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Interaction Analysis in Personal Experience Stories Told by Displaced Iraqi Kurdish Yazidi Females

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Abstract

This study explores the cultural and social identities of the Yazidi women through their life personal experience stories. Their personal experience stories are put under the lenses of this research in order to gain a rich and deep knowledge about the displaced Yazidi women and their cultural and social identities. This study adopts the mixed method approach to collect and analyze the data. The data of this study comprises personal experience stories and interview questions of their storytelling experiences. The results of the analysis show that the Yazidi women construct their cultural identities through using different linguistic choices. Concerning their social identities, these selected Yazidi women will not align themselves with the brutal attack against them and will construct their social identities accordingly.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, narrative interaction, personal stories.

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تحليل التفاعل في قصص التجارب الشخصية التي ترويها النساء اليزيديات الكرديات العراقيات النازحات

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المستخلص

تستكشف هذه الدراسة الهويات الثقافية والاجتماعية للنساء اليزيديات من خلال قصص تجاربهن الشخصية في الحياة. يتم وضع هذه القصص الشخصية تحت عدسة هذا البحث من أجل اكتساب معرفة غنية وعميقة حول النساء اليزيديات النازحات وهوياتهن الثقافية والاجتماعية. تعتمد هذه الدراسة على النهج المختلط لجمع وتحليل البيانات. تتألف بيانات هذه الدراسة من قصص التجارب الشخصية وأسئلة المقابلات حول تجاربهن في السرد. تُظهر نتائج التحليل أن النساء اليزيديات يبنين هوياتهن الثقافية من خلال استخدام خيارات لغوية مختلفة. وفيما يتعلق بهوياتهن الاجتماعية، فإن هؤلاء النساء اليزيديات المختارات لن يُحالفن أنفسهن مع الهجوم الوحشي ضدهن وسيبنين هوياتهن الاجتماعية وفقاً لذلك.

الكلمات الدالة: تحليل الخطاب، التفاعل السردى، القصص الشخصية.

1. INTRODUCTION

We, as human beings, tend to tell stories constantly. We start teaching our children everything via storytelling including culture, morals, history, etc. The emphasis on these displaced women's stories of personal experience is founded on the well-established hypothesis that storytelling is a central human activity (Herman, 2007). Individuals from all cultures, regardless of whether they are educated or not, men or women, adults or children, practice storytelling (Hymes, 1996). The desire to tell stories is expressed even in the early speech of the very young children (Miller and Sperry, 1988).

Storytelling serves many purposes. People often tell stories as a coping mechanism, as a way of self-representation, and as a means for self-reflection. Through stories, people construct identities and gain perspective on events in their lives. Our experience of events is often organized in the form of narratives (Georgakopoulou, 2005; Bruner, 1991). This paper is a discourse analysis of stories told by Yazidi displaced women. This study explores how life events are presented and evaluated in narrative and analyzes the construction of their identities.

The rationales for conducting this study comprise these points. These women have suffered discrimination and mistreatment. So, this study may contribute different information to this area. Finally, and most importantly, up to now there is a gap that has not been filled. i.e., the stories of these women have not been tackled in terms of narrative analysis and this study will address this gap.

This research is trying to answer the following questions:

1. How do Yazidi females tell stories of personal experience?
2. How do the stories of personal experiences construct the five dimensions that make a personal narrative relevant which are tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity and moral stance?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. What is Narrative?

The subject of narrative has received ongoing investigation for many years. According to Bamberg (2012: 203), "narratives are about people or characters, who act events in space and time; typically, across a sequence of events temporality." De Fina and Johnstone (2015:152) demonstrate that narrative received prominence in humanistic and social-scientific theory at the middle of the twentieth century. The need to construct stories and apply narrative understanding for comprehensibility now surpasses traditional understanding of human intellect as rational interpretation. Narrative analysis ranks among the first research fields investigated by linguists during the earliest investigations and it continues to be deeply studied. Herman and Vervaeck (2001: 1) report that numerous current philosophers maintain that all explanations regarding specific temporal periods or geographic locations automatically create their own narrative accounts.

