was burned but only one room.

6. After a possessive pronoun:

Bçikyt wa *hemi* žderve bun.

Children their *all* outside were

All their children were outside.

7. Before *Izafe*⁵ (of-phrase):

Izafe in Kurdish is explained by Strunk (2003: 3):

A very interesting phenomenon in Kurmanji (and also in other Kurdish dialects) is the so called *ezafe* (or *izafet*)....it is a type of linker morpheme that has to appear between a modified noun and a post-nominal modifier: an AP, DP or in a PP. This morpheme agrees with the head noun in gender and number.

Furthermore, with regard to *Izafe* Strunk (2003:5) added:

If we want to consider it as a suffix on a preceding modifier we would have to regard it as a kind of phrasal affix (i.e. clitic) comparable perhaps to the English 's genitive marker because it always appears on the right edge of the preceding modifier regardless of what word class the preceding word belongs to.

⁵ *Izafe* was written with different spellings by different researchers. Kim (2010:19) spelled it in his book as “*Izafe*”. This is also true for Haig & Matras (2002: 5) who wrote it as “*Izafe*”. However, Strunk (2003: 4) spelled it as “*Ezafe*”. In this study, I follow the spelling used by Kim, and Haig and Matras (i.e *Izafe*).

According to Strunk (2003:5), *Izafe* includes (*a*, *ya*, *yê*). The following example is taken from Strunk (2003: 5):

<i>mal-a p³»c^uk</i>	<i>b³ra=y^e</i>	<i>m³n=a</i>
house-EZ.FEM. small	brother=EZ.MASC.SG	1.SG.OBL=EZ.FEM.SG
My brother's small house		

Additionally, Kim (2010: 3) maintained “The *Izafe* links the two parts of a possessive construction and is equivalent to the English “of”. The *Izafe* constructions that were clustered with *hemi* and *xr* in this study refer to the possessive *of-phrase*. Consider the following example from the data.

1. *Hemiya* d gutê, “çnine”.
All of them had told her “never mind”
All of them told her “it is alright”.

2. *Nişa* *xra* da.
Shown *all* of them had
He showed it to *all* of them.

b. Examples of the lexical patterns for *hamu*:

1. Before of- phrase:

- Hemu* man pêkewe ruyshtin.
All of us together went
All of us went together.

2. After the head immediately:

Guti," piyawekan *hemu* le derê chawerê deken".

Said, "men *all* at outside waiting are"

He said "*all* men are waiting for him outside".

3. Before the noun:

Pshti du ruzhi *hemu* tshteke gura.

After two days *all* things the changed

After two days *all* the things were changed.

4. After a prepositional phrase:

Ew xelkey le gundi *hemu* le wên derê xrbuye.

Those people in village the *all* that place gathered

All the people in the village gathered in that place.

c. Examples of the lexical patterns for *xr*:

1. Before *Izafe* (of-phrase):

Wllah, bre wêrê nişa *xra* da.

God, took there showed it *all* (of them) to

He took it there and showed it to *all* of them.

2. After the head immediately:

Teneqilat yêt muderisa *xr* destêt wê da bon.

Transference of teachers *all* hand her was

She was in charge of transferring all the teachers.

3. After a possessive pronoun:

Xina wê *xr* d ina derê tesfiye dkrw jarekê di dçu leşê wê Blood her *all* took out
purified then put it body her

All of her blood was taken from her body, cleaned and then it was put back.

4. Before a noun:

Me sehkrê *xr* jlkêt me bune xî::n.

We looked at *all* clothes our became blood

We looked at it and *all* of our clothes became blood.

The comparison of lexical patterns for *hemi*, *hamu*, *xr* and *all* revealed both similarities and differences. Similar to *all* and *hemi*; *hamu* and *xr* occurred immediately after the head, before the noun and before the of-phrase construction. Moreover, as with *all*, *hemi* was used as an independent pronoun, but this was not true for *hamu* and *xr*. In other respects, *hemi* and *xr* post-determined the possessive pronoun whereas *all* predetermined it as in the following examples:

1. Bçikyt *wa* *hemi* žderve bun.

Subject possessive pronoun determiner noun verb children their *all*
outside were

All their children were outside.

2. Xina wê *xř* d ina derê tesfiye dkrw jarekê di dçu leşê wê.

Blood her *all* took out purified then put it body her

All of her blood was taken from her body, cleaned and then it was put back.

3. Mohammad actually ends up making outstanding progress last year in *all* his subjects.

This distinction could be due to the differences between the locations of the possessive pronouns in the noun phrase, and this applies to both English and Kurdish. Strunk (2003: 3) stated that in Kurdish “all possessor phrases... that modify a noun have to follow it”. If the possessive pronoun follows the noun, there will be no opportunity for the

quantifiers *hemi* and *xr* to precede the possessive pronoun. Instead they will follow it. On the other hand, in English the possessive determiner precedes the noun. Thus *all* always predetermines possessive pronouns.

Additionally, a difference in the context of use was noticed between *hamu* and *all*, in that *hamu* occurred after the prepositional phrase whereas *all* was situated in front of it.

1. Ew xelkey le gundi *hemu* lewên derê xrbuye.
Those people in village *all* there gathered
All the people in the village gathered in that place.

2. We noticed the forecast for the Lake Street was nothing but showering.
3. From morning to evening *a::ll* through the night.

This difference could be explained in line with Strunk's (2003: 3) claim that prepositional phrases as modifiers in Kurdish have to follow the noun. When the prepositional phrases are restricted to a location after the noun, *hemu* cannot pre-determine the prepositional phrase.

Although *all* and *hemi* occurred in the sentence final location, they are still different in that *all* followed the object pronoun *us*, whereas *hemi*, in the final location, has implicated references for the elliptical noun (the house).

1. Vêja na bes ghurfek btnê sutbu ne *hemi*.
Thus not but room a only burned had not *all*
But not *all* the house was burned but only one room.

2. He put his arms out to stop us *all*.

There are other differences between the context of use for *all*, *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr*. In contrast to *all*, the quantifiers *hemi*, *xr* and *hamu* did not occur before the definite article *the*, the demonstratives, or the adjectives, nor did they appear after the main verb or after a preposition. Some of these differences can be further explained in line with the rules of noun phrase modification in Kurdish and English. In terms of the definite article, Kim (2010:9) stated that in Kurdish Kurmanji (Badini) and Sorani dialects, “articles (e.g. *a*, *the*) ... are added to the end of the noun as suffixes” (Kim, 2010: 9). Consider the following examples for further clarification:

Kurmanji (Badini): miróv- miró**vekî**- mirovê

man - a man- the man

(Thackston, 2006: 12-16)

In this example, *ekî* functions as the indefinite article *a*, and *ê* as the definite article *the*.

In Sorani: piyw –piyaw**ek**- piyaw**eke**

man- a man- the man

(Kim, 2010: 13-14).

Based on these examples, which show that the definite article becomes a part of the morphology of the modified noun, there is no opportunity for *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* to precede the definite article. This stands in contrast to the definite articles in English, which precede the noun (Quirk et al, 1985). As such, there is an opportunity for *all* to predetermine the definite article.

Similar to the definite articles, possessives in Sorani dialect also follow the noun as suffixes, as within “ktêb- ktê**bekey** (book-my book)” (Kim, 2010: 9). However, in Kurdish Badini dialect, the possessive is a pronoun that follows the noun, as with “kitêb -kitêba min –(book- my book)” (Thackston, 2006: 18). Based on these grammatical rules, where the possessive pronoun is either a suffix or an item that follows the noun, the Kurdish quantifiers do not have the opportunity to precede the possessive pronouns. In contrast, in English, “the noun phrase is headed by a functional element (i.e. “non-lexical” category)”

(Abney, 1987: 2). This gave the opportunity to *all* in this data to precede the possessive pronouns.

With respect to adjectives, Kim (2010:3) stated that adjective phrases in Kurdish follow the noun. When the adjective follows the noun as a modifier, *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* cannot pre determine the adjective. In summary, the analysis in this section revealed differences in the context of uses for the Kurdish and English quantifiers. The English quantifiers are more flexible than the Kurdish ones in that *all* occurred in a wider range of contexts than *hemi*, *xr* and *hamu*. Moreover, unlike English quantifiers, the Kurdish quantifiers did not predetermine the central determiners, adjectives and prepositional phrases. Also, in contrast to *all*, the quantifiers *hemi* and *xr* followed the possessive pronouns instead of preceding them. These differences lead to further observations as to how the participants used the lexical patterns for *all*, *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* in terms of frequency. This will be the focus of the following section.

5.6.1.1 The frequency of the lexical patterns for the Kurdish and English quantifiers by the participants of different groups

In order to explore how frequently different groups of participants used the lexical patterns of the Kurdish and English quantifiers, I normalised the instances of the lexical patterns for *all*, *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr*, relative to their total number of instances of *all*, *hemi*, *hamu* and *xr* per each group of participants. The normalised results of the frequency of lexical patterns for the quantifier *all* are summarised in Table 5.7 and Figure 5.6 below.

Table 5.8 The frequency of lexical patterns of *all* by the English- speaking participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Lexical patterns for <i>all</i>	ESKE		EM	
Preceding the definite article <i>the</i>	8	20.5%	18	30%
Proceeding possessive pronouns	2	5.1%	2	3.3%
Before demonstrative determiner	2	5.1%	7	11.6%
Before of-phrase	4	10.2%	4	6.6%
Independent pronoun	1	2.5%	2	3.3%
After the head noun immediately	10	25.6%	1	1.6%
In the M adverb position	5	12.8%	7	11.6%
Before a noun	2	5.1%	6	10%
Before adjectives	1	2.5%	1	1.6%
After the main verb	1	2.5%	1	1.6%
Before a prepositional phrase	0	0	3	5%
After the adverb	1	2.5%	2	3.3%
After the preposition	2	5.1%	4	6.6%
After the pronoun at the end of the sentence	0	0	2	3.3%
Total number of instances of quantifier	39		60	

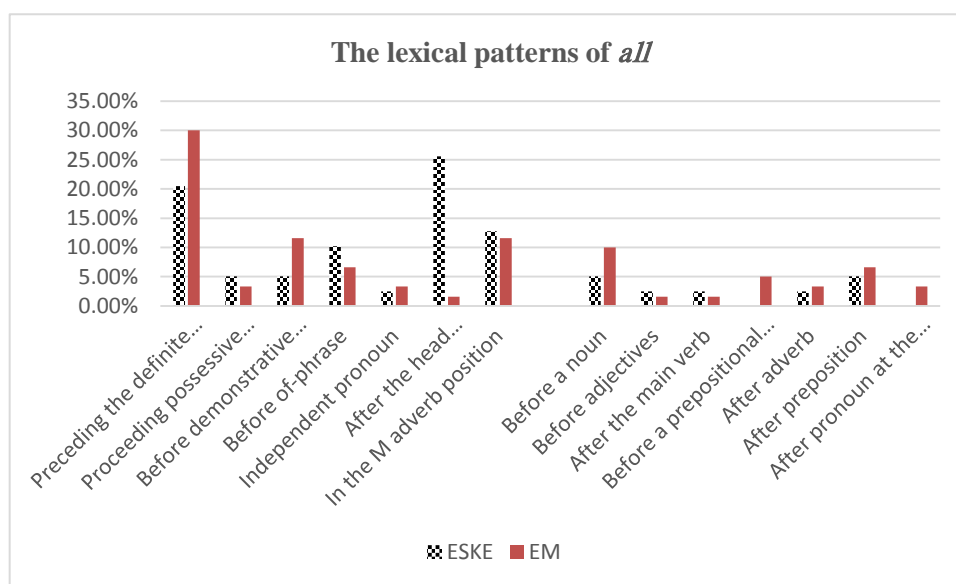


Figure 5.6 The frequency of lexical patterns of *all* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Figure 5.6 summaries the frequency of lexical patterns for *all* used by the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals, and leads to a number of observations. The English-speaking Kurdish participants followed the English system of intensifiers (quantifiers) in that they used almost all of the lexical patterns of *all*, and employed most proportions of them in the “After the head noun immediately” subtype, with 25.6% of the lexical patterns for *all* in their stories, followed by “Preceding the definite article *the*”, with 20.5% in their stories. However, the British English speakers used *all* more frequently than the English-speaking Kurdish participants in this position “Preceding the definite article *the*” with this pattern making up 30% of the lexical patterns for *all* in their stories.

When the lexical patterns of *hemi* were normalised different pictures emerged. The results are presented in Table 5.9 and Figure 5.7.

Table 5.9 The frequency of lexical patterns of *hemi* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Lexical patterns of <i>hemi</i>	ESKK		K	
Preceding the definite article <i>the</i>	0	0%	0	0%
preceding possessive pronoun	0	0%	0	%
Before demonstrative determiner	0	0%	0	0%
Before of phrase	1	4%	9	18.75%
Independent pronoun	1	4%	0	0%
After the head noun immediately	15	60%	13	27.08%
Before a noun	8	32%	22	45.83%
After possessive pronoun	0	0%	2	4.16%
At the end of the sentence	0	0%	1	2.08%
Before pronoun	0	0%	1	2.08%
Total number of the instance of <i>hemi</i>	25		48	

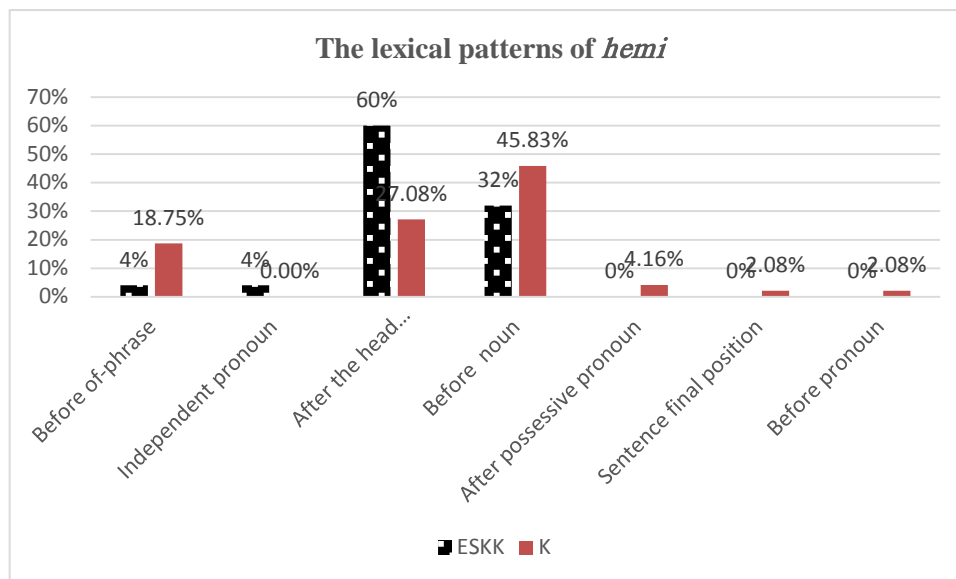


Figure 5.7 The frequency of lexical patterns of *hemi* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Figure 5.7 presents the normalised results of the frequency of lexical patterns for *hemi* by different groups of participants and shows two key observations. Firstly, the English-speaking Kurdish participants transferred the English rules for using lexical patterns with *all* to Kurdish, in that they used most examples of of *hemi* “After the head noun immediately” location accounting for 60% of the lexical patterns for *hemi* in their stories. This means that for the English-speaking Kurdish participants, the use of *hemi* relied on the use of *all*, whereby they used it frequently in the “After the head noun immediately”. Secondly, the only participants that followed the Kurdish rules for the intensifier (quantifier) system were the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, who used frequent amounts of *hemi* before the noun, accounting for 45.83% of the lexical patterns for *hemi* in their stories.

Again, the frequency of the lexical patterns for *xr* is normalised and summarised in Table 5.10 and Figure 5.8 below.

Table 5.10 The frequency of lexical patterns of *xr* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Lexical patterns for <i>xr</i>	ESKK		K	
Preceding the definite article <i>the</i>	0	0%	0	0%
Preceding possessive pronoun	0	0%	0	%
Before demonstrative determiner	0	0%	0	0%
Before of phrase	3	50%	3	25%
Independent pronoun	0	0%	0	0%
After the head noun immediately	2	33.33%	4	33.33%
Before a pronoun	0	0%	1	8.33%
Before a noun	1	16.6%	3	25%
After possessive pronoun	0	0%	1	8.33%
Total number of the instance of hemi	6		12	

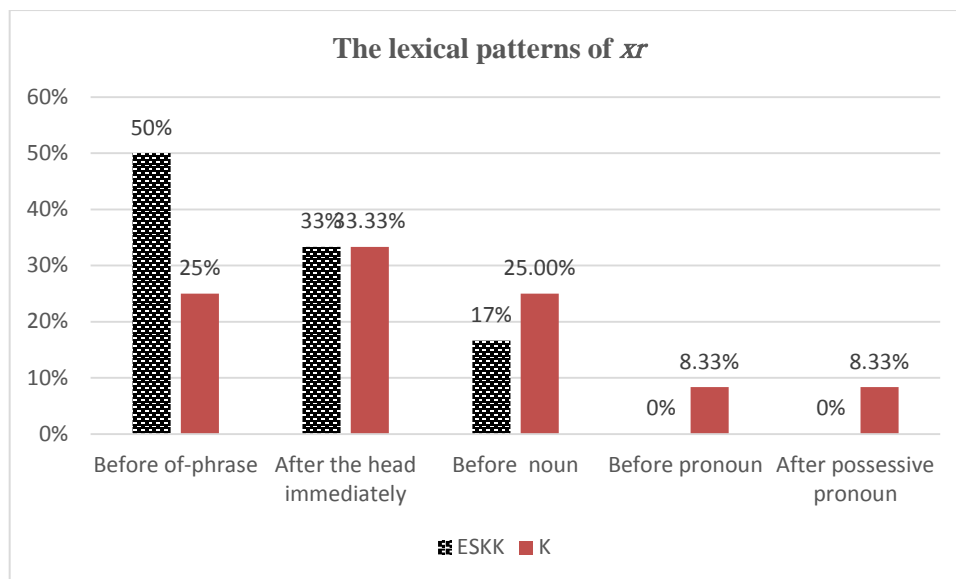


Figure 5.8 The frequency of lexical patterns of *xr* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Figure 5.8 shows the frequency of lexical patterns for *xr* for different groups of participants. It is apparent from Figure 5.8 that within all the lexical patterns, the use of *xr* “Before of-phrase” was most frequent for the English-speaking Kurdish participants, who used it with 50% of them in their stories. This is in comparison to the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, who employed it with 25% of the lexical patterns for *xr* in their stories. On the other hand, the English and non-English speaking Kurdish participants used exactly the same amount of *xr* “After the head immediately”, accounting for 33.33%. Non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *xr* “Before the noun” more than the English-speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 25% and 17% respectively. Non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *xr* “Before pronoun” and “After possessive pronoun” at exactly the same rate with 8.33%, but the English-speaking Kurdish participants did not use *xr* at all in these two positions.

Different pictures emerged when the frequency of *hamu* was normalised. These findings are presented in Table 5.11 and Figure 5.9 below.

Table 5.11 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *hamu* by the English-speaking Kurdish participant who spoke Sorani

Lexical patterns for <i>hamu</i>	Before of-phrase		After the head immediately		Before the noun		After prepositional phrase		Total number of the instances of <i>hamu</i>
ESKK	2	22.2%	2	22.2%	4	44.4%	1	11.1%	9

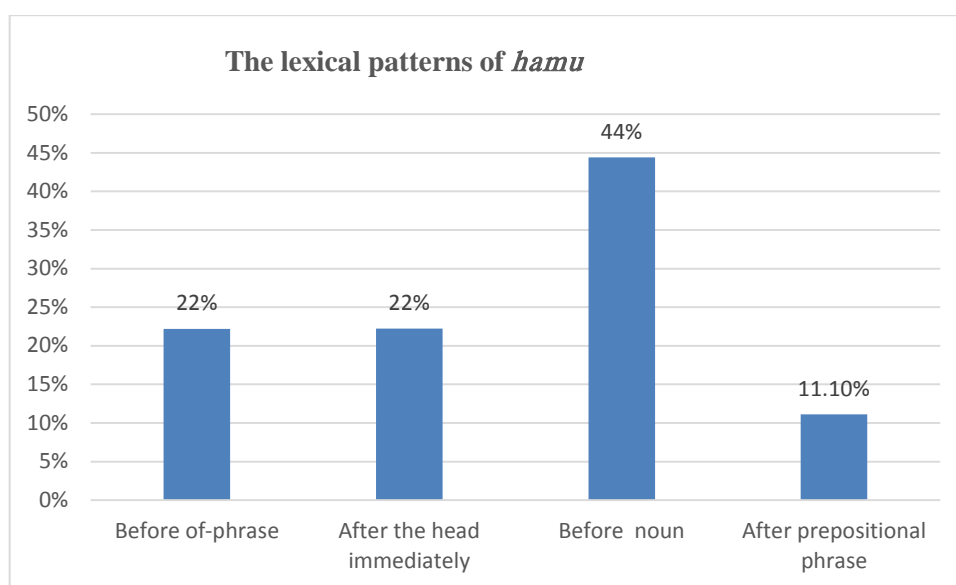


Figure 5.9 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *hamu* by the English-speaking Kurdish participant who spoke Sorani

Figure 5.9 presents the normalised results of the lexical patterns of *hamu* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants and prompts several points. Amongst all the lexical patterns, the use of *hamu* before the noun was the most frequent, accounting for 44% of the lexical patterns for *hamu* in her stories. On the other hand, she used *hamu* at exactly the same rate for *after the head immediately* and *before the of-phrase*, accounting for 22% of

the lexical patterns for *hamu* in her stories. She only used *hamu after the prepositional phrase* at a rate of just 11.10%.

In summary, the analysis of the frequency of the types of context used for the Kurdish and English quantifiers by the participants of different groups indicated that none of the contexts was always frequent for all the participants, but it was frequent only for some. *All preceding the definite article the* was the most frequent for the English monolinguals, but *all* was most frequent in the *after the head immediately* for the English-speaking Kurdish participants. They also used *hemi* frequently in the *after the head immediately* category. However, one of the English-speaking Kurdish participants who spoke Sorani dialect used *hamu* with the greatest frequency *before the noun*. Similarly, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants employed *hemi* most frequently *before the noun*. *Xr* was used most frequently *before of-phrase* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants. However, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *xr* most frequently *after the head immediately*.

The findings related to the context of use for *all*, *hemi*, *xr* and *hamu* by the participants, result in varying implications. Firstly, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *hemi* frequently *before the head noun*, but used *xr* frequently *after the head noun immediately*. Secondly, the transference from English to Kurdish is clear only in the context of uses for *hemi* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants. However, one of the English-speaking Kurdish participants who spoke the Sorani dialect did not transfer from English to Kurdish while using *hamu*. Instead, she followed the Kurdish rule for the context of use for *hamu*, and used it frequently *before the noun*. This is consistent with Strunk's (2003:2) claim that *hemi* (which he translated as "*gîşt*" (*all*) in Kurdish) "always occurs before the head noun". The potential reason why she did not transfer from English to Kurdish while using *hamu* in different lexical patterns, might be that she is from an urban area where Sorani dialect is conservative, in that all people are from one background and speak the same variety of dialect. Thus, their dialect is not affected by those of the surroundings. This might be the reason that, although the participant who speaks Sorani is multilingual, her use of Kurdish quantifiers was not affected by English. In contrast, the four English-speaking Kurdish participants who speak Badini dialect live in Duhok. This city is multicultural and involves people from a wide range of backgrounds, for example,

Doski, Barwari, Mzori, Bargaray, Barzani, Rekani, Harki, Amedi, Akraye and Zebari. These Kurdish Badini families speak a variety of Badini dialects. People who live in Duhok sometimes use a mixture of these dialects while talking. This makes it easy for people who live in Duhok to transfer from other languages and dialects. This could be a reason why the English-speaking Kurdish participants who speak Badini dialect transferred the context of use for *hemi* from English to Kurdish.

5.6.2. The lexical patterns (contexts of use) and functions of Kurdish and English exaggerated qualifiers

5.6.2.1 Functions of Kurdish and English exaggerated qualifiers

This section compares the Kurdish and English qualifiers in terms of their functions. There are similarities and differences between *very*, *gelek* and *zur*, as well as between *so*, *hnd* and *wisa*. *Very* has two functions. Firstly, it modifies an adjective or another adverb (e.g. they are very happy) (Quirk et al, 1985: 441). Secondly, *very* could serve as “a restrictive adjective rather than as an intensifying adverb” (Quirk et al, 1985: 431) where it attempts to “restrict the reference of the noun exclusively” (p. 430) as in “you are the *very* man I want” (ibid). Similar to *very*, *gelek* and *zur* also function as modifiers of adjectives. However, *gelek* often performs this function by means of *Izafe* (a, yê and ê). As stated by Strunk (2003: 4), “ezafe is not restricted to the head noun. Every element that is followed by another modifier of the head noun shows an ezafe marker agreeing with the head noun”. Consider the following examples from the data:

1. Deykamn gelek a ajz bu.
 Mother my very *Izafe* sad was
 My mother was very sad.

2. Qafkek bu gelek yê jan bu.
Vase a was very Izafe beautiful was
The vase was very beautiful.

However this is not true for *zur*. It is similar to *very* in that it does not require any *Izafe* to modify an adjective as in:

1. Zu:::r xuş bo ke ew kat le kotayi saî ke netgeyan damê.
Very nice was when that time at end the year results my received
It was *very* nice when I received my results at the end of the year .
2. Zur zur naxush bu bu mn
Very very not nice was for me
It was *very very* not nice for me.

Different from *very*, *gelek* modifies a noun and functions as a quantifier, meaning *much*, *plenty* (Nawkhosh, 2003: 107)) and *many*. Consider the following example from the data:

1. Jarekê em heko (.) l xarj hevaleka deikamn *gelek* jara d hate mala me zad dxar
Once we when in abroad friend a mother my *many* times came house our food
ate
When we were abroad, one of my mother's friends came to eat in hour house
many times.
2. Gelek bdlê wê ži ne bu.
Much heart her not was
She was not satisfied to much with it.

Additionally, *gelek* in the Kurdish stories also occurred as a modifier of verbs, meaning *so much* or *a lot*. Consider the following examples form the data:

1. *Gelek* hezim lêyie.
So much love it.

I love it so much.

2. Mn *gelek* ya xandi.
I *so much/a lot* studied
I studied so much/ I studied a lot.

3. Ye'ni *gelek* emn iza'j dekrd.
I mean *so much* me annoyed did
He annoyed me *so much*.

With regards to *so*, it has three functions. Firstly, it could be used as a modifier that pre-modifies an adjective (Tagliamonte, 2008) as in this example taken from the data: “They are so racist”. Secondly, *so* can serve as a “conjunct adverb” (Quirk et al, 1985: 442) when it is preceded by a coordinating conjunction, as in “We paid him a very large sum, and *so* he kept quiet about what he saw” (ibid). Thirdly, *so* could be used as a (causal) coordinator in connectives, e.g. “We paid him a very large sum. *So* he kept quiet about what he saw” (ibid). In the first function, *so* is an intensifier, but in the second and third functions, *so* is not an intensifier.

Similar to *so*, *hnd* and *wisa* can also serve as intensifying adverbs that modify adjectives. In this case, *hnd* and *wisa* are followed by *Izafe* constructions. Consider the following examples from the data:

1. Hnd ê kret bu
So *Izafe* ugly was
He was so ugly.
2. Ez hnd a trsnok bum
I so *Izafe* coward was
I was so coward.

3. Bêžmete diwar hnd i reş bu me ned zani dê çlê keyn?
Told you wall so *Izafe* black got we not did know what to do?
The wall got so black that we did not know what to do with it.

4. Muhejerê wesa yê blnd bo.
Fence the so ezafe high was
The fence was so high.

However, few examples were found in the data where *hnd* modified the adjective without any *Izafe*.

1. Ez hnd ajz bum.
I so sad became
I got so sad
2. Mn gut, “Hnd keyf a mn hat”
I said, “so happy *Izafe* I became”
I said, “I got so happy”.

Moreover, I found some examples in the data where nouns and pronouns rather than the *Izafe* were used to bridge the modifier *hnd* with the modified adjective. Consider the following examples from the data:

1. *Hnd* em trsiyayn.
So we scared were
We were so scared.
2. Lazma yê mukabli mrovi hnd mrovi ne hjz ket.
Supposed *Izafe* in front of person so person the not sad made
It is supposed that the person who is in charge, do not make us so sad.

Also similar to *so*, *hnd* could function as a (causal) coordinator, but only when it is preceded by the word *žber* (because) – *žber hndê*. This was not used by the participants in this study. The following example in which *so* is not an intensifier is for illustrative purposes:

1. Mn xalati kr. žber hndê ez krme dare.
 I mistakes did. So I fired got
 I did mistakes. So I got fired.

However, the English-Kurdish Glosbe dictionary translated *so* as a causal connective to *da* and *daku*. The following example in which *so* is not an intensifier is taken from the Glosbe dictionary.

1. Em dixwin *da* em karibin bijin.
 We eat *so* we may live.

A similar example was found in this data.

1. Da bêžmê, “bine sîlê” *da* hemi gava çavê mn lê bit”.
 Was telling them, “bring her upstairs *so* all times the eye my keep”
 I was telling them, “bring her upstairs *so* I can keep an eye on her all the time”.

In contrast to *so*, some examples of *hnd* and *wisa* in my data revealed that they could function as emphasisers rather than an intensifying adverb:

1. *Hnd* î em xarib boyn
So *Izafe* we miss became
 We missed it so much.
2. *Hnd e hnd* sabremn petet.
So *Izafe* so patience have
 We liked her company so much.

3. *Wisa* nev chavet xu l mn krne gre
So inside eyes his at me frowned
 He frowned at me so much.

The analysis in this section indicated that there are semantic and syntactic differences between the Kurdish and English qualifiers. Although *gelek*, *hnd*, *wisa*, *very* and *so* could function as modifiers, they perform it differently in terms of structure. The Kurdish qualifiers often require the *Izafe* constructions or a noun and pronoun as bridging elements between the modifier and the modified item, but this is not true for the English qualifiers. In English *very* could also function as a restrictive adjective rather than just an intensifier, but *gelek* could be used as a quantifier along with its function as an intensifying adverb. With regards to *so*, it can be a conjunct adverb and a (causal) coordinator, but *hnd* can function as a causal coordinator and emphasiser, rather than an intensifying adverb.

5.6.2.2 The lexical patterns (contexts of use) for the Kurdish and English qualifiers

This section compares between the Kurdish and English qualifiers in terms of their lexical patterns (whether the Kurdish and English qualifiers occur in similar or different patterns of uses). As stated by Tagliamonte (2008: 365), *so*, *very* and *really* are associated with adjectives. Accordingly, the pattern of use for these qualifiers can be assigned in line with the function of the adjectives that they modify. Adjectives can function as attributive and predicative (Quirk et al, 1985: 417). Adjectives are used attributively when they precede the head of the noun phrase (Quirk et al, 1985: 417). Adjectives are predicative when they “function as subject complement or object complement. There is a copular relationship between the subject and subject complement” (Quirk et al, 1985: 217) e.g. the children are happy or He seems careless (ibid). The copula relationship also exists between the “direct object and object complement” (ibid) e.g. I found him careless (ibid). In

summary, the adverb (intensifier) is patterned as attributive when it modifies an attributive adjective, but as predicative when it modifies an adjective that functions predicatively. Consider the following examples which show the context of use for *really*, *very* and *so* according to the function of the modified adjectives taken from Tagliamonte's (2008: 373) study:

1. **Attributive**

Yeah, *very very* inflated beer prices at some places. (TOR/2j)

2. **Predicative**

My mom said that's *really* dangerous for me (TOR/14)

The guys are *so* different! (TOR/ND).

In the data of the current study, all of the English qualifiers, including *really*, *very* and *so*, occurred in the predicative adjective context. Additionally, *really* and *very* also occurred in the attributive adjective context (with attributive adjectives), but *so* did not appear in this context at all. Consider the following examples from the data:

1. **Predicative context**

- b. They are *so* racist.
- c. He was *very* happy.
- d. It was *really* grim.

2. **Attributive context**

- a. I had a *very very* cheap holiday to Ibiza Island.
- b. I spent the whole week to read the *really* thick book.

In contrast to the English qualifiers, their Kurdish counterparts sometimes appeared with predicative adjectives, predicative adjective (at the beginning of the sentence) as well as with predicative adjectives (at the end of the sentence). Consider the following examples from the data:

Gelek

1. **Predicative context**

- a. Deykamn *gelek* a ajz bu.

mother my very sad was

My mother got very sad.

b. Qafkek bu *gelek yê* jan bu.

Vase a was very beautiful.

It was a very beautiful vase.

2. Predicative context (sentence initial-position)

a. *Gelek gelek gelek yê* krêt bu.

very very very he ugly was.

He was very very very ugly.

b. *Gelek yê* bê ser w ber bu çnku mrov têda gelek kê bun.

The picture was very ugly because there was not enough people in it.

3. Predicative context (sentence-final position)

Em 3êjz d boyn *gelek*.

We sad was very

We got very sad.

W kçê yeni bo ydl xelete zhi- yê dl xelete *gelek*.

He was very untrustworthy.

Zur

1. predicative context (sentence-initial position)

a. *Zu:::r* xuş bo ke ew kat le kotayi saî ke netgeyan damê.

Very nice was when that time at end the year results my received.

It was very nice when at the end of year I received my results.

b. *Zur zur* naxush bu bu mn

Very very not nice was for me
 It was *very very* not nice for me.

Hnd

1. predicative context

- a. Ez *hnd* a trsnok bum
 I so scared was
 I was *so* scared.

2. predicative context (sentence-initial position)

- a. *Hnd* a bkeyf bu deyka mn.
So Izafe happy was mother my
 My mother was *so* happy.

- b. *Hndê* kret bu
So Izafe ugly was
 He was *so* ugly.

3. predicative context (sentence-final position)

- a. Fr'ekê *hnd ê* teng bu *hnd hnd hnd*
 Street the *so Izafe* narrow was *so so so*
 The street was *so so so* narrow.

Wisa

1. Predicative context

- a. Muhejerê *wisa* yê blnd bo
 Fence the *so Izafe* high was
 The fence was *so* high.

The Kurdish qualifiers did not occur with attributive adjectives at all. This could be because adjective phrases in Kurdish follow the noun (Kim, 2010: 3), this means that they do not occur attributively in the sentence. As it was noticed in the above examples, some

Kurdish qualifiers occurred with predicative adjectives but in the sentence-initial and some others with predicative adjectives in the sentence-final positions. The occurrence of the Kurdish qualifiers in these two positions can be explained in line with Elaysi, et al's (2013: 105) description of Kurdish language. Although it has a default word order of SOV, it "permits much greater degree of flexibility in basic word order". The flexibility [than English] of the word order in Kurdish allows the occurrence of the Kurdish qualifiers at the beginning and end of the sentence.

In summary, the analysis in this section suggests that the Kurdish and English qualifiers do not occur in the same syntactic contexts. The Kurdish qualifiers are more flexible than the English qualifiers, in that the Kurdish qualifiers occurred in three locations: predicative contexts, predicative context (sentence-initial) and predicative (sentence-final), whereas the English qualifiers occurred only in two positions, attributive and predicative contexts. However, the Kurdish qualifiers did not occur in the attributive adjective context at all.

5.6.2.2.1 The frequency of the lexical patterns (context of use) for the English qualifiers by different groups of participants

This section compares how the Kurdish and English qualifiers appear in different contexts of use by different groups of participants. For this purpose I normalised the instances of the patterns of uses for *very*, *so*, *really*, *gelek*, *zur*, *hnd* and *wisa* relative to the total number of their instances per each group of participants. The normalised results for *very* are summarised in Table 5.12 and Figure 5.10 below.

Table 5.12 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *very* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Groups of participants	Predicative adjective context		Attributive adjective context		Total number of instances of lexical patterns (context of uses) for <i>very</i>
ESKE	16	100 %	0	0.0%	16
EM	29	67.44%	14	32.55%	43

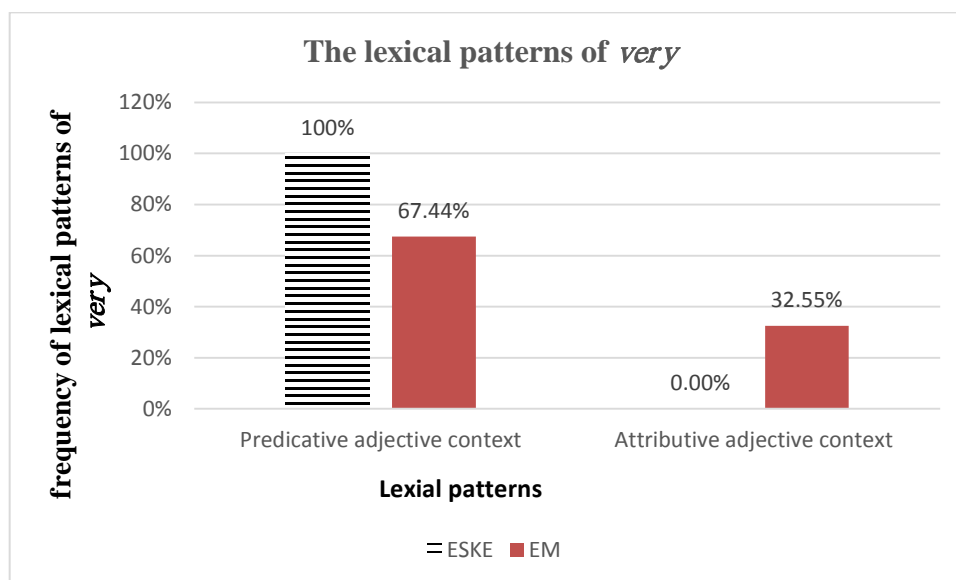


Figure 5.10 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *very* by English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Figure 5.10 summarises the frequency of the context of uses for *very* by different groups of participants, and suggests that both the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals used *very* most frequently in the predicative adjective context, accounting for 100% and 67.44% respectively of lexical patterns for *very* in their stories. English monolinguals used *very* in the attributive adjective context at 32.55%, however, the English-speaking Kurdish participants did not use it in this context at all.

