



Pragmatic Function and Frequency of the Discourse Markers
***Yeşni, Êsta, Xoi, and Îtr* in Spoken Contexts in Central**
Kurdish

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Pragmatic Function and Frequency of the Discourse Markers *Yeşni*, *Êsta*, *Xoi*, and *Îtr* in Spoken Contexts in Central Kurdish

Abstract

This is a sociolinguistic study which explores how the discourse markers (DMs) *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* (usually translated as English *I mean*) are used in conversation by three groups of Kurdish-speaking participants (12 first year undergraduate students, 12 fourth year undergraduate students, and 12 lecturers) who study and work in the English departments in universities in Kurdistan. The motivation behind this study is to discover the functions of the DMs in Kurdish, and to understand and explain the similarities and differences in the uses of the DMs by the different groups.

The research first qualitatively and quantitatively investigates the pragmatic functions of *yeşni* and then compares the results to functions identified in previous Arabic, Turkish, and Persian studies. The data analysis demonstrates that the use of *yeşni* in Kurdish is similar to its use in other languages. Next, I analyse the pragmatic functions signalled by the three possible equivalent DMs in Kurdish: *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. The findings reveal that *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* were used to signal several of pragmatic functions associated with *yeşni*. In addition, the results indicate that interchangeability between *yeşni* and *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* is possible in some cases. The results suggest that principles of grammaticalisation, such as phonetic reduction and layering, could explain the development of interchangeability of the DMs. Furthermore, I have investigated and explained the behaviour of the groups using a quantitative analysis of frequencies and sociolinguistic concepts such as Community of Practice.

This study contributes to our understanding of language variation and grammaticalisation, the functions of discourse markers, and the Kurdish language. It should be of interest to linguists, researchers, lecturers, and students who study Kurdish, Arabic, and English.

Fatima Berot

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	3
List of Tables.....	12
List of Figures.....	14
List of Abbreviations	16
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	18
1.0 Introduction	18
1.1 The Kurdish language and its dialects	22
1.1.1 The sub-dialects of the Central Dialect.....	23
1.1.2 Kurdish alphabet.....	26
1.1.3 Kurdish grammar-overview	28
1.1.3.1 Kurdish sentence structure	29
1.1.3.2 Inflectional morphology.....	29
1.1.3.3 Sub-classes of pronouns in Kurdish	31
1.1.3.3.1 Personal pronouns	31
1.1.3.3.2 The possessive pronouns	33
1.1.3.3.3 Reflexive pronouns.....	34
1.1.3.4 Summary	36
1.2 Research questions.....	36
1.3 The aims of the study and its contribution	36
1.4 Thesis outline	37
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	40
2.0 Introduction	40

2.1 Theoretical background of DMs.....	41
2.1.1 Definitions of DMs	41
2.1.2 Terminology reviewed	42
2.1.3 Characteristics of DMs	45
2.1.4 Summary	48
2.2 Grammaticalisation of DMs	49
2.2.1 Definition and principles of grammaticalisation	49
2.2.2 Process of change	52
2.2.3 Summary	54
2.3 DMs in Kurdish	54
2.4 Previous studies on <i>yeʕni</i> (I mean)	56
2.4.1 Development of <i>yeʕni</i> (I mean)	56
2.4.2 General overview of <i>yeʕni</i> (I mean)	58
2.4.3 Pragmatic functions of <i>yeʕni</i> (I mean) in previous studies	64
2.4.4 Summary	71
2.5 Conclusion.....	72
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	73
3.0 Introduction	73
3.1 The Context of the Study	73
3.1.1 Ethical fieldwork	73
3.1.2 Recruiting the participants	75
3.2 Data Collection and Methods	77
3.2.1 Interview	77
3.2.2 Facebook	79
3.3 Framework of the study	81

3.3.1 Data Transcription and Coding	81
3.3.2 Normalizing the data.....	82
3.3.3 Methods of analysis	83
3.4 Conclusion.....	85
CHAPTER FOUR: COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE.....	86
4.0 Introduction	86
4.1 Community of Practice	87
4.2 The CoP in the current study	89
4.3 Participant groups behaviour in code-switching on Facebook.....	91
4.3.1 Previous literature on code-switching.....	92
4.3.2 The MLF model.....	93
4.3.3 Code-switching in the current study	95
4.3.3.1 Different languages at different rates	96
4.3.3.2 User Competence.....	102
4.3.3.3 Style in Posts	104
4.3.3.4 Summary of Facebook results	107
4.3.3.5 Discussion	107
4.4 Conclusion.....	108
CHAPTER FIVE: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF DM <i>YEŖNI</i> (I MEAN) ..	110
5.0 Introduction	110
5.1 <i>YeŖni</i> (I mean) in Kurdish	111
5.1.1 The status of <i>yeŖni</i> in Kurdish	112
5.1.1.1 Previous studies on distinguishing borrowings and code-switches	112
5.1.2 Translation of <i>yeŖni</i> (I mean)	114

5.2 Categorization of <i>yeʕni</i> (I mean) at three levels: <i>communication, function</i> and <i>usage</i>	116
5.2.1 Three levels signalled by <i>yeʕni</i> (based on Owens and Rockwood 2008; Noora and Amouzadeh 2015; the current study)	116
5.2.2 Categorization of the levels of communication and functions signalled by <i>yeʕni</i> (Based on Owens and Rockwood 2008, p.103)	118
5.2.2.1 Functions of <i>yeʕni</i> at the speech act level	121
5.2.2.2 Functions of <i>yeʕni</i> at the discourse level	123
5.2.2.3 Functions of <i>yeʕni</i> at the turn-management level	124
5.2.3 Summary	125
5.3 Pragmatic functions of <i>yeʕni</i> (I mean) in the present study	125
5.3.1 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) at speech act level	126
5.3.1.1 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) to signal explanation	126
5.3.1.1.1 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) to signal explanation by justifying previous ideas	127
5.3.1.1.2 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) to signal explanation by adding information to previous ideas	128
5.3.1.2 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) to signal exemplifying	130
5.3.1.2.1 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) with the phrase <i>bo nmune</i> (for example) to exemplify	131
5.3.1.2.2 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) without the phrase <i>bo nmune</i> (for example)	133
5.3.1.2.3 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) with the phrase <i>bo nmune</i> (for example) to signal adding information	135
5.3.1.2.4 Summary of <i>yeʕni</i> with examples	136
5.3.2 <i>Yeʕni</i> (I mean) at the discourse level	137
5.3.2.1 <i>Yeʕni</i> (so) to signal result	138

5.3.2.1.1 <i>Yeşni</i> (so) to signal result with positive values	138
5.3.2.1.2 <i>Yeşni</i> (so) to signal negative result	139
5.3.2.2 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) to signal assessment	141
5.3.3 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) at the turn-management level.....	145
5.3.3.1 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) to mark floor-holding	145
5.3.3.2 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) to signal self-correction	149
5.3.4 Summary	151
5.4 Conclusion.....	152
CHAPTER SIX: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF <i>YEŞNI</i> (I MEAN)	155
6.0 Introduction	155
6.1 Results of total number of <i>yeşni</i> (I mean) within the three participant groups.....	157
6.2 Frequency of <i>yeşni</i> (I mean) at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) and the ambiguous cases.....	158
6.3 Results of <i>yeşni</i> (I mean) per function at each level of communication..	161
6.3.1 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) per function at speech act level.....	161
6.3.2 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) per function at discourse level	164
6.3.3 <i>Yeşni</i> (I mean) per function at turn-management level.....	167
6.4 Conclusion.....	169
CHAPTER SEVEN: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF KURDISH DMS <i>ÊSTA</i> , <i>XOI</i> AND <i>ÎTR</i> (I MEAN)	171
7.0 Introduction	171
7.1 The DM <i>êsta</i>	173
7.1.1 <i>Êsta</i> at speech act level	175
7.1.1.1 <i>Êsta</i> to signal elaboration.....	176
7.1.1.2 <i>Êsta</i> to signal exemplifying with the phrase <i>bo nmune</i>	177

7.1.1.3 <i>Êsta</i> to signal exemplifying without the phrase <i>bo nmune</i> (for example).....	179
7.1.3 <i>Êsta</i> at discourse level to signal assessment	181
7.1.4 Summary	182
7.2 The Kurdish DM <i>xoi</i>	183
7.2.1 <i>Xoi</i> at speech act level to signal elaboration	184
7.2.2 <i>Xoi</i> at discourse level to signal assessment	185
7.2.3 Summary	187
7.3 The Kurdish DM <i>îtr</i>	188
7.3.1 <i>Îtr</i> at speech act level	189
7.3.1.1 <i>Îtr</i> to signal explanation	190
7.3.1.2 <i>Îtr</i> to signal shifting	191
7.3.2 <i>Îtr</i> at discourse level.....	193
7.3.2.1 <i>Îtr</i> to signal assessment	193
7.3.2.2 <i>Îtr</i> (so) to signal results	195
7.3.3 Summary	198
7.4 Interchangeability of the DMs <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> , and <i>îtr</i> in the present study	199
7.4.1 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>xoi</i>	202
7.4.2 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>îtr</i>	203
7.4.2.1 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>îtr</i> to signal exemplifying	204
7.4.2.2 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>îtr</i> to signal shifting	205
7.4.2.3 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>îtr</i> to signal result	206
7.4.2.3 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>îtr</i> to signal explanation.....	207
7.4.3 <i>Îtr</i> versus <i>xoi</i>	208
7.4.3.1 <i>Îtr</i> versus <i>xoi</i> to signal elaboration	209

7.4.3.2 <i>Îtr</i> versus <i>xoi</i> to signal explanation.....	210
7.4.3.3 <i>Îtr</i> versus <i>xoi</i> to signal result	211
7.4.3.4 <i>Îtr</i> versus <i>xoi</i> to signal shifting	211
7.4.4 Summary	212
7.5 Conclusion.....	213
8.0 Introduction	215
8.1 Overall occurrences of <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> and <i>îtr</i> in the study data	216
8.1.1 Overall frequency occurrences of <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> and <i>îtr</i> by the three groups of the participants.....	217
8.1.2 Summary	218
8.2 Frequency occurrences of functions signalled by <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> and <i>îtr</i>	219
8.2.1 Frequency occurrences of functions signalled by <i>êsta</i>	219
8.2.1.1 Frequency occurrences of <i>êsta</i> to signal exemplifying with positive and negative evaluations	222
8.2.1.2 Summary	222
8.2.2 Frequency occurrences of <i>xoi</i> within the three groups of participants	222
8.2.3 Frequency occurrences of the DM <i>îtr</i>	224
8.2.4 Summarizing the patterns of uses of the four DMs	226
8. 3 Frequency and interchangeability.....	228
8.3.1 <i>Êsta</i> versus <i>xoi</i> to signal elaboration	228
8.3.2 <i>Êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> and <i>îtr</i> to signal assessment	229
8.4 Conclusion.....	231
CHAPTER NINE: INTERCHANGEABILITY AND GRAMMATICALISATION	233
9.0 Introduction	233

9.1 The interchangeability of <i>yeŋni</i> with <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> and <i>îtr</i> in the present study	234
9.1.1 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>êsta</i>	235
9.1.1.1 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>êsta</i> to signal the function of exemplifying	237
9.1.1.2 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>êsta</i> to signal assessment	240
9.1.2 Summary of <i>yeŋni</i> and <i>êsta</i>	241
9.2 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>xoi</i>	242
9.2.1 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>xoi</i> to signal assessment	244
9.2.2 Summary of <i>yeŋni</i> and <i>xoi</i>	246
9.3 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>îtr</i>	246
9.3.1 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>îtr</i> to signal explanation	250
9.3.2 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>îtr</i> to signal assessment	250
9.3.3 <i>Yeŋni</i> (so) versus <i>îtr</i> (so) to signal result	251
9.3.4 Summary of <i>yeŋni</i> and <i>îtr</i>	252
9.4 Results of interchangeability and translation into English	253
9. 5 Phonetic reduction and layering in the current study	253
9. 5.1 Phonetic reduction	254
9.5.2 Layering	255
9.5.3 Summary	255
9.6 Conclusion	256
CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION	257
10.0 Introduction	257
10.1 Thesis Summary	258
10.2 Real World Implications of Research Findings	262
10.3 Limitation of the study	263

10.4 Future work	263
APPENDICES	265
Appendix A Fieldwork permission form	265
Appendix B: Participant information sheet and consent form (Kurdish and English versions).....	268
Appendix C: Student information sheet (Kurdish version)	270
Appendix D: Student information sheet (English version).....	272
References	274

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Kurdish alphabets (from the Kurdish Academy of Language)	27
Table 1.2 The singular and plural of independent personal pronouns	31
Table 1.3 The singular and plural of the bound personal pronouns	31
Table 1.4 The possessive pronouns.....	34
Table 1.5 Reflexive pronouns in Kurdish (Fattah 1997, p.164; Ameen 2014, p.105)	35
Table 2.1 Variety of Terms to label DMs.....	42
Table 2.2 Previous studies on the DM <i>yeʃni</i>	59
Table 2.3 Functions of <i>yeʃni</i> in previous studies	65
Table 4.1 Criteria for distinguishing a CoP	90
Table 4.2 Total numbers of comments and clauses by the three groups of the participants	96
Table 4.3 Total numbers of clauses, numbers of CS clauses and percentages of CS	97
Table 4.4 Kurdish ML and Kurdish into English CS	99
Table 4.5 English ML and English into Kurdish CS.....	99
Table 4.6 The average and English ML used by the 8-individuals.....	103
Table 5.1 The three levels signalled by <i>yeʃni</i> (based on Owens and Rockwood 2008; Noora and Amouzadeh 2015; the current study).....	117
Table 5.2 The categorization of the levels of communication by <i>yeʃni</i> according to Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103)	119
Table 5.4 Levels of functions and usages signalled by <i>yeʃni</i> in the present study	152
Table 6.1 Overall comparative frequency of <i>yeʃni</i> within the three groups.....	157
Table 6.2 Frequency of <i>yeʃni</i> at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) and the ambiguous cases.....	159
Table 6.3 Rate of <i>yeʃni</i> per function at speech act level	161
Table 6.4 Rate of <i>yeʃni</i> per function at the discourse level	165
Table 6.5 Rate of <i>yeʃni</i> per function at the turn-management level	167
Table 7.1 Levels signalled by the three Kurdish DMs in the present study	199
Table 7.2 The criteria to distinguish interchangeability cases in the current study data	201

Table 7.3 Interchangeability of <i>êsta</i> and <i>xoi</i>	202
Table 7.4 Interchangeability of <i>êsta</i> and <i>îtr</i>	203
Table 7.5 Interchangeability of <i>îtr</i> and <i>xoi</i>	209
Table 8.1 Overall frequencies of <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> , and <i>îtr</i> in the study	216
Table 8.2 Overall frequencies of <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> , and <i>îtr</i> by the three groups	218
Table 8.3 Frequency of using <i>êsta</i> at speech act level	221
Table 8.4 Frequency of <i>xoi</i> based on function level	223
Table 8.5 Frequency of the DM <i>îtr</i> among the three groups of participants	225
Table 8.6 The function of elaboration signalled by <i>êsta</i> and <i>xoi</i>	229
Table 9.1 Criteria to distinguish interchangeability cases in the current study data.....	235
Table 9.2 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>êsta</i>	236
Table 9.3 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>xoi</i>	242
Table 9.4 <i>Yeŋni</i> versus <i>îtr</i>	247
Table A Participant consent form	269

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of Kurdistan.....	23
Figure 1.2: Map of Kurdistan Region in Iraq	25
Figure 4.1: English and Kurdish ML by the three groups	100
Figure 4.2: English into Kurdish and Kurdish into English CS.....	100
Figure 6.1: Frequency of <i>yeſni</i> per group out of the total number	157
Figure 6.2: Frequency of <i>yeſni</i> at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) and the ambiguous cases.....	160
Figure 6.3: The difference rates of <i>yeſni</i> per function at speech act level out of the total proportion per group	162
Figure 6.4: The difference rates of <i>yeſni</i> per function at discourse level out of the total number per group	165
Figure 6.5: The difference rates of <i>yeſni</i> (I mean/so) to signal positive vs. negative ...	167
Figure 6.6: Distribution of <i>yeſni</i> per function at a turn-management level.....	168
Figure 7.1: Levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by <i>êsta</i>	175
Figure 7.2: Levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by <i>xoi</i>	184
Figure 7.3: Levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by <i>îtr</i>	189
Figure 8.1: Overall frequencies of <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> , and <i>îtr</i> by the three groups	218
Figure 8.2: Frequency of <i>êsta</i> at speech act level	221
Figure 8.3: Frequency of <i>xoi</i> based on function level	223
Figure 8.4: Frequency of <i>îtr</i> (I mean) on the basis of function level	226
Figure 8.5: Overall frequency of <i>êsta</i> and <i>xoi</i> to signal elaboration	229
Figure 8.6: Frequency of <i>êsta</i> , <i>xoi</i> , and <i>îtr</i> to signal elaboration	230
Figure 9.1: Frequency occurrences of <i>yeſni</i> and <i>êsta</i> to signal examples with positive and negative evaluations	239
Figure 9.2: Frequency occurrences of <i>yeſni</i> and <i>êsta</i> to signal examples with justification and adding information.....	240
Figure 9.3: Frequency occurrences of <i>yeſni</i> and <i>êsta</i> to signal positive and negative assessment.	241
Figure 9.4: Frequency occurrences of <i>yeſni</i> and <i>xoi</i> to signal assessment	245

Figure 9.5: Frequency occurrences of <i>yeñi</i> and <i>itr</i> to signal assessment	251
Figure 9.6: Frequency occurrences of <i>yeñi</i> (so) and <i>itr</i> (so) to signal result.....	252

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Meaning
1pp	First person plural pronoun
1ps	First person singular pronoun
1st years	First year students
3pp	Third person plural pronoun
3ps	Third person singular pronoun
4th years	Fourth year students
CA	Conversation Analysis
CoP	Community of Practice
CS	Code-switching
DET	Determiner
DM	Discourse marker
EL	Embedded Language
HCDP	Human capacity development program
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
iz	Izafa marker
ML	Matrix Language
MLF	Matrix Language Framework
n.d.	No date
NNS	Non-native speaker(s)
O	Object
pl	Plural

Prep	Preposition
prog	Progressive
S	Subject
TCUs	Turn Constructional Units
V	Verb

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This is a sociolinguistic study of both the function and the frequency of the discourse markers (DMs) *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. I translate¹ all four into English as *I mean* in most cases. This work explores the use of these four DMs used by three Kurdish-speaking participant groups: first and fourth year undergraduate students and lecturers. All the student participants studied at, and most of the lecturer participants worked at, the English department of Raparin University in Kurdistan. More specifically, the work is an exploratory study, which aims to investigate the different practices of language use that take place in a Kurdish higher education setting among speakers who have multiple languages as their linguistic resources.

DMs are words or phrases which are most frequent in the spoken language and they are used as a sign map to signal pragmatic functions in discourse. As observed by Brinton (2017, p.5) DMs have no or little propositional² meaning “(conceptual/referential)” meaning, instead they have procedural meaning “(can be understood as a secondary nature)” of DMs (Brinton 2017, p.5). That is, procedural meaning is the secondary meaning which DMs can achieve it through the grammaticalisation process. In other words, DMs do not contribute to the content meaning of the utterance in which they occur; instead they are used as a type of

¹ “As a consequence of their low degree of propositional meaning, pragmatic markers are difficult to translate into other languages” (Brinton 2017, p.5).

² According to McGlone (2010, p. 211), proposition is “a complex, structured entity whose constituents are unified in it in a certain way”.

linguistic signals by speakers to guide the hearers for interpretation of the relationships between utterances in discourse.

Fraser (1988, p.24; 1990, p.388), Traugott (2003, p.645) and Brinton (2017, p.13) point out that DMs can emerge in language use from all levels of grammatical categories such as verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives. Drawing from Brinton's (2017) framework of pathways of change (described in Chapter two see Section 2.2), in the current study, from a purely synchronic perspective, as I proposed in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.1, Section 7.2 and Section 7.3), Kurdish DMs *êsta* and *îtr* seem to have originally developed from the adverbial function while *xoi* has emerged from its use as a reflexive pronoun. In addition, previous research including Rieschild (2011, p.318)) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.96) identified that *yeŋni* is derived from the Arabic root "*anā*, ('meaning to mean, to be in one's mind, to concern') and [...] it would be translated into English as 'he means' "(ibid) as shown in Chapter Two (see Section 2.4). In addition to their grammatical use, in the current thesis, I will demonstrate that the Kurdish DMs *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* are used to signal a number of pragmatic functions including explanation, example, assessment and result. However, because of the absence of diachronic data, I cannot provide the process of changes of these lexical items in detail. If I had diachronic data, I would examine how these lexical words *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* have been changed to be used as DMs overtime. First, I would establish if they were used only as adverbs and reflexive pronouns, then I would expect to find ambiguous cases before finally finding cases where there were clearly DMs.

As far as my interest of DMs is concerned, even though during my first year of the study I collected data to examine code-switching by Kurdish second language English speakers for the first time using rigorous linguistic methods, I changed my study focus to explore DMs for two reasons mentioned below. To begin with, this study has primarily been conducted in the University of Raparin in Kurdistan. The participants were 12 first and 12 fourth year undergraduate students and 12 lecturers. I collected the data through five activities: semi-formal interviews, informal conversations, class-observations, and questionnaires. In general, the data was collected from 1st April to 1st May 2014; while the Facebook data was gathered via Facebook

groups from 4th February to 29th May 2014 as described in the methodology chapter (see Section 3.2). So, code-switching was originally going to be the topic of my study. Thus, the first aim of the thesis was to identify the differences in using code-switching in spoken discourse (in formal and informal conversations) and written contexts (comments³ on Facebook). It also aimed to look at the differences in code-switching by lecturers and two levels of students in both spoken and written contexts primarily in English and Kurdish but also other languages such as Arabic. In addition, the study aimed to look at the relationship between social characteristics and CS, such as gender, age and proficiency. Then the study intended to look at the lecturers' and students' attitudes towards code-switching and evaluate the broader consequences of their attitudes on linguistic theory and English language-teaching and learning in a Kurdish setting. Further, the study intention was to evaluate the effectiveness of the existing models including: the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model by Myers-Scotton (1993).

However, in the second year of my study, enormous changes happened in my study structure. After the probation review project, I conducted a preliminary analysis on the questionnaires, but no immediately useful patterns were apparent. Therefore, by taking my supervisor suggestion into considerations and in keeping with the advice of the examiners in the probation review panel, I narrowed the scope of my data analysis to exclude a quantitative study of the questionnaire data. So, I focused on the data collected from Facebook (completed in large part during the first year of my Ph.D.) and the in-person dyadic interviews in my thesis. Moreover, after expanding my literature review, attending conferences in 2015 during analysing my spoken data, I discovered new ideas of DMs for my thesis which resulted in a big change to my study. Thus, my interest in the DMs emerged from two events. The first was during the data analysis process, when I observed that the speakers in my interview data often used the lexical items *yeñni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal pragmatic functions, apparently without being aware of them. Alami (2016, p.250) and Yilmaz (2004, p.231) describe DMs as

³ I will be using the terms *comment* and *post* interchangeably in the study.

"frequently used" but "frequently unnoticed" linguistic elements. The second and more important point of my interest of the DM is that while I conducted the literature review to interpret my data, it appeared that the use of these DMs including *yeşni* by Kurdish speakers had not previously been examined. Salih (2014) recommended that more research be carried out on these DMs, since there was, to date, no study on them in the body of Kurdish literature:

There is no previous study on Kurdish connectives and there is no reference to connectives in the body of Kurdish literature or any other terms that are commonly associated with connectives such as discourse markers or discourse connectives (Salih 2014, p.22).

These two points led me to consider investigating both what functions the Kurdish-speaking participants use these DMs for, and what the status of the Arabic DM *yeşni* in Kurdish might be: a code-switch or borrowing. Thus, I have completely changed the focus of my study from code-switching to investigate the pragmatic function and frequency of DMs in Kurdish in-person dyadic interviews for two reasons. First, this is because DMs cover an important part of the spoken data. Second, this change in focus has expanded the scope for the original contribution to knowledge as DMs have never been studied in Kurdish before. However, despite the change of my study focus direction from code-switching to investigate the pragmatic function and frequency of DMs, I still use the analysis of Facebook code-switching only as a supplementary study showing additional evidence of the 4th year student group as a community of practice (as analysed fully in Chapter Four).

Adopting discourse-pragmatic approach, my theoretical framework draws from previous studies on *yeşni* such as Kurdi (2008), Rieschild (2011), Yilmaz (2004), and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015). Following Owens and Rockwood's (2008) classification of *yeşni* (see Chapter two); I will categorize the functions of the occurrences of the DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* from my data. In the previous literature, no attempt was made to cover the English translation of the Kurdish words *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* as DMs. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.4), based on their interchangeability to signal pragmatic functions with *yeşni* in the study data, the best English translation for

them in most cases is '*I mean*'. In addition, I will present that the grammaticalisation of *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* supports the grammaticalisation principles of layering and phonetic reduction described by Hopper (1991) and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) (see Section 9.5).

Apart from examining these linguistic topics, I will also show that the fourth year student group behaved differently from the two other participant groups, both in their use of some DMs and by examining their written language used in Facebook comments both in Kurdish and in English as discussed in Chapter Four. For this purpose, I will adopt the Matrix Language Frame model designed by Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006). I will argue that the different behaviour of the fourth year student group highlights the importance of considering group membership when analysing data.

The subsequent sections in this chapter provide an introduction to the dialects of Kurdish in general and the Central Kurdish dialect in the Iraqi Kurdistan region in particular. It also presents the Central Kurdish alphabets and some elements of the Central Kurdish grammar that are necessary for non-Kurdish speakers to understand the analysis. The final section sets out the objectives of the study, the research questions, and the significance of the study.

1.1 The Kurdish language and its dialects

Kurdish is a language, which is spoken in 'Kurdistan', a region split primarily among Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria (Salih 2014, p.1; Malmasi 2016, p.90). Kurdish belongs to the north-western sub-group of the Iranian languages within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family (Kurdish Academy of Language 2016; Malmasi 2016, p.90; Edmonds, p.2, n.d.; Nanvazadeh 2017, pp.8-9). According to Mackenzie (1961, p.177), Kurdish is mainly described as having three dialects: Northern Dialect (Kurmanji), Central Dialect (Sorani), and Southern Dialect (Hawramani). In this study, I will focus on the Central Kurdish dialect and I will use the term 'Kurdish' to cover the Central dialect throughout the study. Figure 1.1 below shows the main areas of Kurdistan (Kurdish districts in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Armenia).



Figure 1.1: Map of Kurdistan⁴

The black lines of the map in Figure 1.1 show the national borders of the five countries. The green areas show where Kurds live and the blue dots mark the major cities of Kurdistan.

1.1.1 The sub-dialects of the Central Dialect

Central Kurdish is the dialect that is considered as Standard Kurdish in the Kurdistan region of Iraq (Shakely 2011, p.45). Central Kurdish is regarded as Standard Kurdish because it has the criteria required of a Standard language, such as its own

⁴https://www.institutkurde.org/en/kurdorama/map_of_kurdistan.php. (Accessed: 21st March 2018).

alphabet, which are modified forms of Arabic alphabets, and it is the language that is used in administration, the media and education within the Kurdistan region of Iraq (Shakely 2011, p.45). Mackenzie (1961, p.50) classified the Central dialect into several sub-dialects: Suleimani, Qeladizê (Pijder), Bingrd, Erbil (Hewlêr), Rewandiz, Xoşnaw, Mukri, and Warmawa. In this research, I will focus on the DMs used in the spoken data I collected from speakers who use Qeladizê (Pijder) and who use Suleimani in the Kurdistan Region in Iraq. These two sub-dialects are slightly different in terms of phonemic system and morphology (see Mackenzie 1961, p.50). Even though it has not been mentioned in the previous literature, these two sub-dialects are different in the way they use the DMs studied here, as will be discussed in Chapter Eight (see Section 8.2). The results in Chapter Eight indicate that *îtr* is a regional DM which is frequently used in the Suleimani sub-dialect, but rarely used in the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect (see Section 8.2).

Figure 1.2 illustrates the three major cities (Hewlêr, Suleimani and Duhok) and the other main towns, including Qeladizê (Pijder)), in the Kurdistan Region in Iraq.



Figure 1.2: Map of Kurdistan Region in Iraq⁵

⁵[https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=Iraqi+Kurdistan + Map&FORM](https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=Iraqi+Kurdistan+Map&FORM)
(Accessed: 21st March 2018).

In Figure 2.1, the black points represent the major cities and towns of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The two sub-dialects regions focused on in the study, namely Qeladizê (Pijder) and Siliêmani (Suleimani) can be seen on the map.

1.1.2 Kurdish alphabet

The Kurdish writing system has its own alphabet, which is a modified form of Arabic (Shakely 2011, p.45; Salih 2014, p.5), as shown in Table 1.1 below. However, since the Kurdish script is written and read from right to left across the page, while Latin scripts, including English, are written and read from left to right, a Latin script is adopted by Kurdish researchers to write Kurdish texts in English contexts. For example, Salih (2014, p.7) and Sedeeq (2018, p.35) presented their Kurdish data samples in Latin script instead of using the Kurdish alphabet, in order to facilitate the English translation for readers. In the same way, in the current study, the interview data have been transcribed into the Latin alphabet. Since the Facebook comments were posted in both Latin script and the Kurdish alphabet by the participants in my study, I used only the Latin script samples to show exactly what is posted by the participants. As with the above mentioned studies, the rationale for using the Latin script in the present study is that it makes the translation format easier for the reader and that it also allows for a more straightforward word order comparison.