According to De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 1-2), narrative serves as a text-type while its strict definitional rules exist alongside linguistic elements that reveal those requirements. This basic premise naturally leads to interpreting storytelling as an organized activity which requires beginning, middle, end structure and units that serve to recognize its components. Thus, it is not a coincidence that approaches to narrative as a text-type have been closely connected with 'structuralism'.

Experts in narrative studies suggest that both specific criteria definitions and finding essential elements in narrative linguistic elements comprise essential aspects to understand narrative as text type. Treating narrative as a text type requires an exact definition together with a belief that tale's verbal/linguistic elements hold the key to that

definition (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). This basic assumption implies that storytelling represents a structured performative process which includes recognizable structural elements starting from the beginning through the middle and finishing at the end alongside clearly discernible study components. According to Polanyi (1985:639) the sequential ordering of verbal clauses tells the past through linking with event chains. The events exist as an ordered chain which progresses as a continuous sequence.

2.2. Narrative in Interaction

Research on narrative interaction shows how participants handle their connections among people, their broader contexts and the plot structures and story characters (Shuman 2012: 126). The process of negotiating meaning across various ties makes use of narrative as a cultural tool within both specific and larger cultural and historical and social relationships. There is no conclusive evidence that story succeeds in interpretation but the process of reading it proves uncertain. The relationship that develops between narrators and their listeners produces ties between them yet extends further beyond the limits of story presentation. Conversation among people who directly face each other represents a single style of narrative interaction (Shuman, 2012: 125).

According to Becker and Quasthoff (2005: 1), one of the most basic ways that people communicate is by telling stories in conversation: Language is utilized in this activity to transcend the mutually accessible here and now by denoting a prior occurrence, discuss one's feelings and perspectives on this previous event and the attendees, demonstrate and discuss the narrator's or character's sense of self and finally to satisfy cognitive, linguistic, and interactive needs for locating, sense-making, information, amusement, and "unburdening". According to their argument narrating encompasses more than simply using verbal language to express past events. The local context fundamental interdependencies of storytelling form an integral part with the verbalization process. Becker and Quasthoff (2005: 2) establish that narrative interaction stands distinct from a single cognitive perspective because it depends on both perception and storage mechanisms of cognitive systems and their retrieval capabilities to verbalize specific types of information.

According to De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 87) conversational analysts analyze stories as interactive multi-turn paragraphs within ongoing speech which extend beyond their performed text segment to affect following discourse. According to Jefferson (1978 as cited in De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012: 87) the crucial elements of storytelling interaction include both local context creation and sequential connection. Jefferson defines local occasioning as a description that explains why stories evolve naturally from discussion topics which makes them directly meaningful for specific interactions rather than suddenly materializing from nowhere. The theory of "sequential implicativeness" reveals that when storytelling occurs it has an influence on what follows in the discourse sequence.

According to Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 57), alternative research tradition based in conversation analysis with discursive psychology evaluates narratives (i.e. stories and story-elements) through their specific sequencing at the moments when people tell them which differs from conventional narrative analysis (Edwards, 1997; Jefferson, 1978; and

Ryave, 1978). The way stories are delivered matters as well as the process they undergo to become part of the interaction alongside the achievable conversational activities in storytelling instances (such as complaining or testifying).

As far as the audience participation is concerned, Shuman (2012: 125) examines how audience members handle their relationships to each other and to events and persons within stories which unfold at storytelling events. De fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 91-92) show how analysis of multimembered narrative storytelling refuted teller-centered thinking by demonstrating its conversational origin. A story's development patterns significantly because its starting elements depend heavily on what happens in the audience. Narratives alongside selected narrative components remain subject to rejection and contestation and refutation and disregard and other similar reactions. Ochs and Capps (2001: 2) further note the process of joint story creation while distinguishing between telling a story alone and telling with others. Tellings in natural storytelling environments occur frequently without the storyteller having formed a predetermined message beforehand.

According to Ochs and Capps (2001) storytellers tend to employ these events for helping listeners understand their experiences resulting in narrative employment as a cooperative method for group evaluation of particular circumstances and life's general theme. Collaborative narrative creation has the potential to produce conflicts which result in hostility between participants. The establishment of telling rights remains critical as such rights cannot be granted while the fact that audiences resist being treated as unified submissive entities should be stressed. The co-tellers along with their audiences maintain strong influence over how the narrative unfolds and develops.