The frequency of the context of uses for *really* was also normalised. The results are presented in Table 5.13 and Figure 5.11.

Table 5.13 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *really* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Groups of participants	Predicative adjective context		Attributive adjective context		Total instances of lexical patterns for <i>really</i>
ESKE	16	88.88%	2	11.11%	18
EM	43	87.75%	6	12.24%	49

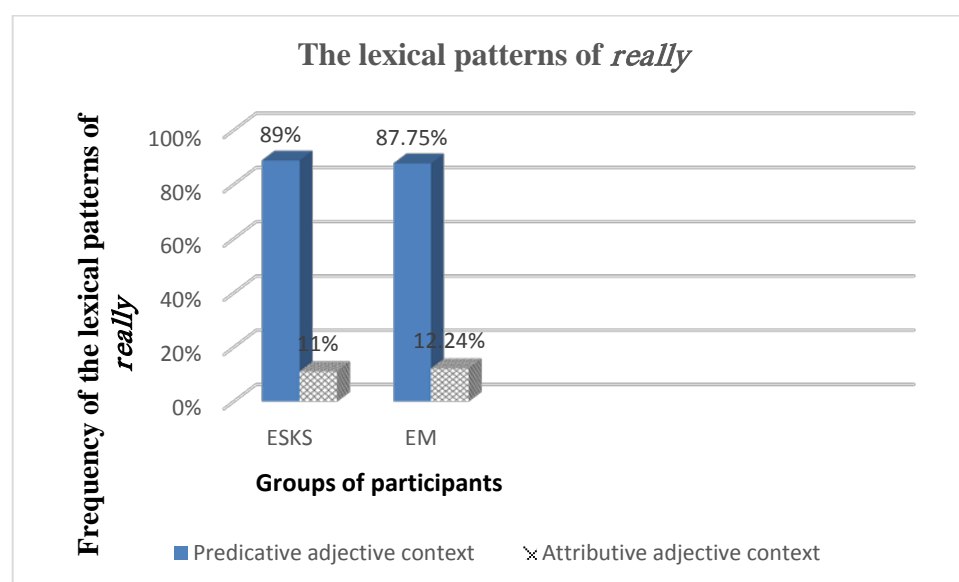


Figure 5.11 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *really* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals

Figure 5.11 presents the normalised frequency of the context of uses for *really* by different groups of participants, and prompted two key observations. Similar to the context of uses for *very*, the patterns of uses for *really* show that it was most frequent for the predicative adjectives for both the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals, accounting for 89% of the lexical patterns for *really* in the English-speaking

Kurdish participants' stories and 87.75% in English monolinguals' stories. However, the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals rarely used *really* with attributive adjectives, accounting for 11% and 12.24% respectively.

The frequency of the context of uses for *so* was again normalised. The normalised results are presented in Table 5.14 and Figure 5.12 below.

Table 5.14 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *so* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Participant group	Predicative adjective context		Attributive adjective context		Total number of lexical patterns for <i>so</i>
ESKE	13	100%	0	0%	13
EM	15	100%	0	0%	15

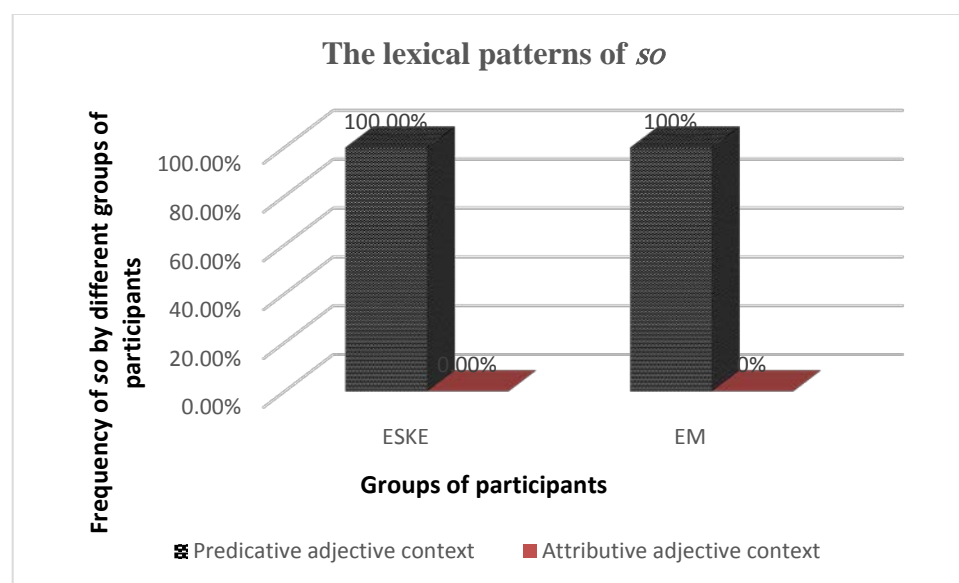


Figure 5.12 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *so* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English and English monolinguals

Figure 5.12 shows the frequency results of the context of use for *so* by different groups of participants, and suggests that both the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals used *so* only in predicative adjective contexts and with exact similar rates, accounting for 100% of the lexical patterns for *so* in their stories .

When the frequency of the context of use for the Kurdish qualifiers was normalised, different pictures emerged.

5.6.2.2.2 The frequency of the lexical patterns (contexts of use) for the Kurdish exaggerated qualifiers by different groups of participants

The normalised results for the context of uses for *gelek* by different groups of participants are presented in Table 5.15 and Figure 5.13 below.

Table 5.15 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *gelek* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Lexical patterns of <i>gelek</i>	K		ESKK	
Predicative adjective context	89	84.76%	24	64.86%
Predicative adjective context (sentence-initial position)	8	7.61%	9	24.32%

Predicative adjective context (sentence-final position)	8	7.61%	4	10.81%
Total instances of lexical patterns for <i>gelek</i>	105		37	

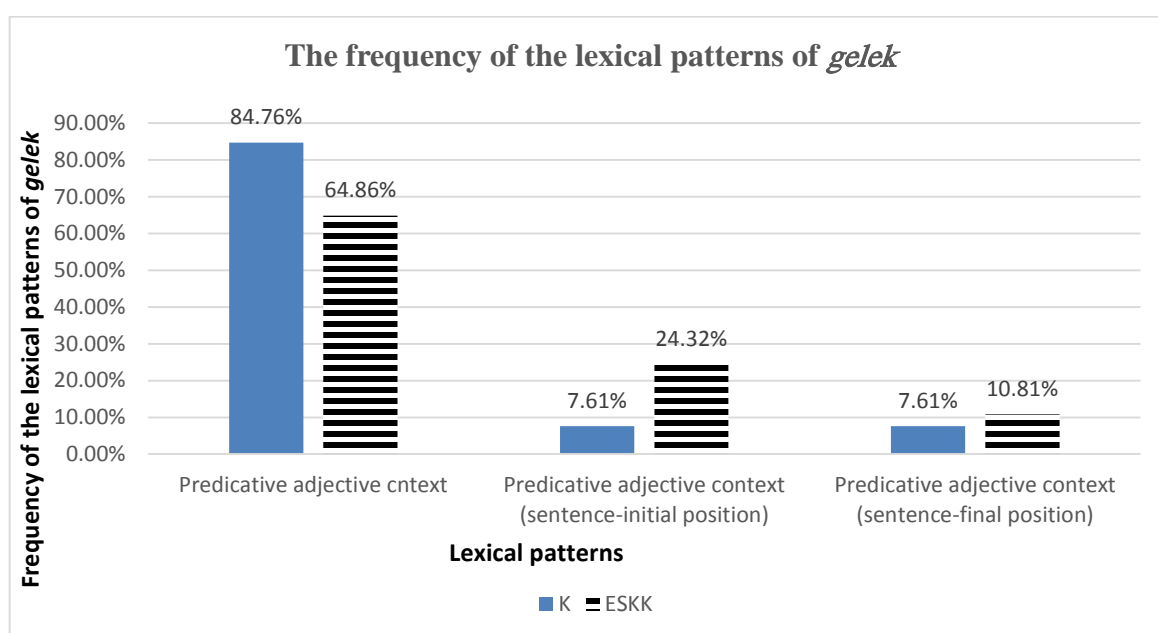


Figure 5.13 The frequency of the context of uses for *gelek* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Figure 5.13 summarises the frequency of the patterns of uses for *gelek* by different groups of participants and prompted a number of observations. Within all the contexts of uses, the predicative context was the most frequent for both the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and the English-speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 84.76% and 64.86% of the lexical patterns for *gelek* in their stories respectively. The second most frequent context of use for *gelek* was the predicative (sentence-initial positions) for both the non-English speaking Kurdish participants and English-speaking Kurdish participants, where the former used it at a rate of 7.61% and the latter at 24.32%. However, the English-

speaking Kurdish participants used *gelek* in the predicative (sentence-initial positions) more than the non-English speaking Kurdish participants. Finally, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants also used *gelek* in the predicative (sentence-final position) at 7.61% whereas the English-speaking Kurdish participants used it at 10.81%.

The frequency of the context of use for *zur* was normalised and presented in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *zur* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish

Lexical patterns of <i>zur</i>	ESKK	
Predicative adjective context	3	100%
Total instances of lexical patterns for <i>zur</i>	3	

Table 5.16 presents the results for the frequency of the context of uses for *zur* and suggests that it was used only by the English speaking Kurdish (Sorani) participant in the predicative adjective context, with 100% of the lexical patterns for *zur* in her stories.

When the frequency of the context of uses for *hnd* was normalised, different pictures emerged. The normalised results are summarised in Table 5.17 and Figure 5.14 below.

Table 5.17 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *hnd* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

Lexical patterns of <i>hnd</i>	K		ESKK	
Predicative adjective context	15	68.18%	6	42.85%
Predicative adjective context (sentence-initial position)	4	18.18%	7	50%
Predicative adjective context (sentence-final position)	3	13.63%	1	7.14%
Total instances of lexical patterns for <i>hnd</i>	22		14	

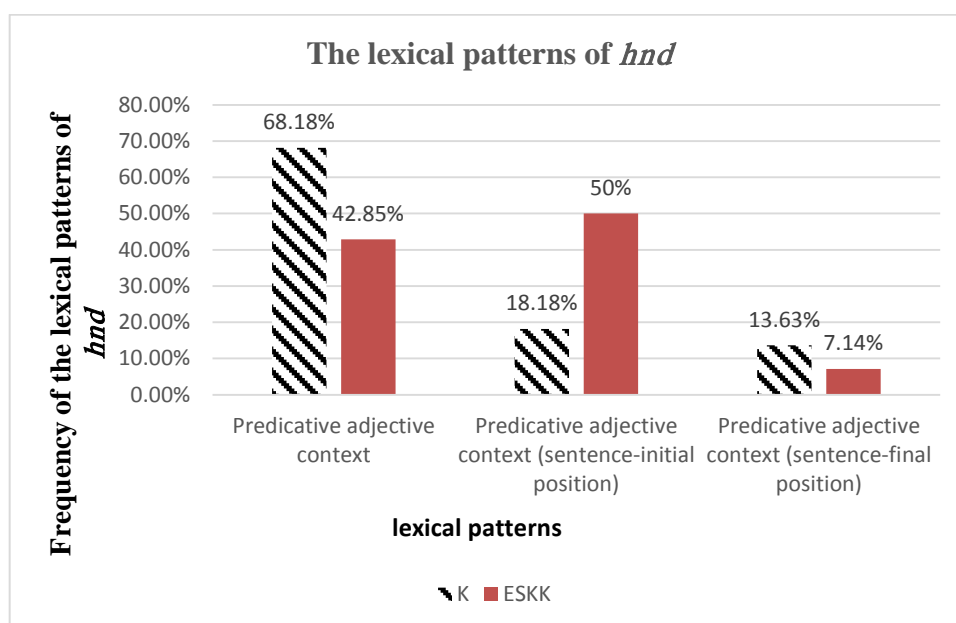


Figure 5.14 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *hnd* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants

The normalised results which summarise the frequency of the context of uses for *hnd* in Figure 5.14 prompt several observations. Within all the contexts of uses for *hnd*, the predicative context was the most frequent for both the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, at 68.18%, and the English-speaking Kurdish participants, with 42.85% of the total lexical patterns for *hnd* in their stories. On the other hand, the English-speaking Kurdish participants used *hnd* in the predicative (sentence-initial position) more than the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, accounting for 50% and 18.18% respectively. However, non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *hnd* in predicative sentence-final position at a rate of 13.63 %, but the English-speaking Kurdish participants used *hnd* in this context with 7.14%.

The frequency of the context of use for *wisa* was also normalised. The results are presented in Table 5.18 below.

Table 5.18 The frequency of the lexical patterns of *wisa* by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish

Lexical patterns of <i>wisa</i>	ESKK	
Predicative adjective context	1	100%
Total instances of lexical patterns for <i>gelek</i>	1	

Table 5.18 summarises the frequency of the context of use for *wisa* and suggests that it was used only by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in the predicative adjective context, with 100% of the lexical patterns for *wisa* in their stories.

In summary, the analysis of the context of uses for *very*, *really* and *so* prompt two observations. Firstly, the predicative adjective context was always more frequent for *very*, *really* and *so* for both the English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals. Although both groups used few examples of *very* and *really* in the attributive adjective context, they did not use *so* in that context at all. These findings support those of Tagliamonte (2008). In her study, *very*, *really* and *so* were also more frequent in the predicative adjective context. Second, the English-speaking and non-English speaking Kurdish participants used *gelek*, *hnd* and *wisa* more in the predicative contexts but did not use them in the attributive adjective contexts at all. These findings imply that there is no language transfer from Kurdish to English or vice versa for the context of uses for *very* and *gelek*. This is because the English-speaking Kurdish participants followed the English rules for the context of uses for *very*, using it in both predicative and attributive contexts. Also, the English-speaking Kurdish participants used *gelek* in predicative contexts only. However, the English-speaking Kurdish participants transferred from Kurdish to English regarding the context of uses for *so*. They used *so* only in the predicative adjective context. This suggests that the use of *so* relied on the contexts of use of *hnd*, where it was used only in predicative adjective contexts.

5.7 Perceptions of intensifiers

As discussed earlier, the analysis of the Kurdish and English intensifiers revealed rhetorical differences between the Kurdish and English speakers, regardless of the language choice made by the English-speaking Kurdish participants. Both the English-speaking and non-English speaking Kurdish participants used repetition as an intensifier more than the English speakers, who preferred exaggerated quantifiers and qualifiers. The previous sections have also explored the differences in the evaluative adverbs found in the stories told in English, compared with those told in Kurdish. One further aspect of evaluation is discussed in the second part of this chapter, and that is the perception of these different types of intensifiers by the different groups of participants. This was explored using a semi-structured interview to gather information about the participants' perceptions of the vividness associated with those intensifiers. The questionnaire included two samples of questions, one in Kurdish and the other in English. The ideas for the examples in these two sets were taken from the stories of personal experience in this study. Each set comprises five sentences, with each sentence including one of each of the following subtypes of intensifier: the exaggerated quantifier *very*, and the quantifier *all*, *expressive phonology*, *repetition* and *onomatopoeia*. Each sentence contained a different type of intensifier. The semi-structured interview was read out loud to the participants in order to demonstrate the instances of expressive phonology. The samples of the constructed statements in Kurdish and English are presented below:

A. The sample of the interview questions structured in Kurdish

1. Tsht **gelek** grand bit bari jazhna ramazany.

Things become very expensive before Ramadan feast.

2. Am **hemi** dkaifxushin.

We all are happy.

3. Ramazan hayveka **xu::sha**.

Ramadan s a ni:::ce month.

4. Berekket w gutê **drng**.

A rock fell and sounded slap

5. Aw mruvaka **turaya turaya** hemi gava.

She is always angry angry.

B. The sample of the interview questions structured in English:

1. Ramadan is a **ni::ce** month.

2. I feel **very** happy.

3. We **all** fast in Ramadan.

4. She was **a cautious cautious** person.

5. The doors sounded **slam**.

The participants were required to describe each intensifier (the words in bold) in terms of its vividness, on a Likert scale which was ranked from 1-5, whereby 1 is not very vivid, and 5 is very vivid. Whilst these interviews provide some empirical evidence about the perceptions of the intensifiers, the small size of the data sample means that this part of the analysis, and the analysis of the use of intensifiers, can only reach tentative conclusions. Therefore the results that are presented below should be taken as indicative only, and not generalised to all Kurdish speakers or dialects.

The comparison begins with the perceptions of the exaggerated qualifiers and quantifiers. Although a range of lexical intensifiers were used by the participants of this study, here I focus the discussion of perceptions on *gelek*, *very*, *hemi* and *all*. The reason for this focus is that these intensifiers were used the most frequently in the stories told by both Kurdish and English speakers. As a first step, the aggregated scores from the Likert scale were used to calculate the weighted average for the degree of vividness associated with the equivalent exaggerated quantifiers and qualifiers by each group of participants.

The results of the weighted average of the perceived vividness of *gelek* and *very* are presented in Table 5.19 and Figure 5.15.

Table 5.19 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of *very* and *gelek* by all the groups of participants

Degrees of vividness		Gelek		Very	
		K	ESKK	ESKE	EM
Very vivid	5	3	4	4	1
Vivid	4	2	1	1	4
Neither vivid nor non-vivid	3	0	0	0	0
Non-vivid	2	0	0	0	0
Very non-vivid	1	0	0	0	0
		23	24	24	21
Weighted average		4.6	4.8	4.8	4.2

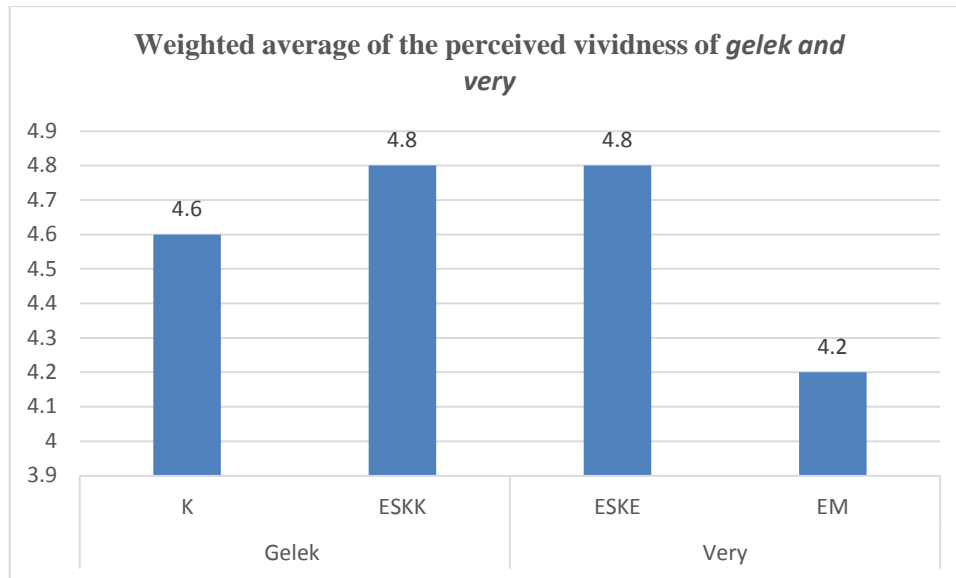


Figure 5.15 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of *gelek and very* by all the groups of participant

The results in Figure 5.15, relating to the weighted average of perceived vividness of *gelek and very* by the participants, prompt two key observations. The English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish weighted the vividness of *gelek* higher (with an average score of 4.8) than the non-English speaking Kurdish participants (a score of 4.6) but the English-speaking Kurdish participants weighted the vividness of *gelek and very* exactly the same, with an average score of 4.8. On the other hand, the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English weighted the vividness of *very* higher than the English monolinguals, whose average was 4.2. This suggests that the perceptions of *gelek and very* contrasted between the participants both in terms of their cultural identities and multilingual status.

The perceived vividness of *hemi and all* are normalised and presented in Table 5.20 and Figure 5.16.

Table 5.20 The perceived vividness of *hemi* and *all* by all the groups of participants

Degrees of vividness		Hemi		All	
		K	ESKK	ESKE	EM
Very vivid	5	0	4	3	1
Vivid	4	4	1	2	4
Neither vivid nor non-vivid	3	1	0	0	0
Non vivid	2	0	0	0	0
Very non-vivid	1	0	0	0	0
		19	24	23	21
Weighted average		3.8	4.8	4.6	4.2

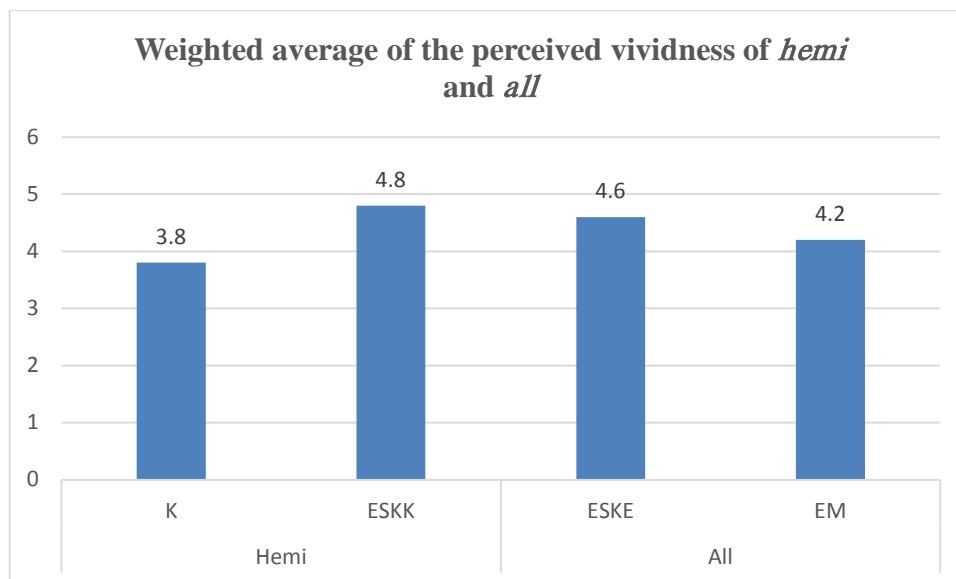


Figure 5.16 The perceived vividness of *hemi* and *all* by all the groups of participants

Figure 5.16 presents the weighted average of the perceived vividness of *hemi* and *all* by the participants. The English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish perceived greater vividness of *hemi* than the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, with average scores of 4.8 and 3.8 respectively. The English-speaking Kurdish participants weighted the vividness of *hemi* higher than *all*, although with a smaller difference, 4.8 compared with 4.6. Moreover, the English-speaking Kurdish participants ranked the vividness of *all* with an average score of 4.6, which was more than the English monolinguals' score of 4.2. Thus the English-speaking Kurdish participants perceived both *all* and *hemi* as more vivid than the monolingual English speakers and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants, but the Kurdish equivalent was seen as more vivid than the English quantifier. Taken together, this suggests that the perceptions of the evaluative qualifiers and quantifiers differed, where the Kurdish equivalents of the quantifiers were perceived more vividly by the English-speaking Kurdish participants for the quantifiers (*hemi* vs. *all*), but not for the qualifier (*gelek* vs. *very*).

A different picture emerged when the perceptions of degrees of vividness of *the verbatim repetition* by all the participants, were quantified in Table 5.21 and Figure 5.17.

Table 5.21 The perceived vividness of verbatim repetition by all the groups of participants

Degrees of vividness		K	ESKK	ESKE	EM
Very vivid	5	0	1	2	3
Vivid	4	4	3	2	2
Neither vivid nor non-vivid	3	1	1	1	0
Non-vivid	2	0	0	0	0
Very non-vivid	1	0	0	0	0
		19	20	21	23
Weighted average		3.8	4	4.2	4.6

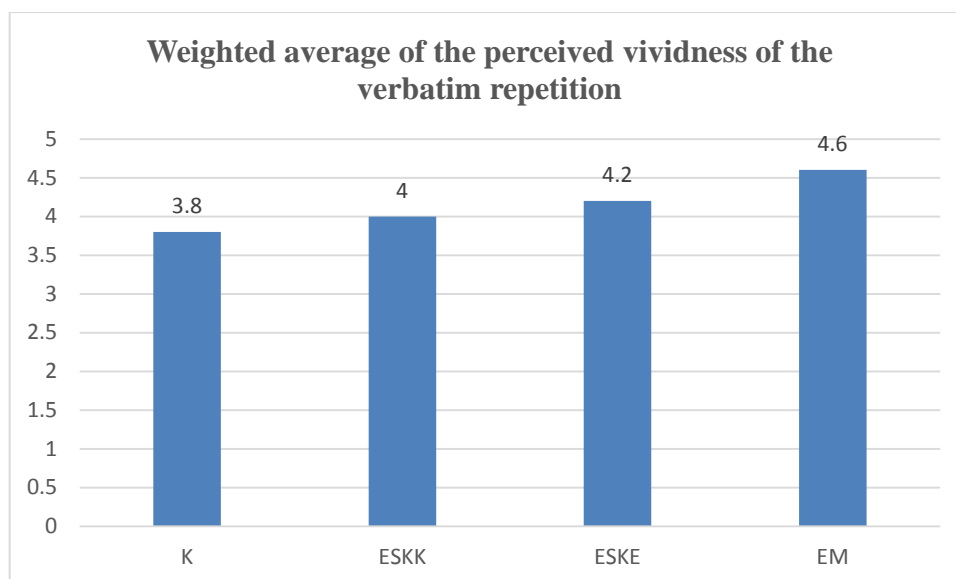


Figure 5.17 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of verbatim repetition by different groups of participants

The results in Figure 5.17 showing the weighted vividness of *verbatim repetition* prompt one key observation. The English monolingual speakers perceived this form of intensification as more vivid than the other groups of participants (both the English-speaking Kurdish participants and the non-English speaking Kurdish participants). Likewise, the repetition in the English language examples was perceived as more vivid than the examples where the repetition was presented in Kurdish.

The perceptions of expressive phonology by different groups of participants are quantified and presented in Table 5.22 and Figure 5.18.

Table 5.22 The perceived vividness of expressive phonology by all the groups of participants

Degrees of vividness		K	ESKK	ESKE	EM
Very vivid	5	4	1	3	1
Vivid	4	1	3	1	2

Neither vivid nor non-vivid	3	0	1	1	1
Non-vivid	2	0	0	0	1
Very non- vivid	1	0	0	0	0
		24	20	22	18
Weighted average		4.8	4	4.4	3.6

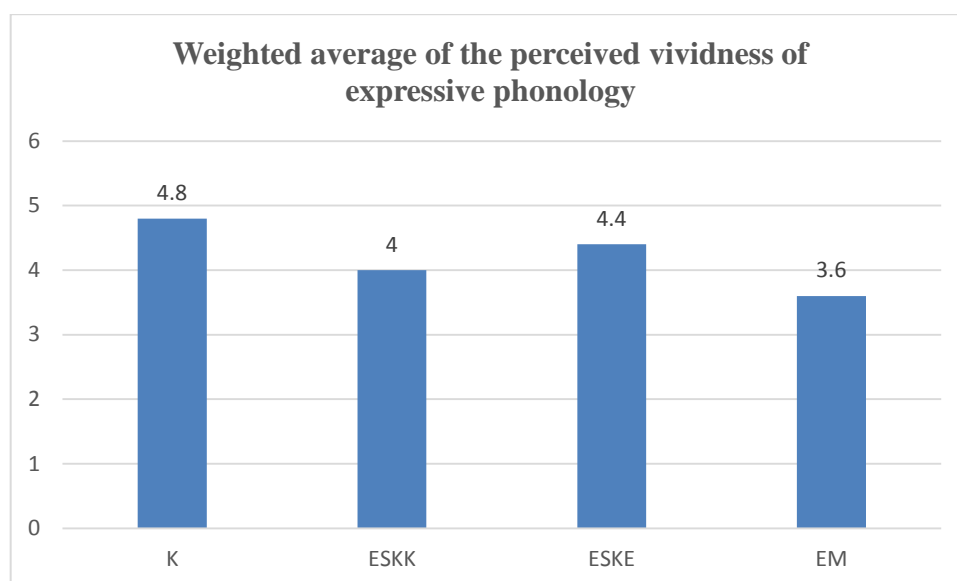


Figure 5.18 The weighted average of the perceived vividness of expressive phonology by all the groups of participant

The quantitative comparison in Figure 5.18 of the weighted average of perceived vividness of expressive phonology suggests a number of observations. The non-English

speaking Kurdish participants weighted the vividness of expressive phonology higher than the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish, with an average score of 4.8 compared to an average score of 4. On the other hand, the English-speaking Kurdish participants perceived the vividness of expressive phonology in English with an average score of 4.4, which was higher than the score for its vividness in Kurdish, with an average of 4. Moreover, the English-speaking Kurdish participants rated expressive phonology in English at an average score of 4.4, which was more than the English monolinguals, who scored it 3.6.

The weighted average of the perceptions of onomatopoeia as summarised in Table 5.23 and Figure 5.19, suggest that this form of intensifier was perceived rather differently to the other types considered thus far.

Table 5.23 The perceived vividness of onomatopoeia by all the groups of participants

Degrees of vividness		K	ESKK	ESKE	EM
Very vivid	5	2	1	2	2
Vivid	4	2	2	1	2
Neither vivid nor non-vivid	3	0	0	2	0
Non-vivid	2	0	2	0	0
Very non-vivid	1	1	0	0	1
		19	17	20	19
Weighted average		3.8	3.4	4	3.8

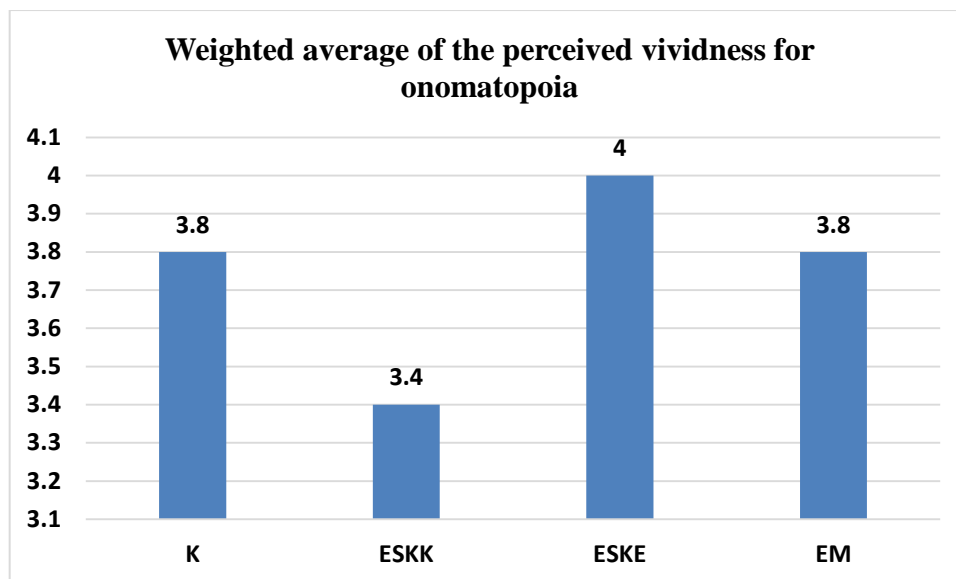


Figure 5.19 The weighted average of the vividness of onomatopoeia by all the groups of participants

The weighted averages of the perceived vividness of onomatopoeia in Figure 5.19 show several points of comparison. English-speaking Kurdish participants weighted the vividness of onomatopoeia in English with an average score of 4, which was more than in Kurdish (an average score of 3.4). However, the non-English speaking Kurdish participants perceived the vividness of onomatopoeia at a higher level with an average score of 3.8 than the English-speaking Kurdish participants, who gave it an average score 3.4. The English-speaking Kurdish participants and English monolinguals ranked the average of onomatopoeia's vividness at similar levels, scoring 4 and 3.8 respectively.

In summary, the quantitative comparison of the weighted average of perceived vividness of different subtypes of intensifiers suggests that intensifiers are not only syntactically and qualitatively different. They are also different in terms of how they are perceived by different groups of storytellers. Although Longacre (1983) claimed that expressive phonology, repetition and onomatopoeia were all features that might heighten vividness; no single subtype of these intensifiers seemed to heighten vividness in the same way for all participants. Instead, selected forms of intensification were perceived as very vivid for certain speakers. For example, the English speakers perceived repetition as more vivid than all the Kurdish participants (regardless of whether the Kurdish participants speak English or not). However, only the non-English speaking Kurdish participants rated

expressive phonology at a high weighted average of vividness, whereas the English-speaking Kurdish participants ranked onomatopoeia in English with higher weighted vividness than other groups. In yet further cases; there was not much difference in how the vividness of other intensifiers was perceived. For example, the English-speaking Kurdish participants perceived both *gelek* and *very* with similar (high) vividness.

5.8 Conclusions

The results in this chapter presented thus far suggest that Labov's subcategories of evaluation remain a robust typology that can be used to categorise the patterns of evaluation in the stories told in Kurdish, as well as other languages that have been studied extensively thus far (such as English). However, there are also important differences in the ways in which the subtypes of intensifiers occurred in Kurdish, and how they were perceived by the participants. This leads us to draw the following conclusions:

Firstly, in terms of the frequency of evaluation devices for both Kurdish and English speakers in this study, intensifiers remained the most often-used resource (as compared with comparators, correlatives and explicatives). In terms of the different types of intensifiers, there seems to be a difference in the rhetorical preferences of Kurdish and English speakers, whereby the Kurdish speakers preferred to use repetition in their stories, regardless of whether they told them in English or Kurdish. In contrast, the English speakers favoured lexical intensifiers (particularly boosters) in their storytelling. The frequency of repetition in the stories told by Kurdish speakers shows these speakers' preference for repetition as a rhetorical device, a trait that is also seen amongst speakers of Arabic. There is a great volume of literature reflecting upon repetition in written discourse, to which I refer in what follows. Although written and spoken discourse is not directly comparable, insights derived from study of written discourse may be relevant because they are closely related. Johnstone (1991: 11) argued that repetition is one of the Arabic language's rhetorical devices, and mostly its discourse is structured by repetition. Since

Kurdistan is part of Iraq, it suffered different types of oppression under the Ba'ath regime. One form of oppression deprived Kurds of their rights to use the Kurdish language in constitutions, schools, universities and the media. Instead, Arabic was the official language at that time. Given that Arabic was the language that dominated schooling and the media, it is possible that the Kurdish language contains similar patterns to those found in the features of Arabic discourse, particularly in terms of repetition. As such, it is not surprising to find a rich pattern of repetition in the Kurdish style of storytelling. However, Johnstone (1991: 71) maintained that "English discourse rules (codified in rhetoric texts under "variety in word choice") encourage writers to avoid repetition". It might be for this reason that the English participants preferred the use of lexical intensifiers to repetition as evaluative devices.

Secondly, examining the exaggerated quantifiers and qualifiers in more detail, further points of comparison between the resources used by the Kurdish and English speakers emerged. The three most frequently used qualifiers in the stories told in English (*so*, *very*, *really*) occurred with patterns that supported those found in earlier research (Tagliamonte, 2008; Brown and Tagliamonte, 2012; Tagliamonte and Ito, 2013 and Page, 2012). Although equivalents exist for each of these qualifiers in the Kurdish dialects, not all of these were used in the stories told by the Kurdish speakers. Only *gelek* (*very*) and *hnd* (*so*) were used. The broadly equivalent translation of *really* (*brasti*) was not found in this data. Although there could be many reasons for this, it does suggest that the Kurdish system of boosters may be different from the English system. Further research examining the frequency of these items, using a much larger number of stories and texts of different types, is required. The boosters in Kurdish also differed from the English examples in terms of the grammatical position that *gelek* and *hnd* might occupy within the sentence. They seemed to be more flexible than *very* and *so* in that they occurred in three positions: predicative, predicative (sentence-initial) and predicative (sentence-final) positions. Whereas *very* appeared in the predicative and attributive contexts whilst *so* occurred only in the predicative contexts.

Finally, there were also differences in how the participants perceived intensifiers. Although no one single pattern emerged, it is interesting to observe that the frequency of a particular type of evaluation by a particular group did not mean that said feature would be

perceived as the most vivid rhetorical resource. Whilst the Kurdish participants used more repetition in their stories than the English monolinguals, the English speakers ranked repetition as more vivid (on average) than the Kurdish speakers. Conversely, whilst the boosters were used more by English speakers, it was the Kurdish participants who perceived this resource as more vivid. Clearly, there are many reasons that might explain one participants' perception of a form of intensification as more vivid than another. This simply suggests that less frequently used rhetorical resources are more marked, and thus appear more vivid to speakers.