Table 1.1⁶ (adopted from the Kurdish Academy of Language) illustrates the comparison of the Central Kurdish script, the North Kurdish (Latin) script, and the International Phonetic Alphabet.

⁶Kurdish Academy of Language, <http://www.kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/1>. (Accessed: 3rd March, 2018).

Table 1.1 Kurdish alphabets (from the Kurdish Academy of Language)

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	North Kurdish (Latin Kurmanjî)	Central Kurdish (modified Arabic)
/a: /	A a	ا
/b/	B b	ب
/tʃ/	Ç ç	چ
/d/	D d	د
/a/	E e	ه
/ʔ/	E e	ئ
/e/	Ê ê	ئ
/f/	F f	ف
/g/	G g	گ
/h/	H h	ه
/ħ/	H h	ح
/ɪ/	I i	ی
/i: /	Î î	یی
/dʒ/	C c	ج
/ʒ/	J j	ژ
/k/	K k	ك
/l/	L l	ل
/ʎ/	(ʎ) does not exist	ل
/m/	M m	م
/n/	N n	ن
/v/	O o	و
/p/	P p	پ

/q/	Q q	ق
/r/	R r	ر
/r̥/	R r	ر̥
/s/	S,s	س
/ʃ/	Ş ş	ش
/t/	T t	ت
/ʊ/	U u	و
/u: /	Û û	وو
/v/	V v	ف
/W/	W w	و
/x/	X x	خ
/x̥/	Ẃ ẃ	غ
/ʕ/	E e	ع
/j/	Y y	ی
/z/	Z z	ز

1.1.3 Kurdish grammar-overview

As mentioned earlier, since the study mainly deals with DMs in a spoken context, I provide some information about Kurdish grammar to allow non-Kurdish readers to understand the forthcoming discussion. A detailed presentation of all the features of Kurdish grammar is beyond the scope of the current study, and I will limit myself to providing a brief overview of a number of selected aspects of Kurdish grammar, including sentence structure and inflectional morphemes. My focus on these two specific aspects is because I will deal with Kurdish sentence structures and the reflexive pronouns in the current study data analysis. Particularly, I will demonstrate that the DM *xoi* has a grammatical use which is a reflexive pronoun as shown in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.2). After explaining these patterns, I will exemplify them

using my own data where possible, and examples from others elsewhere. I give a gloss and translation into English for each example.

1.1.3.1 Kurdish sentence structure

Fattah (1997, p.246) describes five Central Kurdish clause structures: SV, SOV, SCV, SOVC and SOCV. Fattah (1997, p.246) states that Kurdish is an SOV language, and that the basic word order of Kurdish is Subject + Object + Verb. An example of this is (1.1). In contrast, English is an SVO language and the basic clause structures of English have been identified as: SVO, as in (1.2), SVOO, SVA, SVC and SVOA, and SVOC (Quirk et al 1985, p.53).

(1.1) Ew roman Denusêt.

He/she novels writes

S O V

He/she writes novels.

(1.2) I read the book (based on Quirk et al 1985, p.53)

S V O

1.1.3.2 Inflectional morphology

Inflectional morphology, such as noun inflection, has a fundamental role in Kurdish and plays a major role in Kurdish grammar. As far as noun inflection in Kurdish is concerned, the definite suffixes *aka/ka*, corresponding to English *the*, can attach to a singular noun. Normally, *aka* is attached to a noun with a final consonant sound and *ka* to a noun with a final vowel sound (Fattah 1997, p.132; McCarus 1958, p.48), as shown in the following examples from my data:

(1.3) babet -eke

Subject DET

The subject

(1.4) mamosta -ke

Teacher DET

The teacher

Moreover, nouns can take indefinite suffixes *-ek*, *-yek* (a). Nouns with a final consonant sound usually take the *ek* suffix, and those ending with a vowel sound take the *yek* suffix (McCarus 1958, p.48), as shown in examples 1.5 and 1.6 from my data.

(1.5) prsyar -êk

Question DET

A question

(1.6) biroke -yê:k

Idea DET

An idea

In example 1.5, the *ek* suffix has been added to the noun *prsyar*, which ends with a consonant, while in example 1.6, the *yek* suffix has been attached to the noun *biroke* because it ends with a vowel.

Furthermore, in Kurdish, nouns also can be inflected for number. For instance, nouns can be pluralized by affixing the plural suffix *an* (Fattah 1997, p.127):

(1.7) Dar -an

Tree P1

Trees

Example (1.7) shows that the plural suffix *an* (s) has been added to the end of the noun *dar* (tree) becomes *daran* (trees).

1.1.3. 3 Sub-classes of pronouns in Kurdish

In Kurdish, there are three types of pronouns: the personal, possessive, and reflexive pronouns (Fattah 1997, p.164; Rasul 2014, p.7). The personal and possessive pronouns can be used as the pronominal clitics (Fattah 1997; Rasul 2014), as demonstrated below.

1.1.3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Kurdish have two sub-classes: independent and bound. The bound pronoun is also called a verbal agreement suffix. Syntactically, both types of personal pronouns can indicate differences in number and person (McCarus 1958, p.51). In Kurdish, there is no difference between *him*, *her*, and *it*, which are all referred to as *ew* (Fattah 1997, p.165; Rasul 2014, p.7). Based on pronoun classification by Fattah (1997, p.144) and Hiag (2008, p.280), the singular and plural of independent personal pronouns are shown in Table 1.2 and the two sets of bound morphemes are outlined in Table 1.3.

Table 1.2 The singular and plural of independent personal pronouns

Singular	Kurdish	English	Plural	Kurdish	English
1 st person	Mn	I	1 st person	Ême	We
2 nd person	To	You	2 nd person	Êwe	You
3 rd person	Ew	He/ She/it	3 rd person	Awan	They

Table 1.3 The singular and plural of the bound personal pronouns

Person	Set 1	Set 2
--------	-------	-------

	Singular Pronouns	Singular Pronouns
1 st person	m	(i) m
2 nd person	-y	(i) t
3 rd person	e (t), -a	i; Ø
	Plural Pronouns	Plural Pronouns
1 st person	-in	-man
2 nd person	-n	-tan
3 rd person	-n	-yan

As demonstrated in the following examples, there has to be agreement between the subject pronouns and the verb suffixes. According to Mohamed (2014, p.69), the verbal suffixes in Kurdish act like English copula verbs: *is*, *am* and *are*, as they indicate person and number. Consider the following examples (showing the morphemes):

(1.8) Mn de -ro -m

1ps prog go 1ps

I am going

(1.9) Ême de -ro yn

1pp prog -go 1pp

We are going

(1.10) Ew de -rwa -t

3ps prog -go 3ps

He/she is going

(1.11) Ewan de -ro -n
 3pp prog -go 3pp
 They are going

Example 1.8 shows that there has to be agreement between the subject, which is first person singular pronoun (1ps) *mn*, and the verb suffix 1ps *m*. Similarly, as can be noticed there is an agreement between the subject pronouns and the verb suffixes in example 1.9, example 1.10, and example 1.11 as well.

1.1.3.3.2 The possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns, which are also referred to as pronominal suffixes by other authors such as McCarus (1958, p.49), are linked to the end of the nouns in order to function as the possessors (ibid.). The possessive pronouns listed by Fattah (1997, p.144) and McCarus (1958, p.52) are listed in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4 The possessive pronouns

Person	Singular Pronouns	Plural Pronouns
1 st person	(i)m	-man
2 nd person	(i)t	-tan
3 rd person	i: , Ø	-yan

The following examples display how the possessive pronouns have been attached to the end of the nouns:

(1.12) mêşk -m

brain -1ps

My brain

(1.13) mêşk -man

brain 1pp

Our brain

1.1.3.3.3 Reflexive pronouns

In Kurdish, the lexeme *xo* (self) is used with the bound pronouns of Set 2, shown in Table 1.2. The reflexive pronoun *xo* can be used emphatically and non-emphatically. Alami (2016, p.253) explains the term *emphasis* as showing "the speaker's inclination to emphasize on a specific segment in his/her discourse." When used emphatically, *xo* is optional and it must be preceded by its antecedent. However, *xo* in its non-emphatic use functions as a compliment in a sentence, and it cannot be removed because its removal leads the sentence to be ill-formed (Fattah 1997, p.168; Ameen 2014, p.104). Table 1.5 below illustrates the reflexive pronouns in Kurdish. As the third row of Table 1.5 below shows, *xoi* is the third singular reflexive pronoun. Even though there is no literature on *xoi* as a DM, the current study data demonstrates that *xoi* is also a DM, as discussed in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.2).

Table 1.5 Reflexive pronouns in Kurdish (Fattah 1997, p.164; Ameen 2014, p.105)

Singular reflexive pronouns	Plural reflexive pronouns
<i>xo -m</i>	<i>xo -man</i>
<i>xo -t</i>	<i>xo -tan</i>
<i>xo -i</i>	<i>xo -yan</i>

(1.14) Mn xo -m be dayk -m gwt

I self my prep mother iz told

I myself told my mother.

(1.15) Adam xo -i name -ke -i nusi

Adam self him letter DET iz wrote

Adam himself wrote the letter.

(1.16) Pyaw -eke xo -i kuşt

man DET self him killed

The man killed himself.

Example 1.14 above shows that the reflexive pronoun *xo* is attached to the first person singular pronoun *-m* to form *xom* (myself). In example 1.15, *xo* is linked to the third person singular pronoun *-i* to form *xoi* (himself/herself). In both examples, *xom* and *xoi* follow their antecedents and act as emphatic pronouns in the sentences. Therefore, they are optional and their removal will not affect the meaning and the structure of the sentences. In example 1.16, *xoi* is formed from *xo* plus the third person singular pronoun *-i*, and in this case, *xoi* is a non-emphatic pronoun, which can therefore not be removed from the sentence, because it functions as a complement of the sentence.

1.1.3.4 Summary

This section of the chapter has presented brief contextual information on Kurdish language in order to assist the non-Kurdish readers about this language. The upcoming sections provide a summary of the study including the research questions, the aims, and the significance of the research.

1.2 Research questions

As mentioned earlier, the rationale for exploring these DMs, *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*, is their frequency of occurrence in the data and more importantly, the lack of analysis before in the body of literature on Kurdish. The present study will use both quantitative and qualitative methods to address the following research questions on the use of the DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*:

- 1) What are the pragmatic functions of the DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* in the current study data?
- 2) Do participants use *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* interchangeably with one another and with *yeşni*, and, if so, why?
- 3) What are the differences in the frequency of use of the DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* by participant groups?
- 4) What are the differences in the frequency of the DMs to signal individual functions by participant groups?
- 5) Where differences are present, what linguistic or social characteristics of the groups can explain the observed patterns of use?
- 6) Is *yeşni* a borrowed or code-switching item in Kurdish and why?

1.3 The aims of the study and its contribution

This thesis is designed to explore the similarities and differences in the DMs and language use among the three groups of participants. One of the main goals of this

exploratory study is to compare the uses of the pragmatic functions of *yeſni* found in the study data to the previously classified categories of functions signalled by *yeſni* described in the literature. Another objective of this research is to compare the frequency and the pragmatic functions of the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to the ones of *yeſni* among the three groups of participants. Furthermore, this thesis has the aim of exploring whether these four DMs *yeſni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* are used interchangeably.

This thesis contributes to our knowledge of Kurdish DMs in the following ways. First, to my knowledge, the thesis for the first time investigates the functions of the DMs *yeſni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in Kurdish. Second, the study sets out a classification of pragmatic functions signalled by *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* and the functions signalled by *yeſni* in spoken Kurdish. The study also demonstrates that *yeſni* is a borrowing DM from Arabic into Kurdish. In addition, the study identifies the interchangeability cases in the DMs and suggests English translations for the three Kurdish DMs. It is hoped, therefore, that the current study will contribute to the body of linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge about Kurdish, Arabic, and English, since it is the first to explore the functions and frequency of DMs used by Kurdish speakers.

1.4 Thesis outline

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. I describe each briefly below.

The current chapter, Chapter One, is the 'Introduction'. This chapter has provided the contextual information of the research undertaken in this thesis. It gave a summary of the study, the research questions, the aims, and objectives of the study, and the significance of the research.

Chapter Two contains the Literature Review. This chapter reviews the most relevant studies of DMs. It focuses on the theories, definitions, terminologies, and characteristics of DMs. In addition, the chapter provides a brief literature review on the term of grammaticalisation and its principles. Furthermore, this chapter reviews previous research conducted on *yeſni* in other speech communities, including Arabic, Turkish, and Persian.

Chapter Three describes the methodology. This chapter outlines the methods used to collect and analyse the data of the present study, and describes the relevant characteristics of the participants. It presents and discusses how the data been selected, collected, transcribed and analysed.

Chapter Four explains the sociolinguistic results of the data analysis of the present study. It argues that the fourth year participants, who behave differently from the two other groups (the first year students and the lecturers), are a Community of Practice. This was established by using some additional qualitative and quantitative data collected from the participants on Facebook.

Chapter Five contains a qualitative analysis of *yeſni*. This chapter focuses on the pragmatic functions of DM *yeſni* used by participants in the study. Each pragmatic function signalled by *yeſni* in the study is described and illustrated with extracts from the data sets. Then, the pragmatic functions signalled by *yeſni* in the present study are compared with functions of *yeſni* documented by previous studies of other speech communities including Arabic, Turkish, and Persian speakers. The findings of the chapter reveal that functions of *yeſni* in the present study are similar to the ones identified in the literature, with some additional usages to those described in the studies of Arabic speakers, and similar to the studies of Persian speakers, where *yeſni* occurred to signal other levels of usage, such as signalling positive and negative assessment.

Chapter Six contains a quantitative analysis of the uses of *yeſni* by the participants. This chapter investigates the differences and similarities in the distribution of functions marked by *yeſni*, both across levels of communication and for individual functions within the three groups. The chapter demonstrates that the participant groups used *yeſni* differently with regard to both frequency and functions. The chapter shows that the fourth year student participants use the highest rate of *yeſni* in the data, compared to the first year students and lecturers. In addition, the chapter also demonstrates that the lecturers often use *yeſni* to signal explanation, which corresponds to the results of previous studies.

Chapter Seven contains a qualitative analysis of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. This chapter focuses on exploring the pragmatic functions signalled by the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*,

xoi, and *îtr*. The chapter shows that, similar to *yeŋni*, these three Kurdish DMs, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*, are used at the speech act and discourse levels to signal similar pragmatic functions as those signalled by *yeŋni*. The findings of the chapter demonstrate that there is interchangeability among these three DMs.

Chapter Eight contains a quantitative analysis of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. The chapter examines how frequently the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* are used by the participants. It also investigates the differences in the frequency of the occurrences of *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* by the three groups of participants, both at function and usage levels. The chapter demonstrates that there are differences in frequencies of the three Kurdish DMs within the three participant groups. It also confirms that the DM *îtr* is a regional feature which belongs to the Suleimani sub-dialect and which rarely occurs in the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect. Moreover, the data analysis in the chapter shows speakers have a tendency to use the DM *êsta* to signal positive evaluation more than negative evaluation.

Chapter Nine discusses interchangeability and grammaticalisation. This chapter discusses the linguistic results of the present study. The chapter presents the interchangeability cases of the DM *yeŋni* with the DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. It suggests that the interchangeability of the DMs can be explained by principles of phonetic reduction and layering in grammaticalisation.

Chapter Ten provides the conclusion. This chapter reviews the contribution of the study and presents a summary of the key findings. It also discusses the implications and limitations of the current study and offers recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the relevant literature on DMs and their grammaticalisation in general and *yeſni*⁷ in particular. It also paves the way for an analysis of the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* (I mean) in the current study data. The first part of the chapter addresses previous research relating to the study of DMs, definitions, terminology used, and the characteristics of the DMs. This is followed by a general review of previous studies on the concept of grammaticalisation, its principles and path ways for development of DMs. Next, in the chapter, I will provide the first part of the literature review on *yeſni*, which is a general review of previous studies relevant to *yeſni*. Following that, I will discuss the details of the relevant studies on *yeſni* and its function categorization when giving the foundation for my analysis of this DM. The final part of this chapter is the conclusion.

⁷Researchers use various orthographic representations of *yaſni*: Gaddafi (1990) used *yaGni*; Ghobrial (1993) used *ya9ni*. Further, Kurdi (2008), Rieschild (2011), Mahsain (2014), and Al-Makoshi (2014) transliterated it as *yaſni*. Moreover, the Turkish studies by Özbek (1995) and Yilmaz (2004) used *yani*. The Persian study by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) used *Yæni*. However, based on the Kurdish Latin script in the present study, I will use the orthography of *yeſni*. Nevertheless, because the Kurdish Latin script has the same sound for both *ə* and *ɛ* which is /e/, in order to avoid confusion between the letters of *ə* and *ɛ*, I will use the IPA transcription of *ɛ* which is /ɛ/.

2.1 Theoretical background of DMs

In this section, first I will provide definitions and a review of the terminology used to label these lexical items (DMs). Then, I will discuss the characteristics of DMs as described in previous studies.

2.1.1 Definitions of DMs

Schiffrrin (1987, p.31) defines DMs as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk." In other words, DMs indicate the relationships between utterances in discourse. Following Schiffrrin, Fraser (1990, p.383) maintains that DMs indicate the sequential relationships between the current statement and the prior talk. The term *utterance* is "any stretch of talk by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of the person" (Harris 1951, p.14, cited in Schiffrrin 1987, p.33). This definition reveals that the size of utterance varies. It could be a single lexical item, a simple sentence, or a complex sentence (Schiffrrin 1987, p.33). Moreover, Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.83) argue that "There is an overall consensus that DMs indicate speakers' intentions, attitudes, their state of knowledge and plans for text organization about elements of discourse." To put it differently, DMs are used by speakers to organize elements of speech and to signal their attitudes, intentions, and knowledge in discourse. A similar definition is provided by Heine (2013, p.1211) who states that "The main function of DMs is to relate an utterance to the situation of discourse, more specifically to speaker–hearer interaction, speaker attitudes, and/or the organization of texts."

A review of previous studies' definitions of DMs reveals that DMs consist of words or phrases, which are used by speakers to signal different pragmatic functions to establish relationships between utterances in discourse. Thus, DMs are an important element of spoken language, because a discourse that lacks these linguistic elements is probably not clear enough. In an agreement with Beeching (2016, p.4), DMs "are a fundamental part of oral fluency". Thus, in addition to having a good command of

vocabulary, phonology and grammar, DMs also might be necessary to be able to communicate competently. As Fraser states:

The absence of the DM does not render a sentence ungrammatical and/or unintelligible. It does, however, remove a powerful clue about what commitment the speaker makes regarding the relationship between the current utterance and the prior discourse (Fraser 1988, p.22).

2.1.2 Terminology reviewed

A wide range of possible terms exists and has been used by various researchers to label these linguistic elements. There is little consensus in the literature on precisely what the various elements to be dealt with in this study should be called. For instance, they can be called discourse markers or pragmatic markers, and there are different classifications. *Discourse Markers* is the most commonly used term to describe these lexical items (Schiffrin 1987; Lenk 1998; Schourup 1999; Blakemore 2002; Fuller 2003; Müller 2005; Traugott and Dasher 2005; Fung and Carter 2007; Al-Makoshi 2014). However, other researchers such as Brinton (1996, 1998), Erman (2001), Aijmer (2013) and Beeching (2016) prefer to use the term *pragmatic markers*. Some of these terms are illustrated in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 Variety of Terms to label DMs

Labels	Authors
Discourse markers	Schiffrin1987; Lenk 1998 Schourup 1999; Blakemore 2002; Fuller 2003, Müller 2005, Traugott and Dasher 2005; Fung and Carter 2007, Hussein 2009; Al-Makoshi 2014
Pragmatic markers	Fraser 1988, 1990; Brinton 1996, 1998; Erman 2001; Denke 2009; Aijmer 2013;

	Beeching 2016
Discourse-pragmatic features	Pichler 2013
Pragmatic particles	Beeching 2002
Pragmatic expressions	Erman 1987
Pragmatic devices	Stubbs 1983
Connectives	Van Dijk 1979; Salih 2014
Discourse connectives	Blakemore et al. 1987, 1992, 2002
Discourse particles	Goldberg 1980; Schourup 1985; Rieschild 2011

In her book on DMs, which uses a coherence-based approach, Schiffrin (1987) provides a detailed analysis of eleven English DMs including: *but, and, so, or, oh, well, then, now, because* and *I mean*. Schiffrin (1987) uses the term *DMs* "as an umbrella to cover a number of linguistic expressions," whereas this term is considered as a sub-type of pragmatic markers by other researchers such as Fraser (1999).

Brinton (1996), in her influential work on pragmatic markers, follows Halliday's (1973) functional grammar, and analysed thirty-three markers. Even though Brinton (1996, p.38) states the term *DMs* is the most common label suggested by previous studies in spoken discourse, she considered the term *pragmatic markers* better than *DMs* in pragmatic as she points out that *pragmatic markers* "better captures the range of functions filled by these items" (Brinton 1996, p.38).

Blakemore (1987), who adopts the framework of Relevance Theory, examines certain English expressions such as *and, you see, after all, but, furthermore* and *moreover*, which she calls *discourse connectives*. She proposes that DMs possess procedural meaning rather than conceptual meaning. Blakemore adds that DMs signal different interpretations within different contexts. According to Blakemore (1987, p. 121) "the procedural meaning possessed by the DMs manages the hearer's choice of

context under which the utterance is associated." That is, the procedural meaning of the DMs guides the listeners to interpret the association between the utterances of a context.

Traugott and Dasher (2005, p.152), in their seminal study, *Regularity in Semantic Change*, suggest that DMs "mark the speaker's view of sequential relationship between units of discourse, that is, they serve as connectives between utterances." Based on their approach to semantic change, Traugott and Dasher (2005, pp.157-173) show how the DMs *actually, in fact* and *indeed* have developed from their adverbial uses to function in discourse. According to Traugott (2003, p.645), DMs can emerge in language use from all levels of grammatical categories such as verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives. Traugott (1995, p.1) argues that "a further cline: Clause internal Adverbial > Sentence Adverbial > Discourse Particle (of which Discourse Markers are a subtype) should be added to the inventory".

Beeching (2016), in her book *Pragmatic Markers in British English: Meaning in Social Interaction*, examined how six English pragmatic markers, *you know, I mean, well, just, sort of* and *like*, evolved in their meaning and functions both synchronically and diachronically. In her study, Beeching (2016) uses the term *pragmatic markers*. She also describes the term *pragmatic markers* as "expressions which may have little obvious propositional meaning but which oil the wheels of conversational social interaction" (Beeching 2016, p.1). In other words, even though pragmatic markers might have little propositional meaning, pragmatically they are fundamental to facilitate the flow of conversation in social interaction.

Thus, as Table 2.1 above illustrates, there is no general agreement on what to call these linguistic elements. Various terms have been used, which illustrates the diversity of functions they fulfil in discourse. For this study, I adopt the term *DMs* because it is the most commonly used term by previous scholars in the field and because I focus on their main functions of connecting utterances in discourse.

2.1.3 Characteristics of DMs

Brinton (1990, pp.46-57) proposes a number of characteristics of DMs. These characteristics have received scholarly attention and they were later taken up by other researchers, including Castro (2009, p.60) and Al-Makoshi (2014, p.28) who adopted her approach to DMs. Brinton (2017, p.9) revised and re-ordered the characteristics into five categories: phonological and lexical, syntactic, semantic, functional and sociolinguistic features. Below, I will briefly discuss five different characteristics of DMs, which are adopted from Brinton's (2017, p.9):

1) "Phonological and lexical characteristics"⁸

(a) DMs "are often 'small' items, although they may also be phrasal or clausal; they are sometimes phonologically reduced."

(b) DMs "may form a separate tone group, but they may also form a prosodic unit with preceding or following material."

(c) DMs "do not constitute a traditional word class, but are most closely aligned to adverbs, conjunctions, or interjections".

2) "Syntactic characteristics"

(d) DMs "either occur outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it."

(e) DMs "occur preferentially at clause boundaries (initial/ final) but are generally movable and may occur in sentence-medial position as well".

(f) DMs "are grammatically optional, but at the same time serve important pragmatic functions (and are, in a sense, pragmatically non-optional)".

3) "Semantic characteristics"

⁸This is the labelling scheme in the original text.

(g) DMs "have little or no propositional/conceptual meaning, but are procedural and non-compositional".

4) "Functional characteristics"

(h) DMs "are often multifunctional, having a range of pragmatic functions".

5) "Sociolinguistic and stylistic characteristics"

(i) DMs "are predominantly a feature of oral rather than written discourse spoken and written pragmatic markers may differ in form and function."

(j) DMs "are frequent and salient in oral discourse."

(k) DMs "are stylistically stigmatized and negatively evaluated, especially in written or formal discourse."

(l) DMs "may be used in different ways and in different frequencies by men and women" (Brinton, 2017, p.9).

Similar to Brinton (2017), in terms of phonological and lexical characteristics, and in respect to the length of the DM, Schiffrin (1987) and Othman (2010) considered DMs as short expressions, such as single word units, or two or three word units. Other researchers, including Fraser (1996), Aijmer (2002), Fung and Carter (2007) find various lengths of lexical expressions in their study such as clausal expressions and phrase level under the category of DMs. However, the DMs that are focused on in this study consist of single words only.

Regarding the word class of DMs, which is another criterion under the category of phonological characteristics, research has shown that it is difficult to place DMs within a single word class (Svartvik 1980; Fraser 1990, 1999; Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2002; Al-Makoshi 2014). As noted by Brinton (2017), Schiffrin (1987, p.328) notes that DMs are members of various word classes such as: conjunctions (*so, and*), interjections (*oh, well*) adverbs (*now*) and lexicalized phrases (*I mean, you know*). She also proposes that other word classes, such as meta-talk (*what I mean*), deictic (*here, there*),

perception verbs (*look, see*) should also be added to the DMs category. I will argue that in the current study, adverbs (*êsta* and *îtr*) and a reflexive pronoun (*xoi*) have become DMs.

As Schiffrin (1987) and Brinton (1996, 2017) claim, even though DMs syntactically are optional, in that they could be removed from an utterance without changing either its propositional content or its structure, pragmatically they are not optional and they signal a variety of pragmatic functions. Yilmaz (2004, p.230) argues that "they are pervasive in natural conversations and they clearly have pragmatic meaning, that is, they, as a signpost element, influence the way in which we interpret the utterance in which they occur." In the same way, in terms of DMs in general, Castro (2009, p.75) claims that "the pragmatic use of DMs is useful as they help to establish more interactional relationships." He adds that "they serve to show how what is said is connected to what already has been said" (Castro 2009, p.59). That is, DMs are important pragmatically as they facilitate the development of the conversation and make it more coherent. Likewise, Beeching (2016, p.185) argues that in English:

'I mean' is used to establish and negotiate meaning with the hearer. It is the pragmatic marker, which serves, par excellence, as a way of making one's meaning and intentions in saying something plain (Beeching 2016, p.185).

As claimed by Brinton (1990, p.8 and 2017, p.9) and Aijmer (2002, p.3), DMs are multifunctional, fulfilling more than one pragmatic function. I will agree and demonstrate that DMs in the current study are multifunctional and they have occurred to signal a wide range of pragmatic functions.

As far as the semantic characteristic of the DMs is concerned, DMs Brinton (2017, p.5) points out that DMs have little or no propositional (conceptual) instead they have non-propositional (procedural) meaning. Brinton (2017, pp.5-24) states that procedural meaning is understood as being associated with the secondary nature of DMs. That is, procedural meaning is that secondary meaning which DMs can achieve it through the grammaticalisation process. Traugott (2003, p.645) argues that in the process of grammaticalisation, "meanings tend to shift toward a greater subjectivity, that is, they become increasingly associated with the speaker attitude toward the discourse

flow." In the sense, in the development path way of the DMs, while a lexical item develops a grammatical function, it should acquire an interpersonal meaning. Brinton (2017, p.11) defines interpersonal as a subjective (speakers attitude towards the discourse) meaning and intersubjective (related to the interaction between the speaker and the hearer in discourse) meaning.

Studies show that the frequency of DMs is higher in spoken discourse rather than in written discourse (Louwerse and Mitchell 2003). Fuller (2003) and Al-Makoshi (2014) demonstrate that the frequency of DMs varies according to whether they are used by native or non-native English speakers. Both studies report that the frequency of DMs among native English speakers is higher overall than among non-native English speakers. Furthermore, previous research also found that the frequency of use of DMs among members of communities of practice (CoPs) is higher overall compared to that of other groups of speakers. Liebscher and Daily-O'Cain (2006), in their study of the use of DMs in an advanced classroom of English speakers who were learning German, showed that their participants used a large number of DMs because they were a CoP. That high frequency use of DMs is a characteristic of CoPs is a claim that I accept, and is, moreover, something which I expect to confirm in my study.

2.1.4 Summary

Reviewing previous studies reveal that DMs carry various characteristics. These characteristics may be phonological, syntactic, semantic, functional, and sociolinguistic. Additionally, a review of literature on the characteristics of DMs shows that to determine the status of DMs it is necessary to take into account a combination of criteria, including semantic, syntactic, sociolinguistic, and functional considerations. In the present study, semantic and functional characteristics are taken into consideration to determine the status of DMs.