The methods used by conversation analysts match those which participants use in their dialogues. Schegloff (2007: 7) describes categories of interactional interest including questions, responses, disagreements, offers, challenges, requests, teasing, finessing, compliance, performance, noticing, and promising. Conversational analysis enables inductive research from the bottom up by employing these categories to reveal extensive knowledge about dialogue structures and prove its systematic yet organized rule system.

2.3. Dimensions of Conversational Narratives

Ochs and Capps (2001: 18–58) state that conversational narrative commonly incorporates questions as well as clarifications along with challenges and speculative elements which explore hypothetical scenarios (these elements form the host genre structures used in narrative discourse). They suggest five dimensions that make a personal narrative relevant:

2.3.1. Tellership

Tellership describes how much and what type of participation occurs between conversation participants during storytelling (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 24). Through different communication tools including voice, text, visual representation, gesture and body orientation, movement, and face expression among others, tellers transform their set of reportable events into real-life experiences. The teller functions either as someone who

listens or a collaborative group who together uncover meanings and feelings essential to described events.

2.3.2. Tellability

Ochs and Capps (2002: 33) establish that the effectiveness of expressing legitimate events alongside compelling arguments in personal narratives reflects their potential to become tellable stories. According to their viewpoint highly tellable accounts retain their entertaining quality during retellings.

A highly tellable life story presents meaningful or captivating events which listener find compelling. The participants involved do not require knowledge about what took place. Future occurrences that are either recognized or unidentified could influence the lives of people making these accounts more valuable to listeners.

2.3.3. Embeddedness

Ochs and Capps (2001: 36) explain that the extent of personal experience narrative integration into social dialogue and related discourse differs from situation to situation. The authors explain that turn organization together with thematic substance and rhetorical structure determine how a personal narrative separates itself from preceding and concurrent and following speech. An event gets described through one or multiple extended conversational moves which function as separate narrative parts. Ochs and Capps (2001:37) explain that personal experience narratives with high embedment characteristics have no identifiable turn-taking pattern. The authors indicate that such narratives unfold while spanning different-length speaker turns like those before and after them without requiring extended uninterrupted sessions containing minimal listener participation. The thematic content of embedded narratives connects to whatever topic prevails during conversation or remains active.

2.3.4. Linearity

In personal experience narratives (and autobiographies) Ochs and Capps (2001: 40-41) explain that life story chronology can include events spanning an entire lifetime or events limited to shorter time periods including encounters and illnesses and celebrations. Lifespan-spanning narratives appear seldom in present-day social interaction although conversational narratives of personal experience usually focus on restricted events.

Personal experience stories base their event arrangement on time sequence and causal connections yet they do not use these principles to form events in a simple linear direction or create cause-effect relationships continuously. Ochs and Capps (2001:41) identify the linearity dimension as the technique used to define how human experience narratives present events either through unified temporal and causal lines or multiple open-ended paths. Linear narratives contain definable sequential events when each incident follows the previous one chronologically.

2.3.5. Moral Stance

Moral stance analysis explains that personal experience stories present interpretive perspectives about events instead of offering complete objective accounts of their

occurrences according to Ochs and Capps (2001: 45). The "moral stance" adopted by storytellers as well as protagonists stands essential for determining narrative viewpoint according to their analysis. The foundation of moral stance in community and tradition creates an attitude about correct actions and ethical behavior in the world.

According to Ochs and Capps (2001: 45-46) daily narratives of personal experience function as the most powerful encoding system and maintenance structure of moral worldview because they transmit ethical understandings using multiple cultural forms including proverbs, rules, maxims, guidance, songs and visual representations.

3. METHODOLOGY (THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK)

3.1. Approaches

The current study employs a qualitative approach. Qualitative research focuses on interpreting textual content elements including entities and processes and meanings because their measurement cannot be expressed through counting frequencies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 8). Creswell (2014: 32) describes qualitative methods as text analytical approaches which employ word evaluation for final conclusions derived through inductive theme analysis. This paper aims to present an understanding of how a Yazidi woman whose family experienced displacement reported their sufferings as they tried to find safety during the Shingal ISIS attack in August 2014.