The qualitative data related to the participants' own opinions about the effect of language choice on the vividness of the story contained a range of opinions regarding this matter. One participant said language choice is important to make the story vivid. Participant Jin said, "Language is important. The mother language of the narrators helps the story to be more vivid because narrator feels more free to express his feeling and reaction through telling the story". However, another speaker stated that language choice is not crucial, for example Ban commented that, "The language is not that important", but then again another person, Meera, chose a neutral response and said, "It is important but not that much".

Given that the participants did not think the same about the choice of telling stories in Kurdish or English as an effective element of storytelling, there might be another factor that affected the use and perceptions of vividness for the English-speaking Kurdish participants i.e. the importance of the events to the participants. All of the English-speaking Kurdish participants mentioned this factor. For example Angel said, "Is very important you know to make you know connection between with the earlier speak about and make it to your life. For example, you have seen something and that thing happened to your life and you flip it to your friends so that they do not do the same thing. The same problem you have been through". Jin stated that "it makes the events of the story more real and acceptance by listener". Shila indicated that "When the events and the time are close to yours. If you see like you have a connection with it a good connection that you can imagine that is going on in the story and that is why it will be just like you can be one of the character if you want". The role of the significance of the events in storytelling will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

CHAPTER SIX: VARIATION IN STORY GENRES

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines story genres found in the data of this study. It builds on Martin and Plum's (1997) work, which emerged as a response to the limitations of Labov's (1972) framework. The key limitation in Labov's framework occurred because of the narrowness of the corpus of narratives he collected, and the use of a particular research method (narrative interviews that restricted the participants to a specific question that is of the danger of death). Labov's elicited stories gave rise to the dominant pattern of a fully formed narrative comprising the Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda. Abstract, Orientation and Coda are optional, but Complication and Evaluation are obligatory components of a narrative. As Georgakopoulou (2007), Eggins and Slade (1997), Bruner (1997) and Page (2002) have noted, the move from complication to resolution is one of the characteristics of the danger of death stories told by the adolescent African-American participants. However, once researchers go beyond the narratives told about danger of death in terms of topic, and elicited in modes other than research interviews, it might be expected that types of story patterns other than those documented by Labov could occur. This is exactly what happened with Martin and Plum (1997) when they conducted a sociolinguistic interview with Australian narrators who told stories in response to interview questions about breeding and showing dogs. The responses included a wide range of story genres, in addition to the personal experience narratives, namely anecdotes, exemplums and recounts.

In setting out his six-part model of narrative, Labov was centrally concerned with the narrative as a text in which its staging was dealt with linguistically. This concern is described by Bruner (1997: 65) as "a failed clausal analysis" when he suggested that "what one should look for as the constituents of narrative is not the underlying clausal structure, but the processes and varying situations" (ibid). In addition, the Labovian emphasis was on

the form rather than the function as the main constituent structure of a narrative. This resulted in subordinating the interpersonal meaning of evaluation by employing it as a segmental part that connects complication with resolution (Martin and Rose, 2008). Another problematic feature of Labov's model is that evaluation is recognised as a non-discrete part of the narrative (Martin, 1992 and Rothery, 1990) and is sometimes fused with resolution (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). In contrast, being oriented in the systemic functional linguistic work of Halliday (1994), Martin and Plum's story genres emphasise the social purposes of the different story genres, and the linguistic devices used to achieve those purposes. In Systemic Functional Linguistics, genre is viewed as a staged, goal-oriented social process (Martin, 1992), focusing on the aims, interaction and movements towards achieving the purposes of the speech event, and how the language is used in context (Martin, 1992). With the close integration of language with context, genres are treated as specific configurations of field (content), tenor (relation between participants) and mode (language role) (Martin and Rose, 2008 and Martin, 1992). In this approach, the discourse components of a genre are used to express meaning in context. In line with this, the differences between story genres do not relate only to their structural features, but also to their social functions, nor does the comparison of these genres depend on a clausal analysis in the same way as Labov.

Variation in story genres has been identified in different types of data, for example Eggins and Slade (1997) examined narratives, anecdotes, exemplums and recounts in casual conversation. Additionally, Rothery (1990) analysed observations, narratives and recounts in primary school students' written stories. Applying generic structure analysis, Eggins and Slade and Rothery demonstrated that each genre type and each stage within a given genre, indicated the emergence of different lexico-grammatical realisation patterns, and their meanings created different social functional features for each genre. Linguistic and functional variations are also identified by Page (2002) in her data of childbirth anecdotes told by white British men and women. Although Rothery and Page have explored patterns beyond the Labovian model in their data, their analysis focused only on certain types of story genres i.e. those that were found in the data they collected. Rothery did not explore anecdotes and exemplums whereas Page did not examine exemplums, narratives and recounts. In this chapter I will go further and examine the full range of

narratives, exemplums, anecdotes and recounts as they occur in the stories told by the Kurdish and English speakers.

Drawing on the model of story genres is highly pertinent to the analysis of the story telling in this study. The reasons for this are two-fold. Firstly, story genres will help to examine materials from the relatively under scrutinised Kurdish cultural context since genres are produced based on culturally oriented structures of text type (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Secondly, for the participants of this study, storytelling is often performed for moral purposes, as is indicated in the participants' interview responses. For example, in reply to the question: "When do you like to hear other people's stories?", the Kurdish participant (Jin) responded "I want to hear other's stories when I need an advice". When asked "When do you usually tell stories in Kurdish?" The Kurdish participant Angel's answer was "It depends on the situations you know. You know something going on for example, two persons are battling about something and that thing is not really worthy. This accident or a story that I have been through before, I start telling them that. May be they get a lesson from it".

This moral dimension of storytelling is possibly present in Labov's framework and also corresponds to Ochs and Capps' dimension of moral stance, but most importantly it is foregrounded in exemplums. Exactly how the linguistic resources of the stories told by the Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women are used to make moral points, and how these moral points are embedded within particular story genres, is the central concern of this chapter. As Ochs and Capps (2001: 45) stated, narratives of personal experience do not only convey events, but also perspectives towards those events, and "central to narrative perspective is the moral stance assumed by tellers and protagonists" (ibid). To put it more clearly, "personal narratives generally concern life incidents in which a protagonist has violated social expectations. Recounting the violation and taking a moral stance towards it provides a discursive forum for human beings to clarify, reinforce, or revise what they believe and value" (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 46). Similarly, Taylor (1995: 58) emphasised that storytelling is a moral activity. He stated that "we have, as individuals and as a culture, a greatly diminished ability to say, 'this is wrong, and this is right'. We still say these things, of course, because they are rooted in our nature, but we have a hard

time either defending or acting on what we say, stories can help” (Taylor, 1995: 58). In this chapter, I also aim to explore whether the cultural context of the storytelling makes any difference to the ways in which the Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women construed their experience.

6.2 Story genres in the participants’ stories

In this section I will analyse how the different types of story genres (narrative, exemplums, anecdotes and recounts) as identified by Labov (1972) and Martin and Plum (1997), occur in the speech of the English-speaking Kurdish participants, non-English speaking Kurdish women and the English monolingual women. The analysis is centrally focused on the distribution of evaluation in those story genres since evaluation is the common element that runs through all types of story genres (Eggins and Slade, 1997), and according to Martin and Plum (1997), it is the basic component for distinguishing between them. For the purposes of illustrating the analysis, only one example for each story genre type is used from the data of the present study. I will begin with an analysis of a narrative exemplified by text 1, *Another story from Sri Lanka*. I will then present an analysis of an exemplum focusing on text 2, *Taking a holiday*. This will be followed by an analysis of an anecdote from text 3, *Kidding with my friend*. Finally, the distribution of evaluation in recounts will be demonstrated with text 4, *Divali party*.

6.2.1 Narratives

Plum (1988) employed the term “narrative” for those text examples which unfold in the three main structures of Complication, Evaluation and Resolution. These stages demarcate the disruption in the story line, where the crisis increases in tension and is culminated by a resolution. The narratives project a world in which the protagonists struggle against problematic events and one in which they have to find a solution. The contextual significance of the events is achieved through evaluation, signalling a move

towards the end of the problematic climax experienced by the characters in the narrative. This definition is similar to the Labovian definition of narrative, in that the texts that have the middle structure of complication followed by a resolution are called narratives, with evaluation being their essential part.

A typical example of a narrative is found in *Another story from Sri Lanka*. The narrator, Suzi, is from England and told the story of how, whilst in Sri Lanka, she became very ill and then recovered. Suzi told this story in the presence of the interviewer. Suzi's narrative is represented below with the narrative stages highlighted in bold on the left.

Text 1: *Another story from Sri Lanka*

Orientation

1. Suzi It is another story from Sri lanka.
2. I hope this is ok.
3. Int. Ooohh that is nice of course yea.
4. Suzi But it is a quite a- a scary story.

Complication

29. But again within maybe five days I got ill again.
30. Int. Ohh my God
31. Suzi So this like was my first two weeks.
32. You know.
33. Int. Ohh
34. Suzi And it get worse and worse and worse again.
35. I could not eat because every time I ate I was ill.
36. Int. Hmm
37. Suzi I could not even drink water because every time I drank water I was ill.

Evaluation

38. So it was really bad
39. So I started to become really weak and thin"

Resolution

94. But luckily I managed to escape this.
95. And I started to slowly::: improve.
96. And I started to be able to stand up agai:::n.
97. And- but the first dayI manage to stand up for like five minutes without
sort of falling back.
98. Int. Yea
99. Suzi I noticed I had like hu:::ge grey circles (Int. Oh my God) under my
eyes like really grey, umm.
100. Int. Wow
101. Suzi I was just like bones.

Coda

134. This is the scary story

This story contains many features associated with the canonical narrative pattern. As Labov predicted, the characteristics of narrative in this story followed a transition from complication, in lines 29-37 when Suzi got very ill, to resolution in lines 94-101, when Suzi recovered, and there was a cluster of evaluation found in the transitional point in lines 38 and 39. However, as Labov also pointed out, there were instances of evaluation interspersed throughout the narrative. For example, there were evaluative comments in the orientation when the narrator said in line 4, “It is a quite a- a scary story”, as well as in line 101, “I was just like bones”. There was further evaluative commentary in the coda in line 134, where the narrator said, “This is the scary story”. These types of evaluative commentaries in lines, 4, 101 and 134 are typical of what Labov (1972) identified i.e. external evaluation in the narratives of personal experiences, by which the reporting of the narrative action is suspended. However, other types of evaluation occurred which did not necessarily stop the narrative events, but rather occurred within the structure of the narrative events. These types of evaluation were evident in the complication stage in line

34, when the repetitive lexical item “worse” was used, and in lines 35 and 37, when the comparators (negation) were used, as these evaluative commentaries are typical of what Labov described as internal evaluation.

6.2.2 Exemplums

According to Martin and Plum (1997), in an exemplum the speaker explicitly expresses a judgment about an incident, rather than solving a problem (as in the narrative). The incident is interpreted by reference to the social and cultural world in order to emphasise the moral point being made. An exemplum follows a pattern which starts with Orientation and is followed by an Incident, Interpretation and Coda. Examining exemplums in the stories of the present data, I will describe the distribution of evaluation in the story *Taking a holiday*. This story was told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants, Meera, about the summer holiday that she planned to take. Meera told this story in the presence of Shila, Jin and the interviewer.

Text 2: *Taking a holiday*

Orientation

1. Meera About (.) about (.) you know the holiday that we gonna take.
2. (.) You know (.)
3. Jin Ohh a big problem
4. Meera Supposed yea rather big problem.
5. We are like nine ten persons in registry.

Incident

6. And we a::ll to have – to have[↑] the holiday in Ramadan ok.
7. And that is impossible.
8. Well I think is that (.) if the boys come in Ramadan
9. And have their holiday in July
10. It will be much better right
11. Jin Yes

12. Meera That day I talk to Mr. Bangeen.
13. I told him ((*Meera luaghed*)), "please you arrange- you arrange it by yourself about who will take what time" because there are – there are some friends there.
14. And because they help each other and ok-
15. It is ok to help each other<but I mean not to (.) be unfair with others.
16. He had told me- promised me to give one month –one month (.) holiday,
17. but now he-he changed his mind.

Interpretation

18. And I am really upset because of that.
19. Really, two weeks are not enough for me because my parents will come back.
20. I wanna (.) spend all my time with them.
21. Int. They will come in Ramadan.
22. Meera Yea ok.
23. I told him and there is a girl who lives out- outside Duhok
24. And she is ...
25. They-they let her-let her to have more than one month like two months or one month
26. And twenty days.
27. That is too much.
28. So hm I told him, "ok you won't give me but I do not accept if you give the other girl more than what she deserves".
29. What –what he told me, "ok I won't[↑] do that[↓]".
30. But I think ill really do that.
31. Any way we –we came today.
32. I came here.
33. And the girl knew that I told Mr. Bangeen that I do not accept that because I really do not like people who treat each other unfairly.
34. They have.....

35. Shila Differentiating
36. Meera Ha
37. Shila Differentiating
38. Meera Beside that differentiating between people any way.
39. She was so angry with me like, "why did you tell him about that?"
40. I told her, "I had to tell her -him ↑ because he must make –he must be justified."
41. He won't gie you like that"." He must give me the same or not OK".
42. "Yeni giving you permission for month giving me permission for month otherwise I really do not accept".
43. She told me, " what –what you gonna do if you do not agree?"
44. I told her, "I am going to tell the dean or (.) something like that" because I really –
45. Iwas really angry
46. And she used to- she used to louder her voice
47. And talk like (.) ignorant people
48. And today really angry of that
49. And I never
50. They – they do something which are (.) not justified or which are injustice
51. And I keep silent but today it was.....
52. Jin About you
53. Meera Concerning me, related to me I had to talk. So we had a big fight today↑.
(*Meera laughed*) yea
54. Jin With the boss
55. Meera No,with the girl
56. Int. That is good. You are right – you are right
57. Meera No it was-it was- it was- if they-if they – if they, if she-if he wanna (.) give her and he must give me as well.
58. Int. So what happened
59. Meera No no they were talking when I was here
60. And I am going to look as what they have to do ya

61. And if you see me by th police station,
62. You must know that. ((*Shila and Meera laughed*)).
63. Angel Any time you need help. I am ready for you.
64. Meera Really?
65. Shila, Meera and Jin ((*laughter*))

As with narratives, exemplums deal with problematic subject matters. However, exemplums typically have only two main sections: incidents and interpretation. In this example, the transitional points between these sections were marked by the narrator's reflection (evaluation) and the collaborative intervention of the participants that were densely concentrated in particular lines, as in lines 18-23, 45-53 and 60-65. However, it was noted in this story that there were also a cluster of evaluations that occurred in the incident section, as is evident in lines 7-10 and 13-15. At the same time, the interpretation section did not only include evaluative commentaries, but also switched between evaluation and narrative events.

The analysis of this example suggests that the characteristics of this exemplum, which was told in the Kurdish cultural context, were not exactly the same as those of the classical exemplum identified by Martin and Plum. The reason for this is that there was not just one single evaluation cluster within the evaluation stage, but also evaluation clusters within the incident stage. At the same time, within the interpretation section, there was also a chain of events and evaluation closely intertwined together.

One explanation for this difference is that the *Taking a holiday* story is a more complex example of an exemplum than that observed by either Eggins and Slade or Martin and Plum. Whilst both share the same overall pattern i.e. incident followed by interpretation, in this Kurdish example, there are complex embeddings within each stage, with evaluation embedded in the incident, and narrative events embedded in the interpretation stage. Nonetheless, the overall social function of the exemplum remains in place, that of using the story to make a moral point, which in this case is the fairness of the narrator's experiences in her workplace.

6.2.3 Anecdotes

According to Martin and Plum (1997), anecdotes are “remarkable events” (p.302) and are neither resolved, as in the narratives, nor interpreted, as in the exemplums, but rather are reacted to by the narrator or the audience. The social function of the anecdote entails creating solidarity by offering shared emotional responses to the remarkable events to the narrator and the listener. This is usually interpreted on the basis of the audience’s reactions, for example through signals of alignment, such as shared laughter. Anecdotes develop through these basic stages: Orientation, Remarkable Event, Reaction and Coda. I will illustrate this with the story, *Kidding with my friend* which was told in Kurdish by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Shila. She told this story in the presence of Jin, Meera and the interviewer.

Text 3: *Kidding with my friend*

Orientation

1. Shila Mn tştek bserê havala xo inabo şmeže:: w mn negotiye ži heta noke.
I did something to my friend long time ago and I did not tell her yet.
Jin, Int. and Shila ((*laughter*))
2. Mn hevaleka zaxuli hebû (.)
I have a friend from Zaxo (.)
3. Ew ži hevala me bu l medresê.
She was our friend at school.
4. W yadi jirana me bu ewa mn bseri inay aw tşte.
And the other was our neighbour whom I made fun of.

Remarkable event

5. Mn ži ewi di kr ez şiyam teqlida w ê bkem lehna.

- I could imitate her voice.
6. W pichek axftna zaxoliya ferqe şya me[↑]
And Zaxoliy's accents and voice tune are little bit different from ours[↑]
7. Meera Erê
Yes
8. Mn piçek dengê xu ži bedl kr
I changed my voice a bit
9. W ez rabom mn telefona wê kr.
And I called her.
10. W hingi telefonê erdi ev kaşfe w ewidiye pêve ne hatbun
And at that time, land line telephones did not have screens
11. Mn ži telefon bu kr, wllah rakr.
I called her and she answered.
12. W ez (.....) ez ži ya dbêzhmê, "Ç hale flan kes ↓. Tu ç dkey?"
I was telling her "Hey, how are you what are you doing?"
13. W me suhbeteka diru drêž kr.
We chatted for a long time.
14. W heta:::xlas boy w pşti hingê mn dana.
And when our conversation was finished, I hang up.
Meera, Jin and Shila ((*laughter*))

Reaction

15. W heta nuke nzanit
And she does not know until now.
Meera and Shila ((*laughter*))
16. W heta nuke nzanit (...)
And until now, she does not know.
17. W ruža paştr l medresê ya dbêžte mn, "Shila pa flan kesi telefona mn kr. Çend tşteke gheribe. Mn ç ja teweque ne dkr ew piteb mn bket"[↑].
Shila ((*laughter*))

- And the day after in school, she told me, "Shila somebody called me but it is strange because I never expected that person to pay me some attention". Shila ((*laughter*))
18. (...) Meqleb yet heyn erê bes ne lwê derejê mruv telefona eyko du bket
(...) We joke around but not that far to phone each other.
19. W heta vêgavê nzanit.
And until now, she does not know.
Shila ((*laughter*))
20. Int. Wi êxsirê te emelek bu çêkr ş qesta.
poor! You made her hopeful.
21. Shila Hevalêt êk bun her bes ne ye'ni lwê derejê telefona êko du bken
Mane.
We were friends, but not that far to phone each other, Isn't it?.
22. Interviewer Feqire
Poor she.

This story is a classic example of an anecdote because it dealt with a remarkable event in a way that prompted an affective response, indicated here as humorous. The subject matter of kidding with a friend deals with a central theme of affection, first of all between the characters in the story, but also between the narrator and the listeners. The shared laughter in lines 14, 15 and 17 can be interpreted as creating solidarity between the narrator (Shila) and the listeners. Also, like an anecdote, clusters of evaluation marked the punch line, as was evident in lines 18-22.

6.2.4 Recounts

Recounts, as postulated by Martin and Plum (1997), entail a temporal sequence of events about different topics which are not necessarily problematic. The significance of

these events is established by the narrator's interpersonal evaluation, which unfolds prosodically with the telling, rather than in a discrete stage (Martin, 1992). The function of the recount is to share perspectives (Martin and Rose, 2008) and show how event A leads to event B. Unlike narratives and anecdotes, which highlight an unexpected flow of events, the generic structure of a recount is: Orientation, Record of events, (reorientation), and Coda. Examining the recount that occurred in the present data, I will illustrate the ongoing distribution of evaluation devices in the telling of the story *Divali party*. This story is told by the English monolingual narrator Rose, on the occasion of celebrating an Indian Divali party in her school.

Text 4: *Divali party*

Orientation

1. Sana We (.) ha:::d a Divali (.) party the other week of Divali.
2. It was an absolutely brilliant day.
3. Kids absolutely loved it.

Record of Events

4. In the morning when they all came in we had Mrs Nattwani to introduce us to Divali sweetie::s and food.
5. Like we had a little picnic in the morning.
6. All the people-all the children came with the party clothes and ready to that.
7. We had our
8. We had our –we have party –oh party.
9. We had our party foo:::d first.
10. Then all went into the hall had some dancing the traditional Hindu music-Hindu stick dancing.
11. I do not know what the name the dance is called.
12. Int. Yea
13. Sana And all the kids absolutely got into it.
14. And I was considering nothing.

15. Is there any Hindu children in Moon Shine?
16. Every single one of them (.) was completely involved in it.
17. And they absolutely loved it.
18. And to see things different a bit exposed to different a culture like that was really good watching DVDs about Divali.
19. And we had a parade in all our posh clothes. Sana ((*laughter*))
20. So it was really nice.
21. We made Divali cards as well.
22. And little divas out of clay.
23. And as well we have spent the day doing that.
24. And we made Rangoli patterns on the floor out of the lentils.
25. And they enjoyed that.
26. Just having the chance- things to be messy throwing the seeds and beans everywhere.

Coda

27. I absolutely loved it
28. It was such a good day it was really enjoyable thing because they all knew it was a special occasion.
29. And it was- it was -they all really got into the spirit of it.

This example is a recount in that the *Divali party* unfolds in a sequence of events, which were evaluated by the narrator throughout the narrative in lines 11, 14, 17 and 18. However, unlike the classical recount, the evaluative commentaries in this recount occurred in clusters at the punch lines, as can be seen in lines 27-29. The distribution of evaluations in this recount resembled those in the exemplum told in Kurdish, in that evaluation was interspersed throughout the telling and occurred in clusters at the punch line.

Based on the analysis of story genres in the data of the present study, a number of observations can be made. Firstly, and most obviously, the characteristics of the examples

from the narratives and the anecdotes tend to be similar to the classical characteristics of narratives and anecdotes. However, the characteristics of the recount and exemplum analysed in this chapter demonstrated differences with the typical characteristics of the recounts and the exemplum. The recounts and exemplums in this analysis showed greater complexity, and embedding of one element within another. In several cases, evaluation is found at the close of the story, as in the case of the exemplum and the recount.

This similarity between the exemplum and the recount, in terms of the location of evaluation, suggests that the positioning of evaluation as a sole tool for distinguishing between story genres can be problematic, in some cases at least. Identifying story genres does not only happen on the surface level of the text where evaluation clusters (as identified by the Labovian categories) emerge. There are clearly other criteria to differentiate story genres, such as moral stance and positioning. However, the dimension of moral stance developed by Ochs and Capps (2001) is troublesome, in that they do not set out a fixed pattern of how moral stance is achieved. To put it simply, there is no single set of textual resources for realizing stance. Likewise, judgements on what is morally troublesome are highly subjective and context dependent. For example, it would have been possible to reframe *kidding with my friend* as a moral story (which reflected badly on the teller - Shila). In order to find textual evidence that indexes this social positioning, we need to look beyond the structural location of evaluation in the text. Instead, positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990) provides a way to differentiate between the kinds of stance that occur, and thus to differentiate between the types of story genres. For example, in an anecdote, the audience and the narrator are positioned as emotionally reacting to an event. However, in the exemplum, as is stated, the moral positioning of the narrator, listener and the protagonists are realised.

6.3 Positioning

The concept of positioning was introduced by Foucault (1972) as subject positioning. In Foucault's view, subject positions are determined by the master discourses from which the individuals are assigned status and agency. This view of positioning was considered problematic in that positions are seen as "independent, pre-discursive entities that exist out there ready to be taken off the shelf and to be reproduced and revealed in discursive action" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 163).

In contrast to Foucault, Davies and Harré (1990: 48) presented the concept of positioning as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines". This definition emphasises the interactional construction of self (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012), in that individuals take part in social activities and conversation to position one another and oneself continuously through a sequence of events. This dynamic view of positioning suggests that it is not assigned as a fixed role but rather is associated with "clusters of rights and duties to perform certain actions" (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003: 4). However, as stated by Depperman (2013: 64), it is not clear how the meanings of the acts of positioning are enacted in the storylines, and how the story events and activities are related to the situated action of the storytelling itself.

In order to deal with the ambiguity of Davies and Harré's model, Bamberg (1997) developed three levels of positioning analysis. Level 1 positioning deals with the ways of positioning the characters in relation to each other in the story world by employing linguistic devices (Bamberg, 1997). Level 2 refers to the ways narrators and audiences position themselves in the storytelling world (interactional world) (Bamberg, 1997). Level 3 connects to the "Who am I" question: "How do narrators position themselves to themselves" (Bamberg, 1997: 337). Level 3 positioning has been redefined by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008). They add that "how the speaker/ narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regard to dominant discourses or master narratives" (p. 385) and how she/he "makes these relevant to the interaction in the here and now" (p.391), therefore presenting herself/himself as "a particular kind of person" (p.391). This can be particularly

important in distinguishing moral judgements, such as a person's equitable behaviour, their tenacity, capacity and so on. In contexts such as Iraqi Kurdistan, these moral judgements are framed both by discourses of Islam, and by the socio-historical context, whereby the political and social discrimination against the Kurds is still a source of moral positioning between one ethnic group and another.

Similar to Bamberg, Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2008) developed a model of positioning where two levels of positioning, the told world (level 1) and the telling world (level 2), are found in operation (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann explored the positioning of the told self as a character related to other characters by means of linguistic devices, and the positioning of the telling self, and the audiences, in the here and now of the telling situation. However, contrary to Bamberg's model, the relation of the local and interactional selves to the larger identities (level 3) is absent here.

Another proposal of positioning was developed by Wortham (2000, 2001). In a similar direction to Bamberg, Wortham (2000: 166) considered storytelling as a means of positioning the narrators and audiences interactionally, rather than just presenting the events and the narrator's reflection of them (Labov, 1972). Wortham developed five types of linguistic devices to analyse positioning in narrative. The first device is "reference and predication" (Wortham, 2001: 70), where certain words and expressions are used to ascribe characters. For example, as suggested by Wortham, the narrator might voice the characters by giving them names (like Tom) and titles (Mr. or Dr.) or sometimes by modifying the nouns with adjectives (the ugly man), or by using kinship expressions (my uncle). The use of "metapragmatic descriptors" (Wortham, 2001: 71) or "verbs of saying" (ibid) to explain the events of the story is considered to be the second positioning device. In an example of this, Wortham indicated that the narrator might give the characters particular types of voices, as in "Tom spoke, Tom lied, Tom whined" (Wortham, 2001: 72). The third positioning cue is "quotation" (Wortham, 2001: 72), and the fourth device is the "evaluative indexicals" (ibid: 73), by which implicit features of the events and situations present something about the characters and tellers. The fifth positioning cue includes "epistemic modalisation" (ibid: 74), i.e. language choices that are employed to determine the difference between the teller and the character's knowledge status (Wortham, 2000:

173). Like Labov's framework, indexical evaluation is important here as a form of evaluation, but is set alongside a wider range of lexico-grammatical resources that might construe other aspects of stance. Although the above approaches traced positioning differently, they all share a common concern of dealing with it on an interactional basis. Here, whilst acknowledging Wortham's critique, I will continue to use the analysis of positioning as a way of explaining how these resources indicate the moral and social stance implied in the categorisation of exemplums and anecdotes

6.3.1 Positioning in story genres

As suggested earlier in this chapter, the examination of the position of evaluation as the sole criteria for differentiating story genres was problematic. Thus, the analysis in this section will go further, and distinguish between the story genres in terms of their varying pragmatic effects, such as the creation of affective response and a moral point in terms of positioning. For this purpose, particular attention is given to the three levels of positioning proposed by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008).

The rationale for selecting Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008) positioning model is due to its shared similarity with the theoretical model of story genres proposed by Martin and Plum (1997). The similarity between both models exists on two levels: general and specific. Generally, both frameworks are similar in that they are oriented to the functional perspective of stories and language use. The narrative discourse is seen as a social tool which constructs a sense of self in relation to others. Both models deal with the micro level analysis in which a fine grained analysis of the lexico-grammatical elements of the narrative text is conducted and then related to the macro level analysis of the social world. On the specific level, positioning level 1 is similar to the textual meaning of the story genres, since both refer to the use of linguistic devices to express a message. However, the textual meaning of story genres is more concerned with evaluation as a textual focus, as opposed to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's positioning model, which looks specifically at the representation of characters. Similarity also emerges between

positioning level 2 and the theoretical interpersonal meaning of story genres, in terms of the participants associations with each other, their engagement in terms of shared values, belief, and the roles taken towards each other. Level 3 positioning resembles the ideational metafunction of story genres in the sense that like Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's model, this aspect of the analysis questions who we are in relation to the social world. Although Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008) model of positioning and Martin and Plum's (1997) model of story genres originate from different theoretical perspectives (the former is oriented to research on narrative analysis and the latter to functional systemic linguistics), they can be taken as complementary frameworks of analysis. Thus, both the positioning and the story genre models will be integrated into this chapter in order to explore different types of positioning in story genres, and then to distinguish them on the basis of that positioning.

Positioning between narrative participants can help elucidate the pragmatic comparisons of each genre. For example, within exemplums, the participants are positioned relative to their moral stance on problematic events (for example, approving or disapproving of them), whereas in narrative, the participants are positioned agentively so that they can face problematic complications that require resolutions. However, the positioning found in narratives and exemplums might be seen as overlapping, since agency is regarded as crucial in exemplums too, but agency in exemplums and narratives is used differently. In exemplums the participants negotiate and resist positioning in an attempt to reject or accept the protagonists' behaviour, whilst in narrative, participants negotiate and resist positioning in order to resolve problematic issues (that need not encode moral meanings). In anecdotes, as opposed to exemplums and narratives, participants are positioned by sharing an emotional response which in turn results in the creation of solidarity between participants whilst in recounts, the participants are positioned as the events unfold and are accomplished.

6.3.2 Positioning in recount

I will start the analysis by exploring positioning in a recount. For this purpose I return to the story *The Divali party*. This recount was told by a white English monolingual woman to whom the pseudonym Sana is given. Sana recounted the events of Divali (Hindu celebration), which was held in the primary school that she worked at. Sana told this story in the presence of the interviewer.

The Divali party

1. Sana We (.) ha:::d the Divali (.) party the other week of Divali.
2. And that is a brilliant day.
3. Kids absolutely loved it.
4. In the morning when we came in we had Mrs Nattwani to introduce us to Divally sweetie::s and food.
5. Like we had a little picnic in the morning.
6. All the people-children came with the party clothes and ready to that.
7. We had our
8. We had our –we have party –oh party.
9. We had our party foo:::d first.
10. Then all went into the hall had some dancing the traditional Hindu music-Hindu stick dancing.
11. I do not know what the name the dancing is called.
12. Int. Yea
13. Sana And all the kids got into it.
14. And I was considering nothing.
15. Is there any Hindo children in Moon Shine?
16. Every single one of them (.) was completely involved in it.
17. And I absolutely loved it.
18. And to see things different a bit exposed to different a culture like that was really good.

19. Watching DVDs about Divali.
20. And we had a parade in our posh clothes. Sana ((*laughter*))
21. Yea it is really nice.
22. We made Divali cards as well.
23. And (...) out of clay.
24. And as well we have spent the day doing that.
25. And we made Rangoli patterns on the floor out of the lintels.
26. And they enjoyed that.
27. Just having the chance- things to see messy throwing the see:::ds and beans everywhere.
28. I absolutely loved it.
29. It was such a good day.
30. It was such a good day is really enjoyable thing because they all knew it was a special occasions.
31. And it was- it was -they all really got into the spirit of it.

Positioning level 1

As discussed earlier, the ongoing, dispersed evaluation suggests that this story is best classed as a recount, one in which the narrator positioned herself as enjoying the class activities. This positioning is realised through the narrator's explicit evaluative statements which are distributed throughout the story, including the record of events and coda stages. In the record of events section, evaluation occurs in line 17, "I absolutely loved it" and line 18, "really good". In the coda, evaluation was found in line 28, "I absolutely loved it" in lines 29 and 30, "it was such good day". In Labovian terms, these utterances function as external evaluation in that Sana stopped narrating the actions and interpreted her perspective of the events. In this case, Sana conveyed a positive response to participating in the Hindu cultural activities of making Divali cards and Rangoli patterns on the floor (lines 22 and 25), thus constructing her persona as sociable and open-minded.

It might be argued that this story is like an anecdote or an exemplum. It can be argued that it is like an anecdote since it ends with an evaluation statement in lines 28-31,

similar to a punchline that closes an anecdote. However, the compelling evidence that this story is better interpreted as a recount (although it can be claimed that it is a weak form of anecdote) lies in the level 2 positioning analysis. In this example, the narrator holds the floor unchallenged; there is no sense of narrative co-construction (and hence of solidarity) at level 2. There is no shared laughter (emotional reaction) between the narrator and the listeners, suggesting that the affective response typical of anecdotes is not present. On the other hand, it can be argued that this recount is like an exemplum, since in line 18, “And to see things different a bit exposed to different culture like that was really good”, the narrator positioned herself relative to her moral stance of being pleased to be exposed to a different culture. However, the evidence that this story is better interpreted as a recount lies in the narrator positioning herself relative to non-problematic events that did not require any negotiation on her part to approve or disapprove the events.

Positioning Level 3

This relatively unproblematic presentation of Sana’s open-mindedness and sociable persona is implicitly in line with the dominant ideology that proposes an optimistic picture of multicultural education in Britain. Modood and May (2001) maintained that British education is broad minded. Schools in Britain involve students from different ethnic backgrounds including white British, Caribbean, Hindi, Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani. Unlike stories from the Kurdish narrators, where ethnic difference was a source of moral contrast between one group and another, here, the narrator’s claim that she personally benefits from being exposed to different cultures suggests a rather different discourse is being constructed, one of multicultural inclusivity, and where ethnic identities are not constructed as a source of trouble

6.3.3 Positioning in narrative

For the purpose of analysing positioning in narrative, the story *My little kitten* is chosen. This narrative was given by an English monolingual woman, for whom the pseudonym Kate is used. Kate told this story about her kitten, which at first she did not like but later came to appreciate. Kate told this story in the presence of the interviewer.

My little kitten

1. Kate When I started↑this job, it was incredibly stressful.
2. And my partner thought a nice way to cheer me up would be to get me a KITTEN.
3. However, he was so incredibly wrong ↑ becau::se when we got this kitten, she wouldn't sleep, she would scratch everything.
4. Int. Aaa laughter
5. She was a ni::ghtmare little living nightmare.
6. And I hated her.
7. I have never been a cat person. <
8. >like always been a dog person.<
9. like a::lways much prefered a dog.
10. But obviously, as part of this job (.) it would not be fair to keep a dog at home all day when I was not there.
11. So my boyfriend I think thought having a kitten would soo:::th me.
12. Would give me something to go ho:::me during the night ↑ stroke and relax me.
13. But it was the complete opposite.
14. However, ↑ one day my kitten escaped .
15. And she was only ↑ young.
16. I must have have opened the door to take the bin outside or something like that.
17. And she was gone> like a flash. <

18. and (.) it was only when she has gone that I realized how much she meant to me.
19. And I moaned about having this little kitten all a long until she had gone,
20. and a kind of hit home that this kitten was a big part of my life.
21. And I couldn't actually bear to live without her now.
22. So when this happened it drove me crazy,
23. and I went OUT into the night trying to find my little cat.
24. And luckily, like I said we were living in a quiet quiet bit of Leicester.
25. So we found her cowering in a little bush,
26. and we took her home.
27. And I have never ever moaned about that kitten again because now she is my favorite thing in the entire world.
28. And I realize what my life would have been like without her.
29. She is so sweet
30. Int. Ohh Kate and the Int. ((*laughter*))
31. Int. That is nice

Positioning level 1

This story can be interpreted as a narrative because the narrator (Kate) positioned herself as an agent in the problematic context with her boyfriend, rather than enjoying the unproblematic activities of the Divali party, as was the case in the recount. Kate's agentive positioning in relation to the other characters in the story is similar to the dynamic relations within Greimas's⁶ (1966) actantial model. According to Greimas (1966), the actants comprise three parts, each of which construct an axis for the description of actants. The three parts are: "the axis of desire (subject/object)" (Hébert, 2011: 71), "the axis of power (helper/opponent)" (ibid) and "the axis of transmission (sender/receiver)" (ibid). However, Herman (2000) raised critical questions about this model. He maintained that the actants

⁶ As Greimas's (1966) book entitled '*Sémantique structurale*' is written in French, I depended on the translated explanation of Greimas actantial model in Louis Hébert's (2011) book entitled 'Tools for Text and Image Analysis: An Introduction to Applied Semiotics'.

are dealt with by Greimas as syntactic elements, and according to Herman the analysis of actants needs to be conducted jointly with pragmatic lines to understand the narrative structure. Thus, the current analysis of the actants is paired with the concept of positioning.