2.2 Grammaticalisation of DMs

This section provides a brief literature review on the definition of grammaticalisation and its principles including layering, phonetic reduction, decategorisation and desemanticization. Based on Brinton's (2017) framework of Evolution of DMs, it also reviews the pathways of development in grammaticalisation.

2.2.1 Definition and principles of grammaticalisation

Cross-linguistically, according to Traugott (2003, p.645) and Brinton (2017, p.13), DMs can emerge in language use from all levels of grammatical categories such as verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives. The process that describes the changes happened to the lexical items as they develop to DMs has been undertaken within the grammaticalisation. The term *grammaticalisation* was defined for the first time by Meillet (1912, p.131 in Hopper 1991, p.17) as "the attribution of a grammatical character to a previously autonomous word." Similarly, Heine and Reh (1984, p.85) define grammaticalisation "as the process whereby items become more grammatical through time." Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.4) argue that "grammaticalisation is the creation of new constructions." All these definitions look similar and they generally mean that grammaticalisation is the process that happens to a word or phrase and leads to it becoming more functional.

According to Hopper (1991, p.22) and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, pp.19-22), grammaticalisation involves the following principles: de-categorization, semantic change (desemanticization), phonetic reduction, and layering. Hopper (1991, p.22) describes de-categorization as a loss of syntactic and morphological characteristics of a category. For example, nouns lose the behaviour of being pluralized or modified by adjectives, when they develop to become DMs. Further, the term of semantic change refers to the process of gaining new procedural-pragmatic meanings and functions (subjective and intersubjective) associating with the discourse situation Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.91). In addition, in terms of phonetic-reduction, Bybee,

Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.106) argue that phonetic-reduction is "the loss of specific phonetic properties." They add that:

Both vowels and consonants in grammaticizing material are subject to complete loss. The result of these processes is that the grammaticized material will be shorter in terms of the number of segments present (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, p.106).

That is, through phonetic reduction progress in grammaticalisation, both vowels and consonants can be reduced to form shorter items in number of segments than their previous forms. Another kind of phonetic reduction is demonstrated by Cheshire (2007). In her study on 'discourse variation', Cheshire (2007, p.167) argues that:

The short forms *and stuff*, *and things*, *and everything* and *or something* derive from the constructions *and stuff/things/everything like that* and *or something like that* [...] all these general extenders can be seen to show signs of phonetic reduction, in that the reduced forms are far more frequent than the older, longer, full forms (Cheshire 2007, p.167).

That is, the long forms of *and stuff/things/everything like that* and *or something like that*, through the phonetic reduction process, have been reduced to shorter forms such as *and stuff*, *and things*, *and everything* and *or something*. In an agreement with Cheshire's (2007, p.167) case of general extenders, I assume that *yeʃni* and *êsta* occur in contexts in the current study data may have developed from an earlier longer construction *yeʃni bo nmuna* and *êsta bo nmuna* through the process of phonetic reduction in grammaticalisation.

As far as the process of layering is concerned, Hopper (1991, p.23) argues that "very often more than one technique is available in a language to serve similar or even identical functions." In other words, layering refers to a situation during grammaticalisation when speakers have more than one form to signal the same function.

Similarly, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.21) state that "a language may have more than one gram⁹ as the exponent of a gram-type." That is, there might be more than one layer in a language to signal the same function. They also consider English with its three futures *shall*, *will*, and *be going to* as a good example in this area (ibid). Moreover, Hopper (1991) points out that:

This formal diversity comes about because when a form or set of forms emerges in a functional domain, it does not immediately (and may never) replace an already existing set of functionally equivalent forms, but rather two sets of forms co-exist (Hopper 1991, p.23).

That is, availability of more than one form to signal the same function is because the emerging ones will not replace the existing ones immediately; several forms may remain all together. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca support Hopper's view (1991, p.23) when they state that "the existence of multiple grams depend on the grams' having developed from distinct sources" (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, p.21).

In grammaticalisation, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.25) argue that pragmatic inference causes grammaticalisation, and they point out that:

A gram that often occurs in an environment in which a certain inference may be made can come to be associated with that inference to such an extent that the inference becomes part of the explicit meaning of the gram. In order to know if inference has produced a change in the meaning of the gram, it is necessary to study texts using the gram before the change took place in order to see if the gram is associated with the inference sufficiently to absorb its meaning (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, pp.25-26).

⁹The term *gram* stands for grammatical morpheme (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, p.2).

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.25-26) mean that if a construction often appears in an environment with a particular inference, this inference can become associated with the construction, although this construction should be studied before and after it is grammaticalised. Similarly, Alshboul et al (2010) in a diachronic study called 'Grammaticalisation Patterns: Evidence from Future Markers in Jordanian Arabic', support Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca's (1994, pp.25-26) claim of pragmatic inference. In addition, Alshboul et al (2010, p.101) apply the mechanism of Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca in their study data and they (2010, p.102) argue that "in Standard Arabic, futurity is expressed by the prefix *sa-* or the particle *sawfa* meaning will." In other words, they suggest that both *sawfa* and *sa-* can be used to signal the same function and meaning of futurity. Alshboul et al (2010, p.103) show how the form of *sawfa* has undergone phonological reduction and a syllable has been reduced from the word *sawfa* 'will' to become *sa-* 'will'. Consequently, the futurity marker *sa-* 'will' has developed from the word *sawfa* 'will'. In the present study, I will demonstrate how DMs *yeʕni*, *êsta*, *îtr*, and *xoi* undergo layering and how the shorter forms of *yeʕni* and *êsta* developed from the longer forms of *yeʕni bo nmuna* and *êsta bo nmuna* through the process of the phonetic reduction principle of grammaticalisation as demonstrated in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.4) and Chapter Nine (see Section 9.2). Now, I will move to present the process of change of DMs.

2.2.2 Process of change

Brinton (2017, p.13) argues that DMs undergo many of the changes identified with grammaticalisation. According to previous researchers such as Traugott and Heine (1991, p.1), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, pp.4-5) and Brinton (2017, p.1), development of DMs can be studied both diachronically and synchronically. Availability of diachronic data can demonstrate how DMs have developed from lexical items and overtime have obtained pragmatic meanings. Regarding exploring DMs diachronically, Traugott and Dasher (2005, p.156) point out that:

When their histories are accessible to us, they typically arise out of conceptual meanings [...]. Over time, they not only acquire pragmatic

meanings but also come to have scope over propositions (Dasher 2005, p.156).

This means that DMs originally are lexical items with conceptual meanings, whereas overtime they have gained procedural meanings. As argued by Brinton (2017, p.27), DMs provide an interesting test case for understanding a historical process of grammaticalisation. In addition, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.3) view the synchronic slice "as simply one stage in a long series of developments of the nature of grammar at any particular moment."

Brinton (2017, pp.13-26) demonstrates two pathways of development of DMs: syntactic and semantic pathways. As far as the syntactic pathway of development is concerned, DMs emerge from lexical items such as adverbs, adjectives or nouns in language use (Brinton 2017, pp.14). In terms of semantic pathway, DMs undergo the semantic development by the acquisition of non-propositional (procedural) meaning. According to Traugott (1989, pp. 34-35), DMs follow a semantic-pragmatic path in their development by moving from propositional (conceptual) meaning to procedural meaning. Similar to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, p.25-26), Brinton (2017, p.24) believes that the procedural meaning "arises through inferences that occur in the context of use." In a sense, while a construction occurs in an environment with a particular inference, this inference can become associated with the construction although this construction should be studied before and after it is grammaticalised. Briton (2017, p.14) points out when both the new inferential meaning and the original meaning are available, the ambiguous meaning appears in context between these two meanings is understood as a bridging context. Then, over time, "the form is expanded to the contexts in which the original meaning is no longer salient (though it is still present)" (Brinton 2017, p.14). Furthermore, Traugott (1982, p.255) identifies the steps of how the DM *why* has been developed "from an interrogative adverb to a complementizer (in direct questions and relatives) to a hearer-engaging" DM. The steps are illustrated by showing synchronic evidence cited from (Briton 2017, p.14):

(2.1) a. "Interrogative adverb: *why*, has n't the international community responded?"

b. "Conjunction: On the other hand, I understand *why* the protesters are angry".

c. "DM: Do you agree with the president everything; *why* just concede the fact that he is a better policy president that you will ever be?"

According to Briton (2017, p.14) the use of *why* as DM has developed from its use as an interrogative adverb as shown in example (2.1a) then to a conjunction expressing result in (2.1b) and finally to be used as a DM which acts as "an expression of surprise" as seen in (2.1c). Thus, this example shows that DMs with procedural meaning can be developed from adverbs with propositional meaning. In the current study, based on Briton's (2017) framework of pathways of change, from a purely synchronic perspective I will demonstrate DMs *êsta* and *îtr* appear to have originally developed from adverbs and *xoi* probably has developed from a reflexive pronoun as shown in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.1, Section 7.2 and Section 7.3) in detail. This may be a claim for the universality of DMs as they develop from similar pathways. However, because of the absence of relevant diachronic studies I cannot provide ambiguous cases (bridging contexts) in their grammaticalisation progress of these items *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*.

2.2.3 Summary

In this section, I have provided definition of grammaticalisation and its principles including layering, phonetic reduction, decategorisation and desemanticization by previous researchers. I also have briefly presented syntactic and semantic pathways of development of DM in grammaticalisation as examined by Briton (2017).

2.3 DMs in Kurdish

There is no previous study on Kurdish DMs in general and *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* in particular in the body of Kurdish literature. To my knowledge, there is only one article on the Kurdish DM 'BAŞ' (good) by Murad (2014), but it does not give any

detailed explanation of DMs in Kurdish spoken contexts. Murad's (2014) study, by adopting a discourse pragmatic approach, focuses on the relationship between the lexeme 'BAŞ' (good) and the surrounding context, in order to explore its equivalents in English. In addition, Fattah (1997, p.186), in his study *A Generative Grammar of Kurdish*, briefly mentions certain expressions such as *oxay* (delight), *da day* (encouraging action), *oh* (calling attention); he classifies them as interjections and he adds that these expressions do not have grammatical functions, they only occur to express emotions such as joy, surprise, and pain. Even though Fattah (1997, p.186) does not mention anything related to DMs, according to Schifffrin (1987, p 328) linguistic expressions such as interjections (*oh, well*) may be considered as DMs. Thus, Fattah's (1997) remarks about interjections might be relevant to future work on DMs, though he does not explore them with that approach.

Zebari (2012) conducted a study on conversational code-switching between Arabic and Kurdish in the city of Duhok. In this study, following Gumperz's (1982) framework of code-switching, Zebari (2012, p.2463) argues that items such as *wellaha*¹⁰, *masha'Allah* and *Insha'Allah* are used as sentence fillers and they are frequently used in Kurdish as interjections. In addition, Zebari (2012, p.2463) treats these items as code-switching. Zebari (2012) further argues that due to the informal relationship among members of some groups, which can play a crucial role in code-switching. Code-switching occurs more frequently in the informal groups rather than in the formal groups. Zebari (2012, p.2460) adds that groups who know each other very

¹⁰*Wellaha* is translated as *I swear* by Zebari (2012, p.2463). However, Rieschild (2011, p.318) states that "*walla* 'by Allah' has an emphatic DP sense glossed with 'indeed' and a hesitant DP sense, glossed with 'well'" (Rieschild 2011, p.318); she also adds that *wellahy* can be translated as 'by Gad or of course' (ibid). Similar to Rieschild (2011), in this study, I will translate *wella/wellah/wellahy* as *well* when they have a DM hesitant sense and as *indeed* when they have an emphatic DM sense. In addition, *Masha'Allah* can be explained as *what Allah wills* and, *insha'Allah* means *God willing* in English.

well such as friends, relatives or family members, would be considered as informal groups.

In addition to the lack of literature on DMs in Kurdish spoken contexts, there is little literature on connectives in written contexts either. The only study on connectives in Kurdish written contexts is by Salih (2014) who "examines the Kurdish and English connectives that signal conjunctive relations in online newspaper opinion articles." Thus, an examination of existing Kurdish studies reveals a research deficit in terms of Kurdish DMs in general and *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* in particular. This study aims to begin to fill this gap in Kurdish literature.

2.4 Previous studies on *yeşni* (I mean)

In this section, first, I will present how earlier studies describe the development of *yeşni*. Second, I will review a general background of the relevant literature on *yeşni*. What follows is a brief review of the pragmatic functions of *yeşni* in previous research.

2.4.1 Development of *yeşni* (I mean)

Yeşni usually translated as English *I mean* by previous researchers such as Gaddafi (1990), Ghobrial (1993), Özbek (1995), Yilmaz (2004), Kurdi (2008), and Mahsain (2014). Previous research such as Gaddafi (1990, p.148) and Mahsain (2014, p.167) claim that *yeşni* can have both pragmatic and non-pragmatic (literal) functions. In terms of propositional meaning of *yeşni*, Gaddafi (1990, pp.148-150) states *yeşni* "is formally identical to a lexical verb, (namely the imperfective the third person masculine singular of the verb 'mean')." Regarding the origin of *yeşni*, Rieschild (2011, p.318) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.96) argue that *yeşni* originally developed from the Arabic root "*anā*, ('meaning to mean, to be in one's mind, to concern') and [...] it would be translated into English as 'he means' "(ibid.). They add that *yeşni* is not used for masculine and the third person singular anymore; instead, it is used to signal discourse functions that would be equivalent to English *I mean* or *that is* (Rieschild 2011, p.318)

and (Noora and Amouzadeh 2015, p.97). In addition, Mahsain (2014, pp.167-168) points out that in its literal meaning *yeŋni* is used to mark the speakers' intentions. In other words, *yeŋni* in its literal use does not signal any pragmatic indications, rather, it refers precisely to what the speaker means (see extract 5.1 below). Further, according to Mahsain (2014, pp.167-168) and Rieschild (2011, p.318), in its literal meaning, *yeŋni* in Arabic is equivalent to *qasdi* (I intend to say). In Kurdish, *qazdm* (I intend to say), which is borrowed from Arabic *qasdi* (I intend to say), and also the Kurdish phrase *mabastm* (I intend to say) would be possible as equivalents to indicate the literal meaning of *yeŋni*.

Consider the following extract (5.1) for *yeŋni* used in its literal meaning. In this extract, I asked two students (16S and 24S) whether all their lecturers gave them feedback directly in front of the other students. Student 24S replied that they had only one lecturer (more critical than the others) who gave them feedback publicly; she used *yeŋni* to introduce which lecturer she literally meant, by name or namely, as shown in line (2) below.

Extract 2.1

1. F: Aya hemu mamostakan bew şêweye feedbacktan dedene?

Do all the lecturers give you feedback in this way (directly)?

2. 24S: be taybeti, mamostayekman heye bew şêweye dekat *yeŋni* (¹¹X)

Particularly, we have a lecturer who is doing like that; (I intend to say) (namely) (X)

Thus, in the literal context such as line (2) in extract (2.1) both *qazdm* (I intend to say) and *mabastm* (I intend to say) would be possible as Kurdish equivalents to *yeŋni*.

¹¹ In order for the participants to be unknown in the text for the ethical reasons, I use X to stand for the name of the current participant addressed by the other one.

In its pragmatic uses, Gaddafi (1990, p.148), Yilmaz (2004, p. 230) and Mahsain (2014, pp.167-168) argue that *yeſni* can mark several functions. Gaddafi (1990, p.150) identifies that *yeſni* as DM appears to have no “influence on the surface structure of that discourse fragment in which it occurs.” That is, *yeſni* as a DM has no prepositional meaning in the discourse in which it appears. In addition, Mahsain (2014, p.168) points out that, in its pragmatic function, *yeſni* is used to signal the connection between the speaker and the message and how the speaker conveys their message to the hearer (Mahsain 2014, p.168). Similarly, Yilmaz suggests that DMs such as *yeſni*:

are pervasive in natural conversations and they clearly have pragmatic meaning, that is, they, as a signpost element, influence the way in which we interpret the utterance in which they occur (Yilmaz 2004, p.230).

That is, *yeſni* has a pragmatic meaning, which affects the hearer’s interpretation to the context in which *yeſni* occurs to signal it. However, *yeſni* is mostly restricted to its pragmatic uses in my data and rarely occurs with the literal meaning. Therefore, in my analysis of what *yeſni* is observed to be doing; I will focus in the current study on the pragmatic occurrences of *yeſni* as opposed to its literal meaning.

From a grammatical perspective, Kurdi (2008, p.104) points out that the use of *yeſni* in signalling discourse functions "is optional and, if deleted, the sentence will remain intact." That is, the removal of *yeſni* does not affect the meaning and structure of the utterance. However, based on the studies discussed below, and like English *I mean*, it seems that even though *yeſni* is grammatically optional, pragmatically it has a great interactional effect because it explicitly gives the hearer(s) signals.

2.4.2 General overview of *yeſni* (I mean)

Table 2.2 shows details of previous studies conducted on *yeſni* in an approximate chronological order. As Table 2.2 displays, *yeſni* has been the subject of considerable interest and its functions have been analysed in a number of languages such as Arabic, Turkish, and Persian.

Table 2.2 Previous studies on the DM *yeḥni*

Scholars	Variety/ language	Approach	Monolingual	Bilingual
Gaddafi (1990)	Libyan Arabic	Discourse Coherence (Schiffrin 1987)	Yes	-
Ghobrial (1993)	Egyptian Arabic	CA	Yes	-
Özbek (1995)	Turkish	CA	Yes	-
Yilmaz (2004)	Turkish	CA	Yes	-
Al-Khalil (2005)	Colloquial Syrian Arabic	CA	Yes	-
Özyurek and Furman (2007)	Turkish	Discourse Coherence (Schiffrin 1987)	Yes	-
Owens and Rockwood (2008)	Gulf Arabic	CA and Minimalist	Yes	-
Kurdi (2008)	Syrian Arabic	CA	-	Yes
Rieschild (2011)	Palestinian, Lebanese, Egyptian and Jordanian Arabic	CA and NSM	Yes	Yes

Al-Makoshi (2014)	Saudi Arabic	Discourse Coherence (Schiffrin 1987)	Yes	Yes
Mahsain (2014)	Kuwaiti Arabic	CA	Yes	Yes
Noora and Amouzadeh (2015)	Persian	Discourse- pragmatic approach (grammaticalisation)	Yes	-

Gaddafi (1990) is probably one of the first researchers to adopt Schiffrin's (1987) Model of Discourse Coherence in order to investigate the functions of DMs in a study of spoken Libyan Arabic. According to Gaddafi (1990, p.148), *yeʕni* can fulfil a range of discourse functions. Further, Gaddafi claims that *yeʕni* works as DM to mark explanation and replacement repair (self-correction) of the prior ideas. He also mentions that *yeʕni* can function as a floor-holding marker, or as a signal that the speaker is searching for a suitable utterance when it occurs in TCUs¹². In addition, Gaddafi claims that the occurrence of *yeʕni* in the utterance-final position facilitates the turn-transition as "it contributes substantially to promoting turn transitions, which lead to formulating exchange structures" (Gaddafi, 1990, p.196). In other words, using *yeʕni* in the utterance-final position leads the exchange of the structure of the discourse as it indicates the mutual consensus between the speaker and the hearer(s). Moreover, Gaddafi (1990, p.165) argues that *yeʕni* is also used to indicate a shift to a specification or to signal an example accompanied by the phrase *mathalan* (for example) which is inviting the speaker's attention to a particular piece of information. In all these cases,

¹²"Turn Constructional Units can be defined as basic complete grammatical and pragmatic units which form units" (Yilmaz 2004, p.68).

yeṣni works in order to establish interactional relevance, as it leads the development of the conversation and facilitates its continuation. Thus, according to Gaddafi (1990, pp.187-196), *yeṣni* in Libyan Arabic discourse can signal several functions: floor-holding marker, self-correction, shift, exemplifying, explanation or elaboration as shown in Table 2.2.

Ghobrial, in his study of Egyptian DMs (1993, p.45) applies a Conversation Analysis (hereafter CA) approach and claims that *yeṣni*, apart from its propositional meaning, has pragmatic functions as well. In this sense, he found that, similar to the English DM *I mean* which is used to signal modifying prior talk, *yeṣni* is used by the speakers to signal explanation or elaboration of their previous utterance (Ghobrial 1993, p.46). In addition, Ghobrial points out an additional function to the ones mentioned by Gaddafi (1990). He claims that *yeṣni* is used to signal responses to questions, which are considered as irrelevant by the respondents. That is, *yeṣni* is used by the respondents in an attempt to diverge from the questions.

Al-Khalil (2005) investigates the functions of *yeṣni* in Syrian Arabic by adopting a CA approach. Similar to the findings of Gaddafi (1990), Al-Khalil (2005) claims that *yeṣni* functions in various different ways, depending on its occurrences within a TCU. He shows that *yeṣni* occurs in his data to mark explaining prior talk or summing-up the whole discourse, when it appears TCU-initially. Additionally, Al-Khalil argues that if *yeṣni* occurs TCU-medially, it is used as an indicator to hold the floor, or to search for an utterance in the conversation. However, he argues that when *yeṣni* occurs in the TCU-final position, it is mainly used by speakers as a signal to check the understanding of the prior talk, or it functions as a turn-transition indicator which shows an agreement between the speaker(s) and the hearer(s) to exchange the turn of the conversation (Al-Khalil 2005).

Kurdi (2008) adopts a CA approach in her study of the functions of DMs in order to analyse the functions of three English DMs *you know*, *so* and *I mean* and the Arabic DMs used by 18 Syrian Arabic learners of English in both English and Arabic. Her aim in conducting the Arabic interviews was to see if the first language influenced the production of DMs in the English discourse of the learner. The results suggest that

the learners used the three English markers for a variety of functions, with no apparent influence from Arabic. Kurdi shows that *yeʕni* can be used to signal a topic-expansion, which includes explaining the prior talk, shifting to a specification, and self-correction. She adds that *yeʕni* is also used as a floor-holding marker to maintain the turn in a conversation. However, she found that instances of the DM *so* functions as an indicator of transitions, like the Arabic DM *fa*, which has a similar function.

In a study of the functions of *yeʕni* in the Gulfic dialect, Owens and Rockwood (2008) adopt two different analytic approaches, namely CA and Minimalism, to classify the functions of *yeʕni* at five different levels: speech act, discourse, turn-management, rhetorical and propositional truth as shown in detail in chapter Five (see Section 5.2). At the speech act level, it functions to signal topic-expansion, which is defined as a marker for providing one of these categories: explanations, definitions, exemplification, or specification of the prior talk. By specification, they mean drawing hearers' attention to focus on a particular point in the conversation. At the turn-management level, *yeʕni* in the Gulfic dialect functions as floor-holding including searching for a word or repair. At the discourse level it functions to signal conclusion. At the propositional truth level, it functions to signal hedging; and finally, at the rhetorical level its function is "parallelism/ narrative suspense" (Owens and Rockwood 2008, p.88).

In a study of a number of Arabic dialects including Palestinian, Lebanese, Egyptian, and Jordanian, Rieschild (2011) explores the functions and meaning of *yeʕni* by following CA and Natural Semantic Metalanguage approaches. Similar to Owens and Rockwood's (2008) categorization, Rieschild categorises the functions of *yeʕni* into five different levels.

Al Makoshi (2014) carried out an exploratory study called 'Discourse Markers and Code-switching: academic medical lectures in Saudi Arabia using English as the medium of instruction'. Al-Makoshi identifies that:

The use of Arabic discourse markers (ADMs) used in the non-native speakers (NNS) lecture discourse in an EMI medical college in Saudi Arabia. [The study shows that] the interactional DMs (e.g. *yeʕni* {means},

mafهوم? {understood}) have a higher overall frequency than Structural DMs (*fa* {so}, *laanu* {because}) (Al-Makoshi 2014, p.2).

In addition, Al-Makoshi (2014) demonstrated that teachers used *yeʕni* to give an explanation more frequently than they used it to signal other functions. I will argue that, in the present study, teachers do the same with *yeʕni* even when they are not in the classroom.

In her study of the motivations behind code-switching among Kuwaiti bilingual school students Mahsian (2014, p.169) uses a CA approach, and follows Owens and Rockwood's (2008) categorization of functions of *yeʕni* as mentioned earlier. Mahsian (2014, p.169) examines the pragmatic functions of *yeʕni* and she shows that *yeʕni* was mostly used to indicate floor-holding in her study data.

Yeʕni has also been analysed in some Turkish studies. Yilmaz (2004) adopts a CA analysis in order to carry out a pragmatic analysis of the Turkish discourse particles *yani*, *iste*, and *sey*. Yilmaz (2004, p.68) claims that *yeʕni* serves various functions depending on its occurrence in a TCU. Yilmaz (2004, p.68) categorizes the functions of *yeʕni* into three speech domains: the conversational structure domain, including self-correction, floor-holding and responding to a question; the interpersonal domain, including speakers' emphasis; and the content domain, including topic-expansion (local and conversational levels), summary, and assessment. The results of her study show that *yeʕni* has the highest frequency in the data.

In a Turkish context, Özyurek and Furman (2007) use the Model of Discourse Coherence (Schiffrin 1987) in order to examine the use of three DMs, *sey*, *iste*, and *yeʕni* in the narrative spoken data of Turkish children. Özyurek and Furman (2007) found similar results for the uses of *yeʕni* as those found by the Arabic researchers mentioned above.

Finally, in a recent study, Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) were probably the first researchers to apply grammaticalisation theory to the analysis of the DM *yeʕni* in Persian by adopting a discourse-pragmatic approach. Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.91) examine the ways in which *yani* (it means) "loses its lexical and denotative

meanings in favour of some new procedural–pragmatic meanings and functions." Following Traugott's (2003) framework, Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.92) argue that the grammatical and semantic changes which make lexical content words become DMs can be explained in terms of grammaticalisation. Moreover, apart from showing that *yeʕni* has a number of pragmatic functions similar to those pointed out by previous studies; they demonstrate that *yeʕni* was used to signal the function of assessment (as discussed in detail in 2.4.3). Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.116) show that:

In both Persian and Arabic the semantic development of *yeʕni* is nearly the same, and this may have some implications for contact-induced grammaticalisation (i.e., that is, from the source meaning 'meaning, signifying', to the target meaning, 'that is' and 'in other words' and 'I mean' Noora and Amouzadeh 2015, p.116).

A review of previous linguistic studies on *yeʕni* reveals that most of the studies adopt a CA approach and that they conduct their research on a monolingual type of data, as shown in Table 2.2 above. The only study which takes a pragmatic discourse approach is the Persian study by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.92). These authors argue that the grammatical and semantic changes, which make the lexical item *yeʕni* become a DM, can be explained properly in terms of grammaticalisation. Having reviewed a general background about *yeʕni* in literature, I will now turn to the pragmatic functions and usages marked by *yeʕni* identified by prior studies.

2.4.3 Pragmatic functions of *yeʕni* (I mean) in previous studies

In order to give an overall picture of functions of *yeʕni* identified by previous researchers, a chronological list is presented in Table 2.3 below. Table 2.3 summarises an overall picture of functions of *yeʕni* identified by previous researchers.

Table 2.3 Functions of *yeŋni* in previous studies

Function> Scholars	1.Example	2.Explanation	3.Elaboration	4.Shifting/Specifying	5.Recapitulation	6.Self-correction	7.Floor-holding	8.Concluding	9.Result	10.Assessment
Gaddafi (1990)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		
Ghobrial (1993)	x									
Özbek (1995)	x	x		x		x	x			
Yilmaz (2004)		x			x	x				x
Al-Khalil (2005)		x					x			
Özyurek and Furman (2007)		x								
Owens and Rockwood (2008)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Kurdi (2008)	x	x	x	x		x	x			
Rieschild (2011)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Al-Makoshi										

(2014)		x		x						
Mahsain (2014)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
(Noora and Amouzadeh (2015)	x					x				x

Table 2.3 shows that, overall, ten functions marked by *yeſni* have been identified in previous studies: explanation, shifting, example, elaboration, recapitulation, self-correction, floor-holding, concluding, (signalling) result and assessment. First, in terms of using *yeſni* to signal an example, as the first column of Table 2.3 illustrates, the majority (8 out of 12) of the above researchers mentioned above point out that *yeſni* is often used to indicate exemplifying the previous talk.

Further, regarding using *yeſni* to signal explanation of the prior talk, the second column of Table 2.3 above illustrates that almost all (11 out of 12) of the studies show that *yeſni* can be used to signal this function. Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.12) and Rieschild (2011, p.323) state that *yeſni* occurs to mark explanation when the speaker gives more explanation of the prior talk after the insertion of *yeſni*. In addition, Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.12) argue that *yeſni* is often used by speakers in their study data to signal elaboration of ideas which arose in the prior talk. Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.12) define elaboration as the progression to the upcoming ideas by adding information to the previous idea. That is, *yeſni* can occur to signal explanation (interpretation) and elaboration/adding information (progression to expand) of the prior talk. In the current study, I use the terms of elaboration and adding information interchangeably as they seem to be similar in functions.

Moreover, several of the above studies agree that *yeſni* can be used to mark shifting from a general or a specific topic to move to another specific or different topic, as Kurdi (2008, p.109) describes:

Yeṣni marks a specific incident and simultaneously introduces a new piece of information to the hearers [...]. It also coordinates the discourse segments and makes the discourse flow smoothly. It guides the hearer through the narrative and moves him from one argument to the next one (Kurdi 2008, p.109).