3.2. Participants

The current paper comprises one participant: a Yazidi monolingual Kurdish-speaking woman. Using a qualitative approach on one speaker enables the creation of an extensive understanding of personal storytelling styles within Kurdish context. The participant is a displaced Yazidi Kurdish woman who speaks the Shingali accent of the Kurdish language. She is an illiterate 53-year-old married housewife. She was chosen as a participant of this paper to convey what all the Yazidi community in Shingal had gone through in their displacement in 2014. When collecting the data, the participant was living in the Khanki camp in Duhok city.

3.3. Data Collection

The data used in this paper (See Appendix A and B) consists of ten small stories told by three displaced Yazidi women from Shingal. The participants were asked to narrate what they went through in 2014 when they were displaced. The researcher recorded the participants, then transcribed the stories narrated. After transcribing, the researcher translated the stories into English and finally analyzed them.

3.4. The Model

The model that was conducted in this paper is Ochs and Capps's (2001) model. It states that conversational narrative commonly incorporates questions as well as clarifications along with challenges and speculative elements that explore hypothetical scenarios. These elements form the host genre structures used in narrative discourse. They suggest five dimensions that make a personal narrative relevant which are tellership,

tellability, embeddedness, linearity and moral stance. These dimensions are discussed in detail in previous sections of this paper.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of personal narratives according to Ochs and Capps (2001) follows five components or dimensions which include tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance. Below I investigate the 10 stories through each component of the model:

4.1. Tellership

Tellership has to do with who is speaking and the placement of the story in a given narrativistic context. From story 1 up to story 10, two things are obvious: interactive tellership and dynamic participation. As far as interactive tellership is concerned, the stories are dominantly of the monologic kind and Fairoz (i.e. our participant) serves as the only narrator of the narratives. Thus, the only form of interactivity is discussed in the context of occasional dialogue with other people (e.g. children or neighbors), as in the example below from story 1 (Preparing for Departure):

"د کچکنو وهرن بهری نهم ب رهفن وهرن نهم نیفر وژی بخوین."

"My children, come before we run away, come and have lunch".

Or the following example from story 8 (Water Crises on the Journey):

"بهسه بهر فا کچکا بی همتا نهم دگههین جیهیکی."

"Stop distributing them and let some remain for these little children until we reach a place".

Thus, the structurally multi-voiced narration is focused on Fairoz and she repeatedly reports what others say.

Concerning dynamic participation, despite Fairoz as the major narrator, she occasionally points to such Paratextual Relations as neighbors, children, or even the Peshmerga who narratively participate in passive ways only, as it is clear in the following example from story 7 (Assistance from the Peshmerga):

گو بکیده مه گو کوردستان.

They asked us where we were going, and we said towards Kurdistan.

4.2. Tellability

The concept of tellability is dealing with issues to do with why the story ought to be told, why it is interesting or relevant. As far as this dimension is concerned, the stories (1-10) display two things: high tellability and everyday vs. extraordinary. The events in these stories have high tellability because they are worrisome and emotionally charged – the protagonist had to survive a dangerous trip. The high stakes (safety, survival and

displacement) are all dramatic and would trigger interest within the public. In other words, the dangerous circumstances coupled with intense emotions create events that are highly tellable.

The second thing obvious in these stories is everyday vs. extraordinary and that is when Fairoz switches between regular life activities such as baking bread and preparing water, as it is clear in story 1 (Preparing for Departure) when Fairoz says; "سبههه سبههه دهه" "In the morning at ten o'clock, or even before ten o'clock, at nine o'clock in the morning, I woke up for baking.", then moves into life-threatening situations during times of violence and water-related emergencies which show how everyday routine contrasts against extraordinary danger, and this is when in story 9 (Arrival at Derabon School) Fairoz says:

"بخودئ ئهم هاتن نيزينگي بهر ئافئ بون نيزينگي بهر ئافئ نهبون خودئ چول وبهيار هاتن مجار نهبوو نهائيا مهجالي تهر مهبيلا نهبوو. بخودئ ئهم گهههانه بهر ئافئ نهگههه بهر ئافئ تهر مهبيلا مه خارابوو."