The positioning in this story constructs a sense of opposition between the participants and the events. In the orientation stage, Kate was positioned as an opponent (of the cat, whom she disliked), and her boyfriend as a sender (of the cat) and a non-helper (who failed to resolve the stress in Kate's job). This category falsifies Kate's boyfriend's choice of the kitten as a means of soothing and lessening stress, thus emphasising the opposition between Kate's preference for dogs and her boyfriend's choice of the kitten. This opposition in turn created a disjunction between Kate and her boyfriend. Similarly, a disjunction is also created between Kate and the kitten, which is a "nightmare" and causes further problems i.e. Kate's failure to sleep.

However, the opposition between Kate and the kitten is no longer present in the resolution stages. This relationship is indicated through the employment of positive word choices and negation with positive meaning, as in line 18, Kate said, "How much she meant to me"; line 20, "This kitten is a big part of my life"; line 21, "I could not actually bear to live without her"; line 23, "My little cat"; line 27, "I have never ever moaned since about that kitten again because now she is my favourite thing in the entire world" and line 29, "she is so sweet". All these utterances are examples of Labov's (1972) external evaluation clustered with internal evaluative devices. These types of evaluation indicate that the kitten became a desired object which was lost and then regained by Kate, who becomes the desiring subject that seeks and regains her object. This in turn shows Kate's transformation to a cat person (non-opponent) and proves her boyfriend (helper) right at the end.

Positioning level 2

Kate's story is considered a narrative at this level since the shared laughter in the coda section (line 30) did not emphasise the emotional reaction that created solidarity or affiliation amongst the narrator and the interviewer. Instead, this laughter might be interpreted as stressing the transitional state of the narrator from a dog person to a cat

person. This inference is based on the fact that in line 5, the narrator repeatedly described the cat as “a nightmare”, but in line 29 she gave the cat the attribute “sweet”.

Positioning level 3

Unlike the anecdotes, where the affective positioning between teller and audience was central, and exemplums where the moral positioning between the characters in the story was prominent, narratives do not necessarily promote a strong ideological position. In this case however, the construction of the narrative “trouble”, and the personas of the characters in level 1 are constructed in line with the discourses and ideologies about the need for domestic harmony, and maintaining responsibility for others. Having a dog requires a greater degree of responsibility such as exercise and human company, which is acknowledged by Kate in line 10, “But obviously, as part of this job, it would not be fair to keep a dog at home all day when I was not there”. The identity claims of the boyfriend as a non-helper and Kate as an opponent are made in line with the attributes of a pet dog that were familiar to Kate as “a dog person”, and the qualities of the kitten that were less desirable and helpful for peaceful enjoyment. The less peaceful enjoyment was evidenced in this story when the kitten escaped, but this was ultimately resolved, constructing both Kate and her boyfriend as reconciled.

6.3.4 Positioning in exemplums

To analyse positioning in exemplums, I have chosen the story *Gathering with the new boss*. This story was told in English by the English-speaking Kurdish participant, for whom I will use the pseudonym Angel. This story was told in the presence of the interviewer and the listeners Jin and Meera, who are participants in this study. This story focused on a quarrel between two library staff, one who was a Kurd and the other an Arab. The dispute took place while all of the library staff were meeting with the new boss. Angel was present as a member of the library team.

Gathering with the new boss

1. Angel And even yesterday when we have (.) when we are having a gathering
with that crazy old woman
2. Jin hmmm
3. Angel I- I-I will not want to mention her name.
4. But she was a crazy (.) old (.) woman (.) Arab.
5. Inte When? when?
6. Angel In-n-n the gathering where we have a meeting.
7. Jin She means our boss.
8. Meera Who?
9. Jin Basima
10. Angel Our boss has changed
11. An-n-n d there is a new boss (.) a good guy he said, > "alright staff of the
library will be gathering in the general library. I will give you some
instructions classifications something like that". <
12. >We gathered all there<
13. An-n-d-d before the poor guy starts speaking, she is/sh-sh- she went off on
it said that is this how you welcome without giving↑ blah blah.
14. Speaking and speaking as if she is giving orders
15. And I-I-I really was shocked by seen something like that in.
16. I mean (.) sh-sh-she got a (.) PhD and sh-she is a crazy old woman an Arab
17. and working there
18. Meera She got PhD and crazy!
19. Angel Yea
20. And sh-sh-she said that you are like that= and= you should not be like that.
21. Alright no one spoke with-we all accepted that we were (.) all laughing at
her. I guess.
22. Meera, Jin and Int. ((*laughter*))
23. I was laughing all the time an-n-d.....
24. She was (...) and one of the guys confronted her.
25. And said that her that “You do not have the right↑ to address us like that
alright. You got PhD, but(.) we are(.) also employers here.↑ We are....We

- are the (...) we are here. We have all rights you g-got confront (...) you got to talk to me with respect".
26. And she was saying like, "HEY WHAT IS WRONG WITH YOU AM I HERE↑ to –to ask for-to propose (Angel ((*laughter*))) you to ask for your hand to my daughter."
27. See see see the the craziness the limit of the craziness.
28. An-n-n-nd she was speaking like," what the hell you are saying oh my God".
29. And the guy said alr (...) n-n-nd he was so calm the guy kept telling her in Kurdish that you do not have the right to do this. Alright sh=alright y=u=c you can see us (.)as your sons and daughters,
30. but you do not have the right to COMMENT me who the hell are you? ↑
31. a-n-n-nd she said, >"I AM NOT COMMENTING BUT YOU ARE NOT RESPECTING I AM NOT LIKE THAT". <
32. And she said "Alright I am out of here I am out of here ".
33. They try to convince her she said, "No hell no out of here and not coming back to this library".
34. In my heart I was saying,"To the hell with you o:::ld crazy woman".
35. Meera, Jin, Int. and Angel ((*laughter*))
36. Angel But I did not say anything.
37. I did not want to.
38. But I was really going crazy about that thank God that guy stopped her.
39. And she said while she was going out she said, "Alright-Y-Y-YOU KURDISH PEOPLE LIKE THAT." Imagine she is among us.
40. She was working here.
41. and speaking about Kurds .
42. I said to myself is not (...)
43. Meera There are many, there are many like that.
44. Angel Yea
45. I-I was like tapping to myself in my heart, "Alright you a:::ll stupid lady thank God you are out of here else I would have kicked (.) your(.) bud".

46. Meera, Jin, Int. and Angel ((*laughter*))
 47. Angel I really I got pissed off.
 48. She is among us.
 49. She is working here.
 50. and she is speaking bout Kurds.
 51. Alright

This story is interpreted as an exemplum because of the way in which the narrator makes moral judgments about the other participants in the story. The moral judgments are made apparent in the narrator's use of linguistic resources such as membership categories⁷ (Sacks, 1992), pronoun choices, deictic and syntactic structures.

Angel explicitly used a number of membership categories to position the Arab woman in contrast to the other figures in the story. These categories draw attention to the Arab woman's education (having a PhD), her age (old), intelligence (crazy), gender (woman) and ethnicity (Arab), all of which are repeated in lines 1, 4 and 16. The age and educational status of the Arab woman are made superior in order to create an image of the woman, which is then juxtaposed with her lack of social competence in terms of appropriate interaction. This lack of competence is made explicit in the interpretation stage in line 14, "Speaking and speaking as if she is giving orders", and line 26, "To ask for your hand to my daughter"⁸. This inappropriate style of communication violates a generally shared expectation that educated, older people should try to communicate in an elegant and appropriate way in formal meetings (gathering) instead of giving orders or offending people (see line 14). In contrast to the Arab woman's inappropriate communication, a "guy" (line 24) who was an employee in the library and who was Kurdish (see line 29), was

⁷ Membership categorisation "deals with how members categorise persons and how this is used as a resource of ascribing properties, explaining and evaluating actions, attributing responsibility and engendering inferences and expectations regarding actions of category members" (Deppermann, 2013: 65).

⁸The utterance in line 27 is somehow offensive within the Kurdish context of talking. The Arab teacher treated the guy as a female since she told him she was not there to approach him to marry her daughter. In Kurdish society, females do not ask males to marry their daughters. Instead, men start the request of marriage. If women initiate the request of marriage to men for their daughters, then in this case the women do not respect the men and it deliberately lessens their masculinity.

constructed as respectfully confronting the Arab woman asking for his rights to be respected, for example in line 29 when he says, “You can see us (.) as your sons and daughters”⁹. The confrontation between the Arab woman and the guy foregrounded a contrast between males and females, high and low educational or employment status, Kurds and Arabs, and older and younger people’s ways of talking. Thus, the positioning of the Arab woman and the guy in relation to each other and in terms of their actions constructed their different personas. The Arab woman morally was positioned as a disrespectful advisor, whilst the man was positioned as a respectful defender of his colleagues and fellow Kurds.

Positioning the characters in contrast to each other is also constructed through the pronoun choice. The choice of pronouns is built on the relevance of the ethnic category “Arab”, which is related to the action of the inappropriate interaction. This relationship resulted in the construction of “she” versus “us”. In this case, “she” is the Arab woman who demonstrated prejudice against Kurds by addressing the Kurdish employees impolitely, using vocatives, ‘YOU KURDISH PEOPLE’, in the interpretation section (line 39). Thus the pronoun “she” in lines 39, 40, 48, 49 and 50, implies the exclusion of the Arab woman as a third person, constructing her as an outsider. As De Fina (2000: 131) puts it, “disputable behaviours are openly attributed to out groups”. We have seen the narrator stress the pronoun “she” through repetition at different points (lines 40, 41 and 48-50), thus emphasising the opposition between an outsider (Arab woman) and the narrator. However, “us” (line 48) refers to the narrator (Angel) who affiliates herself with Kurds as gathering individuals in one group, thus constructing them as insiders, and rejecting the Arab woman’s offensive way of communicating with Kurds.

The distancing between characters is also achieved by the use of the deictic “that”. The narrator repeatedly used “that” at different points (lines 1, 15, 20, 25 and 31) while conveying the Arab woman’s speech about offering advice and when describing Kurds (line 39), instead of providing her exact expressions. This suggests the offensive quality of the Arab woman’s words, which led the narrator to employ “that” in order to distance

⁹The utterance in line 29 is a specific cultural part of membership categories. In Kurdish society, allowing others to consider you as their sons or daughters indicates showing respect, because in Kurdistan children and adults produce a lot of respect for their parents.

herself from the Arab woman's speech, since "that" is referred to as the "distal demonstrative denoting a referent that is located at some distance to the deictic center" (Diessel, 1999: 2). The distancing between the participants can also be seen in the use of reported speech. In lines 26 and 39, direct speech was used to convey the Arab woman's offensive speech. Angel presented the Arab woman's reported speech as shouting. This is emphasised by use of the prosodic features of loudness and raised intonation clustered with the reported speech, which "animate" (Günthner, 1999: 704) the character as a person who was out of control. In contrast, Angel presented her own reported speech as an internal thought commenting on the Arab woman's insult towards Kurds in line 45. This suggested that Angel exercised self-control by not talking loud. The contrast between the Arab woman and Angel's reported speech could be explained more in terms of indexicality. The joint production of speech with prosodic features and a particular style of talking index the speakers' identity (Silverstein, 1976 and De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). In turn, such an identity is related to the speakers' social group (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, 2012: 176). Accordingly, the co-occurrence of the Arab woman's reported speech with the paralinguistic devices, such as loudness and rising intonation, indexes her identity as hostile and antagonistic. In the context of Kurdistan, this is mapped onto other negative stereotypes, such as some Arabs having an attacking style of speech. In contrast, Angel's style of speech, which is of internal thought, indexes her as wise and respectful, mapped in contrast here onto her ethnicity (Kurdish).

Positioning level 2

At this level, the *gathering* story is considered an exemplum because the narrator was positioned as a moral person respecting proper forms of speech and showing constraint towards other social groups. The narrator's moral positioning invited the listening audience (of Kurdish women) to share judgment and affiliation (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 53) with the narrator against the Arab woman's perceived inappropriate verbal behavior. In line 18, the audience member Meera aligned herself with Angel, repeating her clause "She got PhD and crazy!" This alignment resulted from, and reinforced the comparison of, the Arab woman's incompatible attributes of being crazy and having a PhD. Another instance of

alignment occurs in line 43, where the listener Meera once again aligned herself with Angel, commenting on her position, “There are many, there are many like that”. This instance furnishes the mapping of the discourse identities onto the transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998). The listener Meera oriented herself to the Kurdish identity as being crucial to the interaction, reinforcing Angel’s positioning of the Arab teacher as racist by the repetitive use of the utterance “There are many”. This suggests that there is a common shared view among Kurds that Arabs are hostile, if not racist in their attitude to the Kurds with whom they live. Meanwhile, the listener Meera’s intervention in line 43 could also be interpreted as evidence that Kurds are racist too, in the sense that her utterances imply a stereotyping of Arabs as racist. In contrast to the explicit shared judgment by the listener Meera in the interpretation stage, the interviewer intervened in the orientation section once, to check the time of the gathering in line 5, “When-when?”, rather than showing an explicit shared interpretation of events. In spite of the difference between the listener Meera and the interviewer’s interactions, the interviewer’s intervention still implied her alignment with Angel, indicating her acceptance of Angel’s explanation of the situation. The interviewer affiliated with Angel, as both are Kurdish. This demonstrated that both shared a similar attitude and view towards their Kurdish identity, rejecting the Arab woman’s inappropriate verbal behavior towards Kurds. The non-intervention of the interviewer could also be due to the nature of the speech situation. She wanted to grant the floor-holding rights to Angel.

Positioning level 3

At this level the story is interpreted as an exemplum because the narrative participants were positioned in relation to the dominant discourses and ideologies about the conflict between Kurds and Arabs. Twenty years ago, in the time of Ba’ath regime, Kurds were treated as second class members of society whereas Arabs were regarded as first class. The result was that Kurds were deprived of their simple rights such as respect. Some Arabs treated them with contempt and this continued for decades until the Kurdish uprising in 1990 and the collapse of the Ba’ath regime. Since then, Kurds have gained their freedom, peace and independence whilst achieving prolific development, namely in educational and

economic sectors. Conversely, the Iraqi Arabs have lost their freedom and security. Iraq witnessed an assassination campaign particularly against highly educated, qualified and rich people. As a result, most of the Iraqi Arabs who went to Kurdistan did so looking for security, freedom and employment.

The corollary of this socio- cultural transition is the belief that Arabs should live and work in Kurdistan with a positive attitude towards Kurds and should treat them as equal members of society. From a Kurdish viewpoint, Arabs are supposed to express their gratitude to Kurds for allowing them to have a chance of living and working in a peaceful environment. However, unfortunately, the opposite has been found, with some Arabs failing to appreciate living and working in Kurdistan, and instances of insulting behaviour towards Kurds, especially in universities (Hamo and Abdullah, 2014; Balatay, 2014).

Angel did not explicitly refer to these ideologies in her story. As De Fina (2013) said, “ideological presuppositions, shared knowledge, and attitudes are not always oriented to or made relevant to the current interaction by participants” (p. 58). However, the ideologies about the conflict between Kurds and Arabs are mapped neatly onto Angel’s disapproving positioning towards the Arab woman and her verbal behavior. Angel’s stance is only fully understood in the context of those ideologies, emerging implicitly in positioning level 1. It could be inferred from Angel’s stance that the Arab woman must show gratitude towards Kurds and appreciate them for allowing Arabs the opportunity of living and working in Kurdistan. Likewise, the alignment between the Kurdish teller and listeners here affirms this positioning, rather than resisting or rejecting it.

6.3.5 Positioning in anecdote

Positioning in anecdotes brings to the fore the closeness and in-group membership between participants, rather than distance and out-group categorization as seen in the case of the exemplums. To examine positioning in anecdotes, I return to the story *Kidding with my friend*. This story was recounted in Kurdish by an English-speaking Kurdish woman, for

whom the pseudonym Shila is used. Shila recalls fooling her friend, on the phone, by changing her voice.

Kidding with my friend

23. Shila Mn tşte bserê havala xo inabo şmeže:: w mn negotiye ži heta noke.
I did something to my friend long time ago and I did not tell her yet.
Jin, Int. and Shila ((*laughter*))
24. Mn hevaleka zaxuli hebu (.)
I have a friend from Zaxo (.)
25. Ew ži hevala me bu l medresê.
She was our friend at school.
26. W yadi jirana me bu ewa mn bseri inay aw tşte.
And the other was our neighbour whom I made fun of.
27. Mn ži ewi di kr ez şiyam teqlida w ê bkem lehna.
I could imitate her voice.
28. W pichek axftna zaxoliya ferqe şya me[↑]
And Zaxoliy's accents and voice tune are little bit different from ours[↑]
29. Meera Erê
Yes
30. Mn piçek dengê xu ži bedl kr
I changed my voice a bit
31. W ez rabom mn telefona wê kr.
And I called her.
32. W hingi telefonê erdi ev kaşe w ewidiye pêve ne hatbun
And at that time, land line telephones did not have screens
33. Mn ži telefon bu kr, wllah raker.

- I called her and she answered.
34. W ez (.....) ez ži ya dbêzhmê, "Ç hale flan kes ↓. Tu ç dkey?"
I was telling her "Hey, how are you what are you doing?"
35. W me suhbeteka diru drêž kr.
We chatted for a long time.
36. W heta:::xlas boy w pšti hingê mn dana.
And when our conversation was finished, I hang up.
Meera, Jin and Shila ((*laughter*))
37. W heta nuke nzanit
And she does not know until now.
Meera and Shila ((*laughter*))
38. W heta nuke nzanit (...)
And until now, she does not know.
39. W ruža paštr l medresê ya dbêžte mn, "Shila pa flan kesi telefona mn
kr. Çend tşteke gheribe. Mn ç ja teweque ne dkr ew piteb mn bket"↑.
Shila ((*laughter*))
And the day after in school, she told me, "Shila somebody called me
but it is strange because I never expected that person to pay me
some attention". Shila ((*laughter*))
40. (...) Meqleb yet heyn erê bes ne lwê derejê mruv telefona eyko du
bket
(...) We joke around but not that far to phone each other.
41. W heta vêgavê nzanit.
And until now, she does not know.
Shila ((*laughter*))
42. Int. Wi êxsirê te emelek bu çêkr ş qesta.
poor! You made her hopeful.
43. Shila Hevalêt êk bun her bes ne ye'ni lwê derejê telefona êko du bken
Mane.
We were friends, but not that far to phone each other, Isn't it?.
44. Interviewer Feqire

Poor she.

Positioning level 1

The story is considered an anecdote because the narrator (Shila) positioned herself as the person who orchestrates an amusing rather than offensive event within the context of an ongoing friendship with a fellow Kurdish woman. Shila positioned the other figures in the story world relative to herself through the lexico-grammatical resources which emphasise their friendly relationship, explicitly using the term “a friend” in line 1 and 2, “Ew ži hevala me bu l medresê” (Translation: “She was our school friend”), line 3, and the relatively small difference between them, “piçek axfta zaxoliya ferqe şya me” (Translation: “Zaxoliy’s voice tune is a little bit different from ours”), line 6. The use of these constructions emphasised that there are only minimal differences between Shila and her friend, in contrast to the distance between the narrator Angel who was a Kurd, and the Arab woman in the exemplum. Shila also used direct speech “Ç hale flan kes, tu ç dkey?” (Translation: “Hey how are you”), line 12. The use of the expression “Hey” within the reported speech, which indicates a friendly greeting, indexes the friendship positioning between Shila and her friend. This friendship positioning, which is characterised by the closeness between figures, contrasts with the positioning between Angel and the Arab woman which is characterized by distancing in the exemplum. In terms of pragmatics, the use of the reported speech act implied Shila’s words were a joke. This joke was told as a prank which was successful in terms of achieving humour and did not provide an offensive outcome. The success of the joke was evidenced in the negation used in line 15, “W heta nuke nzanit” (Translation: “And until now, she does not know”). The effect of the successful joke was one of solidarity between the characters. Accordingly, Shila created a position with her friend that was duped and a position relationship of friendship. This could be backed up by Gordon’s (2014: 5) claim that humour is thought of as a relevant element of building human relations.

However, the success of the joke by the use of negation could also imply that Shila’s friend was stupid: a somewhat negative judgement to make of a friend. The choice

of lexico- grammatical resources and their pragmatic meanings help Shila construct a number of personas. She constructed herself as an entertainer, in terms of friendship as a close friend, and in terms of hierarchy between the two, Shila showed herself to be superior (the one who got away with a trick, rather than the one who was duped). These types of constructed personas contrast with those in the exemplum. In the exemplum the personas were related to the moral points made in the story such as racist, attacker, respectful and disrespectful.

Positioning level 2

In terms of positioning level 2, this story is considered to be an anecdote, not an exemplum. This is because Shila was positioned as a skillful entertainer who could elicit the interlocutors' affectual responses, which were exemplified by laughter (lines 14, 15 and 19), which aligned Shila with her interlocutors and suggested that they found her act of manipulation as inoffensive and entertaining. Conversely, laughter in the exemplums was reported at level 1. In line 26 of the exemplum that I analysed earlier, the narrator Angel laughed whilst reporting one of the character's speech, "HEY WHAT IS WRONG WITH YOU AM I HERE ↑ to –to ask for- to propose ((*laughter*)) you to ask for your hand to my daughter". Although two instances of laughter were contributed at level 2 by the listeners in the exemplum *Gathering with the new boss*, they did not indicate a sharing of any affectual response. Instead, their laughter implied a mockery towards the Arab woman's offensive behaviour. This inference of laughter is evident from the narrator Angel's speech about herself and her friend's silence while the Arab teacher gave the Kurdish librarians advice (where she must not do), and when the Arab teacher got angry and left the meeting. This is clear in the following lines from *Gathering with the new boss*.

- 20. And sh-sh-she said that you are like that= and= you should not be like that.
- 21. Alright no one spoke with/we all accepted that we were (.) all laughing at her. I guess.
- 22. Meera, Jin and int. ((*laughter*))

32. And she said "Alright I am out of here I am out of here ".
33. They try to convince her she said, "No hell no out of here and not coming back to this library".
34. In my heart I was saying," to the hell with you o:::ld crazy woman".
35. Meera, Jin, Int. and Angel ((*laughter*))
-
45. I-I was like tapping to myself in my heart, "Alright you a:::ll stupid lady thank God you are out of here else I would have kicked (.) your(.) bud".
46. Meera, Jin, Int. ((*laughter*))

When comparing the Arab woman's behaviour with Shila, both could be considered to have breached social norms. However, the Arab woman's behaviour was depicted as offensive but Shila's hoax is seen as funny. This was because the Arab woman's behaviour is mapped onto a wider conflict between Kurds and Arabs while Shila's behavior depicted a relationship between close friends.

Positioning level 3

At this level the story is considered an anecdote because the participants were positioned in relation to the joke, which fits within the broader ideological contexts and discourses about friendship between women, as documented in studies by Coates (1996). This also seems true of Kurdistan. In response to a question about telling jokes amongst women in Kurdistan, the Kurdish participant Ban replied, "In the Kurdish society, telling jokes between women friends is common. Women use humour to maintain connection, communication and relationship". This answer conforms to Lampert and Ervin-Tripp's (2006) claim that funny stories occur frequently in women's speech. Accordingly, the narrator's identity as an entertainer and the alignment of the audiences with her are made implicitly in line with those dominant ideologies about jokes between women in Kurdistan.

6.4 Comparison of story genres

While both English and Kurdish speakers told stories of all genres, the relative frequency of the story genres in speakers from these two groups may differ. In order to explore whether the Kurdish women's assertion that the moral purpose of storytelling, as indicated in their interview data, was borne out with a greater use of exemplums. The frequency of each story genre for the Kurdish and English speakers' stories in the dataset was conducted by calculating the total number of each type of story genre relative to the total number of all the story genres (for example, total number of narratives (23) \div total number of all story genres (80) \times 100). The normalized results for the frequency of story genres are presented in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 The overall frequency of each story genre by all the groups of participants

Story genres	Frequency	
	No	%
Narratives	23	29%
Exemplums	33	41%
Anecdotes	13	16%
Recounts	11	13%

The results in Table 6.1 indicate that exemplums occurred most frequently across the four types of story genres, with 41%. These are followed by narratives at 29%, with the least frequently occurring being anecdotes and recounts, with 16 % and 13% respectively. These findings seem to be inconsistent with those of Eggins and Slade (1997). In their study, anecdotes are shown to be the most frequent, followed by recounts and exemplums, with narratives being the least occurring. However, whilst exemplums might have been the most frequently occurring story genre, these results need to be disaggregated for the groups of participants in this study.

The frequency of exemplums in the participants' groups is attained by calculating the total number of exemplums in each participant group relative to the total number of exemplums for all the participant groups. The results of this further quantification are summarised in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2 The frequency of exemplums by all the groups of participants

Participant groups	Number of exemplums	%
ESKK	8	24%
ESKE	7	21%
K	14	42%
EM	4	12%

Based on the quantitative comparison of exemplums by all the groups of participants in Table 6.2, non-English speaking Kurdish participants are shown to use more exemplums with 42%, followed by the English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish with 24%. However, English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English told fewer exemplums in English with 21%. The reason for this could potentially be interpreted in line with their language choice as well as tellability issues. In their interview responses about storytelling, the English-speaking Kurdish participants related the telling of stories that convey a moral message to the Kurdish language, in that they preferred to tell stories in Kurdish when they convey a moral lesson. In reply to the question “When do you usually tell stories in English?”, Angel said, “Telling stories in English, well not in front of everybody because not everybody speaks and understands English. In front of those who speaks and understands English like someone like you. I tell with no problem. When you tell a story, there is a lesson behind the story. So if you tell it to someone who does not speak English, so what is the benefit of it?” Meanwhile in reply to the question “When do you usually tell stories in Kurdish?”, Angel said “It depends again on the situations you know. You know something going on for example two persons are battling about something and that thing is not really worthy. This accident, or a story, or

something that I have been through before, I start telling them that. May be they get a lesson from it". In comparison to the Iraqi Kurdish women, Table 2.6 also shows that the English monolinguals told very few exemplums with 12%. There is a lack in the studies that have examined exemplums in other non-western cultures. Alsop, et al (2013) who analysed the transcripts from Malaysia, New Zealand and the UK for the Engineering Lecture Group (ELC), found that these transcripts included different types of story genres namely, anecdotes, exemplums, recounts and narratives. Within the four groups, Malaysian tended to use more exemplums compared to the other groups namely, New Zealand and the UK.

The importance of exemplums perhaps reflects the cultural contexts in which these speakers told their stories. The non-English speaking Kurdish women emphasise the moral function of storytelling. In response to the question "Why did you tell exemplums more than other types of story genres?", the non-English speaking Kurdish participant Rozh said "We told exemplums more because we sometimes need to advise our friends and family members to avoid the mistakes that we committed or to lessen their pain", and Nabila said "Exemplums reflect our daily life in that our life is a communication of moral lessons". This emphasises Ochs and Capps's (2001) claim about moral stance that it is "rooted in community and culture" (p. 45) and is "a disposition towards what is good or valuable and how one ought to live in the world" (ibid). Accordingly, the cultural context of the non-English speaking Kurdish women requires the telling of exemplums that interpret moral stances about challenges related to social life, and relations within the scope of friendship and family. However, English-speaking Kurdish participants convey these moral stances with a particular focus that reflect the value of Kurdish identities (relative to other ethnic groups). The moral topics told in the exemplums by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in English often foregrounded cross-cultural challenges associated with ethnicity. This reflects the personal experience of the English-speaking Kurdish participants, whom have had occasions of confrontation with Arabs, as well as of being graduates in an English department staffed by Arab lecturers who have sought refuge in Kurdistan, as referred to earlier in this chapter. In contrast, the non-English speaking Kurdish women in this study did not report any experience of confrontation with Arabs. Perhaps this is because most of the non-English speaking Kurdish women's university

education was in Kurdish (except one participant who studied in the Arabic department), which did not allow any contact with Arab teachers. For this reason, non- English speaking Kurdish women's exemplums did not position their ethnic identities relative to other groups in this same way.

There are many reasons more exemplums are seen in the Iraqi Kurdish women's stories. They are part of the Kurdish socio-cultural context, religion, education, and the political conflict that Kurdish people experienced has shaped the value of how storytelling is perceived by the Kurdish women. In other words, everything in the Kurdish cultural context comes from what is right and wrong traditionally, religiously and politically. One of the main concerns of Kurdish society (Kurdish conservative society) is with how women should behave, particularly with regards to their interaction with men inside and outside the context of the house. Parents used to give moral instructions to their daughters from a young age, particularly regarding issues related to honour, since in the Kurdish cultural context the honour of the family is linked to women (in Iraqi Kurdistan women are the symbol of honour). Women in Iraqi Kurdistan have to behave in the right manner in relation to males, in terms of greetings (not allowed to kiss or to some extent shake hands with men), relations of love (avoid them outside of marriage) and making friendships (a woman's friendship with a man is restricted within the scope of the work place, and it is preferable that they do not go out together). Another potential reason that prompted the telling of more exemplums by Kurdish speakers is the injustice that Iraqi Kurdish people experienced at the hands of the Iraqi Arabs. Additionally, the use of more exemplums could be due to the types of curricula in the educational system in Iraqi Kurdistan. In the schools of Iraqi Kurdistan, there are two subjects, namely "human rights" and "religious education", that are mainly based on providing students with moral instructions related to the proper way of treating people, building relationships with friends, the correct manner of speaking and eating, behaving with parents, rescuing people, and helping the poor.

6.5 Conclusions

The analysis of story genres in this chapter prompted two observations. Firstly, the participants in this study did not only tell narratives, but different types of story genres including anecdotes, exemplums and recounts. The evaluation placement in some of these story genres, particularly the exemplums and recounts proved problematic when distinguishing between them. Consequently, employing the positioning theory, I could differentiate between different types of story genres. The positioning theory allows me, in different ways, to explain how evaluation contrasts between anecdotes, recounts, exemplums and narratives, in terms of non-problematic positioning in recounts, more judgement in exemplums, problematic positioning in narratives, and solidarity in anecdotes. Secondly, seeing storytelling as a moral act, the Iraqi Kurdish women told more exemplums compared to the white British English-speaking women, and the reason for that is related to socio-cultural, religious and political issues, where the focus is always on what is considered to be right and wrong. The main concern of Iraqi Kurdish society is on giving moral instructions, which are prompted by Kurdish cultural traditions on issues related to honour and moral lessons that stem from Islam, such as encouraging people to do the right thing and avoiding dishonest deeds. With regards to politics, there have always been verbal and physical violations from Arabs towards Kurds which created a conflict between the two cultural groups.

CHAPTER SEVEN: POLYPHONY: REPORTED SPEECH AND CO-TELLERSHIP

7.0 Introduction

This chapter expands the analysis of positioning (level 1 and level 2) in story genres particularly by looking at the relationship between reported speech and co-tellership resources. Through reported speech and co-tellership, multiple voices are incorporated into the stories told by the participants in this study. In terms of the reported speech, the multiple voices are incorporated within the events of the narrative itself, as the quoted speech of other, non-present participants is included. With regards to the co-tellership resources, the voices of the listening audience are incorporated through the interpolation of their responses and involvement strategies. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first part of the chapter begins with describing reported speech as a means of integrating different voices into the narrative events. I then move on to provide an overview of the resources of co-tellership and examine how they occur in the stories collected for this thesis.

7.1 The relationship between reported speech and polyphony

As Maynard (1996: 209) argued, quotation is one means by which a previous utterance can be produced through the narrator's perspectives. This brings to the fore the importance of "polyphony" or "multivoicedness" in the language (ibid). Of particular interest here is Bakhtin's (1981: 271) view that language/speech is not taken as an abstract element but rather a system inherent in the socio-cultural context of verbal interaction. As

Bakhtin purported language is never “monologic” (p. 426), Bakhtin (1981: 426) expanded this, stating:

Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole-there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. Which will affect the other, how it will do so and in what degree is what is actually settled at the moment of utterance.

The polyphonic concept of reported speech is closely related to Goffman’s (1981) participation framework. As Goffman points out, reported speech involves the different participant roles including the animator, principal, author and figure (Goffman, 1981). Goffman’s participation framework is illustrated by considering the following example from the data:

Excerpt 7.1 is a part of a story told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant, Jin, about the disrespectful behaviour of an Arab patient towards her sister-in-law, who was a doctor at the hospital.

Excerpt 7.1

4. Gutl:::"Nesaxêt mn axlebi Arebn yan Yzedi ne.
She said,"Most of my patients were Arabs or Yezidian".
5. Gutl"Ez çome hndav sere eki:::"
She said, "I went to see one of them".
6. Gut (.)"Mêzaxu wesa ye ewedi kri dê bêži:: ezime ya danandi".
She said,(.)"His table was full as if there was a celebration".
7. Gut, "Jhê tebelê nebu danme ser w bnvêsm".
She said, "There was no space on the table to put the medical transcript on, and write on it".
8. Gutl,"Ez hnd esebibum".

- She said, "I got so angry".
9. W gut, "Eve çiyê dê vê drkê piçek paqžken!" ↑
And asked them, "What is this? Clean this place!"
10. Guti, "Her man dmn fkri::n".
She said, "They kept gazing at me".
11. Gut, "klinsek dafmn".
She said, "They gave me a tissue".
12. Guti, "Bxu paqžke". ↓
They said, "Clean it for yourself".
13. Meera and Jin ((*laughter*))

Jin (the narrator) is the animator, and is the "sounding box" (Goffman, 1981: 144), who causes the conveyed message to be audible. However, the author is the person who "has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded" (ibid), in other words, the one who constructed the speech through the quotative *Guti (said)* which is in this case Jin's sister-in-law. She is not only the author, but also a principal who was held accountable for the achievement of the actions being quoted, or in other words the one whose opinions are conveyed. However, the rising intonation in line 9, "W gute, "Eve çiyê dê vê drke piçek pažqken!" ↑ (Translation: 'And told them, "What is this?" "Clean this place!"', and the falling intonations with quoted speech in line 12, "bxu paqžke" ↓ (Translation: 'They said, "clean it for yourself!"' are not part of Jin's sister-in-law's speech; they are the commentary signals used by the narrator. Jin is not merely conveying her sister-in-law's words, but rather she uses prosody to signal evaluation of the Arab patient's behavior as un acceptable (6, 7 and 11), and her sister-in-law's subsequent resistance to this (4 and 5). As such, Jin animated the Arab patient and her sister-in-law as figures (characters) (Goffman, 1981) in her utterances.

Goffman's participation framework showed how speakers do not merely "decontextualise" others' utterances and "recontextualise" (Gunthner, 1999: 686) them in a new interactional context, but they also use them to convey certain evaluative functions.

Reported speech has been associated with evaluation or assessment, which displays the reporters' positioning towards the reported speech (Buttny, 1997; O'Connor, 1997 cited in Pastor and Maria, 2004: 93) and therefore performs different functions “to dramatize a point, to give evidence for a position or to epitomize a condition” (ibid:478). Indeed, reported speech as an evaluative device was also included by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and then Labov (1972) as a form of embedded evaluation. According to Labov (1972), this type of evaluation does not suspend the action of the narrative, rather its establishment in the narrative retains the dramatisation of the events. Labov (1972: 372-373) suggests three steps in embedding evaluation into narrative:

The first step is..... for the narrator to quote the sentiment as something occurring to him at the moment rather than addressing it to the listener outside of the narrative..... A second step towards embedding evaluation is for the narrator to quote himself as addressing someone else..... The next step inward is to introduce a third person who evaluates the antagonist's actions for the narrator.

In the current study there are differences and similarities between reported speech in the stories told in English and Kurdish. Similar to English, in Kurdish the reported speech is introduced by a quoting verb and (in written instances) through the use of punctuation such as inverted commas. However, a wider range of quotation verbs were used in the stories told in English compared to Kurdish. In English stories, the quotation verbs included, *said*, *tell*, *ask*, *like*, *think*, *call*, *going*, *shouting* and *crying*. Whereas in the Kurdish Sorani dialect only two reporting verbs were used namely *gut* (*said* and *told*) and *delêt* (*said*). In the Badini dialect three reporting verbs are used: *gut* (*said* and *told*), *dbêžit* (*said*) and *kre hewar* (*scream*). In both Kurdish dialects the verb *gut* could mean *told*, *said* or *asked* depending on the context of use. When *gut* is followed by a pronoun or a noun it could mean *told*, whilst when it is not followed by a pronoun or a noun it means *said*. For example.

a. **Sorani dialect:**

1. Gut yan mn, “betal ke”.
Told they me “Leave school”.
They told me, “Leave school”.

2. Ewan deyan gut “Kurd ç nzanın. Kurd Arebi nzanın”.

They were saying “Kurd nothing know. Kurd Arabic know don’t”

They were saying, “Kurds know nothing. Kurds do not know Arabic”.

b. Badini dialect:

1. Babê mn gute mn, "Bayan ka were vêrê".

Father my told me, “Bayan come here”.

My father told me, “Bayan come here”.

2. Gut, “Klins ek daf mn”.

Said, “Tissue a gave me”

She said, “They gave me a tissue”.

However, when *gut* is used to quote a question, it means *asked* (even if it is followed or not with a noun or a pronoun). Consider the following examples from the data:

1. Deyka mnži gut, "Eve çiya?"

Mother my asked, “This what is?”

My mother asked, “What is this?”

2. Mn Gute dayka xu, "Ez dşêm bçme wêrê?"

I asked mother my, “I may go there”

I asked my mother, “May I go there?”