That is, *yeṣni* marks a specific topic, which both supports the general statement and introduces a specific point to shift from the generality of the topic. Similarly, Gaddafi (1990, p.182) and Rieschild (2011, p.320) state that Arabic speakers often use *yeṣni* to signal a change of focus in the conversation to a specific point.

Furthermore, as far as recapitulation is concerned, the fifth column of Table 2.3 shows some of the researchers, such as Owens and Rockwood (2008), Rieschild (2011), and Mahsain (2014), mention that *yeṣni* occurs to signal recapitulation, but as discussed earlier, they did not provide any examples to demonstrate that.

In addition to the above-mentioned ways of using *yeṣni*, the majority of the above studies, as shown in the sixth column of Table 2.3, argue that *yeṣni* can be used to mark self-correction of prior talk. For instance, Kurdi (2008, p.111) identifies that "*yeṣni* can be used when speakers want to repair a previous utterance." According to Gaddafi (1990, p.209) and Kurdi (2008, pp.104-111) while *yeṣni* is used to signal self-correction it comes after a pause and before the correction of the previous talk. Moreover, according to Kurdi (2008, p.111), self-correction is considered as a kind of explanation because it elaborates the previous idea. In contrast, Gaddafi (1990, p.205) argues that self-correction does not add any explanation to the previous idea because it is merely a correction of the previous item.

As the results in the seventh column of Table 2.3 reveal, most of the studies claim that *yeṣni* is used to signal floor-holding in discourse. However, there is a distinction in previous studies' viewpoint on using *yeṣni* to signal this function. The difference is that some use TCU position and others use linguistic cues, such as pauses, to determine the floor-holding. Gaddafi (1990, p.175), Yilmaz (2004, p.68), and Al-Khalil (2005, p.155) argue that the use of *yeṣni* to signal holding-floor depends on its occurrence position within TCUs. They claim that when *yeṣni* occurs TCU-medially, it

works as a floor-holding DM. On the other hand, Mahsain (2014, pp.172-178) argues that in order for *yeʕni* to act as a floor-holding DM, it should be accompanied by a pause or a switch from Arabic into English or vice versa. However, others, like Kurdi (2008, p.101), point out that speakers may utter a series of linguistic items including pause(s), hesitation marker(s), false starts¹³, and interruptions, together with *yeʕni* to signal the function of holding the floor. In the current study, as I do not use TCUs, I will only look at the above mentioned linguistic elements used by the speakers, as opposed to position, to determine the function of *yeʕni* to mark holding the floor. In addition, in order to determine the self-correction function, I also look at the pattern with hesitations and pause(s), although this is not essential for determining that function, because the important part in self-correction is the replacement of one word or item with another.

As far as the functions of *concluding* and *result* are concerned, as the results in eighth and ninth columns of Table 2.3 illustrate, four previous studies Gaddafi (1990), Owens and Rockwood (2008), Rieschild (2011) and Mahsain (2014) mentioned that *yeʕni* was used to signal *concluding*. In addition, the same studies, except Gaddafi (1990) pointed out *yeʕni* occurred to mark *result*.

Conversely, apart from Yilmaz (2004) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015), none of the above-mentioned studies indicates that *yeʕni* can signal assessment. These are both studies of languages other than Arabic (Turkish and Persian respectively). In his study of the pragmatic analysis of the Turkish discourse particles *yani*, *iste* and *se*, Yilmaz (2004) claims that *yeʕni* occurs to signal assessment. However, Yilmaz (2004) uses the terms ‘summary assessment’ and ‘recapitulation’ interchangeably. Yilmaz (2004 p.112) argues that *yeʕni* is often used to signal summary assessment/recapitulation when speakers evaluate and summarise the aspects of the previous topic. Consider the following example (2.2) of *yeʕni* to signal the function of

¹³The term *false starts* refer to self-interruptions or incomplete utterances (MacLay and Osgood 2015, p.24).

summary assessment, quoted from Yilmaz (2004, p.110), in which the "topic is related to the speaker G's broken floppy disc, which he tested on different computers to see if it was really the case."

(2.2) (from Yilmaz 2004, p.110)

1. E: did you try it in şey in the computers in labs
2. G: the same [result]
3. E: mhm (2) then yani you need to let someone who knows well
4. about them have a look at it
5. G: it means that yani the drives of both this and the computers in the labs are not working

In Yilmaz's (2004, pp.110-111) analysis of the example (2.2), he states that speaker G has a problem with the floppy disc that contains his assignments. Speaker E in line (1) asks Speaker G whether he tried to test it on the computers in the university lab.

Speaker G replies that he did, but with the same result. Then speaker E summarizes and evaluates the situation, suggesting, in lines (3) through (4) that G should let an expert see what the problem with the discs, and fix it. Thus, Speaker E uses *yeşni* to signal his summary assessment of the previous talk (Yilmaz 2004, p.111). Following that, Speaker G evaluates what speaker E said in lines (1) through (4) by saying that the drives of the computers must be broken. Thus, the two evaluative summaries by both speakers are signalled by *yeşni* (Yilmaz 2004, p.111).

Similarly, Noora and Amouzadeh in their recent study of the grammaticalisation of *yani* in Persian (2015, p.104) claim that *yeşni* is used to signal evaluation of the prior ideas by claiming "the speaker uses *yani* to express his/her own evaluation or judgment of the previous utterance." They also add that *yeşni* can occur to indicate positive and negative values of assessment (Noora and Amouzadeh 2015, p.104). This suggests that, when *yeşni* is used to signal assessment, it can have two different usages, either positive or negative.

According to the detail given in the above studies by Yilmaz (2004, p.111) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.104), it seems that the functions of assessment and evaluations are similar, but that the term of ‘summary’ refers to the function of summarizing as well. However, I will consider the terms *assessment* and *evaluation* interchangeably in the current study, because they both are the same function.

Lastly, regarding cases that might be ambiguous, only Yilmaz (2004, p.124) and Al-Makoshi (2014, pp.37-38) point out that *yeʃni*, like other DMs, can be ambiguous, and that in some cases it is hard to identify what function *yeʃni* was used for. In the same way, regarding DMs in general, Castro (2009, p.74) states, "it is important to point out that sometimes it was difficult to classify the function of the DMs." In other words, DMs are ambiguous, and sometimes it is not easy to categorize their functions. In the present study, I also demonstrate that sometimes the function signalled by *yeʃni* is ambiguous.

Reviewing the literature on *yeʃni* has highlighted one additional point of interest, namely the multifunctional and ambiguous characteristics of *yeʃni*. In terms of multifunctionality, as can be noted in Table 2.3, *yeʃni* occurs to signal different functions. Thus, these results reveal that *yeʃni* is multifunctional. Yilmaz (2004, p.124) suggests, "yani being short and prosodically unproblematic has made it very functional." That is, *yeʃni* is multifunctional because it is easy to say.

To sum up, as the results in Table 2.3 illustrate, although there is no general agreement on the number of functions, the majority of studies agree that *yeʃni* is multifunctional. They established that *yeʃni* could be used to signal explanation, elaboration, shifting, example, self-correction, holding the floor, result, concluding, and assessment. Moreover, the summary in Table 2.3 indicates that some functions marked by *yeʃni*, namely result and concluding, only occurred in a few of the previous studies. Moreover, only the study of Turkish speakers by Yilmaz (2004) and the study of Persian speakers by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) identify *yeʃni* to signal assessment. Furthermore, only Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) demonstrate that *yeʃni* can signal different usages while indicating assessment. In addition, only a few studies point out that *yeʃni* is an ambiguous DM.

Similar to the findings of previous studies, in the current study, I will argue that *yeſni* is both multifunctional (it can serve more than one function at the same time) and that it has ambiguous cases, where it is hard to distinguish what function *yeſni* is being used for. Moreover, I will demonstrate that *yeſni* occurs to signal assessment, in line with the findings of Yilmaz (2004) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015). In addition, I will show that, like the Arabic phrase *mathalan* (Gaddafi 1990), *yeſni* in the current study data occurs to signal examples or shifting by prefacing the Kurdish phrase *bo nmune* (for example). Additionally, as with previous studies (e.g. Rieschild 2011), *yeſni* is also used to signal examples or shifting by itself. However, throughout this thesis, the term *exemplifying* will be used to refer to signalling examples with or without the company of phrase *bo nmune* (for example). However, unlike previous studies, except Noora and Amouzadeh (2015), I will demonstrate that *yeſni* can have different usages when signalling individual functions as demonstrated in chapter Five (see Section 5.3).

2.4.4 Summary

In this section, first, I have presented how earlier studies describe the development of *yeſni*. Second, I have reviewed a general background of the relevant literature on *yeſni*. Finally, following that I have provided a brief review of the pragmatic functions of *yeſni* in previous research.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the key concepts and studies that are relevant to DMs in general and *yeŋni* in particular. I have shown that DMs have several characteristics such as phonological, semantic, functional, and sociolinguistic and that they are a salient feature of spoken discourse. In addition, I provided a general review of previous studies on the concept of grammaticalisation, its principles and path ways for development of DMs. Moreover, I have shown that *yeŋni* has been the subject of analysis in different languages, such as Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. These previous studies mostly adopt a CA approach and they demonstrate that *yeŋni* can occur to signal a number of pragmatic functions in discourse. The next chapter will deal with the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods of the study and provides the sociolinguistic background of the participants. In addition, it gives further background information about the framework of the study and the study data, including the ethical guidelines, the participants and the technique of recruiting them, the data collection methods and data recording. Following that, there is a review of relevant research methods used in language studies. It then details the transcription approach for the data. Finally, the analytical strategy adopted for the DMs in this study is described and illustrated.

3.1 The Context of the Study

This is a sociolinguistic study of both frequency and function, which aims to explore how the spoken DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* are used by three Kurdish-speaking participant groups, lecturers and first and fourth year undergraduate students, based on the study findings. The research focuses mainly on the pragmatic functions and frequency of occurrences of *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* by the three different participant groups, which were frequent in my data, as I demonstrate in later chapters. Therefore, investigating this finding and analysing the reasons for the interestingly diverse DMs behaviour became necessary.

3.1.1 Ethical fieldwork

Before conducting the data collection at the Kurdish universities, I requested approval from the Ethics Committee and took the necessary training. Mahsain (2014, p.47) mentions that researchers have to follow the ethical regulations of the fieldwork while they collect study data. For the current study, the data collection was carried out within the ethical guidelines of the University of Leicester. Immediately after obtaining

the Ethical Approval from the University of Leicester, I gained permission from all the three universities (Raparin, Suleimani and Garmian) in Kurdistan where I planned to collect data. I sent consent forms and information letters to the deans and the head of the English departments of all three universities to let them know about my study and its objectives (see Appendix A). I asked permission to carry out a study with the lecturers and students who were on the campus. Having gained permission from the Kurdish Universities, I applied for consent in writing (in Kurdish) from the participants in the English departments at the three universities in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Written consent, in Kurdish-original and translated versions (see Appendix B), was obtained from each participant, both lecturers and students. I explained the details of my study and the procedures of the data collection, and asked for their consent to participate. The attached information sheet in Kurdish-original and translated versions were provided as well (see Appendices C and D).

The fieldwork was primarily conducted among three different groups of participants, namely students in the first and fourth (final) years and the lecturers from the English department of the Raparin University in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, from February to May 2014. However, due to the lack of female lecturers at Raparin University, female lecturers were recruited from two other Universities, namely Suleimani and Garmian. Since during the first year of my study I was intended to explore code-switching in written (Facebook comments) and spoken language between English and Kurdish and vice versa I focused on choosing three groups of participants with different English language proficiency.

According to previous research, different groups of participants use language differently. For example, when Mahsain (2014) wanted to analyse the language used by students in the final stage of their high schools in Kuwait, where English is taught as a second language, she explained that the reason for choosing final year students rather than younger ones at secondary school was because she observed that the final year students used language differently and code-switched between English and Arabic more than the younger ones. She also suggested that the reason why there was less code-switching by the younger students was because they were still in the process of

language acquisition and learning (Mahsain 2014, p.58). Based on Mahsain's (2014) theory, in the current study, choosing three different groups of participants was motivated by the expectation that they might behave and use language differently from each other.

The main reason for focusing on first year students, fourth year students, and lecturers in this study is that they are more likely to have relatively different levels of English proficiency and language use. Generally, the lecturers are more proficient in English as they already have MA degrees to teach English. Moreover, the fourth year students are probably more proficient in English than the first year students are. According to the criteria of English departments in Kurdistan universities, the fourth year students are classified as advanced learners, while the first year students are considered to be pre-intermediate learners of English. Therefore, it was expected that the fourth year student group would use language English differently from both the first year student group and the group of lecturers. As mentioned earlier in the introduction chapter, although during my first year of the study I collected data to explore code-switching between English and Kurdish and vice versa by Kurdish second language English speakers, I changed my study focus to examine DMs among the same participant groups in the study data.

3.1.2 Recruiting the participants

The process of recruiting participants for my study was based on the network I had established with the lecturers and students at Raparin University as a result of having worked as a lecturer there for around three years before starting my PhD study in the UK. Even though I knew most of the students, it was ethical to recruit them because I was not in a position to influence their marks. Since I lived in the UK while recruiting the participants, I contacted my colleagues in the English department at the Raparin University through emailing and Facebook messages. I approached the lecturers and the fourth year students personally (via Facebook) and invited them to take part in the study by sending them the consent form and an information letter where everything about the

procedure was explained. After they had consented to cooperate with me, I added the participants' names to the relevant group: teachers or senior students.

Having recruited the male lecturers and found that there was an absence of female lecturers at the University of Raparin (all the lecturers were male); I recruited female lecturers from the English departments of both Suleimani and Garmian Universities, through my personal contacts. Following this, I sent them a request through Facebook and added them to the teacher group.

As for recruiting the first year students, I asked two of the lecturers I had recruited and several fourth year students to invite first year students to participate in the study, as I did not know any first year students myself. After a number of first year students had indicated their willingness to cooperate in the study, I emailed them the consent form and the information letter. Once they had consented, I added them to the Freshmen Students Group.

Thus, the participants selected for the present study were 12 lecturers in the teachers group; 12 first year students in the Freshmen Student group; and 12 fourth year undergraduate students in the Senior Student group. Each group was made up of 6 men and 6 women.

Before starting the data collection, I told the lecturers and students that the recorded conversations and written works would be protected and that this data was expected to form the basis of on-going scholarly work; thus, the materials would be preserved indefinitely. All the lecturers and students were assured that their identities would remain confidential and all of them were given a pseudonymous identifier, which were a capital letter and a number. Moreover, all the lecturers and the students were informed that participation in the project was entirely voluntary. Additionally, all participants could ask for any part of what they said not to be recorded, for any part of the comments they wrote to be erased, and to withdraw within seven days after the activities if they choose. The participants in the Facebook groups were told they could withdraw during the first two weeks of the e-activity.

3.2 Data Collection and Methods

When I started my study, I intended to investigate conversational and written code-switching among three different groups of participants. However, as mentioned in Chapter One, after looking at the data I had collected, I shifted my focus from code-switching to the DMs that occurred in the interviews, using the analysis of Facebook code-switching only as a supplementary study showing additional evidence of the fourth years as a CoP.

My study focuses on DMs found in the data collected from the in-person dyadic interviews for two reasons. First, this change in focus has expanded the scope for an original contribution to knowledge. Second, it was necessary to limit the variables to allow a careful study. In the following subsections, an explanation of the interview and Facebook data methods are provided.

3.2.1 Interview

Interviews were the main tool used for collecting data in the current study. My goal in the interviews was to find out what language was used in the participants' natural speech. In addition, interviews are considered as a common and effective method for collecting spontaneous and natural data. Labov (1972, p.209) points out that:

No matter what other methods may be used to obtain sample of speech (group sessions, anonymous observation), the only way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of any one person is through an individual, tape-recorded interview: that is through the most obvious kind of systematic observation (Labov 1972, p.209).

Moreover, a number of previous studies on investigating DMs conducted interviews as a method of data collection. For example, Sankoff et al (1997) used interviews as the basis for their analysis of their English-French bilingual participants' use of DMs. In the same way, Hlavac (2006) analysed the Croatian and English DMs that were collected through recorded interviews with Croatian-Australian bilingual speakers. Moreover,

Kurdi (2008) used interviews to record the speech of English and Arabic conversational samples of Syrian-Arabic speaking students for the purpose of analysing their use of DMs.

In the present study, interviews were chosen as the tool for data collection because of the aims of the study. The objective of this research was to analyse the use of DMs in spoken language by Kurdish students learning English as a foreign language and lecturers teaching English as a foreign language in the English department. In order to obtain a body of natural conversational data in the Kurdish language, the interview method was the most practical choice.

In the current study, interviews were conducted face-to-face in pairs and each interview lasted 30 minutes. I interviewed all 36 participants, composed of 12 teachers, 12 first year and 12 fourth year undergraduate students, balanced for gender; each group was made up of three pairs of men and three pairs of women. The interviews for the lecturers were held in the office rooms at their university campus. All the interviews with the students took place on a university campus: in the library or in the cafeteria during breaks. The setting of the interviews was chosen by the participants themselves.

All the interviews were recorded on a digital audio-recorder. In a study conducted by Dornyei (2007, p.139), it was shown that during interviews, the speech has to be recorded, as only note-taking is not sufficient, and the researcher would not be able to remember everything everyone says exactly.

Furthermore, Lo (2008, p.56) argued that in face-to-face interviews, stress can be reduced by the researcher asking general questions at the beginning of the interviews. So, in my interviews with participants, at the beginning I asked them several questions of general interest, such as their hobbies and the games they played. Moreover, as follow up questions, I asked them about their learning experiences, the teaching styles of the lecturers, differences, and similarities between studying at school and university, and advantages and disadvantages of using social media such as

Facebook. I also asked about their views on university policies, guidelines, and facilities.

3.2.2 Facebook

As mentioned before, the main focus of this study is to investigate the uses of DMs by the three groups of participants. Since the study aims to look at the relationship between social characteristics and language use, Facebook data is used as only a supplementary means of providing evidence that the group of fourth year students are a CoP. Moreover, there has not been any online study on language practices in Kurdish. Even though the issue of code-switching has grown in importance in online communication, little attention has been paid to this field, particularly in academic settings. According to Parveen and Aslam (2013, p.564) Facebook is a common online medium of communication that has more than 800 million active users and which has affected languages in terms of practices and usage. Previous studies have reported that code-switching has been identified in online communication. Recently, Dovchin (2015) conducted an exploratory study called 'The online language practices of university students in Mongolia'. Dovchin (2015, p.437) found that speakers from different backgrounds on Facebook practiced mixing languages to show their "multiple authenticities and origins of authenticity in an increasingly interconnected world." Similarly, Parveen and Aslam (2013, p.564) highlight code-switching often occurs through online communication. Moreover, another study was conducted by Shafiel and Nayan (2013) who analysed online language uses among 100 students in a Malaysian public University. The results of their investigation indicate that code-switches are frequently seen among Facebook users of more than one language (Shafiel and Nayan 2013, p.1).

In the current study, it was expected that many participants might be Facebook members and that they might change their ways of communicating online by using different language characteristics and different types of language use with each other, resulting in the occurrence of code-switches. As soon as the students and lecturers decided to become part of the research project, they were immediately added to my own

Facebook account, customized within three special and separate Facebook Groups: Dear Teachers, Freshmen Students, and Senior Students as described above in 3.1.2.

Following that, I carried out the process of Facebook data collection from 4th of February 2014 to 20th of May 2014. However, due to the complications with recruiting female lecturers as described in 3.2.1, I started working on the Dear Teachers Group a short time later, from the 18th of February to 20th of May 2014. For about a 4-month period from 4th of February until 20th of May 2014, every 10 days I uploaded a wall-post and the participants were required to write their comments on it. Initially, I uploaded a wall-post every week, but then I changed it to 10 days to compensate for the lack of online facilities in the universities in Kurdistan in general.

Among the limited studies of online discussions, according to Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanity (2009), different topics often trigger different types of code-switching. Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanity (2009) investigated 'the use of code-switching in the chat room conversations of 12 non-native speakers of English from Indonesian and Spanish backgrounds'. Even though Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanity (2009, p.67) do not explicitly describe the topics they identified, they point out that topics included topics that are familiar to both cultures and topics that are less common in both cultures. However, they mention that results in their study suggest that technology-related topics promote more occurrences of code-switching regardless of the different linguistic background of the participants (Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanity 2009, p.67).

In the present study, to identify the influence of different languages and images on the phenomena of code-switching, the wall-posts were divided into four different groups, namely Kurdish, English, combined languages and images. In addition, the wall-posts dealt with specific topics, including current issues, academic sites, and humour. However, I did not analyse how these topics promoted code-switching, as later, I limited my analysis to looking at the style of participants' comments, regardless of what kind of topic they commented. Moreover, each time I posted a specific wall-post among the topics listed above. Following that, the participants wrote their comments on them. Over the four months, I posted 18 items for the students' groups and 16 for the teacher group. In response, the participants of the three groups wrote 456 Facebook

comments, which contained 70 comments by lecturers, 214 by fourth year students and 72 by the first year students.

3.3 Framework of the study

In this section, I will describe how the data was transcribed and normalised. Following that, I will describe the methods of analysing the data. Finally, the results indicated in the study will be presented.

3.3.1 Data Transcription and Coding

Regarding the transcription process of the interviews, for identifying the language used by the participants accurately, I used ELAN Linguistic Annotator, version 4.6.2, which was convenient and was available online free. In the first place, I started to transcribe the audio-recording of the interviews. I selected six interviews balanced for genders from each group of the participants. To transcribe the data, I started doing the transcription after 10 minutes talking in the interviews, as the participants were in the flow of speaking in that time. Thus, I transcribed 20 minutes of each pair of interviews for all the three participant groups. Overall, the transcription I did from my data for analysis amounts to 6 hours or 360 minutes.

I identified the participants by the unique code I gave to each participant. As each group consists of 12 members, six males and six females the numbers from 1 to 6 were given to males, and numbers from seven to 12 were given to the females. Besides the numbers, the capital letters L, S, and F were used to make a distinction between the three groups of the students. Therefore, L indicates the lecturers, S the fourth year students and F the first year students. For example, the code 3L is a male lecturer and 9L is a female lecturer, while 5S is a male fourth year students and 11F is a female first year student. This coding facilitated understanding of who took the turn first, or who used the DM in any particular conversation, and avoided confusion between the participants.

After carrying out the transcription process, I started coding the transcribed data on the basis of the clause. Regarding coding the data, drawing on the methodology of Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006), I distinguished Kurdish matrix language and English matrix language at the level of the clauses in the data¹⁴. After determining the clauses, I manually coded the switches, matrix languages, the loanwords and DMs in all three languages, English, Kurdish, Arabic and other languages such as Persian.

Throughout the study, the brackets in the extracts stand for the words or phrases that are implied, and if there is a repetition, it is shown in English without brackets. In addition, the addressed DMs in the extracts have been highlighted in both bold font and italics. In the text of the thesis (that is, not the extracts), the Kurdish parts are in italics and the English translations follow in brackets. While coding, misunderstandings about utterances were noted and counted. For example, when an utterance was not comprehensible after several times of listening, it was marked as one #. I also use three ### to mark the false starts by the participants. Note, however, that I did not consider pause length as a means to differentiate any function: rather I used three full stops to indicate them in the present study.

3.3.2 Normalizing the data

Regarding normalising the data, I calculated the frequency of the DMs and normalised them by using percentages. Previous studies presented calculation of DMs per 1000 words, for example, Al-Makoshi (2014), Castro (2009), and Othman (2007). However, I decided that this was not a good strategy for the data in my study for two reasons. First, I had a very small corpus, I was not dealing with thousands of tokens, and consequently, I was able to look at the data in more detail; in fact, I looked at every single instance. According to Othman (2007, p.79) a small sized corpus is more feasible than a large sized one, as the former allows the researcher to analyse in depth the ways

¹⁴ I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.3).

in which DMs function. Second, I controlled for the amount of time that people spoke: I have the same number of minutes as described in 3.2.1. Meanwhile, even though I might have a different number of words from a different number of speakers (people might speak at different rates) I had some control over the size of each sample from each individual, as presented in 3.2.1.

3.3.3 Methods of analysis

The methodology applied in the current study is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The framework for looking at DMs was developed using the work of Owens and Rockwood's (2008) classification of the functions of *yeſni* (see Table 5.2), and using other studies of DMs in other languages including Gaddafi (1990), Kurdi (2008), Rieschild (2011), Yilmaz (2004), Özbek (1995) and Beeching (2016). First, following the above mentioned sources, I had to establish a framework for the analysis of *yeſni* and then apply the same procedures to the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. My aim in examining *yeſni* separately from other DMs is that I should follow the structure established for *yeſni* and adopt them to explore *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* due to lack of previous work on Kurdish DMs, as mentioned in Chapter One. As far as I know, this is the first study to discuss and explore Kurdish DMs. However, it is important to note that the thesis is not wide enough in scope to cover in detail all the possible Kurdish DMs. I limited my analysis to those DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*, which I will show are equivalent to *yeſni*. Therefore, the focus was on Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*.

I qualitatively analysed and exemplified all the types of pragmatic functions signalled by *yeſni* in extracts taken from the interviews with participants. Even though the process of establishing the functions for the DM *yeſni* in Kurdish was challenging and time consuming, it allowed me to analyse the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* by applying the same procedure of *yeſni* on them. Then, as the first step of analysing the data quantitatively, I looked at the distribution of occurrences of *yeſni* as they occurred in the conversational context by the participants. I calculated overall occurrences of *yeſni* across the interview data by the three groups. Following that, I determined the

frequency of distribution of all the functions signalled by *yeſni* within each of the three groups. In other words, I identified the functions of each occurrence of DMs within the conversation. I counted the rate of the functions of *yeſni* by each group of participants separately. Following a comprehensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of the occurrences of *yeſni* across the three groups of participants, I applied the same procedures to analyse the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. In sum, through a comprehensive analysis using both qualitative and quantitative approaches including comparisons of both students' and lecturers' performance of DMs *yeſni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* in the conversational interviews outside classrooms, I found that *yeſni* is interchangeable with *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* to signal a number of functions. Consequently, the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* are considered as Kurdish equivalents of *yeſni*.

As mentioned in the Chapter One this work is an exploratory study that I carried out mainly to explore the DMs. However, I looked at the Facebook data for the same participants in the same community to determine how these three groups behave in the style of comments and language used with regard to each comment. Drawing on the MLF model of Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) methodology, all responses from all posts were exported for coding by Matrix Language. After that, I coded all the comments and then I carried out both quantitative and qualitative analyses to identify the frequencies of code-switches and explain the style of posts used by the three groups of the participants. Quantitatively, this was done by counting separately how often code-switches occurred in the comments posted by the participant groups. In addition, qualitatively, comments posted by the three groups were examined to identify the differences in style by looking at features such as teasing, laughing and group references. As I will show, I found that it is important to consider groups in analysing data.

Furthermore, as stated earlier in (3.1) the main focus of the study is on exploration of the DMs. However, I will use Facebook data only as a supplementary part to examine the different roles of competence and style in posts amongst the three groups and to show that the fourth year group of students are a CoP. In chapter Four, I will examine a sub-sample of the Facebook data, namely, 99 comments which comprise

of 33 comments per group of the participants from the total of 456. First, I will use the procedure of ML versus EL distinction which is established by Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) the MLF model, for distinguishing Kurdish Matrix Language and English Matrix Language clauses in the data as illustrated in chapter Four (see Section 4.3). The ML 'is the language that supplies the grammatical frame for the clause containing words from two (or more) languages', whereas, the EL is the language that mostly provides only content morphemes for the mixed-constituents ¹⁵(Myers-Scotton 2006, p.235). I will use this principle to allow separate analyses of code-switching from Kurdish into English and vice versa. Second, I will determine the differences in code-switching by lecturers and students by looking at the style in comments in the written, social media context. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, these participants are different in their use of code-switching. They use different languages at the different rates. I will argue that the fourth year students are a CoP as demonstrated in chapter Four (see Section 4.2)

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the research approach, fieldwork, and methods of data collection and analysis to address the research question in the present study. The transcripts allowed me to investigate how the DMs *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* were used by the participants. In addition, the research approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis of *yeŋni* enabled me to establish and develop a research procedure to analyse the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. The next chapter will discuss the sociolinguistic part of the study, which shows that the fourth year students are a CoP and that they behave differently from the two other participant groups.

¹⁵ Mixed-constituents comprise of morphemes from the two participated languages (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 244).

CHAPTER FOUR: COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

4.0 Introduction

As mentioned earlier in Chapter three (see Section 3.2), the main focus of this study is to explore the uses of DMs by the three groups of participants. However, Facebook data was also used as a supplementary means of providing evidence that the group of fourth year students are a CoP, since the study aims to look at the relationship between social characteristics and language use. Thus, to make the discussion of the DMs more straightforward, I will discuss how the fourth year student group behave differently from the first year students and the lecturers before examining the DMs *yefni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the subsequent chapters. To do this, I introduce data, related to code-switching in Facebook comments, as described in Chapter Three (see Section 3.2). I will use this data alongside their background information as evidence to show that the fourth year students are a Community of Practice (CoP henceforth).

The chapter is organized as follows. First, in Section 4.1, I will present a brief literature review of the definitions and characteristics of CoP. I will then identify, in Section 4.2, the characteristics of the fourth year students that suggest they may be a CoP by demonstrating the differences in the background information and the differences of their behaviour from the two other participant groups. Turning then to code-switching, I briefly outline in Section 4.3, the previous literature on the definition and types of code-switching and the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2006). This is followed by a discussion of the contrasts in the style in posts of code-switching by the three participant groups in the Facebook data. Finally, the last Section is the chapter conclusion.