"I swear by God, we came towards the water and reached bare areas and uncultivated lands, I swear by God, there was no space for cars to pass at all. I swear by God, near the water, our car had a breakdown."

All the ten narratives by Fairoz include cultural and emotional weight because all her 10 stories include elements of powerful emotional reactions: crying, fleeing and community. The communal effort done at a communal level of distributing water and the mourning done in the school of the girl whose story is portrayed in story 10 makes the reader to be empathized, all this showing how communal experiences work out the story.

4.3. Embeddedness

Embeddedness regards where the story is positioned in relation to other events, values or other stories. The first prominent thing in the ten stories by Fairoz is 'social context'; the stories belong to cultural, social and historical narratives of forced migration and eviction with reference to Yezidi people during conflicts in the region. For instance, how Fairoz was informed by the neighbors of the tell-tales that the village was taken, as it is clear in story 2 (The warning and Initial Doubt) when she says; "خودئ جيناري وه دگينه گر" "I swear by God; the neighbors say that they took control of the village Girzark and that they entered the villages of Tel Uzair and Siba". They said we swear by God you are not saying the truth; you are lying. They did not believe me." and how when the danger increased, they escape, exhibits how the stock characters are having a shared experience of the citizens.

The second thing prominent in these ten stories is 'cultural relevance'; The phrases pointing to God ("بخودئ"/"I swear by God"), help to orient the reader in a religious context and give credit to the perseverance of the community during the ordeal.

The last theme that is clear in Fairoz's stories is 'embedded dialogues'; the storytelling technique of embedded dialogues lets Fairoz portray her children's doubts followed by their acceptance to leave their home using reported speech which makes the

account both deep and present, as it is clear in the following example from story 4 (The Final Decision to Flee):

"گو بوی خودی ما ئهم ناچين. بخودي چوون سهری ئه نيشکي و هاتن گو والله ئهمی چين وکا غه رادنيت خو بينين. بخودي ددوو متاری ههچهند م تژی ئاڤکرن بخودي م تورمز تژی ئاڤکر ئاڤا جهمهدي مه جهمهه کريبوو را نیف قالب. خودی مه ئه وژی تیکر و بخودی ئم هاتن. گو تن "هلوبهن و زو ساربن". "

"They said, we swear by that God, we will not go. I swear by God, they went a short distance, then came back and said, "We swear by God, we will go", and asked to collect their stuffs. I swear by God, I filled two water bottles to this extent, and I swear by God I also filled the thermos with cold water, as I had bought half an ice cube and I swear by God, I put it as well in the thermos. Then I swear by God we left, and they said, "Come and ride quickly"."

4.4. Linearity

Linearity relates to an order of events conveyed as well as the structure of the flow. A non-linear narrative pattern dominates the ten stories that combines chronological storytelling with several detouring segments throughout the stories. Despite the chronological nature of the account, the structure is relatively non-linear because Fairoz often pauses her narrative to describe the actions of others and her responses in detail or to offer ethical comments, as it is evident in story 5 (Fleeing in a Crowded Caravan) when Fairoz says; "بخودي تهر مپیلوکهکا مه یا پیسکوکیوو خودی ئه وژی مه جیل دیناڤه ئانیوو. "

"I swear by God, we had a bad car that I swear by God we had taken for debt."

However, the sequence of the events presented is relatively quite chronological in that one event follows another. For instance; Fairoz recalls prior episodes in her life (for instance, preparations for leaving) throughout later scenes. Also, the repeated statement of "بخودي"/ "I swear by God" in the stories forms a circular pattern which highlights her emotional state than offering narrative progression.

Fairoz's ten stories are also characterized by an 'episodic nature' in that every action and event is one episode in the general storyline, starting with preparation for escape, to actual escape and finally to reaching Derabon School. Despite containing linear sequences in each story, the whole structure captures the fact that displacement is a disruptive process. So, the ten stories by Fairoz have a chronological unfolding, their development is a rather linear movement from one phase of the plot to another, from the preparation for escape (story 1) to escape (story 5) and assistance (story 7) to the emergence of new difficulties at the time of the escape (story 8) and arrival at school (story 9). The temporal sequence is however not lost despite Fairoz sometimes underlining a certain aspect of the story by repeating it again.