Based on the native speaker intuitive knowledge (my personal communication), the main reporting verbs in Badini dialect are *gut* and *dbêžit*, whilst in Surani they are *gut*, *delêt* and *dbêžit*. These verbs are almost always used by Kurdish people to report the speech of others.

In contrast to the multiple voices that can be integrated within the reported events through forms of quotation, the voices of the narrative interlocutors, who are co-present in the “telling world” (“here and now”) of the narrative interaction, are also an important means by which evaluation and its social outcomes can be considered. According to Ochs and Capps (2001: 24), co-tellership refers to “the extent and kind of involvement of conversational partners in the actual recounting of a narrative”. Ochs and Capps were building on earlier work on Conversation Analysis, where Sacks (1992) and Jefferson (1978) emphasised that listeners play an essential role in the sequential development of a story, where they co-construct the story with the storyteller (Duranti, 1986). Rather than seeing the narrative as a stand-alone, monologic performance, this suggests that listeners have an active role in the unfolding of the story, even in contexts such as narrative interviews, where the teller is granted special floor holding rights (Lambrou, 2003).

From this perspective, as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 91) argue, stories are not narrator-centered but instead are told in collaboration by more than one speaker, so that the recipients’ reactions have a larger effect on the development of the story than was assumed in some earlier, Labovian narrative research. Thus, stories might be negotiated, disrupted or neglected (*ibid*), and they might also be prolonged or elaborated by the addition of some extra points on the part of the listener. As such “narrative activity becomes a tool for collaboratively reflecting upon specific situations and their place in the general scheme of life” (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 2).

The co-operative nature of co-tellership in previous (earlier) research can be accomplished through conversational co-construction features, which indicate the audience’s involvement. The features that indicate the listeners’ involvement include the completion of the teller’s utterance by either a word, phrase or clause (Coates, 1996; Goodwin, 1979 and Lerner 2002), the turn-taking devices such as “latching” (Coates 2005 and Norrick, 2000), laughter (Page, 2002), second stories (Jefferson, 1978 and Sacks, 1992), overt agreement and recognition questions (Mulholland, 1996), reported speech (Tannen, 1989 and 2007). Listeners could also indicate their involvement to the story by displaying explicit agreement found in expressions such as “I know what you feel” (Page,

2012: 26) and by using paralinguistic features such as intonation (Goodwin, 1986), voicing, voice quality and prosody (Günthner, 1999). Moreover, multiple tellers might participate in the storytelling through “duetting” making turn by turn contributions to the content of the story (Coates, 2005).

In earlier research, these interactional resources were found to occur in various places within the story structure. For example, Sacks (1992), Georgakopoulou (2005) and Jefferson (1978) emphasised the occurrence of those features in the opening of the story (the preface) in order to inform the listeners of the point of the story, and in turn prepare them for offering appropriate contributions to the story events. Sunakawa (2010) argued that features like laughter, and reported speech marked by a shift in prosody, were seldom found in the orientation section, emphasising instead the non-interactional nature of this stage. Likewise, Schifffrin (1984) indicated that the story closings are the places where much negotiation takes place between the teller and the listeners. This is because at the closure the narrator needs to use devices to signal that the story has reached its end, and the audiences need to show their understanding of the story.

Conventionally the interactional features of co-tellership signal the interlocutors' comprehension of the story (Gumperz, 1982). They indicate the tellers' success in conveying the point of their stories and display the recipients' analysis of the prior story (Monzoni, 2005); but the function of co-tellership goes further in enhancing the tellability of the story and establishing solidarity between participants. With respect to tellability, it is through the dialogic conversation that takes place between the speaker and the listener that both parties engage in social interaction, accomplishing moral stances and taking positions (Ochs and Capps 2001: 36). Solidarity is set up by identifying rapport (Norricks, 2000: 133 and 157)) and emphasising emotional relations that connect people (Tannen, 2007: 27). For this reason co-tellership may function as a tool by which the construction of shared social identities among interlocutors is performed, for example as an achievement of “coupledom” (Coates, 2005) or to promote family membership as a group (Norricks, 2000 and Georgakopoulou, 2005).

The resources used to indicate the involvement of co-tellers can also be used to interpret conflict, challenges, disaffiliation and confrontation in storytelling. These

outcomes of co-tellership were observed in argumentative stories such as those regarding family therapy complaints (Aronsson and Cederborg, 1994) and narratives about ethnic conflicts (De Fina, 2000). In these narratives, the interactants negotiate disputable claims through the shift of the participants' alignments. Displaying conflict towards the narrator by the listener can be established by changing the topics of the story, announcing the non-eligibility of the teller, by shifting telling roles (whereby the listener takes the role of the co-narrator or even the main narrator) (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 105), and also displaying disagreement (Günthner, 2008). However, dispute is not limited to argumentative stories; other types of stories also incorporate challenges. For instance in Goodwin's (1986) study, a challenge was established between the narrator and the listener while the listener attempted to challenge the narrator's expertise in the domain of car racing.

The various functions established by co-construction features also vary in relation to the topics of the stories, the cultural background of the interlocutors, the bilingual status of the participants and the story genres used to construe the participants' experiences. In terms of the topic, responses vary based on the knowledge or the familiarity that the listeners have of the subject matter and the extent of their connection with it. If the listener's knowledge is limited to a story topic, then it seems likely that minimal contributions will be presented. For example, in Goodwin's (1986) analysis of the story of car racing, although the women were listening to the story, they reacted with silence and gave very few contributions in comparison to the men (who were also present), since car racing was traditionally a male-oriented topic (in the context of that study, at least). Similarly, in the anecdote analysed by Eggins and Slade (1997: 149) about a bridge player, some listeners show greater participation than others. For example the expert players made a large contribution to the narrative, whilst the novice displayed lesser involvement as she lacked the expert knowledge of the technical terms used in that play, such as averages, percentages and boards. In a similar vein, when Korobov and Thorne (2007) examined mitigation as a response from the listeners to both stories of problematic and non-problematic romantic relationships, the findings revealed that in the problematic romantic stories, the listeners tended to use mitigation utterances more than in the non-problematic romantic stories. This

difference in the use of mitigation utterances in both types of stories suggests that the topics of the stories influenced the participation of the listeners.

In addition to the effects of the topic on the variety of co-tellership resources, researchers have explored how those features might vary cross-culturally. For example, Jen-Chang (2008) found that the British English listeners incorporated fewer accounts of contextualising questions than Taiwanese Mandarin listeners. Similar to the British listeners in Jen-Chang's research, in Tannen's (1989, 2007) study of narratives of Greek and American women in casual conversation, the American women used fewer interactional resources (constructed dialogue) than the Greek women. Other studies examined different co-construction features. For example, when Tsuda et al (2008) examined three conversations in English and two in Japanese, they found that native speakers of Japanese tended to employ back channels, laughter and pauses to construct or sustain rapport. However, speakers of native English tended to use shifting topics, without the use of pauses, to maintain the communication.

Although cultural context has been shown to influence the use of interactional resources in the participants' storytelling, the bilingual status of the narrators is also seen to result in different amounts of narrative involvement. For example, in her investigation of narratives of second language speakers, Bell (2007) explored how humour (laughter and jokes) was more limited in the narratives of L2 speakers in comparison to those of the native speakers. According to Bell, this feature hindered the interaction between the L2 and L1 speakers.

The last variable that is seen to have influence on the variation of interactional features is the story genre. Each type of genre affords a space for different interactional sources. For example, Georgakopoulou (2007) identified distinctive co-construction features in the small story genres of projections and shared stories. In projection stories, which entail planning for or arranging a meeting with friends, the stories include frequent requests for clarification, which unfolded turn-by-turn through out the story. However, interaction features in shared stories, which are assumed sometimes to be argumentative tools and called "group stories" (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 50), occur as a punch line rather than retelling of the events. These comments were short evaluative statements on the

known behaviour, action or performance (ibid) of the participants. Although the previous studies have thus far developed an emerging picture of types of co-tellership in narrative, there are recognisable gaps in that domain. For example, the investigation of co-tellership in terms of topic was mainly restricted to the question of whether listeners tended to respond to certain topics or withdraw themselves from the teller and keep silent, neglecting the examination of the occurrence of the interactional features in a wider range of topics. These interactional features have been investigated cross-culturally in particular narratives told by Japanese, Chinese, Greek, British and American speakers. However, none of those studies have examined these aspects in the narratives of Kurdish speakers. Similarly, no insights have been given to the investigation of the function and structural location of those interactional features in the stories told by Kurdish speakers. Finally, the investigation of interactional resources in terms of story genres was limited to projecting, argumentative stories (exemplums) and narratives, ignoring other story genres such as anecdotes and recounts. In order to address these gaps, this chapter will build on the previous studies of co-tellership referred to in this section, and will do so in order to answer the following questions:

1. Which types of multiple voices (reported speech and co-tellership resources) occur in the participants' stories and where do they occur within the story structure?
2. How do those features vary cross-culturally (in this case between the stories told by Kurdish and English participants)?
3. How do the types of multiple-voices vary according to the participants' multilingual status?
4. How does the use of these features vary according to the story genres and the different topics of story genres?

7.2 Methodology

As a first step, I identified all the instances of reported speech and the features associated with co-tellership from earlier literature in every story within the dataset at hand. This enabled me to identify the type and position of those features in the story structure. As a general rule some occurred more than others. The frequency of instances of reported speech and co-tellership resources is attained by calculating the total number of each type of these features out of their total number. For more clarity, the following equation presents the way I calculated the frequency of the reported speech and co-tellership resources: (i.e. The total instances of each type of reported speech and co-tellership resources ÷ the total number of all the types of co-tellership resources and reported speech × 100).

The summary of the frequency results is presented in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 The types and frequency of polyphony resources (reported speech and co-tellership resources) in all the participants' stories

Polyphony resources	Frequency	
	No	%
Direct speech	800	64.77%
Indirect speech	2	0.16%
Laughter	80	6.47%
Asking questions	85	6.88%
Evaluative statement	80	6.47%
Answers for the narrator's questions	1	0.08%
Apologies	1	0.08%

Repetition	3	0.24%
Back channels (hmm)	9	0.72%
Completion of narrator's words	12	0.97%
Giving information	22	1.78%
Exclamation	73	5.91%
Agreement	64	5.18%
Second story	3	0.24%
Total	1235	100%

Table 7.1 summarises the types of polyphony resources and their frequency as they occurred in this dataset. As these figures suggest, the polyphony constructed in the narrative events through direct speech was the most commonly used way of including the words of others. These examples of direct speech were used to animate the words of figures that were not present in the telling world (in the here-and-now of the narrative interaction). This is by no means surprising, as direct speech is well documented as a narrative resource that is used to achieve many similar ends to that of evaluation, such as dramatising climactic moments or indicating evaluative stance.

In terms of the interactional resources that signal co-tellership, the most frequent features seem to be questions, which made up 6.88% of the total number of all the polyphony resources. This was followed by both laughter and evaluative statements. Both occurred in exact similar proportions with 6.47% of the total number of polyphony resources. Although other features such as answering the narrators' questions, apologies, completion of narrators' words, giving information, agreement, exclamation and second story occurred in the participants' stories, they were very rare. The discussion will thus begin with the most frequent instances of polyphony, namely direct speech, laughter, evaluative statements and asking questions.

7.3 The co-construction features: Laughter, asking questions and evaluative statements

Laughter, questions and evaluative statements are part of the listeners' reactions, listeners who are physically co-present in the storytelling situation (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 25-27). Similar to reported speech, laughter, questions and evaluative statements, are positioning forms. These can be used by the listeners to align or misalign with the events, characters in the stories and the narrator. However, these interactional features vary in terms of co-construction in that some contain verbal content whilst others do not. The features that have verbal content include questions and evaluative statements. Laughter does not have verbal content. Although both evaluative statements and questions add further details to the narrative, they are both different. Evaluative statements are provided by the audiences, but questions prompt the narrator to supply background (contextual) information and clarifications about places, people and time. Examples are provided below.

In excerpt 7.2, when the English-speaking Kurdish participant Shila, explained how her teacher forced her to study and participate in the class, the listener Meera provided the attribute "scary" in line 4 to evaluate the teacher's behaviour and to support the narrator's "handling of the situation" (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 26).

Excerpt 7.2

15. And then (.) she came like, "Why do not you study? ↑ Why there are only
 two or three students studying and you are not?" ↑
16. And we were studying ↑ yeni honestly.
17. But is not like when someone.....
18. Meera But she was scary.

In excerpt 7.3, when the the English-speaking Kurdish participant Jin was talking about her nephew, the interviewer asked a question about his age in line 13, “How old is he?”, which prompted the narrator Jin to provide extra details in line 14, “He is ten years”.

Excerpt 7.3

- 11. I said, "How could they do that?" ↑
- 12. He said, "They do that and::: and(.) that is it".
- 13. Int. How old is he?
- 14. Jin He is ten years.

7.4 The position of direct speech and co-construction features in the story structure

The direct speech and resources used in the process of co-tellership (laughter, evaluative statements and questions) can also be compared in terms of their position in the story structure. As a more specific way of showing the functions of the reported speech and co-tellers' responses, I analysed their occurrence within the structural demarcation of the story used for this analysis, set out by Labov's (1972) elements of narrative (Coda, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda) and Martin and Plum's (1997: 302) elements of exemplum (Orientation, Incident, Interpretation and Coda), anecdotes (Orientation, Remarkable Event, Reaction and Coda) and recounts (Orientation, Record of Events, Reorientation). I divided the stages of the stories in the data (80 stories) into beginnings, middles and ends. The division of these stages is further clarified in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 The generic stages of story genres

	Beginning	Middle or climax	End
Narrative	Abstract-Orientation)	Complication-Evaluation	Resolution and Coda
Exemplum	Orientation	Incident	Interpretation (Coda)
Anecdote	Orientation	Remarkable event	Reaction (Coda)
Recount	Orientation	Record of events	Reorientation

I calculated the total number of direct speech and co-tellership resources in each stage in relation to the total number of words in each stage. The quantitative results are shown in Table 7.3 and Figure7.1.

Table 7.3 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story structure

Structure of the stories	Total length of each stage (number of words)	Direct speech		Laughter		Questions		Evaluative statements	
		Total NO.	%	Total No.	%	Total No.	%	Total No.	%
Beginning	7,984	54	0.67%	15	0.18%	14	0.17%	14	0.17%
Middle	23,691	539	2.27%	40	0.16%	38	0.16%	29	0.12%
End	9,762	207	2.12%	25	0.25%	33	0.33%	37	0.37%

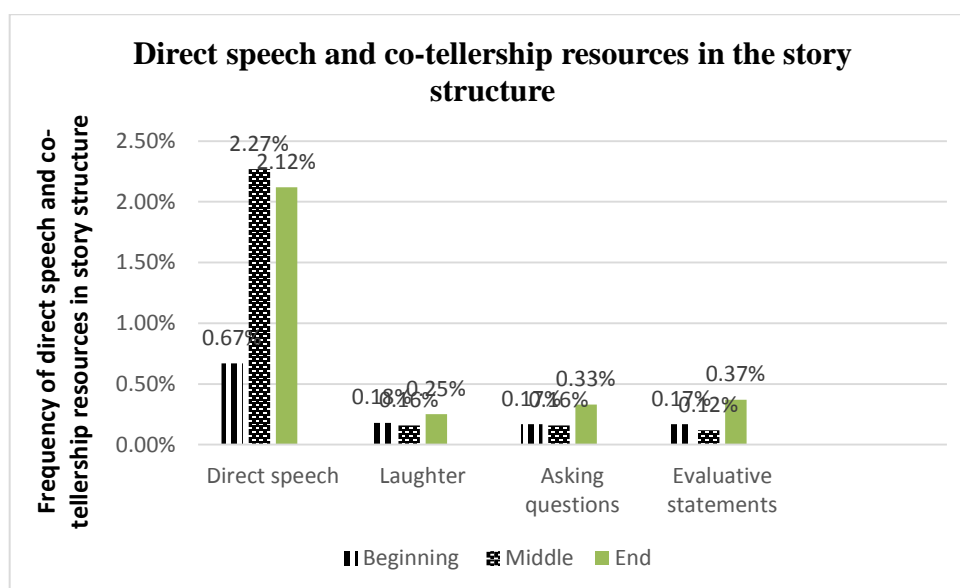


Figure 7.1 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story genres structure

The results in Figure 7.1 on the frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story structure suggest that whilst direct speech tended to occur in the middle and end phases of the story, all of the audiences' responses (laughter, questions and evaluative statements) tended to occur most frequently in the final stages of the story. This trend is both similar and different to patterns that have been observed by other researchers. The greater frequency of direct speech in the middle and end phases is not surprising given that the narrative climax and punch lines are often dramatised as the most tellable parts of the story. This is in line with Sunakawa's (2010) analysis of a Japanese storyteller's manipulation of the prosody, and voice quality in the direct speech of a Japanese story about her girlfriend and fiancé.

The high occurrence of questions in the end part of the story compared to the beginning and middle supports Schifffrin's (1984) claim that negotiation between the narrator and the listener increases close to the story ending. Likewise, the frequency of evaluative statements at the end stages confirms Georgakopoulou's (2005) findings, when she showed that evaluative statements occurred frequently in the end part of the stories at the punch lines. These trends could be pronounced in because I am looking at such small

figures here. However, the less frequent occurrences of laughter in the middle stages of the narratives in this study contradicted Sunakawa's (2010) results of laughter occurrence in these stages. In her study, Sunakawa found that laughter occurred more frequently around the climax (in the middle stage).

In spite of the differences in the placement of the direct speech, laughter, questions and evaluation in the story structure, the polyphony in these stories functioned similarly. They all serve as positioning resources and were used to mark the tellability of particular narrative content. However, the positioning that was achieved through these different voices varied, with the direct speech used to position the figures in the story, and the co-tellership resources positioning the narrator and audience relative to each other, and secondarily, to the figures in the story also. This means that there were many occasions when the two levels of positioning came together, and direct speech seemed to give rise to the indications of co-tellers' responses.

For example, in excerpt 7.4 which was taken from a story told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Ban, about her deaf uncle's recovery, the direct speech where the narrator animated the words of her uncle was used by the narrator to enhance the dramatisation of the events, and was followed by laughter.

Excerpt 7.4

8. He said, "What loudly voice are this?" ↑ Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))
9. They said, "Oh FATHER you-you hear US".
He said, "Yes, I hear you, speak slowly and lower your voice, I hear you, I am not deaf, I am not blind".
10. Then one of his (.)daughters was sitting far away from him.
11. She was saying, "Dad-dad, dad ".°
12. He looked at her and said, "What?"
13. she said, "OH YOU HEAR ME". Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))
14. He said, "I am not blind". Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))
15. He said, "I am not blind". Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))

The analysis of laughter is complicated and has many functions ranging from funny to repressive (Holmes, 2000). I could interpret the laughter used in excerpt 7.4 as “sharing humour” (Hay, 2000: 18). The listeners shared laughter with Ban when she revealed her deaf uncle’s reaction towards his children’s loud voice, as they had not yet adjusted to his recovery from deafness. Martin and Plum (1997), and Eggins and Slade (1997) suggest that affectual responses such as laughter create solidarity between the narrator and the listener; I would argue that the listeners’ laughter in lines 13, 14 and 15 did not merely show their amusement and interest towards the events, but rather it established solidarity and closeness between the interviewer and Ban. This established relation between the interviewer and Ban encouraged her to bring her story towards the end successfully.

In the closing stages, the moral stance of the narrator was emphasised through the positioning of the figures in the story, dramatised through the reported speech, then responded to by the involvement of the audience.

Consider excerpt 7.5, which is taken from the final stage of the story recounted by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Jin in the presence of the listener Meera about Jin’s cousin whose fiancé left her.

Excerpt 7.5

- 46. She said, "Your husnband did not accept my daughter because she is –she is not graduated".
- 47. Meera Did she ask for her hand?
- 48. Did they ask for her hand?
- 49. Jin Yes but the boy then refused.
- 50. She is very (.....)
- 51. Meera Yea very innocent.

In this excerpt there is a question in line 47, “Did she ask for her hand?”, and in line 48 there is a repaired version of the question in line 47, “Did they ask for her hand?”, where the speaker changed the pronoun *she* to *they* referring to Jin’s cousin’s relatives, who

intended to approach Jin's cousin. There is an answer to these questions in line 49, "Yes but the boy refused". The question and response structure in lines 47, 48 and 49 is referred to as an "adjacency pair" (Stenstrom, 1988: 307). It "consists of adjacency ordered first and second pair parts with the first part setting up constraints on the second" (ibid). Stenstrom referred to the adjacency pairs as "sequences" (p. 307) that have interactive functions (p. 307). As Schegloff (1984: 35) put it: "one thing might mean by an utterance being interactionally or conversationally a question is that it lays constraints on the next slot in the conversation of assort special to the Q-A pair type of adjacency pairs". Senstrom (1988) maintained that these adjacency pairs occur in conversation for clarification purposes. The question- answer sequence is identified by Schegloff (1972), and cited by Senstrom (1988: 318), as "insertion sequences". The pairs in lines 47, 48 and 49 can be called an insertion sequence, as the question in lines 47 and 48 demand responses from the narrator. In response, the narrator in line 49 provided an answer to the question rather than ignoring it or leaving it unanswered. The insertion section in this case accomplished "mutual understanding" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008: 44) between the narrator and the listener.

Once the insertion sequence was completed, the listener Meera contributed to the narrative by the evaluative statement in line 51 "Yea very innocent" showing her alignment with Jin against her cousin's fiancé who left her because she did not complete her studies. As such, Jin and Meera represented themselves as persons who refused oppression. More clearly, they considered Jin's cousin an innocent whose engagement should not be broken off for being unable to graduate from the institute.

7.5 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the stories told by the Kurdish and English speakers

As the analysis of intensification in Chapter five suggested that the participants in this study might have different rhetorical preferences in their narrative style, this section aims to explore how the reported speech and co-construction features varied in the stories told by English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English (ESKE), English-

speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish (ESKK), non-English speaking Kurdish participants (K) and English monolinguals (EM). As a starting point, I quantified the reported speech and the co-construction features by calculating the total number of their instances out of the total number of the words in the stories per participant in each group. (i.e. Total number of direct speech ÷ total number of words in the stories told by K × 100).

The quantitative results are summarised in Table 7.4 and Figure 7.2 below.

Table 7.4 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources by all the groups of participants

Groups of participant	Number of stories	Total length of stories (number of words)	Direct speech		Laughter		Asking questions		Evaluative statements	
			No.	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
K	20	14691	296	2.10%	13	0.08%	28	0.19%	37	0.25%
ESKE	20	9533	236	2.47%	22	0.23%	24	0.25%	14	0.14%
ESKK	20	6253	152	2.43%	18	0.28%	29	0.46%	17	0.27%
EM	20	10960	116	1.05%	27	0.24%	4	0.03%	12	0.10%

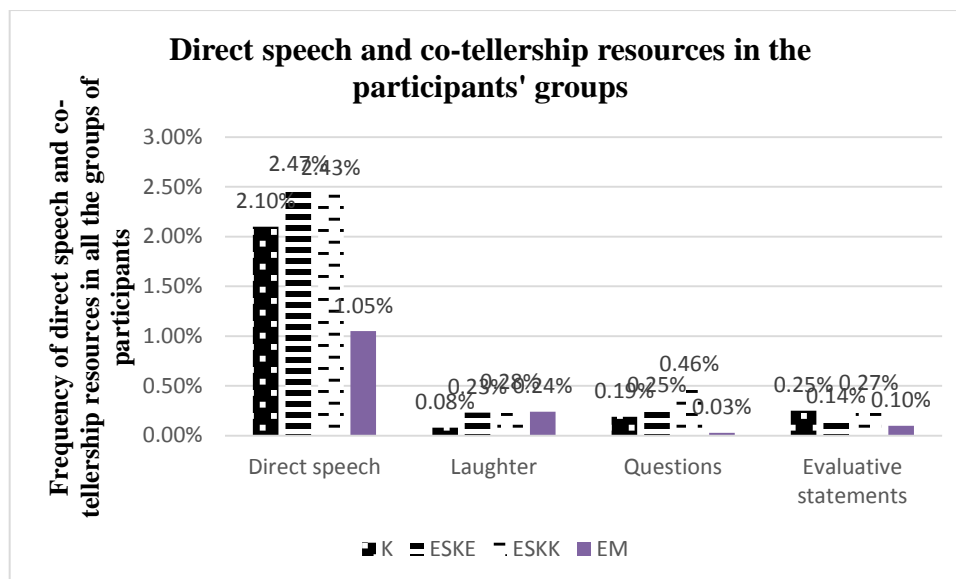


Figure 7.2 The frequency of direct speech and the co-tellership resources by all the groups of participants

The results suggest similarities and differences in the frequency of the direct speech and co-construction features in the stories told by Kurdish and English speakers. In terms of direct speech, it seems to be the most dominant for all the groups of speakers: Non-English speaking Kurdish participants 2.10%, English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English 2.47%, English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish 2.43% and English monolinguals 1.05%. However, direct speech appeared to be used more by Kurdish rather than English speakers. With respect to the co-tellership resources, for all the Kurdish groups, the most frequent feature was questions, which were used more by English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish at 0.46% and similarly by non-English speaking Kurdish participants with 0.19% and English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English for 0.25%. Questions were almost absent in the stories told by the English monolinguals and accounted only for 0.03%. On the other hand, English speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish and non-English speaking Kurdish participants used evaluative statements with similar percentages at 0.27% and 0.25% respectively. Evaluative statements occurred rarely by English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English with 0.14% and English monolinguals for 0.10%. Laughter was used with similar proportions by English monolinguals 0.24%, English-speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in Kurdish 0.28% and English-

speaking Kurdish participants who told stories in English 0.23%. In contrast, laughter occurred rarely by non-English speaking Kurdish participants and recorded with 0.08%.

Based on the quantitative results, it seems that the stories told by the Kurdish speakers (whether in Kurdish or in English) contained more instances of direct speech and co-construction features than the stories told by the English speakers. It was shown in chapter five, Kurdish women used a specific rhetorical style. They favoured repetition. It might be that Kurdish women favour reported speech as it is also a form of intensification (dramatization). On the surface, the frequency of the co-construction features in the stories told by Kurdish speakers suggests that culture might play some part in the relative norms for interaction between participants.

However, there are a number of explanations as to why the stories told by the Kurdish speakers might contain more instances of reported speech and co-construction than their English counterparts'. It might be due to the lower perceived social distance between the participants and the interviewer. In the data collection process, the Kurdish speakers knew each other and the interviewer very well. This was also the case in Tannen's (1989, 2007) study, where the interviewer and the Greek women knew each other. In contrast, in this study, the English speakers were not so familiar with interviewer. However, this could be only one reason. As seen in chapter six, the speakers from different groups tended to tell different types of story genres from each other. Whilst the Kurdish speakers (like the English speakers) told different types of story genres such as narratives, exemplums, anecdotes and recounts, some concerned events that were more problematic and dangerous than others. For example, some exemplums and narratives contained fraught topics involving the stories of conflict between Kurds and Arabs. Given that certain story genres might elicit particular types of co-constructive responses (such as anecdotes, which are hallmarked by laughter or emotional exclamations), the following sections will explore the variation of direct speech and the co-construction features in different types of story genres and different types of story genres topics that were told by the Kurdish and English speakers.

7.6 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in story genres

This section explores how direct speech, laughter, questions and evaluative statements are used differently in the exemplums, narratives, anecdotes and recounts. For this purpose, the total number of instances of each feature was normalised relative to the total number of words for each story genre. The quantitative results are shown in Table 7.5 and Figure 7.3 below.

Table 7.5 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in story genres

Types of story genres	Number of story genres	Number of words in each type of story genre	Direct speech		Laughter		Asking questions		Evaluative statements	
Anecdotes	13	3789	121	3.19%	29	0.76%	6	0.15%	4	0.10%
Exemplums	33	20010	367	1.83%	38	0.18%	52	0.25%	54	0.26%
Narratives	23	12360	297	2.40%	33	0.26%	13	0.10%	10	0.08%
Recounts	11	5278	53	1%	16	0.30%	5	0.09%	4	0.07%

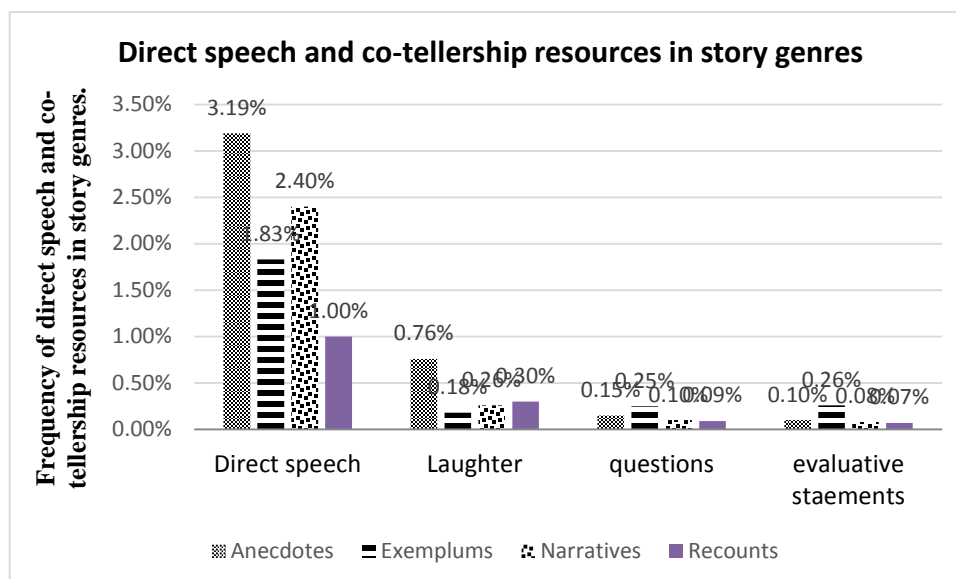


Figure 7.3 The frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the story genres

The results prompt a number of observations with regard to the frequency of the direct speech and co-tellership resources in the types of story genres. As with the other quantitative analysis, direct speech occurred more often than the resources of co-tellership. Unsurprisingly, given that the dramatizing function of reported speech is similar to that of evaluation, lower levels of direct speech were found in recounts, which are the story genres where evaluation is most likely to occur in the most diffused and least concentrated forms. When direct speech occurred in the other story genres, it heightened the socio-pragmatic function of the genre in question by emphasizing the narrative trouble in personal narratives, as well as humorous positioning in anecdotes, and moral conflict in exemplums. Each is illustrated below.

a. Direct speech in narratives

In the narrative told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Meera, the direct speech was used in order to emphasise and dramatise Meera's quarrel with her fiancé while attending their graduation party. Her fiancé refused to participate whilst she forced him to do so.

Excerpt 7.6

11. I called him/ no he called me
12. He told me, "Where are you?"
13. I=I told him "At studio".
14. He said, "Ok".
15. I told him "where are you are?" "Are you not coming?" ↑
16. He said, "No I am not coming". ↓
17. "WHERE ARE you? Why = yeni what is the matter?" ↑
18. He said, "No I am not coming". ↓
19. "What is my graduation day?"
20. He was upset because of something else and he did not want to come.
21. Any way I told him" No you are coming!" ↑
22. "It is not- yeni it is not a normal day that you cannot= are not coming".
23. "You have to come".
24. Then I hung up.

a. Direct speech in anecdotes

Excerpt 7.7 below is taken from an anecdote told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Ban about her family snow picnic. The reported speech in lines 24, 25, 26 and 27 heightens the humorous positioning of Ban blaming her husband for not helping her with throwing snowballs.

Excerpt 7.7

24. I said- I said "SHAME ON YOU, SHAME ON YOU, NO ONE DARE TO COME, I WAS A WOMAN AND DID THAT SHAME ON YOU".
Shila and Ban ((*laughter*))
25. And I called my husband and say, "SHAME ON YOU, SHAME ON YOU
Ban ((*laughter*)),he was beating me and I was your wife".

26. He said, "he is frightened when he saw us coming, he run away".
27. I said, "No , you did not dare to come".

c. Direct speech in exemplums

In excerpt 7.8 which is taken from an exemplum, told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Meera about her unjust boss, Meera emphasised her moral positioning towards her boss's unfair treatment towards the employees.

Excerpt 7.8

40. I told her, "I had to tell her -him ↑ because he must make –he must be justified".
41. He won't give you like that". "He must give me the same or not OK".
42. "Yeni giving you permission for month giving me permission for month otherwise I really do not accept".
43. She told me, "What –what you gonna do if you do not agree?"

In terms of the co-tellership resources, laughter occurred more in anecdotes than the other types of story genres. However, questions and evaluative statements were more frequent in exemplums in comparison to other story genres. It is unsurprising to find more instances of laughter in anecdotes as the nature of the events in this story genre project "affectual response" (Martin and Plum, 1997: 301). Consequently, the listener reacts with laughter. Consider the following example from the data.

Excerpt 7.9 was taken from an anecdote told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Shila in the presence of the listener Meera and the interviewer about a patient who did not realise that he was in the health centre.

Excerpt 7.9

4. Shila: W bu fehsekr w hêve w wêve bu derman nvesin w::: (.) fehsek.
And he checked him and prescribed him some medicines.
5. W gutê "Here (.)- here van (.) bebe w bdav xastê".
And told him "Here you are, take these to the hospital".
6. Gutê::: (.) "Dxtur ma ez lkirê me?"
He told him, "Doctor where am I?" ((*laughter*))

As this example shows, it might be funny that a patient goes to see a doctor in the health center but at the same time is unaware of where he is. This suggests that the appropriate type of involvement from the listener in this situation is to produce laughter in line 6 rather than ask a question, because the content is clear and does not demand more information or require any evaluative statements.

Evaluative statements (see Figure 7.4) were more frequent in exemplums because these story genres "share a judgement about a noteworthy incident" (Martin and Plum, 1997: 301). Consider the following exemplum in excerpt 7.10

Excerpt 7.10 is taken from an exemplum told by Shila about the mistreatment of her teacher in class. Shila told this story in the presence of Meera and the interviewer. Interestingly, the listener Meera is familiar with the teacher in question since Shila and Meera were classmates and this teacher was teaching them both in the department of English language at the University of Duhok. The shared knowledge about the teacher prompted Meera to contribute frequently to the story by evaluating the teacher's behaviour. This supports Lerner's (1992: 247) claim that a shared knowledge between the narrator and listener, establishes the latter as a co-teller.

Excerpt 7.10

13. Frankly speaking yeni because yeni all teachers are saying Like this," you are so stubborn trouble makers but still I like you." Shila ((*laughter*))
14. It was like this
15. And then (.) she came like," why do not you study ? ↑ why there are only two or three students studying and you are not?" ↑

16. And we were studying ↑ yeni honestly
17. But is not like when someone.....
18. Meera But she was scary.
19. She was...
20. Shila Yea
21. Meera She was somehow scary
22. Shila When....
23. Meera When she was in the class
24. Shila When....
25. Meera You cannot you cannot express you::;r idea or give her (.)
 the answer.
26. Shila Yea
27. Meera Because we are /the students were afraid that she will (.)
 mock at them.
28. Shila Yea she was like calling by names eeee you.
29. Meera Like primary school.
30. Shila Yea say this part.

When Shila talked about the teachers' way of treating the university students in her class as if they were in primary school, Meera misaligned with the teacher and positioned herself against her behavior of downgrading the student at the university level. Meera did so by contributing many evaluative statements in lines: 18, 21, 23, 25, 27 and 29.

Similar to evaluative statements, questions were also more frequent in exemplums (see Figure 7.4). This could be due to two reasons. Firstly, insufficient details had been given. Secondly, the events were so serious that they needed more elaboration and recognition. Similar to Mulholland (1996), who signaled recognition questions as forms of co-construction features, all the participants in this study acknowledged questions as strategies of interactional involvement that they might use in their stories. "If I emphasized on the story, I ask question about it" (Rozh-interview, 2013). To clarify how the seriousness of the events demands more questions, consider excerpt 7.11.

Excerpt 7.11

58. Tesirêt wesa dgel hebun heke tedet ba da bêži eve ya xastiye an ya xastiye
 She took such photos with him as if she was his fiancé or wife.
59. Int. Y'eni ne xast bu hêšta?
 Did not he ask for her hand?
60. Zerîn Ne –ne nexast bu.
 No, he did not ask for her hand
61. Hema bes mjered bxu gutboyê.
 He just told her that he loved her.

Excerpt 7.11 is a part of an exemplum told by Zerîn a Kurdish speaker who does not speak English, in the presence of Jin, Ilaf and the interviewer. The story is about a friend of Zerîn who was felt in love with the wrong person. Zerîn talked about her friend's incorrect behaviour of taking loving pictures with him. In the socio-cultural context of Kurdistan, the girl is not allowed to take photos with her lover outside of marriage and engagement. Thus, when Zerîn mentioned that her friend took some photos with her lover, the interviewer found it to be a very serious point. Thus, she asked in line 59 whether Zerîn's friend and her boyfriend were engaged.

In other cases, the question is asked in the exemplum to gain the missing details about the events. To clarify this point, consider excerpt 7.12 where Jin talked about her innocent female cousin who has been cheated on by her boyfriend.