4.1 Community of Practice

In this section, before discussing the evidence for the fourth year students as a CoP, I will present an overview of related literature on the definition and characteristics of CoP. This is followed by a discussion of CoP in the current study.

The term CoP has been defined by Wenger et al (2002, p.34) as "a group of people who interact, learn together, build relationships, and in the process develop a sense of belonging and mutual commitment." That is, the members of a CoP learn together and they interact, socialise together and they have group references. In a study to explore 'Online Discourse Functions of Non-Native Speakers of English in a CoP which comprises student-teachers, frontline practitioners, and faculty staff members', Tang and Chung (2016, p.52) found that an intense communication took place among members of the CoP during a teaching practicum. Consequently, "the CoP also provided a convenient channel for the members to show support, seek advice, and share experience" (ibid). Tang and Chung (2016, p.55) add that based on the results of their study the relationship among the participants in their academic and social context was noticeable in the CoP.

Several studies have revealed core characteristics of CoP (Iverson and McPhee 2002, Wenger 2006 and Lai et al 2006), although these studies use different terms to label similar features. According to these scholars, the core characteristics of a CoP are as follows:

1- 'Practice' is "the unifying feature of the community" (Lai et al, 2006, p.10). Likewise, Iverson and McPhee (2002, p.179) used the term of 'negotiation of a joint enterprise' to refer to the activity or the project that the members of a CoP are practicing. So, the first characteristic pointed out by the studies suggests that the CoP should practice an activity or a project together in the same domain or field.

2- 'Mutual engagement'. Iverson and McPhee (2002, p.179) point out that "Mutual engagement signals the level of communication and interaction. If participants are not interacting at all, a CoP is clearly not present. "In other words, mutual engagement refers to the interacting and dense relationship among the members. In the

same way, Lai et al (2006, p.10) claim that relationships are a vital criterion to form a CoP. That is, another characteristic of a CoP is that the members are interacting and having dense relationships together.

3- 'Shared learning'. Lai et al (2006, p.10) or 'shared repertoire' (Iverson and McPhee 2002, p.179). The term 'shared repertoire' is described by Iverson and McPhee (2002, p.179) as follows:

Shared repertoire includes the knowledge, capabilities, and shared (communicated) reifications within the group of people. Development or social exploration of such a repertoire is a primary knowledge process in CoPs; the repertoire also serves as a communicative vocabulary and a symbol of membership (Iverson and McPhee 2002, p.179)

In other words, the repertoire is a sign of a CoP in which the members shared knowledge, vocabulary, and style in their communication. Similarly, Blommaert and Backus (2011, p.2) state that the term repertoire refers to:

All the 'means of speaking' i.e. all those means that people *know how to use and why* while they communicate, and such means, as we have seen, range from linguistic ones (language varieties) over cultural ones (genres, styles) and social ones (norms for the production and understanding of language) (Blommaert and Backus 2011, p.2).

That is, shared repertoire shows how the way of speaking, ideas and knowledge are shared among the members of the group. Since the members of a CoP share and adopt knowledge, style of speaking and vocabulary from each other as members of one community, shared repertoire is considered as a sign of a CoP. According to Gilbert (2016, p.1217), "the community itself is also a factor in the willingness of members to share knowledge." In other words, a CoP leads its members to share ideas.

In sum, according to the above mentioned studies, these three 'communicative processes' (Iverson and McPhee 2002, p.179): *practice*, *mutual engagement* and *shared repertoire* outline the form of a CoP. This suggests that members of a CoP firstly should practice in the same domain, and then they interact and build their relationship by

working and socializing together. After they mutually engage, they share insights and adopt practices from each other.

Moreover, regarding how to distinguish a CoP from other groupings, Lai et al (2006, p.12) argue that a CoP can be distinguished from other groupings as they have the three above-mentioned characteristics and they are not task-oriented. According to Lai et al (2006, p.12), task-oriented groups are those whose members gather to carry out a task. In other words, the members of a CoP are integrated together by the opportunities to learn and share, whereas the relationships of the members of other teams are based on carrying out a task. Reviewing previous studies reveals that a CoP refers to a group whose members interact, have a sense of belonging as a group and share knowledge and ideas together. Based on the three pre-established criteria listed above, in the next sub-section I demonstrate that the fourth year students are a CoP, whereas the first year students and the lecturers are not.

4.2 The CoP in the current study

In this section, first, based on their background information and their behaviour on Facebook, I will explore the first question of this Chapter, which seeks to show the contrasts among the three groups of the participants, by arguing that the fourth year students are a CoP. In addition, to establish the differences among the three participant groups, I will adopt the three established criteria *practice*, *mutual engagement* and *shared repertoire* (Iverson and McPhee 2002; Wenger 2006; Lai et al 2006), as illustrated in Table 4.1 below. First, I will show that the groups of participants are different from each other based on their background information and then I demonstrate that these groups also behave differently in code-switching in Facebook comments. I will show that these two contrasts can be explained by considering the group of fourth year students as a CoP.

Table 4.1 Criteria for distinguishing a CoP

Characteristics	4th years	1st years	Lecturers
Practice	Yes (see 4.2.1)	Yes	No
Mutual engagement	Yes (see 4.3)	No	No
Shared repertoire	Yes (see 4.3)	No	No

Regarding the first characteristic of CoP, as the first row of Table 4.1 illustrates, the first and fourth year students practice the same domain, which is learning English. In contrast, the lecturers carry out their task of teaching. Although this could also be considered a domain of practice, it is different because they do it individually not as a group. So, according to the first criterion which is *practice*, both fourth and first year groups do the same practicing, whereas the lecturers are different.

With regard to the second characteristic, which is *mutual engagement*, as the second row of Table 4.1 displays, the fourth year students seem to have an intense relationship because of their backgrounds. First, the fourth year students come mostly from a single region called Qeladizê (Pijder), as a result of which they spoke in the sub-dialect of Qeladizê (Pijder) (regional variety) as described in detail in Chapter One (see Section 1.3). Second, they interacted and learned English together for four years of studying. Third, they socialized outside classroom, having picnics together, for example. This suggests that the fourth year student group were mutually engaged.

Unlike the fourth year students, the first year students came from more diverse regions, including Qeladizê (Pijder), Suleimani, and Hawler. Consequently, they spoke with different sub-dialects (for details see Section 1.1). Furthermore, as demonstrated in Section 4.3, the first year students did not socialise outside the classroom. This is probably because they were in the first year of their undergraduate studies, and thus they did not know each other well, they were not familiar with each other, and had not yet integrated as a group. This indicates that the first year group of students had not built a mutual engagement yet. Continuing with the mutual engagement characteristic, with regard to the lecturers, like the first year students, the lecturers were from different

regions and spoke with different sub-dialects. Moreover, the male and female lecturers were from three different universities: Raparin, Suleimani and Garmian, as described in Chapter Three (see Section 3.3). This suggests that the lecturers, like the first year students, had less mutual engagement.

Regarding *shared repertoire*, as the third row of Table 4.1 shows, the fourth year group had a shared repertoire, whereas the first year students and the lecturers did not. The fourth year students shared knowledge and ideas adopted from each other, behaviour that can be noticed in their language use and style of code-switching in Facebook comments as discussed in Section 4.3 below. Although the first year students are engaged in a common practice, they do not have the kind of mutual engagement as the fourth year students yet. Finally, the lecturers in the study do not show either of these characteristics. Now, I will turn to discuss the code-switching in Facebook comments to show the similarities and differences in the behaviour of the three groups of participants.

4.3 Participant groups behaviour in code-switching on Facebook

As I mentioned in Chapter One (see Section 1.0), the main focus of this study is on the DMs. However, I use the Facebook code-switching data as evidence to establish that the fourth year students have a shared-repertoire, and that they are a CoP. In this section, I provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the subset of the use of code-switching on Facebook data among the three participant groups: lecturers, first and fourth year students. I demonstrate that the behaviour of the fourth year students in the current study is different from the first year students and the lecturers in using code-switching in Facebook comments. First, I will outline the types of code-switching that I will be using, with reference to previous literature. This is followed by an overview of the Myers-Scotton's (1993-2006) Matrix Language Framework (MLF hereafter). Then, I will present the different behaviours of the three groups of participants in using code-switching in the current study.

4.3.1 Previous literature on code-switching

Code-switching (CS) occurs as an interesting phenomenon amongst speakers who have learnt two or more languages. Code-switching is "the use of two language varieties in the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 2006, p.239). Poplack (1980) and Muysken (2011) have a similar definition of code-switching. Whilst a variety of definitions of code-switching have been suggested, such as those by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982), this study will consider the grammatical perspective of Myers-Scotton (2006, p.239) for reasons which I explain below. Switches in language can be inter-sentential, that is, they occur between sentences (Poplack 1980, Muysken 2011; Myers-Scotton 2006), as seen in this Kurdish and English example by a lecturer from the Facebook data

Extract 4.1

1. 7: *Zor supas mamosta gyan*, this website is really useful.

Dear Miss, thank you very much. This website is really useful.

2. 7: *Xom be karm hynawa*. I myself used it before.

I myself tried it (this website) before.

However, switches can also occur within a clause (Poplack 1980; Muysken 2011; Myers-Scotton 2006), that is, they are intra-sentential, such as this example by a fourth year student:

Extract 4.2

1. 13S: *Jyan* teaches me lots of other lessons.

Life teaches me lots of other lessons.

As far as the types of *code-switching* are concerned, previous studies have different terms to label them. Singh (1985) and Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) used the term *code-switching* for inter-sentential switching and *code-mixing* for intra-sentential switching. In contrast, Romaine (1995) used *intra-sentential code-switching* to cover code-switching that occurs within clauses and *inter-sentential code-switching* to cover

code-switching that occur between sentences. However, other researchers, such as Myers-Scotton (2006, p.239) and Chan (2007, p.57), used *code-switching* to cover both intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching. In this study, I attempt to examine intra-sentential rather than inter-sentential code-switching, and I will therefore adopt the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993). Thus, I will use the term *code-switching* to include both intra-sentential and inter-sentential examples, and I will distinguish between them more explicitly when necessary.

4.3.2 The MLF model

Having defined code-switching and its types, now I will give an overview of the MLF model. Even though there are multiple models for code-switching (for example, Poplack's (1980, 1981) study of word-order equivalence, Auer's (1984) Conversation Analysis approach and Muysken's (2000) typology of code-mixing), in this study, I will use the MLF model, for two reasons. Firstly, as I will analyse the grammatical structure of code-switching of Facebook written comments, Myers-Scotton (1993) provides a structural and fairly objective way to identify directions of code-switching. Secondly, recent researchers have point out that Myers-Scotton's (1993) MFL model is one of the most effective and influential models in the field of code-switching. For example, the results of Deuchar's (2006) study for Welsh-English code-switching and Rahimi and Dabaghi's (2013) for Persian-English code-switching show general support for the MLF model. Thus, it seems that the MLF model is appropriate for the written data.

Myers-Scotton's MFL model sets out two oppositions: "Matrix language (ML hereafter) versus Embedded Language (EL) and Content Morphemes versus System Morphemes" (2006, pp.243-245). The ML "is the language that supplies the grammatical frame for the clause containing words from two (or more) languages"(Myers-Scotton 2006, p.235), whereas the EL is the language that mostly

provides only content morphemes for the mixed-constituents.¹⁶ In other words, the ML is the dominant language in a case of mixed-constituents, and it is the language that supplies the morphosyntactic order of a clause, whereas the EL is the less dominant language, that is, it does not participate in the morphosyntactic structure of the clause. Thus, the ML and the EL do not contribute in the structure of the mixed-constituents equally (Myers-Scotton 2006, p.243). Using the Morpheme Order Principle, Myers-Scotton (2006, p.244) posits that in mixed-constituents, the morphosyntactic frame of the clause is provided by the dominant language, that is, the ML¹⁷. In addition, Myers-Scotton (2006, p.243) suggests that the identification of the ML is important, as it plays an essential role in the analysis of code-switching data, showing which language provides the morphosyntactic structure of the clause in the mixed-constituent. In addition, the ML as a unit of analysis has been used by previous researchers including Boussofara-Omar (2003, p.35) and Liu (2008, p.76).

Moreover, Myers-Scotton (2006, p.243) points out that the ML versus EL opposition distinguishes languages by contribution to a clause. She also considers the clause "as the best unit of analysis of bilingual data" Myers-Scotton (2006, p.240). The clause is a natural structural concept in syntax and it has been used in code-switching previously as a unit of analysis, for example, by Liu (2008, p.76), Zuercher (2009, p.146), Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti (2009, p.74), Rahimi and Dabaghi (2013, p.322). In the current study, I use the clause as a unit of analysis. In this study, I will follow Myers-Scotton's (1993) principle of ML versus EL to distinguish the Kurdish and English MLs and I will demonstrate this by exemplifying from the study Facebook data in 4.3.3.1 below.

¹⁶ Mixed-constituents comprise of morphemes from the two participating languages (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 244).

¹⁷There is also a categorization scheme for morphemes (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001), but I am not discussing it here as it is not relevant to my discussion.

4.3.3 Code-switching in the current study

In order to show how the fourth year students behave differently from the two other groups, the first year students and the lecturers, I will provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the subset of the Facebook data across the participant groups. As described in the Chapter Three (see Section 3.2), for the Facebook activity, I created three Facebook groups, which I called Dear Teachers, Senior Students and Freshman Students. The participants for the Facebook activity were the same participants as for the interviews, and they comprised of 12 lecturers (6 males and 6 females), 12 fourth year students (6 males and 6 females), and 12 first year students (6 males and 6 females). For about a 3-month period, I uploaded a wall-post every ten days and the participants wrote their comments on it. I divided my wall-posts into four types: English, Kurdish, both Kurdish and English and Images. The wall-posts talked about current social issues, academic sites, and included jokes and opinions. The total number of the comments was 456, made up of 70 by lecturers, 214 by the group of the fourth year student and 72 by first year student group. To make the data comparable amongst the three groups, I selected 33 comments from each group. I selected 17 females' comments and 16 males' comments from the 33 comments of the first year group. As far as possible, I selected each comment from a different individual, to create a representative sample.

By adopting Myers-Scotton's MLF model (1993 and 2006), I used the principle of ML versus EL to allow separate analyses of code-switching from Kurdish into English and vice versa. In the discussion that follows, first, I will demonstrate that the three groups used different languages at different rates. I will examine the difference of language rates by looking at the roles of competence. I will demonstrate that the participants use code-switching differently. Second, I will determine the differences in code-switching by lecturers and students by looking at the style in comments in the Facebook comments. I will examine the difference in the style in posts by looking at features such as *teasing*, *laughing* and *group references*. Then, I will show that the fourth year students use different styles of posts in code-switching in their Facebook

comments. Finally, I suggest that the difference observed amongst the three groups is evidence to suggest that the fourth year students are a CoP.

4.3.3.1 Different languages at different rates

Using the sample of 33 comments per group of the participants from the total of 456, I determined the exact numbers of clauses within each set of 33 comments; that is, I counted the clauses per group. I used the procedure of ML versus EL to distinguish Kurdish ML and English ML clauses in the data. I used this principle to allow separate analyses of code-switching from Kurdish into English and vice versa. As I will demonstrate below, these participants display differences in their use of clauses and code-switching rates. The three groups use different languages at different rates. Since the participants have different levels of English, competence might explain this difference. I will explore these differences amongst the three groups and I will demonstrate that the fourth year students used the highest figures of clauses and code-switching in their Facebook comments. The average number of clauses per comment is illustrated in Table 4.2. Following that, I determine the percentage of clauses that included code-switching¹⁸ as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.2 Total numbers of comments and clauses by the three groups of the participants

Groups of participants	Numbers of comments	Numbers of clauses	Average number of clauses per comment

¹⁸ CS is used instead of code-switching in the Tables and Figures for the sake of brevity.

1st year students	33	110	3.57
4th year students	33	205	6.03
Lecturers	33	102	3.45

Table 4.3 Total numbers of clauses, numbers of CS clauses and percentages of CS

Groups of participants	Total numbers of clauses	Numbers of clauses with CS	Percentage of clauses with CS per total number of clauses
1st year students	110	25	23%
4th year students	205	146	71%
Lecturers	102	24	23%

Table 4.2 indicates that, out of 33 comments per group, the fourth year students used the highest number of clauses (205) and the lecturers and the first year students used a similar number of clauses, 102 and 110 respectively. Likewise, Table 4.3 illustrates that the fourth year students used the highest percentage of clauses with code-switching (71%) whilst the lecturers and first year students used the same rates (23%). However, as I show below, the way first year students and lecturers use code-switching is not the same. After counting the clauses with code-switching overall, I determined the direction of code-switching within a mixed-constituent by using Myers-Scotton's (1993) MLF model to establish a procedure to separate English ML and Kurdish ML for each clause. To identify the ML, I will adopt the principle of "ML versus EL distinction" set

up by Myers-Scotton (2006, pp.243-245). Consider the following example of a comment a fourth year student wrote about a post I uploaded, which was an image of someone standing on a very high cliff. Although the image did not have any message with it, it looked very scary. In response to the post, the participants reacted to it as can be seen in extract (4.7). In this extract (4.7), a year fourth student gave her opinion on the image and she wrote the following comment:

Extract 4.7

1. 20S: baxwa mn law katada aim w success w shty wa nazan

Actually, at that time I cannot remember aims and success

2. 20S: har la trsa i will fall down.

Just because of the scariness (of that place), I will fall down.

In extract (4.7), the comment consists of two clauses. The first clause is *baxwa mn law katada aim w success w shtywa nazanm* (actually, at that time I cannot remember aims and success). I categorize the ML of this clause as Kurdish for two reasons. Firstly, the word order of the clause is S O V, which is compatible with Kurdish but not acceptable in English. In English, the verb usually comes before the object, whereas in Kurdish the object usually precedes the verb. As a result, according to the Morpheme Order Principle, the morphosyntactic structure of the clause is Kurdish. Secondly, most of the elements of the clause come from Kurdish; only two content words come from English (*aim, success*). As a result, according to the System Morpheme Principle, the ML is Kurdish.

In contrast, the ML of the second clause, *har la trsai will fall down*, is English. The morphosyntactic frame of the clause is SV, which is compatible with English, but it is also true for Kurdish. Therefore, the SV order alone does not reveal the ML. However, almost all the elements of the clause come from English, including the subject and the verb: *i will fall down*; only a prepositional phrase: *har la trsa* (just because of the scariness) comes from Kurdish. Therefore, this clause has been categorized as English ML.

Through the above method of categorization of the MLs, I calculated the number and percentage of all the Kurdish and English ML clauses out of the total number of clauses. In addition, I determined the number and the percentage of the clauses with code-switching between the two languages, as summarized in Table 4.4 and Table 4.5.

Table 4.4 Kurdish ML and Kurdish into English CS

Groups	Total no. of clauses	clauses with Kurdish ML	Kurdish ML	clauses with Kurdish to English CS	Kurdish to English CS
1st year students	110	89	80%	20	22%
4th year students	205	117	57%	97	82%
Lecturers	102	33	32%	13	39%

Table 4.5 English ML and English into Kurdish CS

Groups	Total no. of clauses	clauses with English ML	English ML	clauses with English to Kurdish CS	English to Kurdish CS
1st year students	110	21	19%	5	23%
4th year students	205	88	42%	49	55%
Lecturers	102	69	67%	11	15%

To facilitate the comparison, I am combining the data from the two Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2.

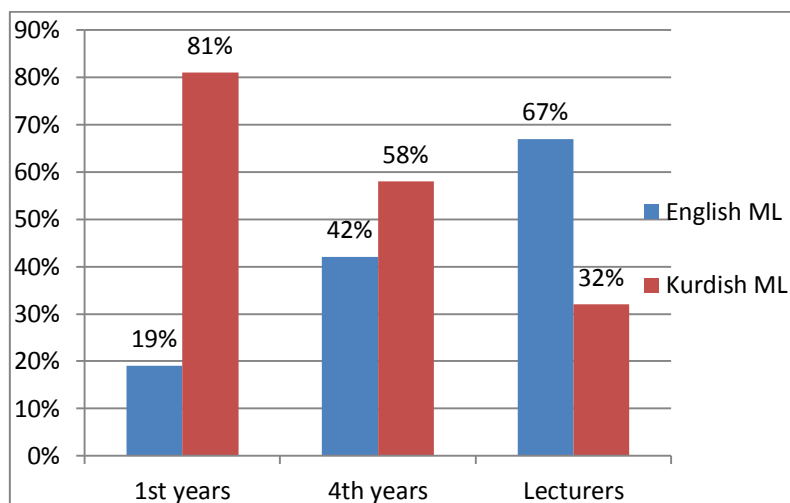


Figure 4.1: English and Kurdish ML by the three groups

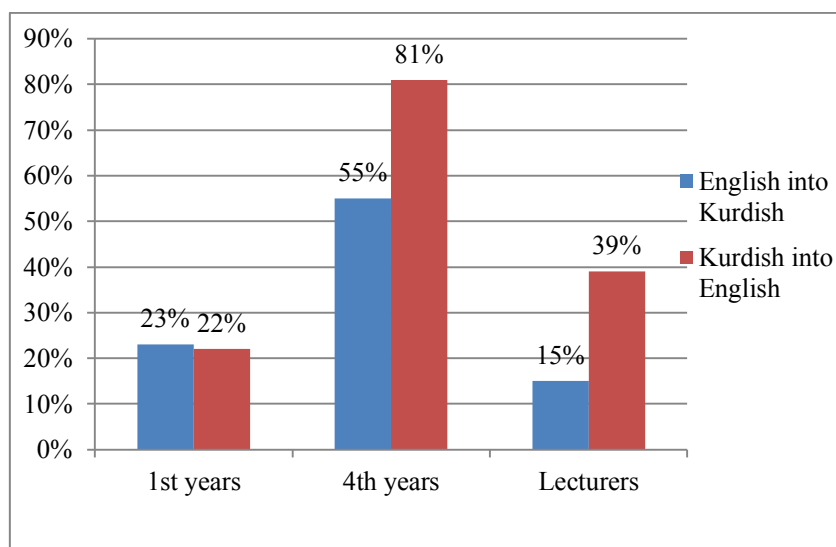


Figure 4.2: English into Kurdish and Kurdish into English CS

The results from Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 show that the lecturers and students are using predominantly different MLs and code-switching in writing their comments on Facebook. The lecturers write their comments

primarily in English ML (67%), whereas the students mostly write in Kurdish ML (fourth year students 57% and first year students 81%), with the first year students using the highest figure of Kurdish ML amongst the three groups.

As seen from Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, lecturers primarily use English in general. When they write in Kurdish base structure, they often switch into English (39%). However, when they write in English, which is most of the time (67%), they rarely switch into Kurdish (15%). Even though the fourth year students write less often in English ML (44%) compared to the lecturers (67%), they use Kurdish ML (57%) more than the lecturers (32%) and less than the first year students (81%), as illustrated in Table 4.4 and Table 4.5. The fourth year student group switches more often from Kurdish into English (82%) compared to the lecturers (39%) and the first year students (22%). In addition, when the fourth year students write in English, they frequently switch into Kurdish (55%) compared to lecturers (15%) and the first year students (22%). Therefore, the fourth year students do more code-switching than both lecturers and first year students, regardless of what language they use, as seen in Figure 4.2. On the other hand, the first year students use more Kurdish ML in their comments than both the lecturers and fourth year students. Table 4.4, Figure 4.1, and Figure 4.2 show that the first year students write in Kurdish ML most of the time (81%), whilst they use only 19% of English ML. Even though the first year students write frequently in Kurdish ML, they use approximately the same rate of code-switching, whether from English into Kurdish (23%) or from Kurdish into English (22%).

It is apparent from the above results that the lecturers use more English ML than the students in general. The fourth year students use more code-switching into both languages compared to the lecturers and the first year students. Moreover, the first year students use the highest rate of Kurdish ML and they use almost the same figure of code-switching in both languages in their comments on Facebook. It can be concluded that there are two clear patterns here. First, the more advanced English speakers use English as their ML more. Second, CS peaks among the intermediate learners, who are the fourth year students. The above results show that there are great differences amongst the groups in using MLs and CS. There are two possible explanations for these

differences: the level of competence and the style of the posts. First, I will discuss ML use by looking at competence, as shown by the individual use of MLs and the students' highest and lowest marks. Second, I will examine style of posts by looking at some examples.

4.3.3.2 User Competence

One possible explanation for the use of different MLs amongst the groups of the participants is user competence. According to Chen (2007, p.200), higher English proficiency students use more English MLs while they are code-switching than medium and lower English proficiency students. Interestingly, the lecturers use English MLs 67%; more frequently than both the fourth year students 42% and the first year students 19%, as seen from Table 4.3 and Figure 4.1. In addition, the lecturers use the smallest figure of Kurdish MLs (32%) amongst the three groups (fourth year students used 57% and the first year students used 81%). This could be because the lecturers are more proficient at English, as they already have MA degrees (typically an MA at the University of Raparin) to teach English. Likewise, although the fourth year students use English as their ML less frequently (42%) than the lecturers (67%), they still use English as their ML more than the first year students (19%). On the other hand, the first year students use the highest number of Kurdish MLs (81%) and the smallest number of English MLs (19%) amongst the three groups, as illustrated in Figure 4.1. This might be related to competence level. The fourth year students are more proficient at English than the first year students (according to the criteria of English departments in Kurdistan Universities, the fourth year students are considered as advanced and the first year students as pre-intermediate level at English). Thus, these results might indicate that the lecturers use more English MLs than the students, and the fourth year students do more than the first year students, due to their different levels of English proficiency.

In order to understand how the students of differing academic performance use MLs, and having received permission from the Dean and Head of English department, I obtained the participants' grades. It is important to note that these grades are public and everyone can see them; they are not confidential because they are not final grades. I

collected the students' grades from the beginning of the academic year until I finished data-collection process (from 01-10-2013 to 30-5-2014). The maximum score possible was 40. I took the average of those marks for all students and then selected the students (2 male and 2 female) with the 4 highest and 4 lowest scores from both groups. Then, I looked at their language use. The results show that there is not a big difference in the use of Kurdish MLs and English MLs between students with the highest and lowest scores in either class. The students with the highest and lowest scores in the fourth year students group use nearly the same figures of English MLs: 47% and 45%; and Kurdish MLs: 52% and 50%, respectively. Similarly, students with the highest and lowest scores in the first year students group use almost the same amounts of English MLs: 17%, and 22%; and Kurdish MLs: 73% and 70%, respectively. In fact, the students with the highest scores among the first year students uses less English MLs (17%) than the student with the lowest score in the class (22%), as seen in Table 4.6. Therefore, on an individual basis, the patterns are similar within each year.

Table 4.6 The average and English ML used by the 8-individuals

Student category	Average score	Average	Total no. of clauses	English ML	English ML	Kurdish ML	Kurdish ML
Highest mark 4th year	28	70%	74	35	47%	39	52%
Lowest mark 4th year	23	57%	22	10	45%	11	50%
Highest mark 1st year	32	80%	57	10	17%	42	73%
Lowest	23	57%	31	7	22%	22	70%

mark 1st year							
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While, there might be an element of competence to explain the results based on group level, competence within a year does not seem to make any difference, as both the highest and lowest of the fourth year students and the first year students do approximately the same in using languages. Therefore, competence might not be the only explanation. Given the differences in the frequency of using code-switching across in the comments on Facebook by the three participants groups, I will now move to discuss the style in posts in the Facebook comments by the three groups.

4.3.3.3 Style in Posts

After showing that the three groups are different in using different MLs and in the frequency of code-switching in the Facebook comments, now I will show a further evidence to determine that the fourth year students are different from the other groups by looking at their style in posts in the Facebook comments.

In the current study, I will focus only on the differences in code-switching by looking at features such as *teasing and laughing* and *group references* to show the style of comments. I will demonstrate that the fourth year students express their feelings more by using laughter and they show more group references in their comments on Facebook comparing to the two other groups. I will present some typical examples from each group of the participants' comments in the Facebook data.

Extract (4.3) and extract (4.4) below are taken from the comments in Facebook data by the fourth year student group:

Extract 4.3

1. 12S: hhhh ay tosh abe sza bdam X awa insteady away blley dear X I support you chy dalley X har?

Hahahaha I should punish you X instead of saying dear X I support you. You say X har?

Extract 4.4

1. 6S: Great, but late, because we have no time We have Kolek Eimti7an & dardasariy hahahahahaha thanks a lot

Great, but it is late because we have no time as we have too many exams and troubles hahaha thanks a lot

Extract (4.5) is taken from the comments in Facebook data by the group of lecturers:

Extract 4.5

1. 5: We are looking forward to seeing what they do for Pek henani Hkumat.

We are looking forward to seeing what they do for forming the government.

Extract (4.6) is taken from the comments in Facebook data by the group of the first year student:

Extract 4.6

1. 3F: when teacher naet I'm dlxosh dabm

When the teacher does not come, I would be happy.

As can be seen from extract (4.3) and extract (4.4), the fourth year students appear to be more informal and they interact with one another on the posts. Participant

13S in extract (4.3), in replying to her friend's comment addressing her, uses informal elements, such as laughter *hahaha* and an informal word *har* to tease her. This indicates that there is a sociable and friendly relationship between these two fourth year students.