4.5. Moral Stance

Moral stance refers to the stand the narrator takes in the entire morality and ethical field within that particular storyline. From story 1 up to story 10 and through her storyline, Fairoz shows active leadership by preparing meals and collecting pomegranates followed by delivering water. This proves the religious nature she holds for her family as well as the community she comes from.

Moral judgement is very clear in Fairoz's stories for they present hidden ethical assessments about what other characters perform in their actions. For instance; her children first showed refusal to trust her warnings because they doubted her but later recognized the actual threat. The second instance (story 7) is, the Peshmerga, and the people who helped them are represented as good characters, stressing such virtues as unity and compassion. One more example of moral judgement is clear in story 10 which depicts the entire school population grieving together as a way to emphasize their common moral position as well as unity and steadfastness in the face of displacement, as in the example below:

"كى بخوه غير ئيسك ئسكىت خەلكى نىنەبخودى ئەر گ ھەركى مە ئىك شىمالى مرى بەربو. ھەمى دگرىن ژن مېركچك مەزن ھمى دگرىن."

"But who has appetite to eat, where people were wailing, I swear by God, as if each of us had someone dead! Everyone was crying, men and women, young and old."

5. CONCLUSION

Through the framework of Ochs & Capps (2001), the analysis of the discourse in these stories reveals the following:

- Fairoz's storytelling encompasses personal stigmatized experience with shared and politically inflected themes of suffering, endurance, and moral agency.
- The presented stories are organized with linearity in mind but are presented as linear narratives with brief breaks for dramatic emotional impact.
- Fairoz is the main focus since as the teller she frames the events based on her actions, her morality, and her ethical obligations. The rather more consistent moral position is also being built around family, community, and the possibility of survival in terror.
- Repetition and intensification is also present. The phrase 'I swear by God' is used many times to give an oath, to express the genuine and to give emphasis on what is being narrated (Berot, 2023).
- There is a gendered perspective. Here again we can see that Fairoz is displaced from her country but she manages to find a means of survival and at the same time repeating her domestic care-giving roles.
- There are themes of survival and community. In all the stories, Fairoz is depicted at the same time as acting personally (cooking food for the family so that they can decide when to leave) and collectively (leaving with others, arriving in Derabon school).

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Story (3): Deciding to Leave and Harvesting Pomegranates

فیروز: م گو والله نها ئەزا با تەحسین بووم تەحسین خاوەر کر گو الله هاتن گەهه تەل عزیز وسیفایی. گو باشه م گو دهون ناچن گو نا والله م گو الله ئەزێ چم هەناریت خو هەمی چنم. م چوو هەناریت خو هەمی چنن و بخودئ م تئ دو دستکا کرن دو دستکیت هەفچەند تژی هەنارکرن.

Story (4): The Final Decision to Flee

فیروز: م گو ت دە بخودئ دترشنه ئەز داتو هشینم هەک هون ناچن بەری ئەم ب رهفن گو بوی خودئ ما ئەم ناچن. بخودئ چوون سەری ئەنیشکئ و هاتن گو والله ئەمی چن وکا غەرادنیت خو بینن. بخودئ ددوو متاری هەفچەند م تژی ئافکرن بخودئ م تورمز تژی ئافکر ئافا جەمەدئ مە جەمەد کریبوو را نیف قالب. خودئ مە ئەوژی تیکر و بخودئ ئەم هاتن. گو تن "هلو بەن و زو سارین".

Story (5): Fleeing in a Crowded Caravan

فیروز: بخودئ تەرمەپێلۆکەکا مە یا پێسکۆکبوو خودئ ئەوژی مە جێل دیناڤه ئانیبو. بخودئ ئەم لئو ریمپێلۆکا خو سوار بوین و ئەم هاتن. مە گو بخودئ هەڤالەکی مە نینە ئەمی ب کیری چن هەکە ئەم هاتن چم چن سنوئ و مە دارکی شخا تەرمەپێلا لپی تەرمەپێلا خەلکی خانئ گو "وەرن بگەهەن مە ئەمی پێگرا چن".