Excerpt 7.12

1. Jin I have a friend eee when she was at (.)
 I guess was eight grade she loved her cousin (kore mamy
 ži bo w kore xaly ži bu. Translation: He was her cousin.).
2. Int. Ok
3. Jin And > her cousin was playing with her<↑ because her father was a rich man
 so he want to marry her because of his money.
4. Int. ((no no))

5. Jin But she was a small girl ↑so he waited till she:: end the school.
6. And go to college and something like that.
7. But she did not went to high school she went to the institute of Art.
8. Int. Hmmm
9. Jin Yes she continue till fourth year then she failed the Institute.
10. So she lefted the institute
11. She did not (.)
12. Shila There was only one year?
13. Jin Yes but she failed.

When Jin said that her cousin was studying at the Institution of Art until year four and then she failed in line 9, Shila intervened and asked a question in line 12, “There was only one year?”. The question contributed by Shila is an attempt to maintain a “ground for engaged understanding” (Duranti, 1986: 24). Specifically, Shila asked for more details concerning the time left for Jin’s cousin to graduate since Jin did not spell out that information clearly. In this case, time is considered as a tellable detail through which Shila enhanced her comprehension of Jin’s speech in lines 9 and 10. This confirms Gumperz’s (1982: 2) claim that co-tellership enhances the understanding of the story. However, comprehending the narrator’s speech by demanding more information is not the only goal of asking a question. According to Coates (1996), asking for more details maintains and enhances the friendship between the narrator and the listener. As such, Shila positioned herself as close to Jin and hence as a person who cares about and listens to others’ speech.

To summarise, it has been shown that different story genres elicited different types of co-tellership resources. Anecdotes projected more laughter compared to exemplums, narratives and recounts. However, exemplums elicited more evaluative statements and questions.

7.7 The variation of the direct speech and the co-tellership resources in different topics of story genres

Another way to compare story genres is to consider how the direct speech and the co-tellership resources are used in different topics of story genres. For this purpose, I divided the story genres, based on their topics, into two groups: problematic and non-problematic. This classification was built on three premises. Firstly, Labov's (1972) claim that problems are a universal experience but death is the most problematic. Accordingly, if things are recognised as universally problematic, such as threats on health, life, moral order and the struggle between good and bad, then the types of story genres (including narratives, anecdotes, exemplums and recounts) that contain such ideas are considered problematic. Secondly, following Hoey's (2001: 125-126) element of the problem-solution pattern where he maintains that negative evaluation lexical items could mark a problem for example, "I found that terrifying thought" the word 'terrifying' invokes a problem, the story genres that contain such negative lexical items are considered problematic. The third scale for highlighting problematic topics was assessed by means of overt evaluation (Martin, 1997:25) as in 'y'eni gelek ya ne xushe. (Translation: I mean it is very not nice).

The variation of direct speech and the co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic story genre topics was conducted by normalising the total number of instances of each type of co-tellership resources and direct speech, relative to the total number of words for problematic and non-problematic story genres. The quantitative results are summarised in Tables 7.6, 7.7, 7.8, 7.9 and Figures 7.4, 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 below.

Table 7.6 The variation of the direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes

	Word count	Direct speech		Laughter		Evaluative statements		Questions	
Problematic anecdotes	3411	109	3.19%	20	0.58%	2	0.05%	6	0.17%
Non-problematic anecdotes	378	12	3.17%	9	2.38%	2	0.52%	0%	0%

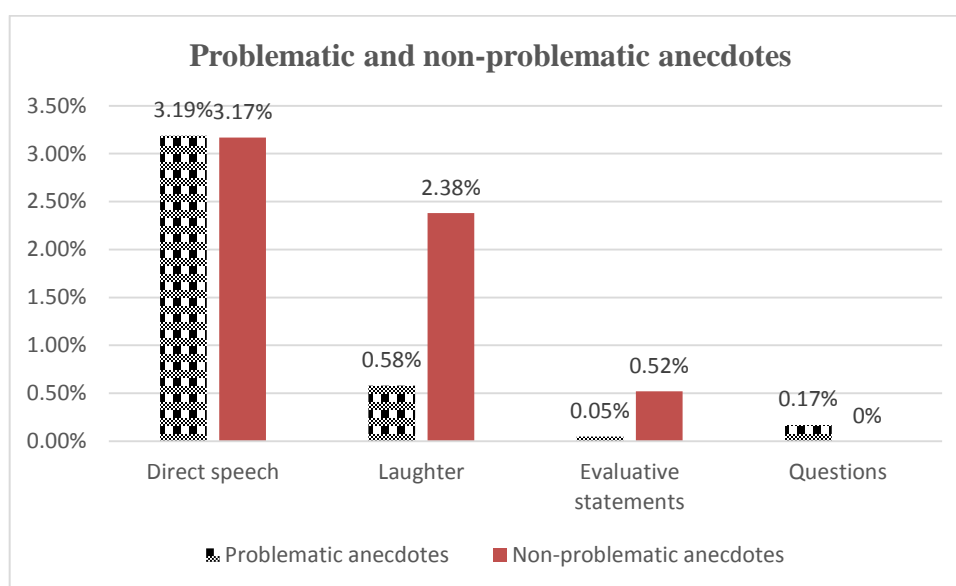


Figure 7.4 The variation of direct speech and co-tellrship resources in the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes

The comparison of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes in Figure 7.4 prompts similarities and differences. Direct speech was used similarly in both problematic and non-problematic anecdotes. However, laughter was very frequent in the non-problematic anecdotes in comparison to the problematic ones.

Likewise, evaluation was used more in the non-problematic anecdotes compared to the problematic ones. However, questions occurred rarely in problematic anecdotes but were absent in the non-problematic ones.

A different picture emerged when the results for direct speech and co-tellership resources were normalised in the problematic and non-problematic recounts. The quantitative results are presented in Table 7.7 and Figure 7.5 below.

Table 7.7 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts

	Word count	Direct speech		Laughter		Evaluative statements		Questions	
Problematic recounts	2293	31	1.35%	9	0.39%	2	0.08%	4	0.17%
Non-problematic recounts	2985	22	0.73%	7	0.23%	3	0.10%	1	0.03%

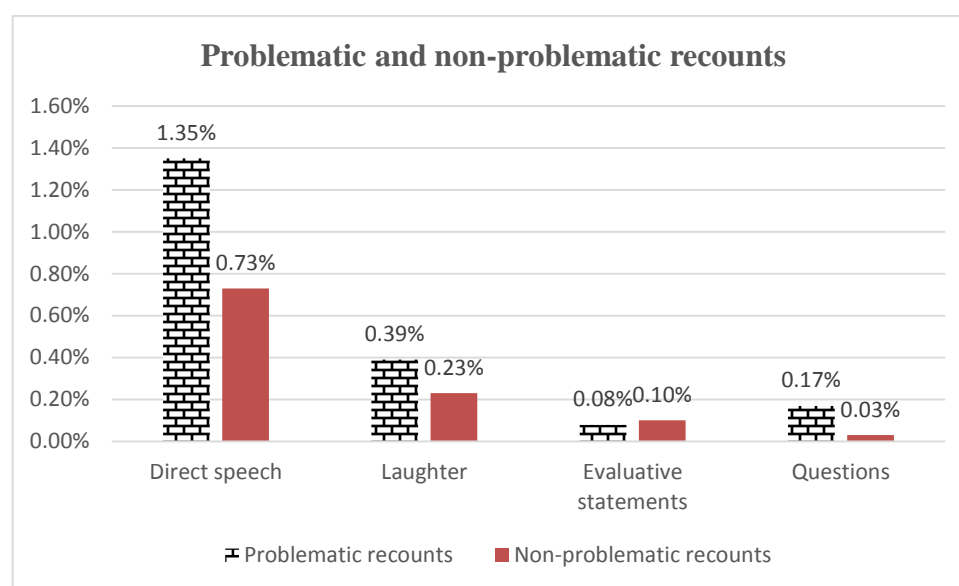


Figure 7.5 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts

The results suggest that direct speech, laughter and questions were used more in the problematic recounts in comparison to the non-problematic ones. However, evaluative statements were employed similarly in both types of story genre topics.

Given that the participants did not tell any non-problematic exemplums or narratives, the variation of the direct speech and co-tellership resources will be only calculated in the problematic exemplums and narratives¹⁰. The quantitative results are presented in Tables 7.8 and 7.9 and Figures 7.6 and 7.7.

Table 7.8 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic exemplums

	Word count	Direct speech		Laughter		Evaluative statements		Questions	
Problematic exemplums	20010	367	1.83%	38	0.18%	54	0.26%	52	0.25%

¹⁰ The results of the variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in problematic exemplums and problematic narratives will be the same as appeared earlier in section 7.6, Figure 7.4 about the variation of the direct speech and co-tellership resources in different types of story genres. In this section, I present the results for both the problematic exemplums and narratives in separate tables and Figures.

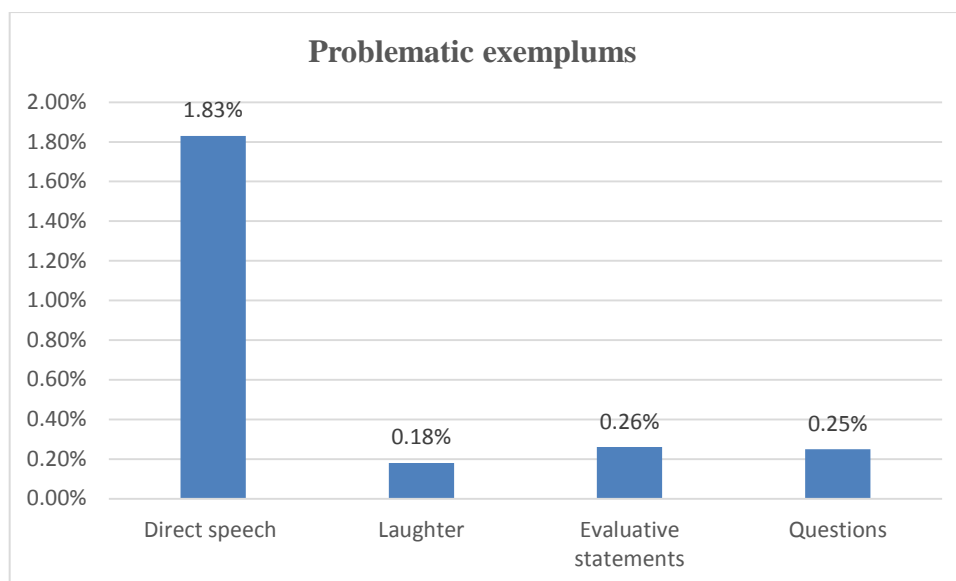


Figure 7.6 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic exemplums

The results suggest that direct speech was used more than all the co-tellership resources. In terms of the co-tellership features, evaluation and questions were used more frequently than laughter.

The variation of direct speech and co-construction features in problematic narratives is presented in Table 7.9 and Figure 7.7

Table 7.9 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic narratives

	Word count	Reported speech		Laughter		Evaluative statements		Questions	
Problematic narratives	12360	297	2.40%	33	0.26%	10	0.08%	13	0.10%

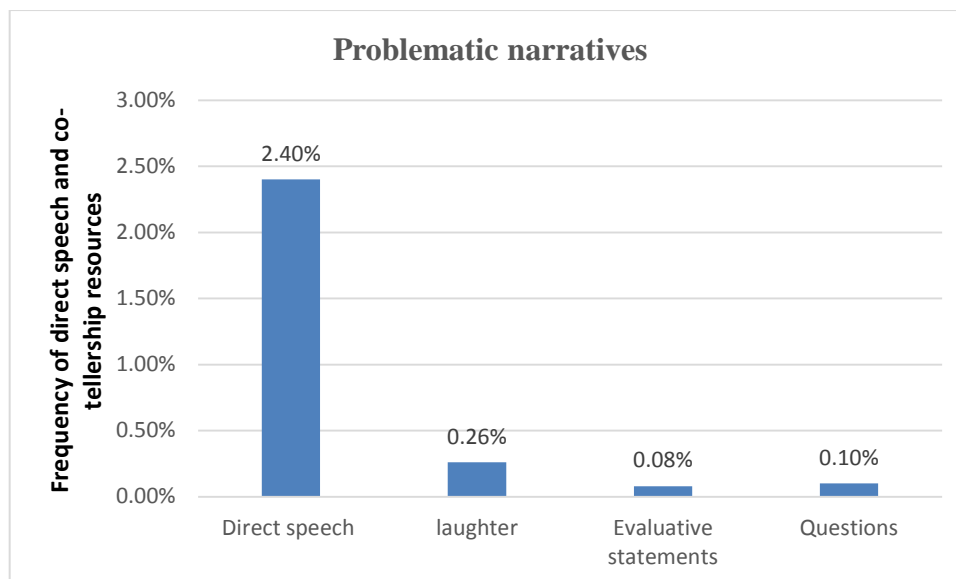


Figure 7.7 The variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic narratives

Similar to the earlier quantitative comparisons in Figure 7.7, Direct speech was more frequent than all the co-tellership resources. In terms of the co-tellership resources, laughter is employed more frequently than evaluation and questions.

To summarise, the analysis of the frequency of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic story genres prompted similarities and differences between story genres of different topics. Problematic and non-problematic anecdotes did not show any differences in terms of direct speech, as it was used in almost equal proportions in both types of anecdotes. However, with respect to the co-tellership resources, there are differences in the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes. Laughter and evaluative statements were used frequently in the non-problematic anecdotes in comparison to their problematic counterparts. Whilst questions were employed in the problematic anecdotes; none were used in the non-problematic ones. In contrast, problematic and non-problematic recounts were different in terms of the uses of direct speech. It was more frequent in the problematic recounts compared to the non-problematic ones. Problematic and non-problematic recounts were also different in terms of some co-tellership resources. In the problematic recounts, laughter and questions were more frequent compared to the non-problematic ones. However, problematic and non-problematic recounts are similar in terms of the use of evaluative statements. They were used equally in

both types of recounts. In problematic exemplums, direct speech occurs in the first place followed by evaluative statements and questions, whereas, few instances of laughter were found in exemplums. Similarly, direct speech was ranked the most frequent in narratives followed by laughter. However, evaluative statements and questions were rare in problematic narratives.

7.8 The use of problematic and non-problematic story genres by all the groups of participants

This section aims to explore how the groups of participants used problematic and non-problematic story genres in terms of frequency. The results of this analysis will be compared to those in the earlier section of the variation of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic story genres, in order to find out that the reason Kurdish and English speakers use direct speech and interactional features in their stories differently, is not merely cultural, but instead, it is the interplay between culture and the topics of story genres. The frequency of the topics of story genres were normalised by calculating the total number of each story genre topics per each participant group, relative to the total number of these story genre topics for all the groups of participants.

Table 7.10 The frequency of the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes by all the groups of participants

Participants	Number of problematic anecdotes		Number of non-problematic anecdotes	
K	2	17%	0	0%
ESKK	5	42%	1	50%
ESKE	4	33%	1	50%
EM	1	8%	0	0%

The results show that Kurdish women told more problematic anecdotes compared to English women. Whilst the English-speaking Kurdish participants told the exact number of non-problematic anecdotes in English and Kurdish, the non-English speaking Kurdish women and English monolinguals did not tell any non-problematic anecdotes.

A different picture was observed when the number of problematic exemplums was normalised for the groups of participants in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 The frequency of problematic exemplums by all the groups of participants

Groups of participants	Number of problematic exemplums	
K	14	42%
ESKK	8	24%
ESKE	7	21%
EM	4	12%

The results suggest that all the Kurdish speakers used problematic exemplums more than the English monolinguals. However, the non-English speaking Kurdish women told more problematic exemplums than the English-speaking Kurdish participants (both in Kurdish and English).

All the participants in this study told problematic narratives only. The percentage of the number of problematic narratives per each group of participants is summarised in Table 7.12

Table 7.12 The frequency of the problematic narratives by all the groups of the participants

Groups of participants	Number of problematic narratives	
K	5	21%
ESKK	5	21%

ESKE	7	30%
EM	6	26%

The findings suggest that all the groups of participants told almost similar amounts of problematic narratives with, slightly more used by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in English.

A different picture emerged when the number of problematic and non-problematic recounts was aggregated for each group of participants. The results are presented in Table 7.13 below.

Table 7.13 The frequency of problematic and non-problematic recounts by all groups of the participants

Participants	Number of problematic recounts		Number of non-problematic recounts	
K	0	0%	0	
ESKK	0	0%	0	
ESKE	1	33%	0	
EM	2	66%	7	100%

Table 7.13 shows that the English monolinguals used frequent amounts of problematic and no-problematic recounts compared to the Kurdish speakers. They did not use them except the English speaking Kurdish participants used 33% of the problematic recounts in English.

To summarise, the frequency of the problematic and non-problematic story genres in each participant group suggested similarities and differences between the groups of participants. They are similar in that all told almost similar proportion of problematic narratives. However, the participants are different in that all the groups of Kurdish women, tended to tell more problematic anecdotes and problematic exemplums compared to the

English women who tended to tell high frequencies of non-problematic recounts. The frequent proportions of problematic anecdotes, narratives and exemplums in the groups of Kurdish women might be a reflection of the problematic context in Iraqi Kurdistan in terms of politics and social issues.

Putting the quantitative results of the variations of direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic story genres, with that of the number of problematic and non-problematic story genres told by all the groups of participants prompted three observations. Firstly, the fact that Kurdish women's stories were more dramatised (contained more instances of direct speech) might be because the Kurdish women told more problematic and non-problematic anecdotes and these topics of story genres elicited a high proportion of direct speech. Secondly, the fact that the stories told by Kurdish women were more interactional (contained more co-tellership resources, particularly questions and evaluative statements), might be due to that Kurdish women told a greater number of problematic exemplums and this topic of story genres elicited frequent instances of co-tellership resources. Thirdly, the English monolinguals told a higher proportion of non-problematic recounts, and this kind of story genre included few instances of direct speech and co-tellership resources. This might be a potential reason for why the stories of personal experiences told by the English women were less dramatized and less interactional in comparison to the stories told by the Kurdish women.

Although the earlier quantitative analysis showed that direct speech and co-construction features varied in the problematic and non-problematic story genres, direct speech and co-construction features are related (as mentioned earlier). The next section will explore how this relationship works in terms of positioning, to differentiate between story genre topics and hence constructing the cultural identities of the participants in the problematic exemplums, problematic narratives, problematic and non-problematic anecdotes and recounts.

7.9 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in problematic exemplums

For the purpose of analysing the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in terms of positioning, I chose a problematic exemplum which depicts the ethnic conflict between Kurds and Arabs. This story was told in English by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Meera about her Arab teacher and how she insulted the Kurdish students in the class. Meera told this story in the presence of Angel, Jin and the interviewer.

Excerpt 7.13

1. We had –had a teacher.
2. She was good - really good.
3. But she always used to talk about Kurdish people.
4. You know how? For example we are Kurdish ok.
5. Ye’ni we are in the class.
6. And she would ask something and no one would answer her .
7. May be she was new, maybe beacuseit was difficult.
8. Any way there are hundreds of reasons.
9. She was like,"((Ha)) entu, entu, you you don’t not know nothing who you are you are Kurds".
10. Int. Mis Manal?
11. Meera No I donot want to mention her name.
12. Int. Ok sorry
13. Meera "You are(.) just stupid!"
14. "You are/ you do not know nothing".
15. "You do not have the mind to think".
16. A= a=a classmate she was like in her forties, she was (.) old/ she was older than us.
17. She always shows off like "I am really/ I am Kurdish and I defend".
18. Angel Patriot

19. Meera Hmm
20. Angel Patriot
21. Meera Yea patriot
22. And ((*ehh*))and you know when she was talking us like that, she= sh
=we =all laughed at her.
23. I was looking at her, "Why do you laugh at her?"↑
24. Do you know what she is= the teacher indirectly was saying,
25. "You are stupid, generally Kurdish people are stupid".
26. Then she was like, "When I was in BAGHDAD – when I was in
Baghdad, they were just different from you."
27. "They were doing this".
28. "They were doing that and you are not".
29. "They were studying".
30. "They were really students, but you are here to::: (....)".
31. And the other girl was just, all them actually were laughing at her
32. And I was not laughing at her she was respecting me most because I
did not laugh at who(.) I am ok and.
33. I always was telling my friends, "Please do not laugh- please do not
laugh when she is talking".
34. She used to say funny things.
35. But it was like (.), offending us,
36. but indirectly.
37. And they could not understand.

The analysis of this story prompted two different observations. Firstly, although both positioning level 1 (by using direct speech) and level 2 (by employing co-tellership resources) were used, the use of positioning level 1 created a range of distancing effects between the narrator (Meera) and the protagonists in the story. The way the narrator animated the Arab teacher's voice in a pejorative way to Kurds in line 9, "Ha, (entu, entu) you- you do not know nothing, who you are you are KURDS", reveals the narrator's strong

sense of condemnation towards the Arab teacher, distancing herself from the Arab teacher's voice of pejorative superiority. Similar examples of distance positioning were found in lines 13, 14, 15 and 25.

However, the distance positioning was not merely created between the narrator and the Arab teacher but also between the narrator and the Kurdish students in lines 23, 'I was looking at her, "Why do you laugh at her?"' and line 33, 'I said, "Please do not laugh-please do not laugh when she is talking"'. The narrator rejected the Kurdish students' laughter in response to the Arab teacher's insults, thinking that it is offensive to the Kurdish identity in two ways. Firstly, laughter in this case might imply mockery towards the teacher. Secondly, laughing at the Arab teacher signals the Kurdish students' acceptance of the Arab teacher's insults towards Kurds. This implication of the laughter is reinforced by almost all the participants when they were shown the analysis of this story. In response to the question "In this story, the laughter strategy employed by the Kurdish students is interpreted as offensive to the Kurdish identity. Do you agree or disagree? How do you interpret this strategy?", the participant Angel replied "Yea, I really agree with you. It is offensive. They do not have to laugh because laughing. If you are speaking and I am laughing it means I am really agreeing with what you are saying about me". However, only one of the participants (English monolingual) interpreted the laughter strategy as an implication of mockery towards the Arab teacher as Rose said, "It could be it is a sign of disrespect". Based on my experience as I lived in Iraqi Kurdistan for almost all my life, I prioritise the implication of laughter as offensive to the Kurdish identity because it signals the Kurdish students' acceptance of the Arab teacher's insults.

In this example (excerpt 7.13) ethnicity is signaled as an important construct by Meera. She reproduces the ethnic identity of the antagonist (Arab teacher) in relation to the choice of words in line 13 "stupid", syntax (negation, imperative mode in lines 9, 13, 14 and comparisons in lines 26 and the paralinguistic features such as falsetto voice and loudness in line 9, representing the Arab teacher as impolite and aggressive and therefore reinforcing an ideological representation of Arabs as characterised by racism. At the same time the narrator (Meera), as a character in the story world, used paralinguistic features such as rising intonation as well as negation and imperative mode. She rejected the laughter

as a confrontation strategy that was used by the Kurdish students against the Arab teacher in lines 23 and 33, indexing her (Meera's) patriotic identity and therefore emphasising the ideological representation of Kurds as those who refuse any offending actions from Arabs as patriots and vice versa. The widespread discourse in Iraqi Kurdistan is that Kurds who accept any verbal violation from outsiders (not Kurds), particularly Arabs, towards the Kurdish identity are considered non-patriots. In this case, the Kurdish students' use of laughter constructed their identities as non-patriots.

Secondly, the reported speech prompted two instances of co-tellership resources: the nominal category "Mis Manal" in line 10 and the descriptive category "patriot" in line 18. *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines "patriot" (Hornby, 2000: 929) as someone who loves his/her country and is always ready to defend it. The categorisation of "patriot" is used by the participant Angel to evaluate the Kurdish student's reported utterances of showing off that she is ready to defend her Kurdishness¹¹ against others (in this case Arabs) in line (17). However, the category "patriot" in the current situation is used sarcastically and does not index the dimensions of defence against enemies. This is inferred from the narrator's use of the reporting verb "showing off" in line 17. Thus, the contribution of the listener Angel created her distanced positioning from the Kurdish girl's behaviour in line 17 and her alignment with the narrator's view towards the Kurdish students. As such, the reported speech could prompt the co-construction of evaluation that could reinforce a shared moral position. This is emphasised by one of the participant's responses to the question "How do you show your agreement with the narrator". Some English-speaking Kurdish participants said that they might agree with the narrator by offering evaluative information. Angle said that she will use "cool man, I love that" and Jin said, "In in my opinion listeners show their agrees with the narrator and share opinion when there is something has a connect with their feeling and identity or something like that. So we get out of stories just I say it in a... we get out of stories and we share our opinion. We define (defend) our identity" (Jin-interview, 2013).

¹¹ In the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, defending the Kurdish identity entails that Kurds must not accept any verbal or physical violation from Arabs.

7.10 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in problematic narratives

For the purpose of analysing the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in terms of positioning in the problematic narratives, I chose a story told by an English-speaking Kurdish speaker. Excerpt 7.14 is taken from a problematic narrative *In the class*, which is told by Meera in the presence of her friends Shila, Angel and Jin as well as the interviewer. This story depicted a quarrel between Meera and her teacher in the class.

Excerpt (7.14)

16. And once my friend(.) she was beside me asked something
17. And sometimes you have to answer immediately because otherwise
She won't understand the who:::le lesson
18. and that would be much more difficult to exp-explain to her after
the lesson.
19. I explained to her on a piece of paper.
20. And (.) just a few words
21. and he told me, "Meera, why do not you/ why do you, talk?"
22. I said, "Sir, I did not talk".
23. "WELL YOU TALK I AM NOT BLIND MARIA"
24. "WHY DID YOU TALK?"
25. I told him, "I did not talk".
26. "YEA YOU TALK TO (.)YOUR FRIEND".
27. I was like I became really angry because I did not talk
28. and if I had talked I,.. say I desearve it
29. and keep silent
30. but I became really angry
31. and then I did not participate in the class

32. and >you know it was really like that if I do not participate in the class
non of them will participate in the class because other clever students they
wanted to keep the information for themselves not raised their hands any
way<
33. and he was like/ he-he-he asked questions "who knows this who knows
that".
34. And I was just looking on the ground,
35. and my eyes were full of tears.
36. and he- he-he knew that I am really angry.
37. Then he before he left the lesson was over, he said the names who
absentees
38. Meera "I did not say yes".
39. He-he took his glasses off like,"Meera why do not you say yes".
40. I told him,"Because you know that I am here yeni few minutes ago you
had a quarrel with me yeni why (...)".
41. He was,"Thank you Meera you respect me so much".
42. He said like that
43. And I did not say anything
44. And then he went to Dr. Adnan
45. Jin ((uhuh))
46. Meera He went to Dr. Adnan.
47. He told him,"Meera did not respect me (.) I said/ I called her name
and she did not say yes".
48. And Dr. Adnan called me ((laughter)), "Come here Maria why did
you do that?"
49. He know I wont do such things.
50. I was a good/ a clever student.
51. And I told him,"Sir because I mean (.....)".
52. Jin It is full
53. Meera I told him, "Sir, because ye'ni put you in my situation yeni if the
teacher quarrels with you =for= some minutes. what are the

- absentees to know who is there and who is not right and you know I am there".
54. And told me, "NO" Dr. Adnan became really angry and told me
55. "No, you should not do this is not the way you respect teachers
56. I told him, "He made me really angry".
57. And the worst thing was that , " you have to apologize to him."
58. Jin Hmmm
59. Meera I told him, " but I am not wrong. He is wrong."
60. He told me, "You have to apologize".
61. And then I said like to my self, " ok he is my teacher any way we are together."
62. I was afraid that he wou- he would revenge me with marks yeni marks(.) killed me.
63. Shila Yea
64. Int. Lazgina
65. Meera Yes exactly
66. Jin, Shila, Interviewer and Meera ((*laughter*))
67. Int. I know this from their (.) behavior.
68. Meera I went to him I told him, " Sir, I want to apologize for the day I was (...) "
69. He said, "I wont accept you apology. You have to apologize infront of the students".
70. Jin Oh my God
71. Meera I was I / told him, "SIR PLEASE, I MEAN I HAD NOT TO COME BUT I CAME BECAUSE DR ADNAN TOLD ME, AND NOW YOU ARE TELLING ME TO COME INFRONT OF THE CLASS. I MEAN, YOU-YOU-YOU SAID-TOLD ME SOMETHING WAS NOT TRUE, THEN WHY SHOULD I COME?"
72. He told me, "Do not enter the class".
73. Ohhhhhhhh Meera ((*laughter*)).
74. Angel These are two- these are two

75. Meera What?
76. Angel These are two times.
77. Meera Two times
78. Don't enter the class
79. Shila ((*laughter*))
80. Angel (....)
81. Jin Yes
82. Meera What are you saying?
83. Shila and Angel (...)
84. Meera Yea then I called Dr. Ahmed.
85. He was not there , >"Dr. Adnan, please he is telling me to come in
front of the class". <
86. He told me,"Do not go".
87. He told me, "Don't go".

Although the problematic narrative *In the class* afforded space for both level 1 and 2 positioning, level 1 positioning was more dominant than level 2 where direct speech was used in lines: 22-26, 33, 38- 41, 47, 48, 53-57, 59-61, 69,71, 72 and 85-87. The prolific use of reported speech in this story helped the narrator (Meera) to shift from her role in the telling world as the main teller, and to manipulate diverse participants' roles within the story world. For example, she acted as the animator by bringing characters to life as in 'He told me," Meera, why do not you/ why do you, talk?', line 21 where she created her teacher and the head teacher as figures (antagonists) in the story. Sometimes she assumed the role of animator, principal, author and figure simultaneously, as evidenced with her first person report of her own speech, 'I said,"Sir, I did not talk"', line 22. In this example, Meera animated herself as a figure in the story and also as a participant who is responsible for the actions quoted with taking a position towards it. As Eggins and Slade (1997) maintained, in the process of storytelling the participants assume roles in order to position themselves, and in turn to interpret a moral stance.

In this problematic narrative, the protagonist and narrator is the same person and is a female but the antagonists are males (the teacher and the head teacher). Reporting the antagonists' speech Meera did not only animate them in lines 23-25, 39, 41,47,48 but also showed her misalignment, alignment and distancing from them. She distanced herself from her teacher's accusation that she had been talking in class, from her head teacher who attempted to convince her to apologise and her teacher who demanded an apology from her in front of all the students.

Throughout all parts of this narrative the narrator (Meera) reproduces a relationship between identity and the context of education, presenting her teacher as aggressive and hence reinforcing an ideological representation of the educational system in Iraqi Kurdistan, as characterised by strictness. When the antagonist's (the teacher) speech was reported, his use of syntax and paralinguistic features indexes an unjust and strict identity. For example after Meera explained a point to her friend on a piece of paper, she said, line 21, 'He told me, "Meera, why do not you/ why do you, talk?"', then in line 23, "WELL YOU TALK I AM NOT BLIND MARIA", followed by line 24, "WHY DID YOU TALK?", and line 26, "YEA YOU TALK TO (.)YOUR FRIEND". These utterances indexed the powerful (controlling) and strict identity of the teacher through the choice of zero reporting verbs, negation, questioning, the prosodic feature of loudness, and stress.

In other parts of this narrative, when the protagonist's (Meera) utterances were reported, they indexed a powerful and confident identity. These types of identities are constructed through the use of different linguistic features clustered with the reported speech resources. For example, when Meera rejected and resisted her teacher's accusation, she used negation in lines 22, 'I said, "Sir, I did not talk"', and and line 25, 'I told him,"I did not talk"'. The protagonist (Meera) is also characterised by using another feature when she reported her speech to address her teacher. This feature is the use of the second person pronoun "you". When the teacher called Meera's name in the class and she did not answer, the teacher asked her why she was not answering. Meera said in line 40, 'I told him,"Because you know that I am here ye'ni few minutes ago you had a quarrel with me yenî why (...)'. This utterance indexes Meera's powerful and controlled identity through the choice of the second person pronoun "you" and the word choice "quarrel". Meera did not just resist and argue with her teacher, but also with the head teacher. Meera argued

against the head teacher's request to apologise to the teacher line 55 and 'I told him,"But I am not wrong. He is wrong"', line 59. The powerful identity of Meera is constructed while she accused her teacher of being wrong through the use of negation and the word choice "wrong". However, at the end she agreed to apologise to her teacher on the understanding that he did not reduce her exam marks, but her teacher did not accept the apology unless it was performed in front of the class. In response to this request in line 71, Meera said, 'I was I/told him,"SIR PLEASE ye'ni HAD NOT TO COME BUT I CAME BECAUSE DR AHMAD TOLD ME AND NOW YOU ARE TELLING METO COME INFRONT OF THE CLASS ye'ni YOU-YOU-YOU TOLD ME SOMETHING WAS NOT TRUE THEN WHY SHOULD I COME? "'. This utterance again indexes Meera's powerful and confident identity through the use of negation, imperative mode, the repetition of the second person pronoun "you", and the prosodic feature of loudness within reported speech, refusing to apologise in front of the class and accusing her teacher of being a liar. The association between the stylisation of speech between a female student and her male teacher is indexically produced via a widespread ideology for women's educational rights in Iraqi Kurdistan, in which women are constructed as equal to men, and as having an important position in the educational context.

In addition to the function of moral stance that is probed by the shift in the participants' roles, these roles are also used to recruit the listeners to the story (Georgakopoulou and De Fina, 2012: 106). This is evidenced in most parts throughout the development of the story, whereby listeners' contributions were prompted by clusters of direct speech. For example, the backchannel "hmmm" in line 58 appeared as a reaction to Meera's teacher's request for an apology. Also the exclamation phrase "Oh my God!" line 70 appeared in response to the reported dialogue between Meera and her teacher, who refused her apology unless it was performed in front of the class. In addition, the exclamation resource 'ohhhhh' and laughter in line 73 are produced by the participants when Meera reported her argument with the teacher, refusing to apologise in front of the class, and her teacher's decision to prevent her from attending his class. Those co-construction features, which are classed as level 2 positioning, created listener alignment with Meera against the teacher's recurrent unacceptable behaviour. This indexed Meera's and the listeners' rejection of the strict educational system in Iraqi Kurdistan.

7.11 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non-problematic and problematic anecdotes

7.11.1 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic anecdotes

For the purpose of analysing the relationship between the direct speech and co-tellership resources in terms of positioning in the problematic anecdotes, I chose a problematic anecdote (excerpt 7.14) told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Ban. She talked about an ugly man who knocked at the gate whilst she was cooking in the kitchen. Ban told this story in the presence of the interviewer.

Excerpt 7.14

1. Ban Last month or two month ago, I do not know I was cooking in the chik..
2. Int. Kitchen
3. Ban Kitchen.
4. I was cooking lunch- I was cooking lunch.
5. It was 21:30
6. I do not know
7. Or maybe 1:00.
8. I was cooki:::ng.
9. I heard [tink] knocking at the door.
10. I look through the window ha:::.
11. I saw (Ban ((*laughter*))) ta:::ll ugly thin man knocking ding-ding-ding[at the door.He:::.....
12. I just run run out of the kitchen
13. and screamed

14. And one of my desh-sister in law "What happened?"
15. > "Ugly man–ugly man"<
16. Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))
17. She just look through the window just screamed "WA:::::".°
18. I told them, >"come on –come on lets go to this room, no to that room<.
Ban ((*laughter*))
19. We went to one room
20. Int. Oh my God
21. Ban And I told them, "lets lock the door".
22. We lock the door for two::: minutes.
23. We were discussing, "what shall we do-what shall we do".°
24. Then suddenly we opened the door slowly,
25. and came came to the kitchen.
26. We look through the window.
27. There was no man there.
28. We just said (Bayan ((*laughter*))) –we just said,"O::::h" M: who was
that?"
29. "I do not know- I do not know who was that?"
30. But it was ...
31. Int. Ma malawa lkivaya blthabt? (Translation: Where is your house exactly?)
32. Ban lmhala Kochera (Translation: Kochara section).
33. the door was open
34. He was so ugly
35. Int. Ew erde ye ne xoshe ye btrse [that place is not nice and scary].
36. Ban I was so scared. I was so scared.
37. And that day my aunt, my uncle, my husband were not home.
38. Me and (...)

In this problematic anecdote, the direct speech conveyed the narrator's (Ban) distanced positioning from a fearful experience that she experienced whilst cooking in the kitchen. This distance positioning was conveyed through the use of different linguistic

resources within the direct speech. For example, in line 15, "Ugly man – ugly man" the narrator repeated the category "ugly" meaning not good looking or unpleasant to look at, according to the dictionary entry by (Hornby, 2000). The use of the category "ugly" indexes the wide spread ideology in Iraqi Kurdistan that is characterised by judging people through their appearance. Thus Ban distanced herself from the man because of his unpleasant appearance. Ban's distanced positioning is also expressed through the repetition of the action verb "Come on" followed by negation in line 18, I told them, "Come on – come on lets go to this room, no to that room". The use of the action verb "lock" in line 21 'I told them, "lets lock the door"', and the repetition of questions in line 23 "What shall we do-what shall we do?".^o These utterances index the narrator's confused, fearful and distance positioning towards the "ugly" man. This in turn indexes a wide spread belief and ideology in Iraqi Kurdish society where individuals, particularly women, are brought up on the principle of not trusting strangers. This generally has created a sense of fear in women in Kurdistan towards treating a stranger especially if that stranger is a male. This is apparent in the story where Ban attempted to hide from the ugly man even inside her house. The positioning of fear and confusion towards the ugly man constructed Ban with a weak persona.