Extract (4.4) is by another fourth year student. It relates to a post I uploaded about an academic link to show how teachers should give instructions to the students. The year fourth student, 6S uses informal language (using colloquial words *kolek* (lots), *darda sary* (troubles) and using a number 7 to replace a letter and a symbol &) in his comment: *kolek Eimti7an & darda sary* (we have lots of exams and troubles), which refers to the trouble the fourth year students have as a group. The two words *kolek* (too many) and *darda sary* (troubles) are informal, as they are used only in spoken language. In addition, using numbers instead of letters and using ‘&’ instead of ‘and’ are probably characteristics of informal language. As can be seen in extract (4.4), 6S uses the pronoun *we* in his comment to refer to the group as a whole: *We have Kolek Eimti7an & dardasariy hahahahahaha* (We have too many exams and troubles hahaha). Moreover, 6S also uses the element of laughter *hahahahahaha*, which seems to be an informal style. Castro (2009, p.97) reports that in the classroom interaction participants use the element of laughter to signal amusement and probably to create a relaxed atmosphere, which suggests that the classroom is not only for "the exchange of information but the construction and maintenance of good social relations." In agreement with Castro (2009, p.79), I consider that laughter is used by the fourth year students to indicate their informal and intense social relations. Thus, the above two examples suggest that the fourth year students appear to have an informal, relaxed and friendly relationship among the members.

In contrast, extract (4.5) by a lecturer, and extract (4.6) by a first year student, do not include any of the above mentioned features. As these examples show, the fourth year students use more informal features, whereas the lecturers and the first year students do not use any of them. In general, it can be concluded that the style of posts by the fourth year students is more informal than the ones by the lecturers and first year students. These results suggest that the fourth year group has more mutual engagement compared to the lecturers and first year students. As identified by Iverson and McPhee

(2002), Wenger (2006), and Lai et al (2006), mutual engagement is another part of shared repertoire. It can be concluded from these results that the fourth year students share repertoire in the style of code-switching and language use in these posts.

4.3.3.4 Summary of Facebook results

The results show that there are considerable differences in using languages and code-switching as shown in Figure 4.2 in posts on Facebook by the three groups of participants. First, as shown above in Section 4.3.3.1, the fourth year students have a different informal and friendly relationship and mutual engagement, whereas the two other groups do not. Second, as demonstrated in Section 4.3.3.2, the fourth year students use the highest rate of code-switching compared to the first year students and the lecturers. The possible reason for the different use of MLs might be an element of competence specifically on the basis of group level, as there are differences in their English proficiency levels. However, on an individual basis, competence does not explain this difference. Since both low and high achieving fourth year students and first year students use approximately the same rate of English MLs as their peers, competence might not be the only explanation, and thus it might be the shared repertoire of the fourth year students that explains the data, as discussed below.

4.3.3.5 Discussion

The higher rates of language use and code-switching among fourth year students compared to the lecturers and first year students in their comments on Facebook, and their use of an informal post style could be seen as evidence that the fourth year students are a CoP. The results in Table 4.3 show that the fourth year students used the highest percentage of clauses with code-switching (71%) whilst the lecturers and first year students used the same rates (23%). Similarly, the results in Figure 4.2 reveal that the fourth year students switched more often from Kurdish into English (82%) compared to the lecturers (34%) and the first year students (22%). The fourth year students also wrote in English, they frequently switched into Kurdish (55%) compared to the lecturers (15%) and the first year students (22%). Therefore, the results show that

the fourth year students used more clauses and code-switching than both lecturers and first year students, regardless of what language they used. Moreover, as shown in Section 4.3.3.3, the fourth year students used an informal style in the posts, whereas the two other groups appeared to be more formal. Thus, these results by the fourth year students might be compatible with *the shared repertoire* characteristic to establish a CoP, as discussed earlier in Section 4.2.1. As shown by previous studies by Iverson and McPhee (2002), Wenger (2006) and Lai et al (2006) *shared repertoire* is another criterion to build a CoP. Based on the results above, the two other groups do not have *shared repertoire* and consequently they are not CoPs. Therefore, it seems that, out of the three groups of participants in this study, only the group of the fourth year students is a CoP.

The evidence for the existence of all three CoP criteria *practice, mutual engagement and shared repertoire*, provided above, supports the argument that the fourth year group of students is a CoP. In contrast, lack of evidence of the above three characteristics in the groups of the first year students and the lecturers indicates that neither of them is a CoP. However, similar to the fourth year student group, the first year student group of students would probably become CoP overtime. These results suggest that the fourth year group of students are different from the two other groups in using DMs as demonstrated in Chapter Six (see Table 6.1) and Chapter Eight (see Section 8.2).

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the fourth year students are different from the other two groups (the first year students and the lecturers). I gave evidence in the form of background information about the participant groups and the behaviour on code-switching in Facebook comments to establish that the fourth year students are a CoP. The results provided evidence that the fourth year students have all the three characteristics (*practice, mutual engagement, and shared repertoire*) found in a CoP. On the other hand, the analysis of the data demonstrates that the first year students and

the lecturers do not have these three features, and, as a result, these two groups are not CoPs. These results propose that the fourth year students are different in using the rates of DMs among the participant groups as presented in Chapter Six (see Section 6.1) and Chapter Eight (see Section 8.2). Having shown the differentiation among the three participant groups, and having established that the fourth year group is a CoP; next chapter will investigate the pragmatic functions of the DM *yeʕni* in the conversation data of the study's participants.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF DM *YEŖNI* (I MEAN)

5.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the pragmatic functions of the DM *yeŖni* in the conversation data of the study's participants: lecturers, first year and fourth year students. However, before discussing the pragmatic functions of the *yeŖni*, drawing on Myers-Scotton's (1993) high frequency criterion of distinguishing code-switches from borrowing items, I will show that *yeŖni* is a borrowed DM in Kurdish. Following that, in the chapter, I will examine the pragmatic functions of *yeŖni*. In order to discuss the functions of *yeŖni* in the current study, I will adopt the discourse-pragmatic approach and my analysis of the functions of *yeŖni* will be developed using already existing criteria of the functions signalled by *yeŖni* established by prior scholars mentioned earlier, such as Rieschild (2011), Kurdi (2008), Owens and Rockwood (2008), Yilmaz (2004) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) and where necessary, with my native-speaker Kurdish intuition on the data.

Before looking at the pragmatic functions of *yeŖni* in the current study, I will test how far the Owens and Rockwood's classification of the functions of *yeŖni* can be applied to pragmatic functions of Kurdish DM *yeŖni*. I will adopt Owens and Rockwood's (2008, p.103) categorization to classify the functions of *yeŖni* (see Section 5.2) for two reasons. First, as I will analyse the pragmatic functions of *yeŖni* in Kurdish to the best of my Knowledge for the first time, for this reason I need to establish a framework to classify the levels signalled by *yeŖni* and given the lack of previous studies of the Kurdish DMs, I will apply this method to analyse the function of *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* (see Chapter Seven). Second, Owens and Rockwood's study (2008) appears to be the first one to classify the levels of communication and functions marked by *yeŖni* as illustrated in Table 5.2, and recent researchers such as Rieschild (2011) and Mahsain (2014) have point out that Owens and Rockwood's (2008) framework is an influential classification to identify the pragmatic functions of *yeŖni*.

Following categorizing the levels of communication, functions, and usages signalled by *yefni* based on Owens and Rockwood (2008) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) and the current study, I will demonstrate that *yefni* has been used to signal a number of pragmatic functions including explanation, exemplifying and floor-holding in the current study which are similar to those functions previously documented by a number of researchers of Arabic speakers, including Kurdi (2008), Owens and Rockwood (2008) and Rieschild (2011), and also studies of Turkish speakers such as Yilmaz (2004) and Özbek (1995), as discussed in detail in the literature review Chapter (see Section in 2.4). However, in addition, in the present study, as in the Persian studies by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015), I will demonstrate that *yefni* occurred to signal positive and negative assessments, as demonstrated in Section 5.3.

The chapter is structured as follows. In the first Section 5.1, I will review previous studies on how to distinguish borrowed DMs from code-switched ones before presenting the status of *yefni* in Kurdish. Following that, I will demonstrate how *yefni* has been translated into English in previous studies and how can be translated into Kurdish based on current the study results. Then in Section 5.2, I will show how the levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by *yefni* have been classified by Owens and Rockwood (2008) and the current study. Following that, in Section 5.3, I will examine the pragmatic functions of *yefni* in the present study. Finally, Section 5.4 is the conclusion.

5.1 *Yefni* (I mean) in Kurdish

In this section, first, I will present how earlier studies distinguish borrowed and code-switched DMs before demonstrating the status of *yefni* as borrowed DM in Kurdish. Then, I will display how *yefni* has been translated into English by previous studies and how it can be translated into Kurdish on the basis of its interchangeability with the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*.

5.1.1 The status of *yeŋni* in Kurdish

In this section, I will first provide a brief overview of the relevant literature, describing how some scholars propose that DMs first enter languages as a code-switching item, and then, over time, they become borrowings. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995, p.189), borrowing is “the incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language.” Second, I will review how previous studies have proposed different means of distinguishing DMs as borrowings from DMs as code-switches, and then apply them to *yeŋni*. I will follow Myers-Scotton's (1993) high frequency criterion of distinguishing code-switches from borrowing items, to demonstrate that *yeŋni* is a borrowing DM. This is because *yeŋni* has the highest frequency among the three DMs: *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* as demonstrated in Chapter Six (see Table 6.1).

5.1.1.1 Previous studies on distinguishing borrowings and code-switches

Previous studies have established various criteria for distinguishing code-switches (CS) from borrowing phenomena. In studying English-Spanish CS, Poplack (1980) and Poplack and Sankoff (1984, pp.103-104) propose that community 'acceptability' (whether the community considers them to be native language items), 'morphophonemic and syntactic integration', and 'native language displacement' (having native language equivalents) should be considered to distinguish single words as code-switches from borrowings. They point out that as more of these norms are met, there can be more assurance that the single word is a borrowing rather than a code-switching item. In addition, Poplack argues that:

Utterances which preserve English phonological patterns were considered examples of code-switching, while those which are adapted to Puerto Rican Spanish patterns, were considered to be instances of monolingual Spanish discourse (Poplack 1980, p.583).

Nevertheless, other scholars including Eastman (1992) and Myers-Scotton (1992) challenge Poplack and Sankoff's claim. Eastman states that:

There is very little reason to make a distinction between the processes. Neither morphosyntactic nor phonological integration criteria remain viable ways to decide whether embedded language material is the result of borrowing or code-switching (Eastman 1992, p.3).

Likewise, Myers-Scotton (1992, p.31) points out that not all cases of borrowing show phonological integration. She added that borrowing and code-switching "undergo similar, if not identical, morphosyntactic procedures" (ibid, p.37). Therefore, Myers-Scotton (1993) considers high frequency of an item as a determining factor in differentiating code-switching from borrowing. In fact, Myers-Scotton (1993, p.268) states that "frequency of occurrence is the best criterion" for identifying DMs as borrowings from code-switching items. In the same way, McClure (1998, p.131) views frequency as a crucial factor to distinguish borrowings from code-switches by arguing that, if an item is used frequently in a community, then this suggests that it is borrowing. Based on Myers-Scotton's (1993, p.268) above-mentioned frequency criterion, I propose that the DM *yeʃni* in the present study is a borrowed DM.

The criteria discussed by Poplack (1980) and Poplack and Sankoff (1984, pp.103-104) are not applicable for the DMs studied in the present study because, based on the study data, *yeʃni* is not observed to show morphosyntactic integration. This might be because *yeʃni* is a DM. In addition, *yeʃni* has the Kurdish equivalents *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal a number of functions. In the present study, by applying the criterion described above by Myers-Scotton (1993, p.268) to distinguish between these two phenomena, I will argue that *yeʃni* in the current study is a borrowed item from Arabic in to Kurdish (though this is open to further research).

As far as the frequency of occurrence category is concerned, as the findings (see Section 6.1) show, the DM *yeʃni* has the highest overall frequency of DM use at 727 occurrences. In contrast, the other three DMs in the current study have lower frequencies occurrences: *êsta* (n=135), *xoi*, (n=27) and *îtr* (n=74) (see Table 6.1). According to Myers-Scotton (1993, p.268), high frequency of occurrence of the DM should be taken as an indication that it is borrowing, not code-switching. Thus, the high frequency of *yeʃni* in the data suggests that it is a borrowed item.

In summary, the review of the literature reveals that most of the studies provide evidence to support treating inserted DMs as borrowed items. In view of everything that has been mentioned so far, I propose that due to the intense language contact of Kurdish with Arabic, *yeŋni* first might have come into Kurdish as a code-switch and then become a borrowing, as I will argue below. Based on the findings, it seems clear that *yeŋni* is a borrowing and that it was originally borrowed from Arabic due to the intense contact of Kurdish with that language. Although Rasul (2015, pp.385-393) in his brief account of Kurdish linguistics does not mention DMs, he points out that due to the intense language contact of Kurdish with Arabic, cultural, religious and political lexical items entered into Kurdish from Arabic. Moreover, previous studies in Turkish (Yilmaz 2004) and Persian (Noora and Amouzadeh 2015) treat *yeŋni* as a borrowed DM from Arabic into Turkish and Persian.

5.1.2 Translation of *yeŋni* (I mean)

In terms of the English equivalence of *yeŋni*, previous research such as Gaddafi (1990), Ghobrial (1993), Özbek (1995), Yilmaz (2004), Kurdi (2008), and Mahsain (2014) translate *yeŋni* as *I mean* in English. However, according to Rieschild (2011), *yeŋni* can carry different meanings in different contexts. Rieschild (2011, pp.320-325) translates *yeŋni* as *that is* when it signals the act of explaining the prior talk, whereas she translates *yeŋni* as *like* when it is linked to the act of giving examples. Moreover, Rieschild (2011, p.325) translates *yeŋni* as *so* at the discourse level and as *I mean/that is* at the turn-management level (see Section 5.2). Nonetheless, in the current study, I will consider *I mean* as the English equivalent of all the functions of *yeŋni*, except the function of result, which I will demonstrate (in Sub-section 5.3.3) is best translated as *so*. This is because *I mean* is considered as an English equivalent to *yeŋni* according to the above-mentioned studies for performing pragmatic functions; however, I choose *so* to signal the function of the result because *yeŋni* acts as English *so* when it is used to signal this function. Salih (2014, p.162) claims that English *so* can be translated as *kewate* in Kurdish based on the similarity of their characteristics. However, Salih (2014, p.162) offers no Kurdish example to explain how this is the case. In addition, no

occurrences of *kewate* have been observed to signal the function of result in the current study. This might suggest that *kewate* is used as the Kurdish equivalent of English *so* only in written language.

Moreover, *yeſni* has never been translated in Kurdish. Salih (2014, p.105) translates English *I mean* as *wata* in Kurdish, explaining that "the characteristics of *wata* are very similar to *I mean*, because they both implement the same procedure." However, I have not observed even a single use of *wate* in my interview data. This might be related to the differences between written and spoken text types; Salih (2014, p.162) states his study is limited to the analysis of written text types. According to Brinton (1996, p.33), "the markers used in writing usually differ from those used in speech." Thus, *wate* is possibly not used as a DM in spoken language, is a feature of written language. In contrast, based on the study data and the interchangeability of *yeſni* with the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* as demonstrated in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.4), I will argue that the best Kurdish equivalents of *yeſni* are the DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*. These authors argue that the grammatical and semantic changes, which make the lexical item *yeſni* become a DM, can be explained properly in terms of grammaticalisation.

5.2 Categorization of *yeɣni* (I mean) at three levels: *communication*, *function* and *usage*

In this section, I will present how *yeɣni* has been categorized based on three levels: communication, function, and usage. First, before discussing the levels signalled by *yeɣni* in detail, I will present a general Table to demonstrate the difference between the three levels clearly. In Table 5.1, I will summarise the previous work on the three different levels signalled by *yeɣni*. This is followed by the outline of the levels signalled by *yeɣni* as illustrated in Table 5.2 based on Owens and Rockwood (2008).

5.2.1 Three levels signalled by *yeɣni* (based on Owens and Rockwood 2008; Noora and Amouzadeh 2015; the current study)

According to Owens and Rockwood (200, p.103), *Communication*¹⁹ is the highest level and it consists of five categories: speech act, turn-management, discourse rhetorical and propositional truth. In addition, each of these five categories consists of several functions. For example, as can be seen in Table 5.1 below, the speech act component consists of explain²⁰, elaborate, example²¹ and specify²². Thus, I refer to these individual pragmatic functions as *function level*. Moreover, the level of *usage* is a more granular description of an individual function. For example, as illustrated in Table 5.1 below, while *yeɣni* occurs to signal the function of explanation, it can have a usage

¹⁹ Levels of communication and function are categorized by Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103) (see Table 5.1).

²⁰ According to Beeching (2016, p.187), *explanation* refers to explaining or justifying the ideas expressed before.

²¹ Explanation and exemplification can occur together (Beeching 2016, p.187)

²²The terms of *example*, *exemplifying*, *specify* and *shifting* are often used interchangeably in previous research (see 2.4).

of either justifying or adding information. In addition, *yefni* at discourse level occurred to signal two functions: assessment²³ and result. Each function of assessment and result can have two different usages, namely positive or negative evaluation.

Table 5.1 The three levels signalled by *yefni* (based on Owens and Rockwood 2008; Noora and Amouzadeh 2015; the current study).

Communication	Function	Usage
Speech act	explain	Adding information/ justifying
	elaborate	-
	example/specify	Adding information/ justifying /positive/ negative evaluation
Discourse	result	Positive/ negative evaluation
	assessment	Positive/ negative evaluation
Turn-management	floor-holding	-
	self-correction	
Rhetorical	-	-

²³Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.104) demonstrate that *yafni* can occur to signal evaluation of positive and negative values.

Propositional truth	-	-
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As far as the levels of communication and functions where *yeşni* occurs, Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103) categorize them, according to an interpretive perspective, into five different categories: speech act, discourse, turn-management, rhetorical and propositional truth, as demonstrated in Table (5.2). Other researchers, such as Rieschild (2011) and Mahsain (2014) followed this classification later, but they only looked at the function level. While previous research points out that *yeşni* can be categorized on the levels of communication and function, little prior research identifies that *yeşni* can be categorized on the usage level. For the sake of consistency, I would prefer to use the term ‘levels of discourse’. However, to avoid confusion with the term ‘discourse level’, I call them ‘levels of communication’. In addition, I will discuss each level of communication below; however, as *yeşni* is not observed at a rhetorical and propositional level in my data, I will only give a brief definition of these two levels and exclude them in the discussion. Table 5.2 presents the outline of the levels communication and functions signalled by *yeşni* as categorized by Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103).

5.2.2 Categorization of the levels of communication and functions signalled by *yeşni* (Based on Owens and Rockwood 2008, p.103).

Having defined the three levels communication, function and usage, now I will give an overview about the Owens and Rockwood’s (2008, p.103) categorized the levels of *yeşni*. As stated earlier, I will test how far the Owens and Rockwood's classification of the functions of *yeşni* can be applied to pragmatic functions of Kurdish DM *yeşni*. In this section, first, I will provide a definition of each level briefly. Following that, I will discuss the functions at each level of the categorization in detail.

Table 5.2 The categorization of the levels of communication by *yeŋni* according to Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103)

Speech Act Level	Discourse Level	Turn-Management Level	Rhetorical Level	Propositional Truth Level
Explain, Elaborate, Specify	Conclude/ Recapitulate, Result	Floor-holding, Self-correction	Parallelism/ Narrative suspense	Hedging

As stated earlier, Owens and Rockwood's (2008, p.103) categorized the levels of *yeŋni* in to five levels: speech act, discourse, turning management, rhetorical and propositional level as illustrated in Table 5.2. As far as *speech act* is concerned, Rieschild (2011, p.320) defines speech act level by pointing out that "speakers can elaborate by producing one of a number of speech acts: an explanation, a clarification, an example, a definition or a specification." She also adds that states that when *yeŋni* is used to mark elaboration, clarification, example, the link is between what has been said and the speaker's interpretation or subjective expressions Rieschild (2011, p.320). In addition, in terms of DMs in general, Haegeman (2014, p.120) argues that DMs are directly correlated with the speech act. That is, at speech act level, DMs link what has been said by speakers to their interpretation of the prior talk. Thus, at speech act level, *yeŋni* is used to signal elaboration of the prior talk by using one of the following speech acts: explanation, clarification, specification, or giving examples.

Moreover, the second level of communication marked by *yeŋni* is the *discourse* level (Owens and Rockwood 2008, p.103). Regarding the definition of discourse level, Watson (1994, p. 113) defines "discourse as a connected set of statements, concepts, terms and expressions which constitutes a way of talking and writing about a particular issue". In the current study, in agreement with Watson (1994, p. 113) I consider

discourse level as a bunch of connected statements and expressions which compose a talk about a topic. Further, Rieschild (2011, p.323) referred to discourse level functions as a context in which "*yaʕni* is associated with a result, or recapitulation, or conclusion." Based on Owens and Rockwood's (2008, p.103) categorization, it seems that the use of *yeʕni* at speech act level is different from its use at discourse level as *yeʕni* occurs to signal elaboration or explanation of the previous ideas at speech act, whereas at discourse level it is used to mark the result of a cause of the previous ideas or/and the conclusion of the prior talk. In the current study, I will demonstrate that *yeʕni* is used differently to signal pragmatic functions at speech act level from discourse level as analysed fully in Section 5.3.

The third level of communication signalled by *yeʕni* according to the Owens and Rockwood's (2008, p.103) categorization, is the *turn-management* level. Castro (2009, p.61) argues that turn-management relates to organizing the turns of talk between the speaker(s) and the hearer(s). Similarly, according to Brinton (1996, pp.35-40), turn-management is defined as a way "to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor." That is, turn-management is assistance for speakers attempting to organize their turns of talk. According to Kurdi (2008, p.101), *yeʕni* at the turn-management level can be used to signal floor-holding and self-correction of the prior ideas (see Section 5.3).

Finally, as far as the *rhetorical* and *propositional truth* levels of communication are concerned, according to Rieschild (2011, p.329), the rhetorical level occurs with micro pauses before and after, and rising stretched intonation within a sentence. That is, at the rhetorical level, a pause or a rising intonation draws the attention of the listeners. However, propositional truth relates "to a hedged response to a question or a comment" (Rieschild 2011, p.330). For Alami (2016, p.253) hedge/mitigator "helps the speaker to save the face for his/her partner in the face-threatening speech act." In other words, *yeʕni* occurs to act as a hedge to indicate softening and decreasing the strength of threatening an assertion. Regarding the functions of *yeʕni* at rhetorical and propositional truth, according to Rieschild (2011, p.329), at the rhetorical level, *yeʕni* "is used to signal drawing the hearers' attention by using devices that produce surprise and curiosity" (Owens and Rockwood 2008, pp.102-103). However, propositional truth

yeʃni is used to hedge a response to a comment or a question (Rieschild 2011, p.330). Consider the following example (5.1), from Rieschild (2011, p.333). The interviewer talks about "a more sensitive area of feelings," and uses *yeʃni* "to avoid being seen as making a bald assumption that the recounted events made the interviewee angry" (Rieschild 2011, p.333). In the example of (5.1), "*yaʃni* is used within a hedging turn to avoid making irrelevant or abrupt assertions" (Rieschild 2011, p.333).

(5.1) *Yaʃni* at propositional level (from Rieschild 2011, p.333)

Int'ee: the worst case scenario was I leave the job

But-

Int'er: were you angry *yeʃni* [at all]?

Int'ee: very angry

Similar to Owens and Rockwood's (2008, p.103) classification, in the current study, I will demonstrate that *yeʃni* occurs at speech act, discourse and turn-management levels (as examined in Section 5.3). However, as stated before, the rhetorical and propositional truth levels will be excluded from the discussion as they are not occurred in the current study data. Having defined the five levels of communication classified by Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103), I will now turn to discuss the functions occur at each level of speech act, discourse and turn-management based on Owens and Rockwood's (2008, p.103) classification, in detail.

5.2.2.1 Functions of *yeʃni* at the speech act level

Regarding using *yeʃni* at speech act level, speakers use *yeʃni* to signal of language to carry out certain functions, such as explanation, elaboration and exemplifying. As the first column of Table 5.2 shows, according Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103), *yeʃni* can mark three functions at speech act level: *explanation*, *elaboration*, and *specification*. Specification covers both *example* and *shifting*. According to a definition suggested by Beeching (2016, p.187), *explanation* refers to

explaining or justifying the ideas expressed before. *Explanation* can also involve explaining a speaker's intentions (Gaddafi 1990, p.181). As far as *elaboration* is concerned, this can be defined as expanding a speaker's ideas by adding more information (Gaddafi 1990, p.182). For Alami (2016, p.253) the term of *elaboration* refers to "paraphrasing of the preceding proposition." Another pragmatic function marked by *yeŋni* under the speech act level is *specifying*. The terms of *example*, *exemplifying*, *specify* and *shifting* are often used interchangeably in previous research. Kurdi (2008, pp.108-109) defines *shifting* as a switch from a general or a specific topic in the previous talk into a specific (not mentioned yet) or different (not relevant) topic, so as to introduce a new piece of information to the listeners. Kurdi (2008, pp.108-109) and Gaddafi (1990, p.182) treat the function of exemplifying as a way of shifting. For example, Gaddafi (1990, p.182) claims that *yeŋni* can be used to signal shifting in two different ways:

The speaker could shift to specification using the marker *yaGni* in various ways. For instance, a shift to specification can be created by a change of focus during an ongoing conversation, and in such a case *yaGni* is normally accompanied by the word "lakin" ('but'). The shift to specification can also be created by raising an example, where *yaGni* may be accompanied by the word "mathalan"[for example] (Gaddafi 1990, p.182).

Thus, it seems that Gaddafi (1990, p.182) considers exemplifying as a way of shifting. In the same way, Rieschild (2011, p.320) argues that *yeŋni* is often used accompanied by the Arabic phrase *mathalan* (for example) to signal giving an example or shifting to specify on the previous talk. However, Rieschild (2011, p.320) adds that the speaker sometimes uses *yeŋni* to exemplify or for shifting without using the phrase *mathalan* (for example). Thus, based on the previous studies mentioned above, the speech act level includes *yeŋni* to signal explanation, elaboration and specification (an example or shifting). In the current study, similar to the study by Gaddafi (1990, p.182), I will demonstrate that *yeŋni* occurs with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example), which is equivalent to Arabic *mathalan* (for example), to signal exemplifying. In addition, as with the study by Rieschild (2011, p.320), *yeŋni* occurs by itself to signal exemplifying. In this study, I will use the terms *example* or *exemplifying* interchangeably. However, in

the present study, unlike the previous studies by Gaddafi (1990, p.182) and Rieschild (2011, p.320), I will use the terms of *shifting* and *exemplifying/example* to signal different functions. This is because I consider using *yeʕni* to signal exemplifying by providing a relevant example to expand the previous talk, whereas *shifting* is moving from the previous ideas to a different topic.

However, the above-mentioned studies did not draw distinctions between the usages of *yeʕni* within individual functions. For instance, exemplifying can occur with other functions, such as justifying, as well. In a study of pragmatic markers in British English, Beeching (2016, p.187), with respect to English *I mean*, points out that clarification and justification can occur together. In addition, she explains the term *justification* as a reason provided by the speaker to show what he/she said in the previous talk is justified by what he/she is saying after using *I mean* (Beeching 2016, p.187). Similarly, in the current study (as I will demonstrate in 5.3), while *yeʕni* occurs to signal either explanation or example, it can have different usages such as justifying or adding information to explain the speakers' intention of their previous utterance.

5.2.2.2 Functions of *yeʕni* at the discourse level

Turning now to demonstrate the functions of *yeʕni* at the discourse level of communication, as summarized in the second column of Table 5.2, *yeʕni* can signal conclusion/ recapitulation and result. Rieschild (2011, p.323) identifies that *yeʕni* can signal conclusion and recapitulation. Similarly, even though none of these studies provides detailed analysis of how *yeʕni* signals concluding and recapitulation, Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.12) and Mahsain (2014, p.169) argue that speakers sometimes use *yeʕni* to mark these functions. Kurdi (2008, p.145) argues that concluding is an "inference that has been arrived at through using background knowledge" about an idea in the prior talk. In terms of the function of *yeʕni* to signal recapitulation, previous studies refer to this term in different ways. Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.91) and Rieschild (2011, p.323) claim that *yeʕni* is used to mark recapitulation by summarizing the main points of the prior talk. However, their studies would have been more

comprehensive if a few clear examples had been given. Each of the above-mentioned functions will be further discussed in 5.3.

Even though neither Owens nor Rockwood (2008, p.12) or none of the above-mentioned studies indicate that *yeŋni* can signal assessment at discourse level, Yilmaz (2004) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) point out that *yeŋni* can mark assessment. These are both studies of languages other than Arabic (Turkish and Persian respectively). Yilmaz (2004 p.112) argues that *yeŋni* is often used to signal summary assessment/recapitulation when speakers evaluate and summarise the aspects of the previous topic (as discussed in 2.4.3). The only difference between the uses of *yeŋni* suggested by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) and Yilmaz (2004) is that Noora and Amouzadeh (2015) found that *yeŋni* is used to mark positive or negative assessment, whereas Yilmaz (2004) only mentions the function of assessment, without being accompanied by positive or negative evaluation. In the present study, I will demonstrate (see Section 5.3) that *yeŋni* is used to signal assessment with the usages of positive and negative evaluation.