Story (6): On the Road to Safety

فیروز: بخودئ م گەهە خەلکی خانەسوری ئەگە ئەم چوین قا قرش و قالی بەری هەمی لپیش مە ئەم هاتن بخودئ ئەم گەهە درکا سەر حدود رێ و مەجال نینە. بخودئ ئەم برێڤه هاتن مە دا رێ بخودئ ئەم گەهە گەهە مشیرفا بخودئ مە مشیرفای دەربازکر و مە دەربازنەکر عنا عوینات و دور عوینات و خودئ غەررینی ژسەریت رەشاشا هات ب نیف مە وەرکرین غەررین برەشاشاکەت.

Story (7): Assistance from the Peshmerga

فیروز: بخودئ تەرمەپێلا پێشمەرگا گە مە. گە مە و بخودئ لێمە جەفتی و ئەم ئەم و ئەو لیک جەفتین بخودئ ئەم بەرب کوردستان هاتن گو بکیده مە گو کوردستان.

Story (8): Water Crises on the Journey

فیروز: بخودئ ئەم هاتن نێزینگی بەرئافی بون نێزینگی بەرئافی نەبون خودئ چول و بیار هاتن مجار نەبوو نهائیا مەجالی تەرمەپێلا نەبوو. بخودئ ئەم گەهەانە بەرئافی نەگەهی بەر ئافی تەرمەپێلا مە خاوابوو. بخودئ لپیش بە بەری مە هاتن. خەلکی دورابوئ پێشڤه بە بەری مە هات تەرمەپێلا مە چیکرن. تەرمەپێلا مە بخو

خبر ابو تهرمپلا مه خبر ابو ژ مهر چيكرن. بخودئ ئهم هاتن گههه بهر ئاڤئ. چ م گههين بهرئاڤئ رى و جه نينه چهن هممئ پيا رى. ههچيئ بو وهډگى نهزى ژ تتهنا بهههچيم. بخودئ جارن تهرههپيل دسه كنى م گوئى م گوهرن فا ئاڤ ژ وهرا. ب وئ رى تهو ئاڤ همى مه هممئ وهزعاند بخيرا ئاڤئ خودئ م گو فهخون فهخون فهخون بخودئ ههردوو مهتار م هممى دا خه لئ. دور دوو تاتكا سيبا لبني تورمزي مالا مه گوئن "بهسه بهر فا كچكا بي ههتا ته م دگههين جيهيكي".

Story (9): Arrival at Derabon School

فيروز: بخودئ ئهم گههانه بهرئاڤئ ئهم گان بهرئاڤئ ئهم هاتين ئهم بكيده چين ئهم نزانين بگيده چين. بخودئ ئهم چوين مهدرسا دورمبونئ. ئيقارى سهعت نه سهعت نههئ سبههئ مه شمال دايه رى ئهم سهعت نههئ شيقئ ئهم وى همى بريڤههه ئهم نو گهههه مهدرسا نا دورمبونئ. ئهم گهههه ور ئهم گههان تى عوشا مهدرسا دورمبونئ خودئ مالكنيت خوى خيرا ئاڤا بكه. ئى بوى خودئ نه فا سهحنيت ههچهند خهلكئ همى ئهم چوون رى وجه ل مهدرسيده نينه ژ بشهري.

Story (10): Grief and Community at the School

فيروز: ئى بوى خودئ نهف سهحنيت ههچهندا تژژ نان وخوارن چا وتشت وشمرا نانين. كى بخوه غير نيسك ئسكيت خهلكئ نينه بخودئ ئهو گ ههركى مه ئيك شمالي مري بهربوو. هممى دگرين ژن ميكرچك مهزن همى دگرين.

Appendix B: Translation of the Stories

Story (1): Preparing for Departure

Fairoz: In the morning at ten o'clock, or even before ten o'clock, at nine o'clock in the morning, I woke up for baking. I kneaded my dough, baked my bread, prepared lunch, and said, "My children, come before we run away, come and have lunch". I made lunch and put it. I put some of my bread in a sack. I said: my children, take this for you we might go somewhere and we will get hungry. You kids will be hungry. I swear by God, I put it in a sack and put half of it in a bowl. I made lunch. I prepared Ayran for the children and put the lunch. I called out, kids, come and have lunch so that we won't be hungry if we go.