The use of direct speech prompted two types of co-tellershi resources: laughter in lin 16, and questions in line 31 "Ma malawa lkivaya blthabt?" (Translation:Where is your house exactly?). In line 16 Ban positioned herself as an entertainer who could elicit an affectual response from the interviewer. However, in line 31 Ban positioned herself as explaining serious problematic events that made the interviewer to demand more information.

A different picture emerged whilst analysing the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resoueces in the non-problematic anecdotes.

7.11.2 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non-problematic anecdotes

For the purpose of analysing the relationship between the direct speech and co-tellership resources in terms of positioning in the non-problematic anecdotes, a story told by Ban, the English-speaking Kurdish participant, was chosen. Her story is about the recovery of her deaf uncle. Again, she told this story in the presence of the interviewer.

Excerpt 7.15

1. Ban My uncle (.) is somehow deaf.
2. Last week he went to the doctor.
3. He went to make head phones or speakers.
4. Ok.
5. Then he came home.
6. He-he made it for himself.
7. His speaker was in his ear and (.) her/ his children was talking (.) loudly.
8. He said, "What loudly voice are this?" ↑
 Interviewer and Ban ((*laughter*))
9. They said, "Oh FATHER you-you hear US".
10. He said, "Yes, I hear you, speak slowly and lower your voice, I hear you, I am not deaf, I am not blind".
11. Then one of his (.)daughters was sitting far away from him.
12. She was saying, "Dad-dad, dad ".°
13. He looked at her and said, "What?"
14. She said, "OH YOU HEAR ME".
 Int.and Ban ((*laughter*))
15. He said, "I am not blind".
 Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))
16. and then we- we:: ate dinner.

17. Jemal's aunt- her aunt called
 18. and said,"What happened to his ear is it ok?"
 19. He said,"Let me tell her".
 20. She-he speak to her on phone.
 21. He said,"LOWER your voice. I am hearing you, LOWER your voice"
- Int. and Ban ((*laughter*))

In contrast to the problematic anecdote, in this non-problematic anecdote, the narrator Ban positioned herself as enjoying the events when her cousins first discovered their father's (Ban's uncle) recovery from being deaf. This positioning is expressed through Ban's laughter, which joined the reported utterances of her uncle and their children in lines, 8, 14, 15 and 21.

In this example, direct speech only prompted one type of co-construction feature which is laughter, seen in lines 8, 14, 15 and 21. Ban positioned herself as an entertainer who could elicit laughter from the interviewer.

The comparison of problematic and non-problematic anecdotes suggested two observations. Firstly, the problematic and non-problematic anecdotes are different in that positioning level 1 in the problematic anecdotes showed distancing between the narrator and the characters, while in the non-problematic anecdotes showed close relations between the narrator and the characters. Secondly, the direct speech in the problematic anecdotes, prompted fewer instances of laughter than the non-problematic anecdotes, where four instances of laughter were recorded, as opposed to the problematic anecdotes, when only one instance of laughter was evoked from the reported speech. Additionally, the direct speech in the problematic anecdote elicited questions in addition to laughter but in the non-problematic anecdote no questions were prompted from the direct speech.

However, different pictures emerged when the relationship between reported speech and co-tellership resources appeared in the problematic and non-problematic recounts.

7.12 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts

7.12.1 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic recounts

For analysing the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic recounts, I chose the story, *How my husband approached me to marry him*. It was told by the English-speaking Kurdish participant Jin. She told this story in the presence of Meera, Shila and the interviewer.

Excerpt 7.16

1. Jin Salman is my cousin.
2. And we know each other
3. But I never saw him (.) in public place.
4. He was always not available.
5. I did not –I know him.↑
6. But just hi and that is all.
7. We have between each other.
8. One day (.) I open my face book
9. And I saw invitation.
10. It was him. > soI accepted because he is my (.) cousin
11. and that is it <
12. Meera Psmama (cousin)?
13. Jin Is not my cousin cousin
14. Meera Ok
15. Jin Ok then he –we –he was on line.
16. He talked to me and we get (.) conversations.
17. And he said, "ok the electric will be cut now, can you give me your mobile phone".
18. I said, "Ok no problem".
19. He is my cousin, is ok no problem

20. Jin and Meera ((*laughter*))

21. Int. You wanted?

22. Jin No I –we-re... we were discussing important problem
between us so I give him my phone number

23. Excuse me if my English is not well.

24. Int. No it is Ok.

25. Jin So we (.) change – exchange our numbers

26. and we get (.) . We mss each other first.

27. Then he what can I say (zedatr lehat. Translation: It increased.)

28. Shila To increase

29. Jin Ha then he called > it was just like friend yeni not.....

30. Int. You were in which age? In university?

31. Jin After university

32. Int. Ha yes, after university.

33. Jin We were in friend fo::r six months,

34. and talk to each other just like friends.

35. Meera Not love?

36. Jin Not love at the beginning.

37. Then he surprised me.

38. He said, "I like you" and not love you. I like you".

39. He said that do not mix each other love is different from like.

40. I just like your personality,

41. and the way you think↑ I said, "Ok thank you".

42. The::n he took her mother-his mother to talk to my mother to ask my hand.

43. Int. Haaa

44. Jin Yes so his mother talk to my mother,

45. and they were accepted each other.

46. She said, "Ok it is ok for me because he is our relatives and he is better than
(.) others, I will talk to her father and then we will let you know what our
decision".

47. Then my sister accident happened. She lost her son.

48. So everything were done between us but he still (.) in touch he still in touch with me ((*laughter*)).
49. This was like a secret between me (.), him, my mother and his mother
50. Int. Hmm
51. Jin Finally,(.) we went to our village and I saw a::ll my cousins talking in this subject.
52. They said,"Jin and Salman have a relation and they love each other".
53. Then I told him, "How[↑] (.) all those people could know that".
54. He said that when I called you lasts night, my cousin[↑] was (.)standing back of me
55. Meera Oh my God
56. Jin And he listened everything.
And my cousin is like CNN.
57. Meera, Shila, Jin and Int. O::::hhhhhhhhhhh
((*laughter*))
58. Jin Then I fight with him.
59. I said,"You do not find any place just behind him to talk to me".
60. He said, "I did not know because my back was off of him".
61. Then my sister's accident passed for six month.
62. And we..
63. He – his father talk to my father.
64. I bring seven glass of water (Shila, Meera, Int. and Jin ((*laughter*)))
to accept him.
65. That is all

In this problematic recount, the use of direct speech in lines 17, 18, 38 and 41 positioned Jin as pleased towards her loving relationship with her cousin. However, the reported utterances in line 52, 'They said, "Jin and Salman have a relation and they love each other"', conveyed Jin's distance positioning towards her relatives who discovered her loving relationship with her cousin. Similarly in lines 53 and 59, the direct speech expressed Jin's distanced positioning towards her cousin, accusing him of not hiding their love relation. This distancing was achieved by the use of questioning in line 53, 'Then I

told him, "how↑ (.) all those people could know that?" and the negation in line 59, 'I said, "you do not find any place just behind him to talk to me"'. The distance positioning in this story indexes the widespread ideology in Iraqi Kurdistan that women are not allowed to have loving relationships outside marriage. Jin was afraid from the consequences of the announcement of her loving relationship. Her distance positioning in this situation constructed her fearful persona.

In terms of the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources, although diverse co-tellership resources were used in the problematic recount in excerpt 7.16, including laughter in lines 20, 48, 57 and 64, exclamation in lines 55 and 57, backchannels in line 50, questions in lines 12, 21, 30 and 35, no relationship was found between them and the direct speech, as none were prompted by the direct speech.

7.12.2 The relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non-problematic recounts

To analyse the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the non-problematic recounts, the story *My trip to Paris*, in excerpt 7.17 was chosen. This story was told by the English monolingual Suzi in the presence of the interviewer.

Excerpt 7.17

1. Suzi I went to Paris i:::n at the end of August
2. This was very recently yeah
3. Int. Oh yeah
4. Suzi When I did my MA, I met people from all over the place
5. Int. Yea
6. Suzi It was amazing actually, umm
7. That is why actually when you:: asked about British people (Int. Yea); I do not have that many British friends here at the moment. Suzi ((*laughter*))
8. Int. It was very strange (Suzi: Yea yea) and I wanted to ask you about that (Suzi: Yea) but later after the story

9. Int. and Suzi ((*laughter*))

10. So I met all these people from all over the place

11. There are a group of probably about eight of us and in that group

12. There are maybe like me and another British girl

13. Int. Yea

14. Suzi That was it.

15. We had a friend from Virginia::: and Colombia:::,Japa:::n umm,Syria:::
(Int. Aha), Saudi (Int. Yeah), a:::ll just all over the place (Int. Yeah)

16. Suzi We were just this huge mix friend from Korea

17. It was lovely actually

18. Int. Yeah

19. Suzi And it was probably the first time I'd hung out with
such an international group

20. Absolutely love it

21. Was Brilliant

22. anyway, one of them

23. I became a really good friend with my friend Jiko from Japan

24. The group of us had been to Valencia in June

25. Int. Aha

26. Suzi So we'd all run out of money a bit.

27. But Jiko was going back to Japa:::n

28. And she said you know, "I really really want to go to Paris".

29. Int. Ohh

30. Suzi Just for like a couple of days, three days or something.

31. Int. Ohh

32. Suzi And "Does anyone want to go?"

33. So I was like, > "Oh God why not-why not Paris"<

34. Because it is so close.

35. Int. So close yea

36. Suzi You know so we went –went off to Paris in the midst of, kind of,
dissertation writing.

37. Int. (...)

38. Suzi We took the euro staff

39. Int. Ahh ok

40. Suzi So we just really needed to get a break from all the writing

41. And Jiko, she has traveled so much

42. So she was you know the knowledgeable one on Paris, she was showing me around.

43. Int. Ahh

44. Suzi I had never been

45. Int. Ohh really ((*laughter*))

46. Suzi So this is my first time in Paris

47. Int. Wow

48. Suzi And it was amazing

49. I mean a kind of be in Leicester Train Station

50. Int. Aha

51. Suzi And just a kind of transit to London and London – and then Paris and such a short space of time

52. Int. Did you go by train or plane

53. Suzi This is train ya

54. Int. Train

55. Suzi So you go through the tunnel

56. It was unbelievable

57. In the morning we were in Leicester and then suddenly in Paris

58. It's amazing

59. And it was really easy to find the:: hotel because Jiko really is amazing with directions (Interviewer: Wow) actually which is a perfect travel buddy with me (Int. Ohh) because I could just switch off with directions

60. Int. Ohh yea ((*laughter*))

61. Suzi So we have this list of kinds of the main things we wanted to do

62. We wanted to see the Eiffel tower in the day:::

63. Int. Ohh

64. Suzi And you know in the night, we did all these things, like checking of our lists, getting so much done in this time

65. We were like, “We need to go to the Louvre”.

66. My French pronunciation is very bad

67. Int. Is ok- it is ok

68. Suzi ((*laughter*))

69. Int. It is fine.

70. Suzi So we went around

71. And we are going to all different places ok which floor do we want to go
o:::n

72. We were like, “Ok but we need to see the Mona Lisa obviously
(Int. ohh) because, this is, you know the big thing”.

73. Int. Yea

74. Suzi So we went to all these different places

75. We were like, “Great let's just go and see the Mona Lisa”.

76. It was probably about like 5:40 or something

77. So it was not coming up to:: a particular time or anything for closing

78. So we went upstairs

79. We manage to find it

80. And as we got to the door of the room that it was in

81. These security guards came out and they were like, “Wait, it is is closed”

82. Int. Ohh my God

83. Suzi “No more people are going in’

84. Int. Ohh my God

85. Suzi We looked at the time

86. And we thought, “5:40 that is weird time to:: close like” you know

87. We were like “Oh just 'no' 'no'....but “no”. Interviewer and Suzi
((*laughter*)).

88. And he literallylike (...) got in some movements...

89. And it was our last day.

90. Int. Ohh

91. Suzi So we were like, “That is such a such a shame you know the one thing”

92. Int. Yea

93. Suzi So we talked about it

94. And we were like, “Well we could tell people that we saw it you know” because people are gonna ask. Int. and Suzi ((*laughter*))).

95. Int. Of course. Int. and Suzi ((*laughter*)))

96. Suzi So we got back

97. They were like,> “What did you do? Yes, we did this,this, and this” <

98. > “Did you see the Mona Lisa?” <

99. >we said, “Yes, we did it was great”

100. < Int. and Suzi ((*laughter*)))

101. We were like, “No one will know”

102. Int. and Suzi ((*laughter*))).

103. So ya that was the but it was a wonderful trip

104. Int. Ohh my God

105.Suzi We tasted all the French foo:::d

106.Int. Ohh

107.Suzi But I think three days was perfect because you know you spend so much money even just to sit and have coffee:::

108.Int. Yea

109.Suzi I mean, we could havereally spent a fortune if we would have gone for longer

110.Int. Yea this is nice

In contrast to the problematic recounts, the use of direct speech lines 28, 32, 33, 65, 72, 75, 97, 99 and 101 in this non- problematic recount positioned Suzi as enjoying her trip to Paris with her friend Jiko. However, in line 86, ‘We thought, “5:40 that is weird time

to:: close like you know’’, and in line 87, ‘We were like “Oh just no, no....but no”’. Suzi distanced herself from the guards in the Louvre museum, who did not allow them to enter in. This distanced positioning was conveyed through the use of the word choice “weird” in line 86 and the repetition of negation in line 87.

Also, in contrast to the problematic recount, where no relationship was found between the direct speech and co-tellership resources, in the non-problematic recount, there was a relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources, since some of them were prompted by direct speech. For example, exclamation in lines 29, 72, 82 and 84, laughter in lines 87, 94, 95 and 100 and agreement in line 92. The contributions of the interviewer positioned the narrator Suzi as an entertainer, for she could elicit laughter from the interviewer, and as a successful storyteller who could elicit exclamation and agreement instances from the listener. Meanwhile, the prolific co-tellership resources that were contributed by the interviewer positioned her (the interviewer) strong sense of happiness and amusement towards the events of this story. This indexes two points. Firstly, Kurdish society suffered from different types of sanctions, where Kurds were prevented from their simple rights of travelling for fun, due to political and economic reasons. Secondly, Kurdish women, unlike British women, do not have the freedom of travelling alone to have fun in another country.

The comparison of the relationship between direct speech and co-tellership resources in the problematic and non-problematic recounts prompted similarities and differences. The problematic and non-problematic recounts projected two types of level 1 positioning including happiness and distancing. However, in the problematic recount, level 1 positioning did not prompt level 2 positioning, in that no relation was found between the direct speech and co-tellership resources. In the non-problematic recount, level 1 positioning evoked level 2 positioning, since direct speech prompted a range of co-tellership resources. This relationship in turn positioned the interviewer as enjoyed the events and alignment with the narrator.

To summarise, similar to the analysis of positioning in chapter six, which was used as a tool to differentiate between story genres, and which constructed different cultural identities for the participants, the analysis of positioning in terms of the relationship

between direct speech and co-tellership resources in this chapter again resulted in differentiating between the problematic and non-problematic story genres, and in constructing different cultural identities for the participants. In the problematic exemplums, the direct speech prompted evaluation, which created a shared moral position between the narrator and the listener. In problematic narratives, the direct speech prompted exclamations and backchannels, which positioned the listeners in opposition to the protagonist's behaviour. However, in the problematic anecdotes, the direct speech evoked laughter and questions. Laughter brought to the fore the solidarity between the listeners and the narrator, but questions emphasised the seriousness of the events. Contrastingly, in non-problematic anecdotes only laughter was evoked from direct speech, which positioned the narrator as an entertainer. Finally, in problematic recounts, direct speech did not prompt any co-tellership, but in the non-problematic recounts a range of co-tellership resources, including laughter, agreement and exclamation, were evoked by direct speech which positioned the narrator and the listener as entertained towards the events.

The findings of the co-tellership analysis in the participants' stories conform to the participants' interview responses about co-tellership. The participants' responses to the question "Can you tell me about a story where a group of you all became involved in telling the events?" foregrounds narrative as talk-in-interaction, supporting Jefferson (1978) and Sacks' (1972) claim that the story unfolds sequentially, Duranti's (1986) statement that the listener and the story teller co-construct the story together and Coates's (2005: 91) view that "collaborative narration involves two narrators making contributions to the story which join together seamlessly". Although in the introductory chapter, it was mentioned that the participants' expectations of a "good story" were in part an expectation of a one-person performance (monologic), all the participants in this study consider stories as developed by both the narrator and the listeners. The participants stated that there have been occasions where a group of them shared the telling of one story:

"We you know I remember most of the time, we were getting involved in most of the stories that were been telling" (Angel-interview, 2013).

"Once we were talking about things happened to us: me, Meera, Shila and Jin. Jin was talking about the uprising. All of us get involved in the events" (Ban-interview, 2013).

“When our group was reciting my nephew stories about falling down, I participated in telling the stories” (Rozh-interview, 2013).

“Yea, when Jihan told a story about the engagement of the girls who are still so young and how she must keep in love with the one whom she get engaged with. All of us involve in telling that story since it touched us and hurts our feelings” (Ilaf-interview, 2013).

I suppose it happened quite in the university. Me and my friend in the morning discuss what happened about the events of the night before and when we told that story... storytelling... to share memories. The night before we were getting to the club in N. Normally we stayed together in the beginning but afterward you so and so we would go with this boy or so and so we will go home or got put in a taxi because you had a little much to drink and fall in to the bed. In the next morning we gradually climb from our bed and come down stairs and get ourselves a cup of tea and we share the events of the night before. so and so we embarrassingly, we tell about what we remember about what happened and what is going to happen next.

(Kate-interview, 2013)

7.13 Conclusions

The quantitative and qualitative analyses in this chapter prompted the following conclusions:

Firstly, the quantitative analysis suggests that although many types of polyphony features occurred in the participants' stories, direct speech, evaluation, questions and laughter were the most dominant.

Secondly, the quantitative analysis helped to assign the different locations of the polyphony resources in the story structure. Direct speech occurred in the middle and end phases of the story whilst laughter, questions and evaluative statements tended to occur at the end of the story.

Thirdly, through the quantitative analysis I demonstrated that the linguistic and paralinguistic features that co-constructed the Kurdish and English stories varied. This variation was the interplay of the cultural context, type of story genres and the topics of story genres. The variation of polyphony features, which occurred more in stories told by the Kurdish speakers compared to their English counterparts, is not only related to the participants being Kurdish, but also to the fact that these participants told different types of story genres including exemplums, narratives, anecdotes and recounts. These story genres elicited different types of polyphony features. Moreover, a further comparison of the story genres in terms of their topics indicated that different topics elicited different types of polyphony and with different frequencies. Direct speech, evaluation, laughter and questions occurred more in the problematic story genres. These types of story genres were more frequent in the Kurdish groups, and this could be a potential reason for why the stories told by Kurdish speakers in this study were more dramatized and more interactional than the stories told by the English speakers.

Fourthly, the qualitative analysis suggested that the polyphony features (direct speech, evaluation, laughter and questions) are related, in that direct speech could prompt co-tellership resources. This relationship created the participants' positioning in the problematic and non-problematic story genres. The positioning that emerged in the problematic and non-problematic story genres helped to differentiate between them, and in turn to create different cultural identities for the participants.

Fifthly, the analysis of positioning level 1 and 2 in different types of story genre topics added to the analysis of positioning in chapter six. In chapter six, the analysis of the anecdote conformed Martin and Plum's (1997) definition of an anecdote that it generates affectual responses. This is because the analysis of positioning level 2 in the anecdote in chapter six displayed the shared laughter between the narrator and listeners. However, going further and analyzing different topics of anecdotes in this chapter (chapter seven) suggested that anecdotes do not merely project affectual responses (elicit laughter) but also other co-tellership resources depending on its topic whether problematic or not. The problematic anecdotes in this chapter elicited both laughter and questions. This suggests that the type of topics play a role in eliciting the kinds of co-tellership resources in story genres.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to highlight the significance of the study. Moreover, I indicate how I have answered the research questions. I also attempt to link together the thread of the research to draw some general conclusions and show the original knowledge that appears in my study. Finally, I identify some issues for further research on Kurdish storytelling.

8.1 The importance of the study

This study is significant because it is the only narrative study that investigates Labov's (1972) and Ochs and Capps's (2001) models of narrative analysis in the oral personal experience stories told by Iraqi Kurdish women in comparison to white British English-speaking women. It explores the variation in the structure and styles of the stories told by selected Iraqi Kurdish women and white British English-speaking women, and the implications that these variations might have for interpreting the cultural identities of the participants. This study is original in several respects. Firstly, as argued, Labov's narrative features, particularly evaluation, were explored in a wide range of cultural contexts as resources for cross-cultural variation, and in different types of data. This study explores Labov's narrative features, particularly intensifiers (that have not been explored in detail before) in a new cultural context, one which has not been scrutinised from this perspective before, namely the Iraqi Kurdish cultural context in comparison to the white British English context. This is important to see how Labov's model of evaluation can account for the stories told by Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women.

Secondly, this study advances our understanding of the cross-cultural variation of another aspect of evaluation. This study did not only rely on the analysis of how different groups of participants used intensifiers in their stories, but went further in applying

ethnographic interviews in order to consider how the participants perceived the meaning of the intensifiers in terms of vividness. This is required in order to deeply understand the relatively unexplored Kurdish cultural context of storytelling.

Additionally, this study aimed to understand the cultural identity of a group (Kurdish people) that has a complex identity in the ancient and recent history of the Middle East. To the best of my knowledge the Iraqi Kurdish cultural identity has not been studied from a narrative analysis perspective (applying both Labov, 1972 and Ochs and Capps, 2001 models) before. This study interpreted how the Kurdish cultural identity was constructed in terms of the use of Labov's evaluative devices, Ochs and Capps's co-tellership and moral stance dimensions, the use of story genres, as well as the choice of language. This study did not only interpret the Kurdish cultural identity in terms of the way in which the Kurdish participants used these elements in their stories, but also applied ethnographic interviews. These interviews were useful in order to explore what the participants of different groups think about stories and storytelling practices, and whether or not their views on storytelling were reflected in their stories. This is very important because this study is the first attempt at exploring the Kurdish cultural identity from the perspective of narrative analysis, thus it was necessary to deeply understand the practices of storytelling in this context.

This study is also original because it does not only contribute to the studies of cross-cultural comparison of narrative by exploring a new cultural context (Kurdish), but also contributes a new methodological step to the narrative analysis of the stories of personal experiences. This study combined two approaches from different fields, namely systemic functional linguistics (story genres) and narrative analysis (positioning theory). This combination was useful for two reasons: firstly, it helped to investigate the cultural identity of the participants in terms of local practices and the wider ideational (social world) perspective. Secondly, it helped to explore whether the cultural context of storytelling makes any difference to the ways in which the Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women women construed their experience.

In terms of the research methodology, the originality of this study lies in applying mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative methods in terms of data collection and

analysis) to the storytelling in the Iraqi Kurdish context (the relatively understudied context from narrative analysis perspective) in order to gain a rich view of the storytelling style in this context.

8.2 Research questions revisited

The research questions of this study include:

1. How do the selected Iraqi Kurdish and White British English-speaking women tell stories of personal experience?
2. For the Kurdish women, how do their stories vary according to the multilingual status of the participants?
3. For the Kurdish multilingual speakers, how do their stories vary according to the choice of language used to tell stories?
4. How do the narratives of personal experiences construct the various cultural identities for the participants?

8.3 Answers to the research questions

In the intensification chapter, it has been shown that the selected Iraqi Kurdish women and white British English-speaking women tell stories using different language choices and rhetorical choices that index their storytelling style. These findings advance our understanding of cross-cultural comparisons from different perspectives. All of the Kurdish participants preferred repetition in their stories, regardless of their multilingual status or whether they told stories in Kurdish or English. The high frequency of repetition in the English and Kurdish stories that were told by the English-speaking Kurdish participants suggested that they transferred from their mother tongue the rhetorical devices of storytelling style to their style of storytelling in English. In contrast, the white British

English-speaking participants favoured lexical intensifiers (exaggerated quantifiers and qualifiers) in their storytelling style.

The comparison of the lexical intensifiers in the stories told by all the groups of participants suggested that these features are language-specific. There were differences in the system of intensifiers used in the stories told in Kurdish and English by the participants in terms of the types of resources, their frequency and the context of use. The three most frequently used qualifiers in the stories told in English (*so*, *very*, and *really*) occurred with patterns that supported those found in earlier research (Tagliamonte, 2008; Brown and Tagliamonte, 2012; Tagliamonte and Ito, 2013 and Page, 2012). Although equivalents exist for each of these qualifiers in the Kurdish dialects, not all of these were used in the stories told by the Kurdish speakers. Only *gelek* (*very*) and *hnd* (*so*) were used. The equivalent to *really* (*brasti*) was not found in this data. Although there could be many reasons for this, it does suggest that the Kurdish system of boosters may be different from the English system. Further research which examines the frequency of these items in a much wider number of stories and texts of different types is required

The Kurdish and English qualifiers and quantifiers were also different from their English counterparts in terms of the syntactic positions that they occupied within the sentence. *Gelek* and *hnd* seemed to be more flexible than *very* and *so* in that they occurred in three positions: predicative, predicative (sentence-initial position), predicative (sentence-final position), whereas *very* and *so* appeared only in the predicative and attributive contexts. In contrast, the English quantifier system was more flexible than the Kurdish quantifier system in that there were a wider range of contexts where the English quantifier *all* could appear in the sentence. The English quantifier *all* occurred in the following contexts: preceding the definite article *the*, preceding a possessive pronoun, preceding demonstratives, preceding an of-phrase, as an independent pronoun, after the head immediately, in M adverb position, before a noun, before an adjective, after a main verb, after a pronoun in the sentence final position, before a prepositional phrase and after a preposition. In contrast, the Kurdish quantifier *hemi* appeared in the following positions: after the head immediately, before the noun, before an independent pronoun, before Izafe (of-phrase), in the sentence final location and after a possessive pronoun.

The participants in this study used the context of uses of the English and Kurdish quantifiers and qualifiers differently. The emerged differences contribute to the multilingual narration. The English-speaking Kurdish participants did not transfer from Kurdish to English or vice versa while using *very* and *gelek* in the adjective contexts, in that they employed *very* in both attributive and predicative adjective contexts. In regards to *gelek*, the English-speaking Kurdish participants used it only in the predicative context. However, the English-speaking Kurdish participants transferred from Kurdish to English regarding the context of use for *so*. They used *so* only in the predicative adjective context. This suggests that the use of *so* relied on the context of uses of *hnd*, where it was used only in the predicative adjective contexts. However, when the English-speaking Kurdish participants used the quantifier *hemi*, the equivalent to *all*, they transferred the English rules for the use of the lexical patterns for *all* to the Kurdish language, in that they used *hemi* frequently after the head noun. This means that for the English-speaking Kurdish participants the use of *hemi* relied on the use of *all*, where it was used mostly in the “after the head immediately”.

The chapter of intensification also revealed cross-cultural variations in another aspect of evaluation, i.e. the participants’ perceptions of different types of intensifiers. The variation of the participants’ perception of the vividness of intensifiers did not reflect any single pattern. In this analysis it was observed that the frequency of a particular type of evaluation by a particular group did not mean that the feature would be perceived as the most vivid rhetorical resource. Whilst the Kurdish participants used more repetition in their stories than the English monolingual speakers, the English speakers ranked repetition as more vivid (on average) than the Kurdish speakers. Conversely, whilst boosters were used more by English speakers, it was the Kurdish participants who perceived this resource as more vivid.

The qualitative data related to the English-speaking Kurdish participants’ own opinions on the effect of language choice on the vividness of the story contained a range of opinions regarding this matter. One participant said language choice is important to make the story vivid. Another speaker stated that language choice is not crucial, whilst another

chose a neutral response. Whilst not all the English-speaking Kurdish participants perceived language choice to be an element that affects the vividness of stories, there is still preference amongst them for telling stories in Kurdish rather than English. This is evidenced in these participants' interview responses about the language that they prefer to tell stories in and their preference of using the Kurdish style of storytelling even in the stories that they told in English language (they used high frequencies of repetition in their Kurdish and English versions of stories).

In the chapter on story genres, it has been revealed that the participants in this study did not only tell narratives, but also told other types of story genres such as anecdotes, exemplums and recounts, with exemplums being the most frequent. The characteristics of some types of story genres, particularly exemplums and recounts, were different from the typical characteristics of the exemplums and recounts identified by Martin and Plum (1997) in that the recounts and exemplums in this study were more complex, and their elements of story structure embedded with one another. More clearly, the evaluation placement in some of these story genres, particularly the exemplums and recounts, was problematic in distinguishing between them. Employing positioning theory therefore helped to differentiate between different types of story genres. Through positioning I could explain how evaluation contrasted between anecdotes, recounts, exemplums and narratives in terms of non-problematic positioning in recounts, more judgment in exemplums, problematic positioning in narratives, affective and solidarity in anecdotes.

In terms of cultural identities, Kurdish participants (English and non-English speaking) constructed their identities differently from the English participants, in that Kurdish participants told more exemplums compared to their English counterparts. This confirmed the Kurdish women's perception of the moral purpose of storytelling, as indicated in their interview data; this perception was borne out with a greater use of exemplums. The construction of the Kurdish participants' cultural identities, in line with the frequent use of exemplums, interpreted their identities in line with what is morally right and wrong from the perspective of socio-cultural norms, religion and politics in the Kurdish context. The Kurdish cultural context has always been characterised by its instructive nature, where the focus is mainly on instructing individuals, particularly women, on issues related to social behavior, as, within Kurdish cultural norms, the honour of the family is

linked to that of the women. Parents instruct their daughters from a very young age to follow Kurdish norms in their social behaviour (whilst greeting men, kissing is not allowed; having restricted friendships with men and even then this is limited to the workplace; and you are not allowed loving relationships outside of marriage). Additionally, Islam also plays a large role in creating discourses of instruction related to issues of worship and individuals' social behaviour. Additionally, the injustice that Kurds have experienced by Arabs created the discourse of what is right and wrong in relation to the Arabs' behaviour towards Kurds.

The chapter on story genres also revealed that the non-English speaking Kurdish participants constructed their cultural identities differently from the English speaking Kurdish participants in terms of the moral stances interpreted in the exemplums that they told. The non-English speaking Kurdish participants told exemplums that interpret moral stances about challenges related to social life and relations within the scope of friendship and family. However, English-speaking Kurdish participants convey these moral stances with a particular focus on the value of Kurdish identities (relative to other ethnic groups). The moral topics told in the exemplums by the English-speaking Kurdish participants in English often foregrounded cross-cultural challenges associated with ethnicity. This reflects the personal experience of the English-speaking Kurdish participants, who have had occasions of confrontation with Arabs, having graduated from an English department staffed by Arab lecturers who have sought refuge in Kurdistan. In contrast, the non-English speaking Kurdish women in this study did not report any experience of confrontation with Arabs. Perhaps this is because most of the non-English speaking Kurdish women's university education was in Kurdish, which did not allow any contact with Arab teachers. For this reason, non-English speaking Kurdish women's exemplums did not position their ethnic identities relative to other groups in the same way.

In the chapter on polyphony, considering reported speech and co-tellership, the selected Iraqi Kurdish and white British English-speaking women told stories using multiple voices through direct speech and co-tellership resources (laughter, evaluative statements and questions, answering the tellers' questions, apologies, completion of narrators' utterance, giving information, agreement, sound and second story) that index their storytelling style. However, within all polyphony resources, direct speech, evaluative

statements, questions and laughter were the most frequent in all the participants' stories. In turn, these features varied in relation to the structure of the stories, the participants' cultural status and the types of story genres and their topics. In terms of the story structure, direct speech occurred more in the middle and end sections whilst the co-tellership resources appeared frequently in the end part of the stories. Although these resources showed differences in terms of their placement in the story structure, they had similar functions. The polyphony in the direct speech and co-tellership resources functioned as positioning resources that then constructed the local identities of the participants. However, the positioning that was achieved through these different voices varied, where the reported speech was used to position the figures in the story, whilst the co-tellership resources positioned the narrator and audience relative to each other, and secondarily, to the figures in the story also. This suggests that there were many occasions where the two levels of positioning came together and direct speech seemed to give rise to the indications of co-tellers' responses.

With regard to the cultural status of the participants, the quantitative analysis of the co-tellership resources within the different groups of participants showed that the stories told by the Kurdish speakers (whether in Kurdish or in English) contained more instances of co-tellership resources than the stories told by the English speakers. Although it was mentioned that the Kurdish participants' expectations of a "good story" were in part an expectation of a one-person performance (monologic), the analysis of their stories in terms of co-tellership resources, and their interview responses about issues related to co-tellership, showed that their stories were developed by both the narrator and the listeners. These findings contribute to research on narrative as talk-in-interaction and support both De Fina and Georgakopoulou's (2012: 91) claim that stories are not narrator centered but instead are told in collaboration by more than one speaker, and Georgakopoulou's (2007: 2-3) suggestion that narrative is a talk-in-interaction.

The variation of co-tellership resources and direct speech in the stories told by Kurdish and English speakers could be interpreted as interplay between culture, story genres and topics of story genres. All the Kurdish and English participants in this study told different types of story genres, which in turn elicited different types of co-construction features. Given that reported speech's dramatising function is similar to evaluation, the

lower levels of direct speech were found in recounts in which evaluation is most likely to occur in the most diffuse and least concentrated forms. Direct speech occurred more in exemplums, anecdotes and narratives. In these story genres, direct speech heightened the socio-pragmatic function of the genre in question by emphasising the narrative trouble in personal narratives, humorous positioning in anecdotes and moral conflict in exemplums. In terms of co-tellership resources, anecdotes produced more laughter compared to exemplums, narratives and recounts. However, exemplums elicited more evaluative statements and questions. Secondly, the topics of story genres also played a role in the variation of co-construction features. The quantitative analysis of these features in the problematic and non-problematic story genres produced different observations. The problematic anecdotes contained most frequent instances of reported speech. However, high frequencies of questions and evaluation statements were found in problematic exemplums. On the other hand, the non- problematic recounts contained few instances of co-construction features.

Examining the quantitative findings of the co-construction features in the problematic and non-problematic story genres alongside those concerning the frequency of these story genres within the different groups of participants, prompted different observations. Firstly, it was found that problematic anecdotes are types of story genres that contained a high frequency of reported speech (problematic anecdotes are highly dramatised) and the Kurdish speakers told problematic anecdotes with high frequency. Accordingly, I could say that the Kurdish storytelling style is more dramatised than that of the English participants. Potentially this is because the Kurdish participants told more problematic anecdotes. Secondly, the Kurdish speakers' storytelling style is more interactive (incorporated more instances of co-tellership resources) than the English speakers' storytelling style. This might be because the Kurdish speakers told more problematic exemplums that contained high frequencies of questions and evaluative statements. However, the English speakers told more non-problematic recounts. These types of story genres contained little reported speech and few instances of co-tellership resources. Accordingly, I could say that the English participants' storytelling style is less dramatised and less interactive.

Additionally, the chapter on polyphony revealed that the positioning that emerged from the relationship between the direct speech and co-tellership resources was used as a tool to differentiate between different topics of story genres and to construct different cultural identities (local identities) for the participants. In the problematic exemplums, the direct speech prompted evaluation which created a shared moral position between the narrator and the listener. In problematic narratives the direct speech prompted exclamations and backchannels which positioned the listeners in opposition of the protagonist's behavior. However, in the problematic anecdotes, the reported speech evoked laughter and questions, which brought to the fore the solidarity between the listeners and the narrator as well as the seriousness of the events. In contrast, in non-problematic anecdotes, only laughter was evoked from direct speech, which positioned the narrator as an entertainer. Finally, in problematic recounts direct speech did not prompt any co-tellership but in the non-problematic recounts a range of co-tellership resources including laughter, agreement and exclamation were prompted by direct speech which positioned the narrator and the listener as deriving entertainment from the account of the events.

8.4 Further research

A number of potential directions for further work emerge from this study. To explore the variation of the narrative styles of the participants in this study, I took culture and the multilingual status of the participants as variables. However, a limitation of this study is that it lacks a comparable set of participants in terms of the multilingual status. I could recruit Kurdish participants who spoke English but I did not have access to English participants who spoke Kurdish. Also it was not easy to find a symmetrical group, in that the English participants who spoke Kurdish would probably have been poor comparators for my English-speaking Kurdish participants, since they would probably have been individuals of various ages and backgrounds, whereas my English-speaking Kurdish participants were broadly of similar ages and backgrounds. Thus I could not make clear conclusions about multilingualism. This limitation could be overcome in future research by

comparing the storytelling style of Kurdish and English personal experience stories told by English-speaking Kurdish participants, and Kurdish-speaking English participants.

I have looked at personal experience stories that are limited to the off line mode of communication rather than the stories told in social media (Page, 2012). Considering the findings of Page (2012: 80-85) in her analysis of the affective discourse style of Facebook updates, it seems likely that the analysis of the stories told using Facebook updates by Kurdish participants would shed light on gender and age differences in the features identified in this study, particularly the use of intensification, polyphony resources and the type of story genres. Also a comparative study of the narrative features in the stories told using Facebook updates, and personal experience stories told in sociolinguistic interviews, would give insights into how telling stories using different modes of communication indexes the speakers' storytelling styles. As I mentioned earlier in this study, the reason for not analysing stories told using Facebook updates was that most of the participants in this study did not use Facebook, and some others stopped posting their personal experience stories on Facebook.