5.2.2.3 Functions of *yeŋni* at the turn-management level

As far as the functions of *yeŋni* at the turn-management level are concerned, as the third column of Table 5.2 illustrates, *yeŋni* can signal floor-holding and self-correction. Moreover, *floor-holding* is, for Kurdi (2008, p.101), a situation which occurs "when a speaker indicates a willingness to keep the position of the current speaker and to maintain the floor of the conversation." She adds that using *yeŋni* is a signal that the speaker's turn has not finished yet and is implicitly asking the listener to be patient (Kurdi 2008, p.101). Both Gaddafi (1990, p.175) and Al-Khalil (2005, p.155) argue that *yeŋni* as a floor-holding DM has the interactional role which is to develop the conversational flow by organizing the turn takings. Moreover, in terms of self-correction, Özbek (1995, p.119) claims that "*yani* occurs at points where the speaker chooses to self-repair what he/she has said [...] the speaker rewords his message after *yani*." That is, *yeŋni* can signal the replacement of the previously mistaken item. Reviewing the classification of the levels of communication by Owens and Rockwood

(2008) and previous studies of the pragmatic functions of *yeŋni* reveal that *yeŋni* is used to signal different functions at different levels of communication. In the current study, I will show that *yeŋni* occurred to signal multiple pragmatic functions at three different levels of communication: speech act, discourse and turn-management in the data from spontaneous talk, which is consistent with the findings of past studies by the authors discussed above as demonstrated in 5.3.

5.2.3 Summary

In sum, based on the classification made by Owens and Rockwood (2008), *yeŋni* has been previously observed to signal functions at five different levels: speech act, discourse, turn-management, rhetorical and propositional truth. In the current study, I will demonstrate that *yeŋni* occurs only at three levels in my data: speech act, turn-management, and discourse and *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* occur at speech act and discourse levels only. Having presented the categorization levels of *yeŋni* discussed by prior researchers, I will now present the pragmatic functions of *yeŋni*, which occur in the data collected for the current study and compare the results of the study to the findings of previous studies.

5.3 Pragmatic functions of *yeŋni* (I mean) in the present study

Following the categorization of the functions of *yeŋni* used by Owens and Rockwood (2008) as described in Section 5.2, in the present study, I will demonstrate that *yeŋni* occurs at three levels of communication: speech act, discourse and turn-management level. I will also demonstrate that in the current study data while *yeŋni* is signalling functions, such as explaining, exemplifying, assessment, and result, it indicates various usages. In addition, as I will demonstrate below, this distinction associates with whether the speaker is justifying or adding information, and if they are making a positive or negative evaluation.

I will follow studies such as Kurdi (2008), Rieschild (2011), and Yimaz (2004). I will also adopt Beeching's (2016) patterns for the occurrences of English *I mean* to

analyse the functions of explanation and exemplifying. Examples of the occurrence of *yeɸni* from my data are presented in the extracts in this section to show the participants' practices with *yeɸni* at each level of communication. These are distinguished in the following sub-sections. I will demonstrate the occurrences of *yeɸni* at speech act level (functions of explanation and exemplifying with and without the phrase *bo nmuna* (for example) in 5.3.1. Then, I will show the functions of *yeɸni* at discourse level (result, assessment, and ambiguous cases) in 5.3.2. Following that, I will analyse the functions of floor-holding and self-correction signalled by *yeɸni* at turn-management level in 5.3.3.

5.3.1 *Yeɸni* (I mean) at speech act level

Regarding occurrences of *yeɸni* at the speech act level, *yeɸni* occurs in two different ways: to signal explanation of prior talk and to signal an example with or without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). I will present how *yeɸni* occurs to signal explanation of the prior talk in Sub-section 5.3.1.1 and Sub-section 5.3.1.2. Then, I will deal with *yeɸni* accompanied by the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) in Sub-section 5.3.1.3. This is followed by *yeɸni* to mark an example without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) in Sub-section 5.3.1.4.

5.3.1.1 *Yeɸni* (I mean) to signal explanation

The study data shows that speakers used *yeɸni* to mark two types of explanation²⁴: either justifying or adding more information in order to explain the previous utterances. That is, *yeɸni* occurs to signal explanation of prior ideas by justifying what is said before, or adding information to explain what is said before. The structure with *yeɸni* to signal this function is as follows:

²⁴ These two types are consistent with Beeching's (2016, p.185) finding with respect to *I mean* in English.

Previous utterance + *yeŋni* + explanation by justifying/ adding information

Explanation can take the forms of justifying/adding information to explain the previous utterance.

5.3.1.1.1 *Yeŋni* (I mean) to signal explanation by justifying previous ideas

The use of *yeŋni* to indicate explanation by justifying the prior idea is shown in extract (5.2) below. The extract (5.2) is related to a question, which I asked the two lecturers, about their desire to undertake their PhD abroad. Speaker 5L uses *yeŋni* in line (5) to indicate his justification for what he said before.

Extract 5.2

1. 5L: *ah...ah...wella mn be teikid çansm bo brexsête*
Uh...uh... indeed, certainly (I will do) if I have another chance
2. 5L: *ah... iŋtimad dekate sar funding, funding w herweha competition.*
Uh... it depends on the funding funding and competition
3. 5L: *mn bo xom hinekem masterekem la derewe bwe*
I finished my, what is it called, MA abroad
4. 5L: *herweha mêritiŋe*
It (the MA) is also merit
5. 5L: ***Yeŋni***, *qabilyety ewey heye*
I mean, it (my MA certificate) is applicable
6. 5L: *ke wa PhD pê bxwêni.*
to apply for studying PhD.

As can be seen in extract (5.2), Speaker 5L starts responding to the question by saying that he certainly wants to study abroad if it is possible, as can be seen in line (1): *ah...ah...wella mn be teikid çansm bo brexsête* (uh...uh... indeed, certainly, if I have another chance.). After that, in line (2), he explains what factors might be relevant to his

having the opportunity to do so, such as financing his study. In line (2), he says: *ah... iʕtimad dekate sar funding, funding w herweha competition* (Uh... it depends on the funding funding and competition). Further, in lines (3) through (4) he also mentions that he finished his MA abroad with a merit: *mn bo xom hinekem masterekem la derewe bwe. Herweha mēritiʕe*. (I finished my, what is it called, MA abroad. It is also merit). These two statements in lines (3) through (4) are also relevant to the competition that exists when applying to do a PhD abroad. Thus, when he says that he was awarded an MA with Merit in line (4), he starts, in lines (5) through (6), by explaining why he mentioned the merit status. The speaker signals his explanation by using *yeʕni* at the beginning of lines (5) through (6): *Yeʕni, qabilyety ewey heye ke wa PhD pē bwxēni*. (I mean, it (my MA certificate) is applicable to apply for studying PhD). Thus, the speaker is explaining that he can undertake a PhD abroad because he obtained an MA with merit, and he implies that a merit (the second highest degree class), is appropriate for studying a PhD. Therefore, what Speaker 5L states in lines (5) through (6) is justification of his previous talk, particularly line (4) where his mention of his MA with merit is signalled by *yeʕni*. Thus, Speaker 5L used *yeʕni* in line (5) to indicate a justification to explanation the utterance in line (4).

5.3.1.1.2 *Yeʕni* (I mean) to signal explanation by adding information to previous ideas

A second way of using *yeʕni* in the present study data to signal explanation is by adding information. Gaddafi (1990, p.187) only talked about one kind of adding information which is the use of *yeʕni* to signal explanation of speaker's intention of what he/she said before. However, I will consider a broader definition, which is, adding any type of additional information. Thus, the structure of this function is:

Previous utterance + *yeʕni* + explanation by adding more information

This extract (5.3) shows how *yeʕni* was used to explain what the speaker said previously by adding more information. The extract arises from a question I asked the two students about how they gave feedback about the lecturers' style of teaching.

Speaker 1S responded by using *yeŋni* in line (6). I will demonstrate that he used *yeŋni* in line (6) to indicate his explanation of what he said before.

Extract 5.3

1. 1S: *le naw ew formey ke dêt*

Within the form they (the students) received

2. 1S: *Çunke hemu telebekan bo hemu telebekan det pri dekyewe*

Since all the students all the student get them (the forms) they need to fill

3. 1S: *derecey bo dadenêi*

They would mark (lecturers) in (the form)

4. 1S: *ştekan subjective nekraye*

The stuff (information on the form) is not subjective

5. 1S: *objectivee*

It is objective

6. 1S: ***yeŋni** eger başi englizi 500 telebe by her 500 telebe mamostayeki
be xrap bzann ewe dabi sali dway xoi çak ka.*

I mean if the English department consists of 500 students and each of them (students) identify a lecturer as bad, he/she (the lecturer) has to change his/her style to make it better in the upcoming year.

As can be noted in lines (1) through (2) in extract (5.3), 1S started to respond my question by saying that each of the students gets and completes a form in order to give their feedback on the teaching style of the lecturers: *le naw ew formey ke dêt Çunke hemu telebekan bo hemu telebekan det pri dekyewe*. (In the form, they (the students) received since all the students get them (the form) they need to fill in). Following that, in line (3), 1S states that the students need to mark the lecturers' performance in the form. Then, in line (4) 1S mentions that the information provided in the forms is not

subjective. In addition, as can be seen in line (5), he adds that the information is objective, (5) *objectivee* (It is objective). Following that, 1S adds more information to explain "objective", in line (6) *yeŋni eger baŋi englizi 500 telebe by her 500 telebe mamostayeki be xrap bzann ewe dabi sali dway xoi çak ka*. (I mean if the English department consists of 500 students, each of them considers a lecturer bad, he/she (the lecturer) has to change his/her style to make it better in the upcoming year). He explains that he means that objectivity is based on the feedback given by all the students. Thus, he used *yeŋni* in line (6) right after saying "objective" in line (5), he explained what he meant by "objective" by adding more information about the word after saying *yeŋni* in line (6).

To sum up, even though the speakers signal explanation of the prior ideas by using *yeŋni* in both extracts (5.2) and (5.3), there is a distinction between the two usages. *Yeŋni* in extract (5.2) was used to signal explanation by justifying what the speaker said before, because after uttering *yeŋni*, the speaker provides the reason why he said what he said before saying *yeŋni*. However, in extract (5.3), *yeŋni* was used to signal explanation by adding information to explain the previous utterance, rather than justifying what he said before. These results suggest that speakers use *yeŋni* to signal the same function of explanation with different usages.

5.3.1.2 *Yeŋni* (I mean) to signal exemplifying

The extracts in this section demonstrate how participants used *yeŋni* to signal examples. Similar to the use of *yeŋni* accompanied (or not) by the Arabic phrase *mathalan* (for example) to signal exemplifying by Arabic speakers (Gaddafi 1990, p.182; Rieschild 2011, p.320), the speakers in the current study used *yeŋni* both with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal examples.

The structure for *yeŋni* to signal exemplifying based on what Gaddafi (1990) and Rieschild (2011) point out for *yeŋni mathalan* (I mean for example) is:

Previous topic+ *yeŋni* + (*bo nmune* (for example)) + an example.

In addition, as mentioned above, while *yeŋni* occurs to signal an example, that example may achieve different usages. That is, one example might include a justification, while another might contain an evaluation. So, based on its different usages, the structure becomes:

Previous topic²⁵ + *yeŋni* + (*bo nmune* (for example)) + an example justifying/adding information/evaluation the previous talk.

In extract (5.4), I will analyse the use of *yeŋni* with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) which seems that it includes different usages of justification and negative evaluation to what is said before. Next, in extract (5.5), I will examine the use of *yeŋni* without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal an example which may include the usages of negative evaluation of the previous ideas. Finally, in extract (5.6), I will analyse the use of *yeŋni* with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal exemplifying with the usage of adding information to the prior ideas.

5.3.1.2.1 *Yeŋni* (I mean) with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to exemplify

In this extract (5.4), I will talk about the function of *yeŋni* accompanied by the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). The text of the interview relates to a question where I asked the two lecturers if they had any problem with the buildings of the University. In this extract, I will demonstrate that Speaker 11L uses *yeŋni* in line (3) to signal an example with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) in her speech.

Extract 5.4

1. 11L: le gel ewey binake çanêk gewreye

Although the building is massive

2. 11L: belam ta êstaş her kêşai kemi hol heye

There are still shortages in the number of halls

²⁵ Here, I use *topic* more generally.

3. 11L: *Yeşni bo nmune*, başi Englizy ke telebeyan zor zore, yan başi komelayeti
I mean for example, English, or sociology department that has a large number of students
4. 11L: waku be pêi rêjei xwêndkar twanayan nye
for the number of their students, they are not capable
5. 11L: holi holi pêwistyan nye
of providing enough number of classrooms

Speaker 11L started by making a general statement about the buildings of the University in lines (1) through (2) in extract (5.4): *le gel ewey binake çanêk gewreya belam ta êstaş her kêşai kemi hol heye* (Although the building is massive, there are still shortages in the number of halls). In other words, her general point is that there is not enough space for classes despite the large size of the buildings. Then, Speaker 11L moves to give a specific example, justifying what she said in her general topic and showing her negative evaluation at the same time in lines (3) through (5). She used *yeşni bo nmune* (I mean for example) at the beginning of this move, in line (3): *Yeşni bo nmune, başi Englizy ke telebeyan zor zore, yan başi komelayeti* (I mean for example, English or sociology department, which has a large number of students). Then, she finished the sentence in lines (4) through (5) by giving the reason for her previous general statement and her negative evaluation by saying: *waku be pêi rêjei xwêndkar twanayan nye. Holi holi pêwistyan nye* (For such a large number of their students, they are not capable of providing enough number of classrooms). That is, she gave a specific example of the lack of halls by specifying which departments need to have more study halls. Thus, the speaker used *yeşni bo nmune* to signal an example which has both usages of justification and negative judgment regarding the lack of useable space in buildings of the University.

5.3.1.2.2 *Yeſni* (I mean) without the phrase *bo numna* (for example)

In this study, speakers often use *yeſni* to signal an example or to shift a specific topic. *Yeſni* to signal an example without the phrase *bo numna* (for example) has the same structure as *yeſni* with the phrase *bo numna* (for example).

The text of the extract (5.5) concerns a question I asked two lecturers about why students do not participate in class. The speaker uses *yeſni* without the phrase *bo numna* (for example) in line (6) to signal exemplifying.

Extract 5.5

1. F: Mn le zankoi (X) ke çume classakan 50 telebey têda bu
seyrm krd lewaneye 6-7 telebe participationi hebubêt.

I observed at University of (X) that around 50 students were in one
classroom and only 6-7 students among them were able to participate.

2. 12L: Lay êmeş, the same, the same

Even, here (in our University), it is the same, the same

3. 12L: Mn 58 ew perekei pênc telebe, şeş telebe beşdari bkat

I have 58 (students) in one classroom which only 5-6 students may
participate

4. F: Boçi waye?

What is the reason behind that?

5. 12L: egerêtewe bo systemy qbuli merkezi

This (the reason for students to not participate) is related to the central
admission process

6. 12L: ***Yeſni***, telebe heye

I mean, there is a kind of student

7. 12L: arezui le beşeke nye

who is not interested in this department (English Department)

8. 12L: belam derecekei her lêre wer degirê

But their grades are only accepted here (English Department)

9. 12L: natwanê bçête şwênêki ke

They cannot choose another place (department).

It is apparent from the speaker's response in line (3) in extract (5.5) that her view is that, generally, most students do not participate: *Mn 58 ew perekei pênc telebe, şeş telebe beşdari bkat.* (I have 58 (students) in one classroom which only 5-6 students may participate). Therefore, her general topic is that student participation is limited. After making her general statement, I asked her what the reason behind non-participation was. Speaker 12L replied in line (5): *egerêtewe bo systemy qbuli merkezi* (this related to the central admission system). Speaker 12L gave an example in lines (6) through (9) to respond my question. Thus, in lines (6) through (9) after saying *yeşni*, she gave an example to mark her justification why she said the admissions process is related to students not participating: *Yeşni, telebe heye arezui le beşeke nye, belam derecekei her lêre wer degirê natwanê bçête şwênêki ke* (I mean, there is a kind of student who is not interested in this department (English Department), whereas their grades are only accepted in this department (English) they could not choose another place (department)). Thus, the speaker used *yeşni* to indicate an example about a kind of student who is not participating. This example also implies her disagreement with the policy, and that the disagreement is a negative evaluation. The speaker blamed the central admission process because she considered that non-participation of the students is related to this process. Moreover, the speaker implied that students' non-participation is not the students' fault but rather, the central admission office's fault. She implied that the central admission office does not provide a fair system for the students to choose their desired departments. Thus, after using the DM *yeşni*, the speaker introduces an example, which includes the reasons for not participating by students, and shows her judgement of what she said in the previous topic. This is in line with the function of

yeŋni demonstrated to indicate an example with negative evaluations by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.104).

5.3.1.2.3 *Yeŋni* (I mean) with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal adding information

In this extract (5.6), I asked two students about whether using Facebook is positive or negative. Speaker 4S replies and used *yeŋni bo nmune* (I mean for example) in line (4) which I will argue is to signal adding more information to his previous idea as I will demonstrate below.

Extract 5.6

1. 4S: mamosta²⁶ corêky ke le eweyda corêky ke le addiction, le naw xudy mêdia addictionda eweye

Miss, there is a kind of, there is a kind of addiction, within the social media itself addiction (which) is

2. 4S: ke wa ew kesaney ke blêyn le naw facebook yan tore komelayetyekan de braderyan heye zore aludey awan debn

That those people who for example, have many friends on Facebook or other social media types are addicted to them (their online friends)

3. 4S: çon delêy braderi nêwêyan we la beramberiŝa kemtr debêtewe.

So, they do not have new friends and their friends are going to decrease in number

4. 4S: *Yeŋni bo nmune* emn u to bradarin kak X

I mean for example (addresses other person in interview) you, Mr. X, and I are friends

²⁶ *mamosta* ‘Mr. /Miss’ is used to refer to a lecturer to indicate respectfulness.

5. 4S: ka çuma Hewlêr to çuy bo Auropa
When I go to stay in Hawler and you go to Europe
6. 4S: başe, mn nabê wek çon delêy hemu katakam be le gel to be ser berm
Well, I do not need to spend all my time with you (online)
7. 4S: debê bgerêm bzanm dyna braderi tr haya kasy tr heye
I need to search to find out what are in the world, other friends other people.

Speaker 4S started by saying, in lines (1) through (3) in extract (5.6), that being on social media can make the users addicted, and decreases real (offline) friends. Then, in lines (4) through (7), Speaker 4S used *yeşni bo nmune* (I mean for example) before adding information to his previous ideas by giving an example on himself and his friend: *Yeşni bo nmune emn u to bradarin kak X ka çuma Hewlêr to çuy bo Auropa to chuy bo Auropa başe, mn nabê wek çon delêy hemu katakam be le gel to be ser berdebê bgerêm bzanm dyna braderi tr haya kasy tr heye* (I mean for example, you Mr. X and I are friends. When I go to stay in Hawler and you go to Europe, well, I do not need to spend all my time with you (online). I need to search to find out what are in the world, other friends other people). Therefore, he uses *yeşni bo nmune* (I mean for example) in line (4) to signal an example which includes adding information about his friendship status with Mr. X in lines (4) through (7) to elaborate his previous topic which is addiction to online friends in lines (1) through (3).

5.3.1.2.4 Summary of *yeşni* with examples

The findings show that the only difference between extract (5.4) and extract (5.5) is that *yeşni* in the former is accompanied by *bo nmune* (for example), whereas the latter is not. Thus, in both cases, the speakers insert *yeşni* to signal an example in order to exemplify the previous ideas that provides both their justification and evaluations.

Therefore, the observations about Arabic speakers made by Rieschild (2011) about the optionality of using *mathalan* (for example) with specification are also true for the current Kurdish participants in the current data and their use (or not) of *bo nmune* (for example). However, they are opposed to Gaddafi's (1990, p.182) point of view, when he claims that specification should accompany the Arabic phrase *mathalan* (for example). Thus, the feature of the contribution of *yeʕni* to the conversation in both of the extracts (5.4 and 5.5) is that, the use of *yeʕni* with/without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) is similar to signal exemplifying. That is, the presence or absence of the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) does not change the function of exemplifying.

On the other hand, there are pragmatic differences between the three extracts that give examples. *Yeʕni bo nmune* (I mean for example) was used in extract (5.4) and *yeʕni* was used in extract (5.5) but both signalled justifying and evaluation the previous ideas. In contrast, *yeʕni bo nmune* (I mean for example) was used in extract (5.6) to signal adding information to what is said before. Therefore, even though the presence or absence of the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) does not change the function of exemplifying, there might be still difference in what particular usage *yeʕni* was used for.

Having presented three examples of the functions of *yeʕni* at the speech act level in the spoken data set of the current study, I will turn now to a discussion of the functions of *yeʕni* at the discourse level.

5.3.2 *Yeʕni* (I mean) at the discourse level

At the discourse level, the participants sometimes use *yeʕni* to signal results or to signal assessment about the previous talk. In Sub-section 5.3.2.1, I will present an example of *yeʕni* used to signal results, followed by a discussion in Sub-section 5.3.2.2 of a possible assessment function. However, it seems to be an ambiguous case of *yeʕni*.

5.3.2.1 *Yeŋni* (so) to signal result

Yeŋni (so)²⁷ was sometimes used by speakers in my study to mark a result of a cause in the previous ideas. According to Rieschild (2011, p.323) *yeŋni* (so) can indicate results on the basis of a cause in the prior talk. However, as I observed from the data, while *yeŋni* (so) signals result, it is used to signal either positive or negative values of result as analysed below. Therefore, the structure for this function based on my data and what is pointed out by Rieschild (2011, p.323) is:

Cause(s) + *yeŋni* (so) + positive /negative values of result(s).

5.3.2.1.1 *Yeŋni* (so) to signal result with positive values

In this extract (5.7), I asked the two students whether the style of teaching of the lecturers play role to make the students interested in the lessons or not. Speaker 1S replied and using *yeŋni* (so) in line (4) which I will argue signals a positive result as illustrated below.

Extract 5.7

1. 1S: cari wa heye hendek ders heye wişkn babetekey ke ke mamosta
şerhi eke

There are some lessons which are boring while while the lecturer is
teaching

2. 1S: yan xewt dê yan agat lê nabêt

You feel sleepy or distracted

3. 1S: bes mamosta heye zor active w çalake

²⁷Here, I translated *yaŋni as* (so) in English to signal results for more detail (see 4.1).

But there are some kinds of lecturers who are very (active)²⁸ and active

4. 1S: wa eka *yeſni* dersekey xoş bkat

He/she, so, it makes the lesson interesting.

In lines (1) through (2) in extract (5.7), Speaker 1S starts saying that there are some boring lessons. Following that, in line (3) Speaker 1S states a cause by saying that some lecturers are energetic: *bes mamosta heye zor active w çalake* (but there are some kinds of lecturers who are very (active) and active). Then, in line (4) he uses *yeſni* (so): *wa eka yeſni dersekey xoş bkat* (He/she does (these kinds of lecturers), so make the lesson interesting). In line (4), 1S uses *yeſni* (so) to signal a positive result (fun lessons) of lively lecturers (the cause). Therefore, 1S used *yeſni* (so) in line (4) to signal the result of the cause he said in line (3).

5.3.2.1.2 *Yeſni* (so) to signal negative result

As I explained when I introduced this extract (5.8) in extract (5.1) in the Introduction section above, this is a conversation on the participation in the class, by students 16S and 24S. I will demonstrate that the occurrence of *yeſni* in line (8) was used to signal a result of a cause expressed in the previous talk.

Extract 5.8

1. 24S: be taybeti mamostayakman heye bew şêweyey dekat *yeſni*²⁹(X)

Particularly, we have a lecturer who is doing that, I mean (X)

²⁸Speaker 1S states active w *chalaka* which also means 'active'. Thus, he switched to English to use *active* and he uses its equivalent, *chalak*, in Kurdish.

²⁹The occurrence of *yaſni* in line (1) is literal and, as I mentioned earlier in 4.1.2 above, I will not focus on literal uses of *yaſni* in the current study.

2. 24S: boxom carêk rexnêki zori lê grtm
Once, he commented (gave feedback) on me too much
3. 24S: ke wam lê hatwe le berdem ew mamostayeida her qse nekem
This made me stop talking with that lecturer
4. 16S: mamosta eweş grnge rastkrdnewey telebe
Miss, correcting students is important (by lecturers)
5. 16S: le class yan le jurekey xoi
Either in their class or their office
6. 24S: qeyna, bes şkandenewekey
It does not matter (to give feedback) but their style
7. 24S: şêwazi şkanewekey na!
His style of commenting, you know!
8. 24S: *yeşni*, her wam lê hatwe ke la *dersi* ew mamostayey her beşdari nekem.
So, this made me never participate in this lecturer's class.

At the beginning, lines (1) through (3) in extract (5.8), Speaker 24S says that they had a particular lecturer who criticised them while he/she was giving them feedback, to the degree that it made her speechless in the class. Then, in lines (4) through (5), Speaker 16S took a turn and said that it is important for students to be corrected by lecturers. Following that, in lines (6) through (7), Speaker 24L took a turn again, saying that it is fine for the teacher to give feedback but their style of giving it is important. That is, in lines (6) through (7) she implies that the teacher in question gave her destructive feedback in front of others. Thus, almost the whole discourse from line (1) to line (7), except lines (4) through (5), expresses the cause. Then, Speaker 24S in line (8) gives the result of the cause (negative feedback), and the result is stopping participation in the class by the student, which is signalled by *yeşni*: *yeşni*, *her wam lê*

hatwe ke la dersi ew mamostayey her beşdari nekem. (So, this made me never participate in that lecturer's class). Thus, Speaker 24S used *yeşni* (so) in line (8) to indicate a result of what happened to her on the basis of the cause she described in her talk in lines (1) through (7).

Thus, the use of *yeşni* (so) in both extract (5.7) and extract (5.8) was to signal a result built on the previous causes. The only difference between these two extracts is positive or negative values of the results. This suggests that *yeşni* (so) can be used with both positive and negative values at the level which I called usage. Now, I will turn to analyse an instance of *yeşni* to signal a different function, assessment, with these two different usages of positive and negative values.

5.3.2.2 *Yeşni* (I mean) to signal assessment

Speakers sometimes used *yeşni* to signal the function of assessment, that is, a judgment on what has been said in the prior talk, by expressing their personal opinions. When speakers are evaluating a situation, they may express their assessment prefacing it by *yeşni* in the present study. According to Yilmaz (2004, pp.109-110), speakers often used *yeşni* to signal their evaluation of the topic under discussion. Additionally, Yilmaz (2004, pp.109-110) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.104) imply that speakers use adjectives to evaluate the topic under discussion. Thus, the possible structures for using *yeşni* to signal the function of assessment is:

Previous ideas + *yeşni* + positive/ negative assessment by using adjectives.

In the following extract (5.9) and extract (5.10), I will demonstrate how *yeşni* occurred to signal positive and negative assessment. First, in extract (5.9), I will present the positive usage of assessment and in extract (5.10); I will show the negative usage of this function.

In this extract (5.9), I asked the two students why they are so impressed by the style of teaching of a particular lecturer they mentioned. Speaker 16S responded to my question and she used *yeşni* twice one in line (2) and the other in line (3). I will demonstrate that *yeşni* is used by Speaker 16S in (line 2) to indicate her positive

assessment of the style of this particular lecturer. However, her usage of *yeʃni* in line (3) is to explain what she said in line (2) which I will not focus on as I analysed this kind of *yeʃni* above (see extract 5.2).

Extract 5.9

1. 16S: Nazanm şêwazi dersekey zor xoşe la gel telebe

I do not know his style of teaching with students is so nice.

2. 16S: ***Yeʃni*** tund nye le gali

I mean he is not strict (with students),

3. 16S: be şêweyeki ew ha ***yeʃni*** qsey naşrnu şt be kar bêne

That is, *I mean* (the lecturer does not) use swearing words.

4. 16S: zor nerm u nyane

he is so flexible.

In line (1) in extract (5.9), Speaker 16S praises the lecturer's teaching style with students. Then, she uses *yeʃni* in line (2), *Yeʃni tund nye le gali* (I mean he is not strict (with students)). She uses *yeʃni*, followed by an adjective *tund nye* (not strict), to signal her positive assessment of this lecturer's teaching style. Given the use of *yeʃni* to indicate positive assessment, now I will move to give its use to signal negative assessment below.

In the text of this extract (5.10), I asked the two lecturers why they did not want to study in Kurdistan. In the text of this extract (5.10), two lecturers were asked about studying for a PhD abroad and in which Speaker 2L compared studying locally and abroad. Speaker 2L might have used *yeʃni* in line (6) to signal the function of assessment; however, it is not clear whether he has used *yeʃni* to signal the function of assessment or explanation of the previous utterance as I will discuss below.

Extract 5.10

1. 2 L: le wê mamostakan boxt dezani native speakern, native speaker

You know, lecturers in there are native speakers native speakers

2. 2L: le wlati native speaker bji

If you live in a country of native speakers

3. 2L: ke ew zmaney lew zmaney daykyane

While you are studying in their language

4. 2L: ke le wlatêki ke bji

If you live in a country with native speakers

5. 2L: ka ba bleyn native speakery le nyazorfarqdaka

It is very different, let us say, from living in a country with no native speakers

6. 2L: *yeñni* ferqeke weku çon delêy black and white

I mean, the difference let us say, is just like black and white

7. 2L: wa nye mamosta?

Is it not, Mr.?

8. 6L: wella waye, raste raste...

Indeed, it is, right, right...