Story (2): The warning and Initial Doubt

Fairoz: I swear by God, some of them couldn't eat. I swear by God, some ate only two bites, I swear by God, while others did not eat any. I swear by God, some of them ate. We were four or five people. I told them "Kids, come so we can go out. I said come on let's go out. I swear by God; the neighbors say that they took control of the village Girzark and that they entered the villages of Tel Uzair and Siba". They said we swear by God you are not saying the truth; you are lying. They did not believe me.

Story (3): Deciding to Leave and Harvesting Pomegranates

Fairoz: I told them, I swear by God, I was now with Tahseen and Tahseen made a phone call and said: " I swear by God, they have come and reached the villages of Tel Uzair and Siba". The children said OK. So, I asked them, "Won't you go?" They said, "No" we swear by God. I told them I swear by God, I will go to harvest all my pomegranates. I went and harvested all my pomegranates and I swear by God, I put them in two buckets and filled the two buckets to that extent.

Story (4): The Final Decision to Flee

Fairoz: I said I swear by God, it was sour, I would spread it if you are not intending to leave, and that was before we ran away. They said, we swear by that God, we will not go. I swear by God, they went a short distance, then came back and said, "We swear by God, we will go", and asked to collect their stuffs. I swear by God, I filled two water bottles to this extent, and I swear by God I also filled the thermos with cold water, as I had bought half an ice cube and I swear by God, I put it as well in the thermos. Then I swear by God we left, and they said, "Come and ride quickly".

Story (5): Fleeing in a Crowded Caravan

Fairoz: I swear by God, we had a bad car that I swear by God we had taken for debt. So, I swear by God, we got into our car and left. We said, "We swear by God, we have no one to leave with, where will we go?". When we went to Sinoni sub-district, we saw a line of cars parked one after the other like matchsticks. The people of Khani village told us: "Come and join us. We will go together".

Story (6): On the Road to Safety

Fairoz: I swear by God, when we followed the people of Khansuri village, we saw everyone was ahead of us like wild grass. I swear by God, we continued walking until we reached a border area and there was no way to cross. I swear by God, we continued walking and I swear by God, we reached Mushirfa village. I swear by God, we crossed the village and reached Al-Uwaynat village and its outskirts. I swear by God, we heard the sounds of machine guns firing at us, and the sounds of the gunfire drowned out the machine guns.

Story (7): Assistance from the Peshmerga

Fairoz: I swear by God, the Peshmerga vehicles arrived. I swear by God, they went toward us and we went to them. I swear by God, we came towards Kurdistan. They asked us where we were going, and we said towards Kurdistan.

Story (8): Water Crises on the Journey

Fairoz: I swear by God, we came towards the water and reached bare areas and uncultivated lands, I swear by God, there was no space for cars to pass at all. I swear by God, near the water, our car had a breakdown. I swear by God, the people of Dorabon village came towards us and repaired our cars. Our car had a breakdown and they

repaired our car. I swear by God; we headed towards the water. Once we reached the water bank, there was no way and place to go, and everyone was walking. Everyone was saying that they were dying of thirst.

I swear by God, the car would stop sometimes, so I said, "Come, this water for you". I distributed all that water on the people on that road for God's sake. I said, "Drink, drink, drink,". I swear by God, I distributed the two water bottles to the people. There were about two or three bowls left at the bottom of the thermos, so my family said, "Stop distributing them and let some remain for these little children until we reach a place".

Story (9): Arrival at Derabon School

Fairoz: I swear by God, we reached the banks of the water, wondering where to go, but we did not know where to go. I swear by God, we went to Derabon village school. We arrived there and entered the courtyard of Derabon School. Thanks for the charitable. I swear by that God, there were dishes of this size. We entered with the people, and there was no place or path inside the school due to the large existence of residents.

Story (10): Grief and Community at the School

Fairoz: I swear by God, they brought such large plates full of bread, food, and tea, they brought it to us. But who has appetite to eat, where people were wailing, I swear by God, as if each of us had someone dead! Everyone was crying, men and women, young and old.