As the narrative analysis of the participants' personal experience stories in this study is a first step towards interpreting the cultural identities of the Iraqi Kurdish speakers in terms of the elements used in their stories, to gain wider and deeper insights into the cultural identities of Kurdish speakers, the personal experience stories from older age groups who lived during the Saddam regime should be collected and analysed in comparison to the younger age group, who only lived in the de facto Kurdistan. This will shed more light on how Kurdish cultural identities are constructed in line with the political and social changes in both periods.

Another way to apply the narrative analysis research in the Kurdish context of storytelling is via an ethnographic longitudinal case study. As in Georgakopoulou's (2007: 27) analysis of small stories, a small group of women who are close friends and who share interactional histories (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 27) could be selected. The stories that emerge from their conversations could be analysed in terms of the narrative features. This type of research would help to gain insight into the development of narratives and to discover consistently the participants' storytelling style.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has underlined the importance of the current study and the originality that emerged from it. I have shown how I answered the research questions and have suggested directions for future work. This study has presented a preliminary step in understanding the cultural identity of Iraqi Kurdish women, who have a complex identity rooted in the ancient and recent history of the Middle East, and their style of storytelling in comparison to that of white British English-speaking women. The current study has provided original knowledge about the cross-cultural variation of two groups of participants' story telling styles and cultural identities.

Appendices

The appendices of this thesis were put in a CD

Bibliography

Abney, S., 1987. The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect. PHD thesis. Indiana University.

Alinia, M., 2013. *Honor and violence against women in Iraqi Kurdistan*. United states: Balgrave Macmillan.

Allison, C., 2007. ‘The Kurds are alive’: Kurdish in Iraq. In Postgate, J. N., ed, *Languages of Iraq: Ancient and Modern*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:pp. 135-158

Anderson, G., 1998. *Fundamentals of educational research*. London: Falmer Press.

Andrews, M.E., ed, 2008. *Doing narrative research*. London: Sage.

Antaki, C. & Widdicombe, S., ed, 1998. *Identities in talk*. London: Sage.

Aronsson, K. & Cederborg. A., 1994. Co-narration and voice in family therapy: voicing, devoicing and orchestration. *Text*, **14**(3), pp. 345-70.

Assaneo, M.F., Nichols, J. I. & Trevisan, M. A., 2011. The anatomy of onomatopoeia. *PLoS ONE*, **6**(12),.

Atkinson, M. & Heritage, J., 1999. Transcript notation-structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis. *Aphasiology*, **13**(4-5), pp. 243-249.

Atkinson, P., 1992. *Understanding ethnographic texts*. London: Sage.

Aziz, M., 2011. *The Kurds of Iraq: Ethnonationalism and national identity in Iraqi Kurdistan*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

Bahaddin, S. 2012. Though illegal, forced marriages still common in Iraqi Kurdistan. EKurd Daily. <http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2012/9/state6472.htm>.

Baker, C.D. 2002. Ethnomethodological analysis of interviews. In Gubrium, F. & Holstein, A., eds, *Hand book of interview research: context and method*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.

Bakhtin, M. M., 1981. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* by M. M. Bakhtin (M. Holquist., C.Emerson and M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Balatay, A., 2014. What do Arab want from Kurdistan. <http://www.hekar.net/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=17801>.

Bamberg, M., 2012. In H Cooper. Narrative analysis. APA handbook of research methods in Psychology. Vol.3. Washington, DC: APA Press.PP: 2-39. Bamberg, M., 1997. Oral versions of personal experience: three decades of narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, **7**(1-4), pp. 335-342.

Bamberg, M., 1997. Positioning between structure and performance. In Bamberg, M., Oral versions of personal experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, **7**(1-4), pp. 107-112.

Bamberg, M. & Damrad- Frye, R., 1991. On the ability to provide evaluative comments: further explorations of children's narrative competencies. *Child Lang*, **18**, pp. 689-710.

Bamberg, M. & Georgakopoulou, A., 2008. Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text and Talk*, **28**, pp. 377-396.

Bamberg, M., McCabe, A. & Bassal, Y., ed, 2013. *Narrative inquiry*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Barzinji, S., 2013. Violence against women in Iraqi Kurdistan increases in 2013. *E Kurd Daily Newspaper*.

Bauman, R. & Briggs, C., 1990. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19, pp. 59-88.

Baynham, M., 2006. Performing self, family and community in Moroccan narratives of migration and settlement. In De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M., eds., *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp. 376-397.

Bell, N.D., 2007., Safe Territory? The humorous narratives of bilingual women. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 40(2 and 3), pp. 199-225.

Bell, S., 2006., Becoming a mother after DES: intensive mothering in spite of it all. In De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M., eds., *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 233-252 Benwell, B. & Stokoe, E., 2006. *Discourses and identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Berman, R. & Slobin, D.I., 1994. *Relating Events in Narrative: A Cross-Linguistic Developmental Study*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Blommaert, J. & Rampton, B., 2011. Language and superdiversity. *Diversities*, 13(2), Available at: www.unesco.org/shs/diversities.

Blum-Kulka, S., 1993. You gotta know how to tell a story: Telling, tales, and tellers in American and Israeli narrative events at dinner. *Language in Society*, 22, pp. 361-402.

Bolinger, D., 1972. *Degree words*. The Hague. Paris: Mouton.

Buckley, C., 2013. Womens' rights in Iraqi Kurdistan: special report. Marcopolis LLC.

Brady, M., 1980. Narrative competence: A Navajo example of peer group evaluation. *The journal of American Folklore*, 93(368), pp. 158-181. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/541010>.

Branner, R. 2005. Humorous disaster and success stories among female adolescents in Germany. In Quasthoff, U.M., & Becker, T., (eds). *Narrative interaction* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp. 113-48.

Branigan, E., 1992. *Narrative Comprehension and Film*. London and New York: Routledge.

Briggs, C., ed, 1996. *Disorderly discourse: Narrative, conflict and inequality*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carbaugh, D., 2001. "The people will come to you" Blackfeet narrative as a resource for contemporary living. In Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D., eds., *Narrative and identity: studies in autobiography, self and culture*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp. 103-127.

Brown, L. & Tagliamonte, S., 2012. A really interesting story: The influence of narrative in linguistic change. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, **18**(2),. Available at <http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol18/iss2/2>.

Bruner, J., 1997. 'Labov and Waletzky thirty years on'. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, **7**(1-4), pp. 61-8.

Bruner, J., 1991. The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, **18**, pp. 1-21.

Bruner, J., 1990. *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. 2001. Self-making and world making. In Brockmeier, J. and Carbaugh, D (eds.). *Narrative and identity: studies in autobiography, self and culture*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K., 2005. Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies*, **7**(4-5), pp. 585-614.

Buchstaller, I. & Traugott, E., 2006. The lady was al demonyak: historical aspects of adverb all. *English Language and Linguistics*, **10**(2), pp. 345-370. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/10.1017/S136067430600195X>.

Bunselmeyer, J.E., 1981. "Faulkner's Narrative analysis". *American Literature*, **53**, pp. 423-42.

Buttny, R. 1997. Reported speech in talking race on campus. Human communication research. Available at: <http://works.bepress.com/richard-buttiny/32/>

Carter, R. & Simpson, P., 1982. The sociolinguistic analysis of narrative, Belfast Working Papers in Linguistics. **6**, pp. 123-52.

Chafe, W., ed, 1980. *The pear stories: cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production*. Norwood: NJ: Albex.

Chafe, W., 1990. Somethings that narratives tell us about the mind. In Britton, B.K., and Pellegrini, A. D. (Eds) *Narrative thought and narrative language*. Hillsdale, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum. pp: 79-98.

Chang, M., 2008. *A cross-cultural study of Taiwanese and British University students' oral narratives*. PhD Thesis. University of Leicester.

Chatman, S., 1990. *Coming to terms: The rhetoric of narrative in fiction and film*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Challi, K., 2011. Leyla Qasim: Woman and Kurdish political activist, in memory of the execution. EKurd Daily, Independent Newspaper. <http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2011/5/state5107.htm>

Coates, J., 2005. Masculinity, collaborative narration, and the heterosexual couple. In Thornborrow, J. and Coates, J., eds., *The sociolinguistics of narrative*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp. 89-10

Coates, J., 1996. *Women talk: conversation between women friends*. Cambridge, Mass; Oxford: Blackwell.

Cortazzi, M., 1993. *Narrative analysis*. London and Washington DC: The Falmer Press.

Cortazzi, M. & Jin, L., 1999. Evaluating Evaluation in narrative. In Hunsron, S. & Thompson, G., eds, *narrative in Evaluation in text: authorial stance and the construction of discourse*. New York: Oxford University press: pp. 102-119

Creswell, J.W., 2014. *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington: Sage.

Creswell, J.W., 2003. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. second edn. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage.

Crystal, D., ed, 2003. *English as a global language*. second edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D., 1975. *The English Tone of Voice*. London: St. Martin.

Daiute, C. & Lightfoot, C., eds. 2004. *Narrative analysis. Studying the development of individuals in society*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Davies, C. & Harre, R., 1990. Positioning : the discursive production of selves. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour*, **20**, pp. 43-63.

De Fina, A., 2009. Narratives in interview-The case of accounts for an interactional approach to narrative genres. *Narrative Inquiry*, **19**(2), pp. 233-258.

De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., & Bamberg, M., eds. 2006. *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

De Fina, A., 2003b. Crossing borders: time, place and disorientation in narrative. *Narrative Inquiry*, **13**(2), pp. 1-25.

De Fina, A., 2003a. *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

De Fina, A., 2000. Orientation in immigrant narratives: the role of ethnicity in the identification of characters. *Journal of Discourse Studies*, 2(2), pp. 131-157.

De Fina, A., 2006. Group identity, narrative and self-representations. In De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M., eds., *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp.351-375.

De Fina, A., 2013. Positioning level 3: Connecting local identity displays to macro social processes. In Bamberg, M., McCabe, A. & Bassal, Y., eds, 2013. *Narrative inquiry*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp.40-61

De Fina, A. & Georgakopoulou, A., 2012. *Analyzing narrative: Discourse and sociolinguistics perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Fina, A. & Georgakopoulou, A., 2008a. Analyzing narratives as practices. *Qualitative research*, 8(3), pp. 379-87.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S., eds, 2000. *Hand book of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.

Depperman, A., 2013. How to get a grip on identities-in-interaction (What) Does 'positioning' offer more than 'Membership Categorization'? Evidence from a mock story. In Bamberg, M., McCabe, A. & Bassal, Y., eds, 2013. *Narrative inquiry*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins". pp. 62-88

Diessel, H., 1999. *Demonstratives: form, function and grammaticalization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dressler, W. U.& Barbaresi, L. M., 1994. *Morphopragmatics, diminutives and intensifiers in Italian, German, and Other Languages*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dornyei, Z., 2007. *Research methods in applied linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duranti, A., 1986. The audience as co-author: An introduction. *Text* 6, 6(3), pp. 239-247.

Eagle, N., 1994. "Achey-breaky heart": A Labovian approach to the structural analysis of the personal narrative,". *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*, 1(11),. Available at : [http:// ir.lib.uwo.ca/totem/Vol 1/iss 1/11](http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/totem/Vol%201/iss%201/11).

Edwards, D., 1997. Structure and function in the analysis of every day narratives. In Bamberg, M., Oral versions of personal experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), pp. 107-112.

Eggins, S. & Slade, D., 1997. *Analysing casual conversation*. London: Cassell.

Eliassi, B., 2015. Making a Kurdistan identity in diaspora: Kurdish migrants in Sweden. In Sigona, N; Gamlen, A; Liberatore, G and Neveu, H. (Eds). *Kringelabach diasporas reimagined spaces, Practices and Belonging*. Oxford. Oxford Diaspora programme.

Elyasi, M., Sharifi, S. & Karimipour, A., 2013. A functional description of the narratives produced by Kurdish-Persian bilinguals. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2(1).

Erbey, M., 2007. *The obstacles to use kurdish language in the public sphere*. Brussels: Institute for international assistance and solidarity (IFIAS).

Fact sheet: About the Kurdistan Regional Government.
<http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?l=12&p=180>.

Facett, R.P., Halliday, M. A. K., Lamb, S. M., and Makkai, A. 1984. *The semiotic of culture and language*. London: Pinter.

Ferns, K., 1997. Oral narrative in a second language: Problems with a Labovian Analysis. *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*, 3(2),.

Fludernik, M., 2002. *Towards a 'Natural' narratology*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Foucault, M., 1972. *The archeology of knowledge*. NewYork: Happer and Row.
- Galip, B., 2015. *Imagining Kurdistan: Identity, culture and society*. London and NewYork: I.B. Tauris.
- Georgakopoulou, A., 2006. The other side of the story: towards a narrative analysis of narratives-in-interaction. *Discourse Studies*, 8(2), pp. 235-257.
- Georgakopoulou, A., 2007. *Small stories, interactions and identities*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A., 2005. Same old story? On the interactional dynamics of shared narratives. In Quasthoff, U. & Becker, T., eds., *Narrative interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp. 223-241.
- Georgakopoulou, A., 2013. Building iterativity into positioning analysis: a practice-based approach to small stories and self. In Bamberg, M.& McCabe, A.& Bassal, Y., eds, 2013. *Narrative inquiry*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp. 89-110
- Georgakopoulou, A. & Goutsos, D., 1997. *Discourse analysis: An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press.
- Glioti, A., 2014. Syria government introduces Kurdish in Universities. *Al Monitor*. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/01/syria-kurds-pyd-kurdish-geneva.html>.
- Goffman, E., 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press.
- Gong, T., Shuai, L. & Liu, J., 2013. Construction of Cross-Cultural Identity by Language Choice and Linguistic Practice: A Case-Study of Mixed Hong Kong-Mainland Identity in University Contexts. *Modern Linguistics*, 3(3), pp. 208-215.
- Gonzalez, M., 2009. Narrative clause organization of Catalan and English storytelling. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, pp. 540-563.

- Goodwin, C., 1984. Notes on story structure and the organization of participation. In Atkinson, M. & Heritage, J., eds, *Structures of social action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, C., 1986. Audience diversity, participation and interpretation. *Text*, **6**(3), pp. 283-316.
- Goodwin, C., 1979. The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation. In Psathas, G. *Every day language: studies in ethnomethodology*. New York: Irvington.
- Goodwin, M. H., 1997. Towards families of stories in context. In Bamberg, M, ed.,. Oral versions of personal experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), pp. 107-112.
- Goodwin, M. H., 1999. Constructing opposition within girls games. In Bucholtz, M. et al., eds, *Reinventing identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gordon, M., 2014. *Humor, Laughter, and Human flourishing: Aphilosophical exploration of the laughing animal* . London: springer.
- Greimas, A.J., 1966. *Sémantique structurale*. Paris: Presse Universitaires De France.
- Greimas, J., 1975. *The Thread of Discourse*. Mouton: The Hague.
- Gumperz, J.J., 1982. *Discourse strategies*. . Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Günthner, S., 1999. Polyphony and the 'layering of voices' in reported dialogues: An analysis of the use of prosodic devices in everyday reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics*, **31**, pp. 685-708.
- Günthner, S., 2008. Negotiating Rapport in German-Chinese conversation. In Spencer-Oatey, H. ed., *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory*. London: Continuum.

Günthner, S., 2005. Narrative reconstructions of past experiences: Adjustments and modifications in the process of re-contextualizing a past experience. In Quasthoff, U. & Becker, T., ed., *Narrative interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp.285-301.

Hague, G., Gill, A.K. & Begikhani, N., 2013. 'Honour'-based violence and Kurdish communities: Moving towards action and change in Iraqi Kurdistan and the UK. *Gender Studies*, **22**(4), pp. 383-396.

Haig, G. & Matras, Y., 2002. Kurdish linguistics: a brief overview. *Sprachtypol. Univ.Forsch (STUF), Berlin*, **55**(1), pp. 49-63.

Hall, S., 1996. Who needs identity. In Hall, S. & Gay, P., eds, 1996. *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.

Halliday, M., 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, **2**(3), pp. 199-244.

Halliday, M. & Matthiessen, C., 2004. *An introduction to functional grammar*. 3rd edn. London: Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K., 1994. *An introduction to functional grammar*. 2nd edn. London: Edward Arnold.

Hamo, B. & Aadullah, J., 2014. دراسة ميدانية عن وضع النازحين العرب في مدينة دهوك تقويم النزاع. Translation: A field research on the Arab imigrants in Duhok city: Assessing the conflict).

Hardy, M. & Bryman, A., 2004. ed, *Hand book of data analysis*. London: Sage.

Hardy, B. 1987. The collected essays of Barbara Hardy, vol. 1. Sussex: Harvester Press.

Harre, R. & Moghaddam, F. M., 2003. Introduction: the self and others in traditional psychology and in positioning theory. In Harre, R. & Moghaddam, F. M., eds, *The self and*

others: positioning individuals and groups in personal, political, and cultural contexts.
Westport, CT: Praeger publishers:p. 322

Harris, J. & Wilkinson. J., eds, 1986. *Reading children's writing: A linguistic view.*
London: George Allen and Unwin.

Hart, E. & Bond, M., 1995. *Action research for health and social care: A guide to practice.*
Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Hassanpour, A., 2001. The (Re) production of Kurdish patriarchy in the Kurdish language.

Hassanpour, A., 1992. *Nationalism and language in Kurdistan 1918-1985.* NewYork:
Mellen Research University Press.

Hay, J. 2000. Functions of humour in the conversations of men and women. *Journal of Pragmatics*, Vol.32, Issue 6, pp. 709-742.

He, Z., Jin, L., Zhen, L., & Huang, J., 2008. Gesture recognition based on 3D accelerometer for cell phones interaction, Nov.30 2008-Dec. 3 2008, *IEEE*, pp.217-220.

Hebert, L., 2011. *Tools for text and image analysis: An introduction to applied semiotics.*
version 3.

Helm, J., ed, 1967. *Essays on the verbal and visual arts: proceedings of the 1966 annual spring meeting of the American ethnological society.* University of Washington Press:
Seattle.

Herman, D., 2000. Pragmatic constraints on narrative processing: Actants and anaphora resolution in a corpus of North Carolina ghost stories. *Journal of Pragmatics*, **32**(7), pp. 959-1001.

Herman, D., 2007. *Storytelling and the Sciences of Mind: Cognitive Narratology, Discursive Psychology, and Narratives in Face-to-Face Interaction.* *Ohio State University Press*, **15**(3), pp. 306-334.

Herrnstein-Smith, B., 1980. Narrative versions, Narrative theories. *Critical Inquiry*, **7**(1), pp. 213-236. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343185> Accessed: 30/01/2015 18:22

Hicks, D., 1990. Narrative skills and genre knowledge: ways of telling in the primary school grades. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, **11**, pp. 83-104.

Hoey, M., 1991. *Patterrrns of lexis in text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoey, M., 2001. *Textual interaction: an introduction to written discourse analysis*. London and New York: Routledge. Taylor and Francis group.

Holmes, J., 1998. Narrative structure: Some contrasts between Maori and Pakeha story-telling. *Multilingua: Journal of Interlanguage Communication*, **17**(1), pp. 25-58.

Hornby, A.S., 2000. *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hunt, R. & Vipond, D., 1986. Evaluations in literary reading. *Text*, **61**, pp. 53-71.

Hutchby, I. & Wooffitt., R., 2008. *Conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Hymes, D., 1996. *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Ige, B., 2010. Identity and language choice: 'We equals I'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, **42**, pp. 3047-3054.

Ito, R. & Tagliamonte, S., 2003. Well weird, right dodgy, very strange, really cool: layering and recycling in English intensifiers. *Language in Society*, **32**(2), pp. 257-279. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. Accessed: 05/11/2013.

Jaber, H., 2007. Seven months since Du'a was stoned to death 'Honour' killings grow. *Kurd Daily*.

Jackendoff, R.S.1968.Quantifiers in English. *Foundation of Language*, Vol. 4, pp.422-442.
Available at : <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25000347>. Accessed in 25-06-2015.

Jefferson, G., 1978. *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction*. New York, San Francisco, London: Academic press, Inc.

Jefferson, G. 1984. "Transcription Notation,,". In Atkinson, J. & Heritage, J., eds, *Structures of Social action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jen-Chang, M., 2008. *A cross- cultural study of Taiwanese and British University students' oral narratives*. PhD Thesis. University of Leicester.

Jin, L., 1992. *Academic cultural expectations and second language use: Chinese postgraduate students in the UK-A cultural synergy Model*. PhD thesis. University of Leicester.

Johnstone, B., 1996. *The linguistic individual: self-expression in language and linguistics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Johnstone, B., 1990. *Stories, community and place: Narratives from middle America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Johnstone, B., 1991. *Repetition in Arabic discourse: paradigms, syntagms and the ecology of language*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Johnstone, D., 2001. Discourse analysis and narrative. In Schiffrin, D.E., ed, *The handbook of discourse analysis* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Kekeyi, S., 2010. The Kurdish Identity: A Cause for Conflict?. *E Kurd Newspaper*.

Kamal, H. 2014. New NGO established in Iraqi Kurdistan to protect the rights of foreign workers. *E Kurd Daily*. <http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2014/2/state7732.htm>.

Kang, Y., 2003. On the ability to tell good stories in another language: analysis of Korean EFL learners' oral "Forg story" narratives. *Narrative Inquiry*, **13**(1), pp. 127-149. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/ni.13.1.05kan>.

Karadaghi, R., 2009. *The Azadi English-Kurdish Dictionary*. Ehsan Pubblishing House.

Kemp, C. 2009. Defining multilingualism. In Aronin, L. & Hufeisen, B., eds, *The exploration of multilingualism; development of research on L3, multilingualism and multiple language acquisition*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kernman, K. T., 1977. 'Semantic and expressive elaboration in children's narratives. In Ervin-Tripp, S., ed, *Child Discourse*. New York: Academic press.

Kiesling, S.F., 1998. Variation and men's identity in a fraternity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, **2**, pp. 96-100.

Kiesling, S. 2006. Hegemonic identity-making in narrative. In De Fina, A.& Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M., eds., *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kim, D., 2010. *A basic guide to Kurdish grammar: a self study reference and practice book*. Hawler.Iraqi Kurdistan. <http://www.clik2rock.org>.

Klapproth, M., 2004. *Narrative as social practice: Anglo- Western and Australian Aboriginal oral traditions*. NewYork: Mouton De Gruyter.

Klein, H., 1998. *Adverbs of degree in Dutch and related languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Knight, K. & Graehl, J., 1998. Machine Transliteration. *Computational Linguistics*, **24**(4),.

Korobov, N. & Thorne, A., 2007. How late adolescent friends share stories about relationships: The importance of mitigating the seriousness of romantic problems. *Journal of Social and Personal Relations*, **24**(6), pp. 971-992.

Krueger, R.A. & Casey, M.A., 2000. *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. 3rd edn. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Labov, W., 1972. *Language in the inner city: studies in the Black English vernacular*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W., 2013. *The language of life and death: The transformation of experience in oral narratives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, W. 1992. Evidence for regular sound change in English dialect geography. In Rissanen, M et al., ed, *History of Englishes: New methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Labov, W. & Waletzky, J., 1967. Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience. In Helm, J., ed, . *Essays on the verbal and visual arts: proceedings of the 1966 annual spring meeting of the American ethnological society*. University of Washington Press: Seattle.

Lakoff, R.T., 2001. Narrative in the construction of political and social identity. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics.

Lambrou, M., 2003. Collaborative oral narratives of general experience: when an interview becomes a conversation. *Language and Literature*, **12**(2), pp. 153-174.

Lampert, M.D. & Ervin-Tripp, S.M., 2006. Risky laughter: teasing and self-directed joking among male and female friends. *Journal of Pragmatics*, (38), pp. 51-72.

Langellier, K. M., 2001. "You're marked" Breast cancer, tattoo, and the narrative performance of identity. In Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D., eds., *Narrative and identity: studies in autobiography, self and culture*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp.145-184.

Lee, C.D., Rosenfeld, E., Mendenhall, R., Rivers, A. and Tynes, B., 2004. Cultural modeling as a frame for narrative analysis. *Narrative analysis: Studying the development of individuals in society*, pp.39-62.

Lerner, G.H., 2002. *Turn sharing: the choral co-production of talk in interaction*'.

Leezenberg, M., 2000. *Humanitarian aid in Iraqi Kurdistan*. N°29, janvier-juin. www.kurdipedia.org/documents/88675/0001.PDF.

Linde, C., 1993. *The creation of coherence*. Oxford: Oxford university press.

Liskin-Gasparro, E., 1996. Narrative Strategies: A Case Study of Developing Storytelling Skills by a Learner of Spanish. *The Modern Language Journal*, **8**(3), pp. 271-286.

Longacre, R., 1983. *The grammar of discourse*. second edn. New York and London: Plenum Press.

Lucius-Hoene, G. & Deppermann, A., 2000. Narrative and identity empiricized: a dialogical and positioning approach to autobiographical research interviews. *Narrative Inquiry*, **10**(1), pp. 199-222.

Mackenzie, D., 1961. *Kurdish dialect studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martin, J. & Plum, A., 1997. Construing experience: some story genres. *Narrative and Life History*, **7**(1-4), pp. 299-308.

Martin, J. R. & Rose, D., 2008. *Genre relations: Mapping culture*. London, Oakville: Equinox publishing ltd.

Martin, J.R., 1992. *English text: System and structure*. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mason, R., 2008. *The use of evaluative devices in the narrative discourses of young second language learners*. SLL International: Library of Congress Catalog.

- Maynard, S.K., 1996. Multivoicedness in speech and thought representation" The case of self-quotation in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, **25**, pp. 207-226.
- Mazher, S., 2015. Rights crusader: 'Kurdish women are strong and brave'. Radaw. <http://rudaw.net/english/interview/12082015>.
- McArthur, T., ed, 1992. *The oxford companion to the English language*. Oxford: OUP.
- McCarthy, M., 1991. *Discourse analysis for language teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- McCarthy, M., 1991. *Discourse analysis for language teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- McDowall, D., 1992. *The Kurds: A nation denied*. London: Minority Rights.
- Miller, P. & Sperry, L., 1988. Early talk about the past: the origins of conversational stories of personal experience. *Child Language*, **15**(2), pp. 293-315.
- Minami, M., 2002. Culture-specific language styles: the development of oral narrative and literacy. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Modood, T. & May, S., 2001. Multiculturalism and education in Britain: an internally contested debate. *Journal of Educational Research*, **35**, pp. 305-317.
- Monzoni, C.M., 2005. The use of interjections in Italian conversation: The participation of the audience in narratives. In Quasthoff, U. & Becker, T. eds., *Narrative interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins: 197.
- Moita-Lopes, L., 2006. On being white, heterosexual and male in a Brazilian school: multiple positionings in oral narratives. In De Fina, A., Schifffrin, D. & Bamberg, M., eds., *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp. 288-313
- Mulholland, J., 1996. A series of story turns: Intertextuality and collegiality. *Text*, **16**(4), pp. 535-555.

Nawkhosh, S., 2013. *Oxford Dictionary: Kurdish-English*. Hawler: Knowledge Press.

Nicolle, S., 2015. Comparative study of eastern Bantu narrative texts. SIL International.

Norrick, N., 2000. *Conversational narrative: Storytelling in every day talk*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ochs, E. & Capps, L., 2001. *Living narrative: creating lives in every day storytelling*. Harvard University press: Cambridge: Mass.

Öpengin, E., 2015. The changing status of Kurdish in Iraq and Turkey: A comparative assessment.

Page, R., 2002. Evaluation in childbirth narratives told by women and men. *Journal of Discourse Studies*, 4(1), pp. 99-116.

Page, R., 2012. *Stories and social media: Identities and interaction*. New York and London: Routledge.

Page, R., Barton, D., Unger, J. and Zappavigna, M., 2014. *Researching language and social media: A student guide*. London & New York: Routledge.

Paradis, C., 2008. Configurations, construals and change: expressions of degree. *English Language and Linguistics*, 12(2), pp. 317-343. Available at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract/S1360674308002645>.

Pastor, R. & Maria, A., 2004. Living in a second language: self-representation in reported dialogues of Latinas' narratives of personal language experience. *Applied Linguistics*, 2(14), pp. 91-114.

Patterson, W., 2008. Narratives of events: Labovian narratives analysis and its limitations. In Andrews, M., et al. ed., *Doing narrative research*. London: Sage.

Patton, Q., 2002. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif and London: Sage.

Peterson, C. & McCabe, A., 1983. *Developmental psycholinguistics: Three ways of looking at child's narrative*. New York: Plenum Press.

Plum, G.A., 1988. *Text and contextual conditioning in spoken English: a genre based approach*. PhD thesis. University of Sydney.

Polanyi, L., 1989. *Telling the American story: a structural and cultural analysis of conversational storytelling*. Norwood: NJ: Albex.

Polanyi, L., 1981. What stories can tell us about their tellers world. *Poetics Today*, **2**(2), pp. 97-112.

Polanyi, L., 1979. So what's the point? *Semiotica*, **25**(3-4), pp. 207-242.

Polkinghorne, D., 1991. Narrative and self concept. *Narrative and Life History*, **1**(2&3), pp. 135-153.

Potter, J. 2004. Discourse analysis. In Hardy, M. & Bryman, A., ed, *Hand book of data analysis*. London: Sage.

Pratt, M., 1977. *Toward a speech act theory of literary discourse*. Bloomington: Indiana UP.

Prince, G., 2003. *A dictionary of narratology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Quasthoff, U. & Becker, T., ed, 2005. *Narrative interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Quasthoff, U., 2013. Positioning as membership management: The case of narratives about public authorities. IN Bamberg, M., McCabe, A. & Bassal, Y., eds., *Narrative inquiry*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: pp.132-153.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J., 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

- Rasul, K. A. and Abdulla, I.A., 2015. Narrative syntax in Kurdish Folktales. *Poly Technic*, 5(1).
- Rahimpour, M. & Dovaise, S., 2011. A Phonological Contrastive Analysis of Kurdish and English. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 1(2),.
- Rasinger, M., 2008. *Quantitative research in linguistics : an introduction*. London: Continuum.
- Renkema, J., 1993. *Discourse Studies: an introductory textbook*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ricoeur, P. 1990. *Time and narrative*. Volum 1(Time & Narrative).
- Riessman, C.K., 1993. *Narrative analysis*. London: Sage.
- Rissanen, M., ed, 1992. *History of Englishes: New methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rothery, B., 1990. *Story writing in primary school: Assessing narrative type genres*. PhD thesis. University of Sydney.
- Roulston, K., 2006. Close encounters of the 'CA' kind: a review of literature analyzing talk in research interviews. *Qualitative Research*, 6(4), pp. 515-534.
- Sacks, H. 1974. An analysis of the course of a joke's telling in conversation. In Bauman, R. & Sherzer, J. F., ed, *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*. Cambridge University Press: pp.337-353.
- Sacks, H. 1972b. On the analyzability of stories by children. In Gumperz, J. & Hymes, D., eds, *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Sacks, H. (1992). *Harold Sacks: lectures on conversation*. Jefferson, G. (ed.) Oxford: Blackwell.

- Schegloff, E.A. 1972. Notes on a conversational practice: formulating place. In David Sudnow (ed.) *Studies on social interaction*. New York, Free Press.
- Schegloff, E.A., 1984. 'On Some Questions and Ambiguities in Conversation'. In Atkinson, J.M. & Heritage, J., eds. *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: p. 2852.
- Schegloff, E. 1997. Narrative analysis 30 years later. In Bamberg, M., Oral versions of personal experience: three decades of narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), pp. 107-112.
- Schiffrin, D., 1984. How a story says what it means and does. *Text*, 4(4), pp. 313-46.
- Schiffrin, D., ed, 2001. *The handbook of discourse analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sheyholislami, J., 2011. *Kurdish identity, discourse and new media*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shrubshall, P., 1997. Narrative, argument and literacy: A comparative study of the narrativediscourse development of monolingual and bilingual 5-10 year old learners. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18(5), pp. 402-421.
- Smith, J., 2006. *Narrative sociolinguistic research*. United Kingdom: Elsevier.
- Stenstrom, A.B., 1988. Questioning in conversation. In Meyer, M, ed., *Questions and questioning*. New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Silverstein, M., 1976. Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. *Meaning in anthropology*, ed. Basso, K., and Selby, H.A. Albuquerque: UNM Press.
- Spenadri, A., 2005. *الجماعات الاسلامية والقضية الكردية*. Duhok: Zana.
- Strunk, J., 2003. *The structure of the Kurdish noun phrase*. Unpublished ms.
- Stansfield, G.R.V., 2003. *Iraqi Kurdistan: political development and emergent democracy*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, Taylor Francis Group.

Sueyoshi, M., 2008. Performing in a second language: performing the Japanese tales in English. In MacDonald, M., ed., *Tell the world: storytelling across language barriers*. United states of America: Green wood Publishing Group.

Sunakawa, Y., 2010. Manipulation of voices in the development of a story: prosody and voice quality of Japanese direct reported speech. In Szatrowski, P. E., *Storytelling across Japanese conversational genre*. Amsterdam. John Benjamin.

Tagliamonte, S., 2008. So different and pretty cool! Recycling intensifiers in Toronto, Canada. *English Language and Linguistics*, **12**(2), pp. 361-394. Available at <http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract/S1360674308002669>.

Tannen, D., ed, 2007. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue and imagery in conversational discourse*. 2 edn. Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D., 1989. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge University Press.

Tashakkori, A. & Creswell., J.W., 2007. The new era of mixed methods. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, **1**(1),. Available at: <http://jmmr.sagepub.com>

Tashakkori, A.& Teddlie, C., ed, 2003a. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*. Thousands Oaks, Calif: Sage.

Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C., 1998. *Mixed methods: combining qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage.

Taylor, D., 1995. The ethical implications of storytelling: Giving ear to the literature of the oppressed . *Mars Hill Review*, (3), pp. 58-70.

Taylor, G. 1986. The development of style in children's fictional narratives. In Wilkinson, A., ed, *The writing of writing*. Milton Keynes: Milton Keynes.

Teddlie, C. & Tashakkori, A., 2009. *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington: Sage.

Thackston, W.M., 2006. *Kurmanji Kurdish—A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*. Renas Media.

Thornborrow, J. & Coates, J., 2005. ed, *The sociolinguistics of narrative*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Toolan, M., 1988. *Narrative: a critical linguistic introduction*. second edn. London and New York: Routledge.

Tsuda, S., Murata, Y., Otsuka, Y., Hori, M, Shigemitsu, Y. and Otani, M., 2008. Intercultural communication between native and non-native speakers: Japanese and English conversation styles and rapport development. *JACET Chubu 25th Anniversary journal*, , pp. 57-82.

Viney, L. & Bousfield, L., 1991. Narrative analysis: A method psychosocial research for aids-affected people. *Soc. Sci. Med*, **32**(7), pp. 757-765.

Watson, K.A., 1972. *The rhetoric of narrative structure: A sociolinguistic analysis of stories told by part-Hawaiian children*. PhD edn. University of Hawaii.

Wennerstrom, A., 2001. Intonation and evaluation in oral narratives. *Journal of Pragmatics*, **33**, pp. 1183-1206.

Widdicombe, S. & Woofitt, R. 1995. *The language of youth subcultures: social identity in action*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Widdicombe, S. 1998. Identity as an analysts' and a participants' resource. In Antaki, C. & Widdicombe, S., ed., *Identities in talk*. London: Sage.

Wilkinson, J. 1986. Describing children's writing: Text evaluation and teaching strategies. In Harris, J. & Wilkinson, J., ed, *Reading children's writing: A linguistic view*. London: George Allen and Unwin: pp. 11-31

Wilkinson, S. 1999. How useful are focus groups in feminist research? In Kitzinger, J. & Barbour, R., eds, *Developing focus group research. Politics, research and practice*. London: Sage

Wolfson, N., 1982. *The conversational Historical present in American English narrative*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Wortham, S., 2001. *Narratives in action: A strategy for research and analysis*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Wortham, S., 2000. Interactional positioning and narrative self-construction. *Narrative Inquiry*, **10**(1), pp. 157-84.

Wortham, S. & Gadsden, V. 2006. Urban fathers positioning themselves through narrative: an approach to narrative self-construction In De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M., eds., *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp.314-241.

Wortham, S., Mortimer, K., Lee, K. & Allard, E., 2011. Interviews as interactional data. *Language in Society*, **40**, pp. 39-50.

Yemenici, A., 2002. Categories and functions of repetition in Turkish oral narratives. *Bogazici University Journal of Education*, **19**(1),.

Zimmerman, D. H. 1998. Identity, context and interaction. In Antaki, C. & Widdicombe, S., eds., *Identities in talk*. London: Sage: pp. 86-106.

Working together to address violence against women and girls in Iraqi Kurdistan. 120520. International rescue Committee's Iraq Country (IRC Iraq).

<https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=map+of+kurdistan&tbm>

www.bcci.bg/resources/files.

<https://glospe.com/en/ku>

m.lerntippsammlung.de/The-Kurdish-Culture.html.

.