First, one interpretation of Speaker 2L's use of *yeñni* in line (6) in extract (5.10) is as a signal to his evaluation of the prior idea. Through lines (1) through (5), Speaker 2L compares studying in a country with native speakers to studying in a country without native speakers. He implies that studying in England is much better than studying in Kurdistan because there are English native speakers in Britain, whereas this opportunity is not possible in Kurdistan. Having stated his comparison, Speaker 2L starts by expressing, in line (6), his assessment of his comparison in the prior talk in lines (1) through (5); he uses *yeñni* at the beginning of line (6), followed by his personal evaluation: *yeñni ferqeke weku çon delêy black and white wa nye mamosta?* (I mean,

the difference let us say, is just like black and white). Thus, Speaker 2L expressed his negative feelings about the difference in studying in the two places by two adjectives: *black and white*. Thus, Speaker 2L may have used *yeʃni* to introduce his negative assessment and disagreement with studying in a country without native speakers. Therefore, similar to English *I mean*, which can be used to signal negative value of evaluation (Fox Tree and Schroek 2002, p.741) *yeʃni* in the current study is used to indicate negative values of evaluations. This also conforms to the findings of the Yilmaz (2004, pp.109-110) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.104) that *yeʃni* occurs in their data to signal assessment of the previous topic.

On the other hand, Speaker 2L might have used *yeʃni* in line (6) to signal explanation of the prior talk. As mentioned earlier, the speaker makes a comparison in lines (1) through (5) about studying with and without native speakers. Then, in line (6), he uses *yeʃni* to signal explanation, using the phrase *ferqeke* (the difference) that he said before. That is, he is explaining that *ferqeke* (the difference) *waku çon delêy black and white* (is like black and white). Thus, the speaker may be using *yeʃni* to signal further explanation of his intentions about the status of the difference between studying in the two countries by using *yeʃni* followed by his explanation of the kind difference.

In brief, in the case of assessment at the discourse level, *yeʃni* is different from the actions of explanation and shifting of the prior talk at the speech act level, as discussed in Section 5.3.1.1 and Section 5.3.1.2. While *yeʃni* occurs to signal explanation is followed by a clear explanation of the previous claim. Also, when *yeʃni* is used to signal shifting is followed by a point to specify the prior theme more than before. However, the occurrence of *yeʃni* in line (6) is an ambiguous case, and it is hard to identify explicitly which function -assessment or explanation of the prior ideas or both—it was used for. Castro (2009, p.74) and Al-Makoshi (2015, p.163) point out that DMs are ambiguous and sometimes it is not easy to decide what function the DM is used for.

5.3.3 *Yeŋni* (I mean) at the turn-management level

At the turn-management level, *yeŋni* can function to signal floor-holding and self-correction, as mentioned in Section 5.2. I will begin by analysing *yeŋni* to mark holding the floor in 5.3.3.1 and continue by analysing the use of *yeŋni* as an indicator for self-correction in 5.3.3.2.

5.3.3.1 *Yeŋni* (I mean) to mark floor-holding

I have observed in my spoken data that participants often use *yeŋni* as a signal for holding the floor. According to Kurdi (2008, p.101), holding the floor is a situation "when a speaker indicates a willingness to keep the position of the current speaker and to maintain the floor of the conversation." This function occurs most commonly with hesitation markers and pauses before or after inserting *yeŋni*, as has been observed previously. For example, Rieschild (2011, p.324) states that *yeŋni* often occurs with pause(s) to indicate a turn-holding function. For *yeŋni* to signal the floor-holding function, based on Rieschild (2011, p.324) and Kurdi (2008, p.101), the possible structure is as follows:

(False start(s), hesitation marker(s) + pause(s), interruption(s)) + *yeŋni* pause(s)
+ speaker's utterance.

According to this structure, the speaker often utters a string of linguistic items such as pauses, hesitation markers, and interruptions, together with *yeŋni*, which indicate that they might want to hold the floor. The speaker might use one, several, or none of the above-mentioned linguistic items before or after *yeŋni* to signal holding the floor.

This extract (5.11) which is a part of the extract 5.9 discussed in 5.3.2.2, two lecturers were asked about studying for a PhD abroad in which Speaker 2L compared studying locally and abroad. In this extract (5.11), I will argue that the three occurrences of *yeŋni* in lines (1), (4) through (6) below were used to mark the function of holding the floor. However, there is an additional *yeŋni* in line (12), which is an ambiguous case, as I will demonstrate below.

Extract 5.11

1. 6L: wellahi, le ber ew scholarshippay êsta HCDP scholarship
ah...eh...Englîzy *yefni*...be zor le nawewe nakrêtewe
Indeed, now, due to the HCDP scholarship...uh...eh there is not any
opportunity to apply for English expertise, I mean... here (in
Kurdistan).
2. 2L: eger le naweweş bkrêtewe
Even if there would not be (doctoral study) locally
3. 2L: ewey rasti bê muqattefey mamosta X dekem
In fact, I am interrupting Mr. X
4. 2L: *yefni* muşkileyek heye
I mean, there is a problem
5. 2L: muşkileyeke eweye
The problem is that
6. 2L: be ra ###³⁰...be rasti *yefni*...êh mn natwanm berawrdêk kem le
nêwan mamostayani êrew Beritanya.
To be ...to be honest, I mean...uh, I cannot compare the lecturers of
Kurdistan to the ones of Britain
7. 2L: le wê mamostakan boxt dezani native speakern, native speaker
You know, lecturers in there are native speakers native speakers
8. 2L: le wlaty native speaker bji

³⁰ These three ### are used to indicate a *false start* by the participants.

If you live in a country of native speakers

9. 2L: ke ew zmaney lew zmani daykyane

While you are studying in their language

10. 2L: ke le wilatêki ke bjy

If you live in a country with native speakers

11. 2L: ke ba blêyn native speakeri lê nye zor ferq deka

It is very different, let us say, from living in a country with no native speakers

12. 2L: *yefni* ferqeke weku çon delêy black and white

I mean, the difference let us say, is just like black and white

13. 2L: wa nye mamosta?

Is not it, Mr.?

14. 6L: wella waye, raste raste

Indeed, it is, right, right

15. 6L: ja ew###...êstaş be hukmi ewey ke scholarship heye

Then, now because there is a scholarship opportunity

16. 6L: ke denêrête derewe ewane

Sending people to study abroad

17. 6L: zemaley heye

There are scholarships

18. 6L: ah###... be le nawewe nakrêtewe êsta

Uh... there is no study application in (Kurdistan) now

19. 6L: *êsta* xaseten dctora w ewane heta masteriş le Musil u ewane nebu.

Now, there is no chance for (post graduate studying) particularly applying for a PhD or MA, even in Musil and other cities.

In the text of this extract (5.11), I asked the two lecturers why they did not want to study in Kurdistan. At the beginning of the first line, Speaker 6L says that he cannot study locally because currently there is no opportunity for English specialists to study either an MA or a PhD (line 1): *wellahi, le ber ew scholarshipay êsta HC DP scholarship ah...eh...Englîzy yeşni...be zor le nawewe nakrêtewe*. (Indeed, now, due to the HC DP scholarship...uh...there is not any opportunity to apply for English expertise, I mean here (in Kurdistan)). Speaker 6L used *yeşni* in the middle of the sentence, which is followed by a pause. It appears that Speaker 6L used *yeşni* in line (1) to signal to the listener(s) that he wants to hold the floor and keep talking; however, he had an unsuccessful attempt to hold the floor because he was interrupted by Speaker 2L. Therefore, before Speaker 6L completes his thought, he is interrupted by Speaker 2L in lines (2) through (3): *eger le naweweş bkrêtewe, ewey rasti bê muqatteşey mamosta X dekem*. (Even if there were not any (doctoral programmes) locally, in fact, I am interrupting Mr. X). Although Speaker 2L interrupts Speaker 6L in line (2), and he implies that he is sorry for interrupting Speaker 6L in line (3), he continues speaking. Thus, because 2L has acknowledged his interruption, 6L might think that 2L is going to give up the floor, but 2L uses *yeşni* in line (4) to show that he keeps holding the floor *yeşni mushkilayak heye*. (I mean, there is a problem). Thus, the interruption followed by the use of *yeşni* might suggest that Speaker 2L attempts to hold the floor.

As far as the occurrence of *yeşni* in line (6) is concerned, Speaker 2L uses it to hold the floor as well. Speaker 2L says in line (4) that there is a problem, following that, in lines (5) through (6), he starts explaining the problem, namely differences in the lecturers in Kurdistan and Britain: *yeşni muşkileyek heye, be ra ###...be rasti yeşni...êh mn natwanm berawrdêk kem le nêwan mamostayani êrew Beritanya..* (The problem is that to be ...to be honest, I mean...uh, I cannot compare the lecturers of inside to the ones of Britain). As can be observed in line (6) at the beginning, he uttered a false start *bara...ba rasty*. In addition, after the insertion of *yeşni*, which is followed by a pause and a hesitation marker *uh*, he finished his statement in line (12) by saying that the difference between the teachers of Kurdistan and Britain is just like black and white. Thus, this series of linguistic items together with *yeşni* in line (6) suggest that he is

struggling to find the utterance he needed and he is attempting to keep holding the floor. These uses are consistent with previous findings. Gaddafi (1990, p.175) argues that:

in order to avoid interruption from other participants, and overcome the problem of hesitation during the interaction, the speaker [...] may resort to the marker *yeʕni* to hold the floor (Gaddafi 1990, p.175).

That is, *yeʕni* can be used to signal the hearer that the speaker wants to keep talking and he/she needs some time to finish his turn. Schegloff (1996, p.101) claims that searching for a word may be indicated by a series of uhs or pauses, although it is not necessary that each of these occur every time. Therefore, it seems that Speaker 2L also used *yeʕni* in line (6) to signal holding the floor and obtain some time to express his ideas.

To summarize what has been observed in 5.3.3.1, another contribution of *yeʕni* is to indicate an attempt at holding the floor to develop the conversational flow. This appears to happen when speakers use *yeʕni* together with other linguistic items such as a pause/uhs mentioned above to avoid interruption and gain extra time to keep their turn of talking. However, it is not necessary for these linguistic items to occur with *yeʕni*.

5.3.3.2 *Yeʕni* (I mean) to signal self-correction

Another use of *yeʕni* in my data is as a self-correction marker of the prior talk. Although I have observed that participants rarely use *yeʕni* to signal their self-correction, I will explain how they use it in the few instances where it happens. Kurdi (2008, p.111) argues that *yeʕni* is preceded by a pause when it is used to mark self-correction of the prior talk. Furthermore, according to Mahsain (2014, p.66), *uh* is a device that is used to indicate self-correction of the previous talk. Therefore, based on Kurdi's and Mahsain's point of view, the possible structure this function is:

Mistaken item + (hesitation marker + pause) + *yeʕni* + corrected item.

The above structure illustrates that after speakers utter a wrong item, they might utter a hesitation marker and/or pause, and then utter *yeʕni* followed by the correction of the previously mistaken item. Consider the following extract (5.12) when the speaker

uses *yeʃni* to mark her self-correction in line (4). In this interview, I asked two teacher-training participants about taking feedback from children at school.

Extract 5.12

1. 19S: nem dezani

I did not know

2. 19S: çyan lê kem.

What to do with them (the children)

3. 19S: dway translatingm dekrdwe ser Englizi.

After that, I was translating it into English

4. 19S: êh...*yeʃni* *translatem* dekrd bo Kurdi.

uh...*I mean*, I translated it into Kurdish

In this case, Speaker 19S uses *yeʃni* in line (4) in extract (5.12) to mark self-correction of her previous mistake. She realizes that she made a mistake in her previous speech in line (3): *dway translatingm dekrdwe ser Englizi* (after I translated it into English). However, what she meant to say in line (3) is *Kurdish*, not *English*. She starts her correction by uttering a hesitation marker *eh* and a pause, then inserts *yeʃni* in line (4): *êh...yeʃni translatem dekrd bo Kurdi* (uh...I mean, I translated it into Kurdish). As can be seen, she pauses, and then she inserts *yeʃni*, which is followed by replacing the word *Englizi* (English) with *kurdi* (Kurdish). Thus, *yeʃni*, followed by hesitation marker(s) or pause(s) with the corrected item appears to indicate the self-correction function.

In the case of self-correction, the occurrence of *yeʃni* in the extract (5.12) acts as a self-correction indicator, as it signals the replacement of the prior speech. Therefore, the interactional contribution of *yeʃni* here is to provide the speakers time to correct themselves in order to keep their turn and develop the conversational flow.

5.3.4 Summary

To sum up, in this section I have shown that, similar to the previous studies mentioned earlier in Section 5.2, *yeʕni* is used to signal several different functions by the participants in my Kurdish conversation data. As summarised in Table 5.3 below, it was used at three levels of communication. First, at the speech act level, *yeʕni* was used to signal explanation (justifying and explaining the previous ideas) and exemplifying with/without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). Second, at the discourse level, *yeʕni* was used to indicate positive and negative values of assessment and result. Third, at the turn-management level, *yeʕni* was used to mark the functions of holding the floor and self-correction. In addition, *yeʕni* sometimes occurred in ambiguous cases.

These findings are similar at speech act and turn-management levels to the categorization proposed by Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103), whereas they are different at discourse level. Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103) listed the functions of concluding and recapitulation. However, these functions were not observed in the present study; instead, only result and assessment occurred. Furthermore, the function of assessment, identified previously by Yilmaz (2004, pp.109-110) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015, p.104), should be added to the discourse level (demonstrated in Table 5.3) in the categorized levels by Owens and Rockwood (2008, p.103). This finding suggests two points: first, either when *yeʕni* is borrowed (into Turkish, Persian and Kurdish); it gains an additional aspect of usage, such as signalling positive and negative values of assessment or further Arabic studies might be needed as the Arabic studies mentioned in this study failed to identify that *yeʕni* can signal assessment.

Table 5.4 summaries the three levels signalled by *yeʕni*, namely communication, function and usage, as identified in the present study. Italic font has been used to indicate the usages that have been identified in this study, which have not been discussed before in previous studies.

Table 5.4 Levels of functions and usages signalled by *yeḥni* in the present study

Levels		
Communication	Function	Usage
Speech act	explanation	adding information
		<i>justifying</i>
	exemplifying	<i>positive evaluation</i>
		<i>negative evaluation</i>
		<i>justifying</i>
		<i>adding information</i>
Turn-management	floor-holding	-
	self-correction	-
Discourse	result	<i>positive evaluation</i>
		<i>negative evaluation</i>
	assessment	<i>positive evaluation</i>
		<i>negative evaluation</i>

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter has qualitatively analysed the discourse and pragmatic functions signalled by *yeḥni*. Based on the similarity in the functions performed by *yeḥni* in the current study with the ones in the Arabic studies and the translations made by the Arabic studies, I translated *yeḥni* as *I mean* in English to signal all the discourse functions except the function of result, which is translated as *so* in English. Even though the findings of the current study are similar to the functions documented by previous studies, there are a few differences, as summarised below.

First, the findings of the functions by the previous Arabic studies did not agree on the total number of functions; as can be seen in Table 5.3, different studies identified different numbers of functions. In total, 10 different functions marked by *yeʕni* have been pointed out by the previous studies, including nine functions by the Arabic studies. Even though the Turkish studies and the Persian study identified similar functions of *yeʕni*, they demonstrate one different function from the Arabic studies, which is (signalling) assessment. On the other hand, the number of functions signalled by *yeʕni* identified in the current study is six, as shown in Table 5.4, which is different from the numbers identified by all three different language studies: Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Therefore, the functions of *yeʕni* in the current study do not follow any existing pattern. Certain functions of *yeʕni* are similar to the ones identified in Arabic studies, and a few of them are similar to the functions that are demonstrated in the Turkish and Persian studies (and *I mean* in English).

Second, I demonstrated that in the present study, speakers used *yeʕni* to signal multiple functions, including explanation, exemplifying, holding the floor, self-correction, result, and assessment. Those functions were characterised by reference to the three of the different levels of communication which Owens and Rookwood (2008) identified, namely: speech act, turn-management, and discourse levels. However, there were no cases of *yeʕni* in the data to indicate functions at the two other levels of communication, namely the rhetorical and propositional truth levels.

Another finding is that *yeʕni* was used to indicate examples in two similar ways to the ones in the Arabic studies. First, the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) was accompanied by *yeʕni* in the current study data instead of the Arabic phrase the *mathalan* (for example). Thus, the structure of the use of *yeʕni* to mark exemplifying is *yeʕni bo nmune* (I mean for example) which is similar to *yeʕni mathalan* (I mean for example). However, the studies of Turkish (Yilmaz 2004) and Persian (Noora and Amouzadeh 2015) do not mention the above structure of exemplifying; they only mention that *yeʕni* can be used to signal examples. Second, *yeʕni* was used to signal examples on its own, similar to the use of *yeʕni* in previous Arabic, Turkish and Persian studies. However, the findings in the current study indicate that while *yeʕni*

with/without *bo nmune* (for example) occurs to signal exemplifying, it can also signal additional pragmatic aspects which I have called *usages* such as evaluation, adding information or justifying the prior ideas, and these differences, except elaboration, are not mentioned by the Arabic and Turkish studies.

Furthermore, although the previous studies discussed above (Arabic, Turkish, and Persian) mention the function of explanation and exemplifying, none of them identifies the detailed pragmatic usages of *yeſni* explicitly. To put it differently, none of the previous studies illustrated in Table 5.1 identifies the level of usage of *yeſni* while it is signalling explanation, examples, and results. However, based on usage level, the current study has presented a more nuanced categorization of the usages signalled by *yeſni* from the previous mentioned studies.

Another difference of using *yeſni* by Kurdish speakers in the current study data is that *yeſni* was not observed to mark the function of concluding in my study, whereas it was identified previously in a few Arabic studies, though not in the Turkish and Persian studies. On the other hand, similar to the use of *yeſni* in the Turkish and Persian studies, in the current study data, *yeſni* was used to signal the function of assessment, whereas it was not explored in the Arabic studies in the previous research.

Overall, the findings of the present study suggest that *yeſni* is essential and it fills a gap in Kurdish, as it occurred to signal various pragmatic functions by the speakers. I have found that the use of *yeſni* in Kurdish is very similar to Arabic on the levels of communication and function but it also appears that when it has been borrowed (into Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish), it also occurs with usages such as signalling positive and negative values of assessment. Particularly, in Kurdish, at the level of usage it is found to signal justifying and adding information similar to English *I mean*. Having analysed the instances of *yeſni* used by the speakers in the present study, I will turn to discuss the quantitative analysis of the occurrences of *yeſni* in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF *YEŃNI* (I MEAN)

6.0 Introduction

Having presented the qualitative analysis of the pragmatic functions of *yeŃni* in Chapter Five, this chapter presents the quantitative analysis results of the data used to investigate the differences and similarities of the frequency occurrences and the functions of *yeŃni* by the three groups of participants: first year students, fourth year students and the lecturers. In this chapter, I begin by addressing the research question which seeks to show contrasts in the frequency of *yeŃni* within the three participant groups out of the total number of instances of *yeŃni* in the study. Then, I will deal with the second question, which asks about differences and similarities in the distribution of functions marked by *yeŃni*, both across the level of communication and for individual function within the three groups. As I demonstrate below, the participant groups used *yeŃni* differently in both the frequency and functions. I will show that the fourth year student participants use the highest rate of *yeŃni* in the data, compared to the first year students and lecturers, which I argue is associated with the CoP, in line with the results reported about the DMs *so* and *also* by Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2006). In addition, I also demonstrate that speakers use *yeŃni* to signal different functions with different patterns, which I argue are linked to interchangeability with DMs *ésta*, *xoi*, and *itr*³¹ in Chapter Nine. To demonstrate that, I look at justifying versus adding information/explaining usages at speech act level and positive versus negative values usages at discourse level. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.1, Section 9.2 and Section 9.3).

³¹I will be referring to the *I mean* uses of the four DMs when no translation is given in this chapter, and only give an English translation when I have a different English translation.

As a starting point for the quantitative analysis, I determined the total number of the occurrences of *yeʃni* in the data by counting the instances of *yeʃni* used in each of the six interviews per group of the participants. Following that, I determined the percentages of the number of occurrences of *yeʃni* per group out of the total instances 727 in the data as shown in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 below. After that, I compared the frequency and distribution of *yeʃni* at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management), including the ambiguous instances of *yeʃni* per participant group. Both raw numbers and percentages for occurrences of *yeʃni* at each level of communication are presented in detail, as demonstrated in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 below. Following that, I separately counted how often *yeʃni* appears per function within each level of communication to show the similarities and difference within the three groups. These values are illustrated in Table 6.3, Table 6.4, and Table 6.5 and in Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 below. In order to identify the differences in the tendencies of using *yeʃni* on the basis of level individual usage (see Section 6.3), after counting the total number of instances of *yeʃni* to signal these functions of explanation, exemplifying, assessment and result across the three groups of participants, I separated the different usages within each function. For instance, I counted how often *yeʃni* was used to signal adding information versus justifying for signalling in an explanation. I repeated this procedure for the usage level of exemplifying, assessment and result as well, as summarised in Section 6.3.

The chapter is composed of the following sections. Section 6.1 deals with overall occurrences of *yeʃni* in the data. Next, Section 6.2 presents frequency occurrences of *yeʃni* within the three levels of communications. Following that, section 6.3 provides frequency of *yeʃni* per function at each level of communication. Finally, Section 6.4 is the Conclusion.

6.1 Results of total number of *yeṣni* (I mean) within the three participant groups

Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 below present the overall percentages of occurrences of *yeṣni* per group out of the total number 727 to show the comparison of the frequency of *yeṣni* among the three groups in the study.

Table 6.1 Overall comparative frequency of *yeṣni* within the three groups

Frequency	1st years		4th years		Lecturers	
Total No. of <i>yeṣni</i>	No. of <i>yeṣni</i>	%	No. of <i>yeṣni</i>	%	No. of <i>yeṣni</i>	%
727	183	25%	348	48%	196	27%

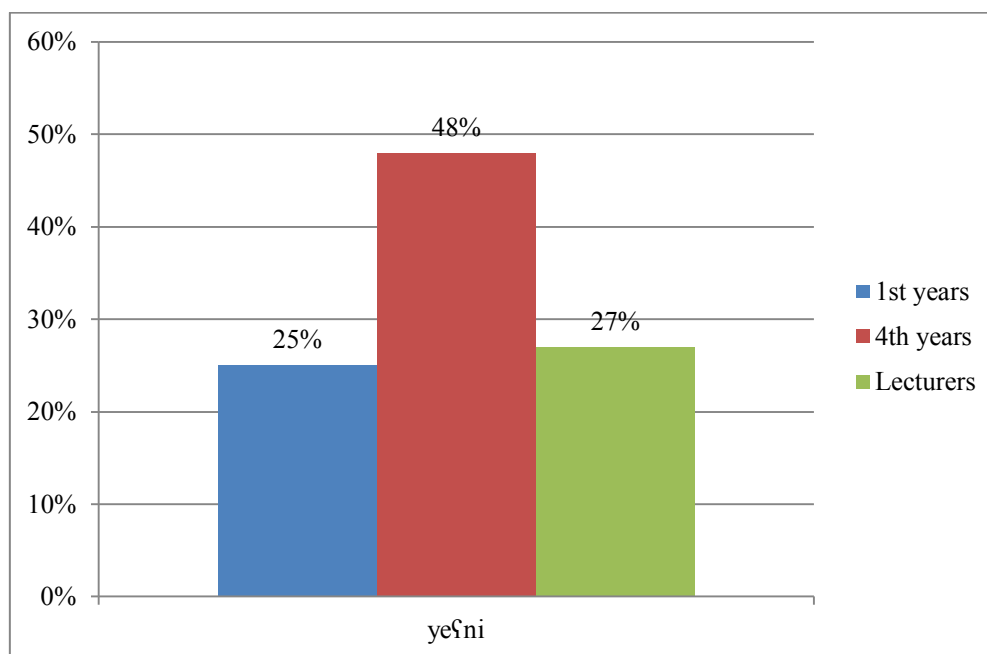


Figure 6.1: Frequency of *yeṣni* per group out of the total number

As the rates presented in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 above show, the proportion of the total instances of *yeṣni* from the first year students (at 25%) and the lecturers (at

27%) is similar. In contrast, the fourth year students' use of *yeʃni* has the highest frequency (48%) in the data. Thus, overall the first year students are similar to the lecturers in the proportion of *yeʃni*. However, the fourth year students are different, as they used a much higher rate of *yaʃni* than both the first year students and the lecturers. There is a possible explanation for the high frequency of use of *yeʃni* by the fourth year students, this is related to the fourth year students as a CoP (as discussed in Chapter Four (see Section 4.2). Previous research (Liebscher and Daily-O'Cain 2006) has demonstrated that members of a CoP may use a high frequency of DMs. Liebscher and Daily-O'Cain (2006) in their study of the use of DMs in an advanced classroom of English speakers, who were learning German, showed that their participants used a large number of DMs because they were a CoP. Further detailed analysis is given in Four (see Section 4.2). Given overall occurrences of *yeʃni* in the data, now, I move to present frequency occurrence of *yeʃni* at the three levels of communication: speech act, discourse, and turn-management.

6.2 Frequency of *yeʃni* (I mean) at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) and the ambiguous cases

As can be seen in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 below, the three groups of participants, the first year students, fourth year students and lecturers, are different in using *yeʃni* at the three different levels communication. The comparison among the three levels provides evidence that *yeʃni* has different distributions within the students and the lecturers. As illustrated in Figure 6.2 and Table 6.2, overall the fourth year students use a higher figure (37%) of *yeʃni* at speech act level than the two other groups: the lecturers (24%) and the first years (11%). The lecturers, in contrast, show a high frequency of using *yeʃni* at turn-management level (39%). As the Figure 6.2 below displays, *yeʃni* at turn-management level is distributed similarly across the first year students and fourth year students' conversation (27%) and (26%) respectively, whereas *yeʃni* occurs at a higher figure (39%) by the lecturers. Similarly, the rates of *yeʃni* that occur at discourse level are identical for first year and fourth year students (23%), whereas it is lower by the lecturers (15%). Regarding the ambiguous instances, as both

Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 illustrate, the rate for the first year students is striking (38%) while the fourth year students and the lecturers are relatively similar (14%) and (21%) respectively. Therefore, the pattern to be noted here is that the first and fourth year students are more similar, whereas the lectures are different from students in the total use of *yefni* across the three levels of communication.

Table 6.2 Frequency of *yefni* at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) and the ambiguous cases.

<i>Yefni</i>	1st years		4th years		Lecturers	
Levels	count	%	count	%	count	%
Speech act	21	11%	130	37%	48	24%
Discourse	42	23%	80	23%	30	15%
Turn-management	50	27%	91	26%	76	39%
Ambiguous cases	70	38%	47	14%	42	21%
Total	183		348		196	

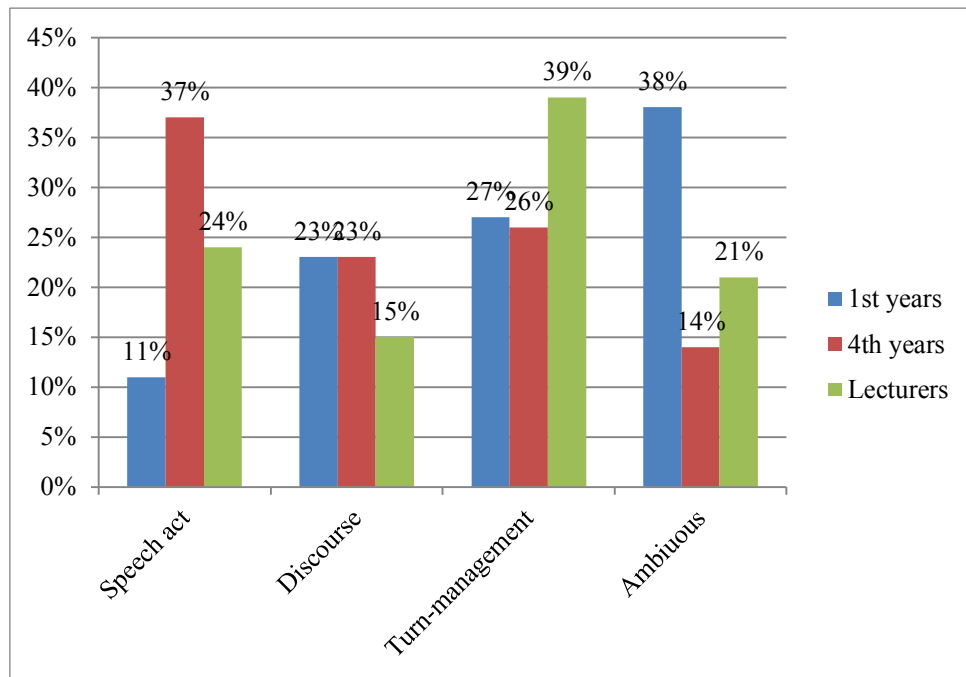


Figure 6.2: Frequency of *yeʕni* at the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) and the ambiguous cases

Reviewing the literature, no comparisons of the three levels of communication (speech act, discourse, and turn-management) signalled by *yeʕni* has been explored. However, as I demonstrate below, one possible reason for the results in Table 6.2 is that they are the result of the differences of *yeʕni* to signal individual functions. This is, perhaps, due to the classroom style that teachers carried over to the conversation style. This would coincide with such uses by teachers, as previously identified by Al-Makoshi (2014, p.276) and Zarei (2013, p.117). To view a clear pattern per level of communication within the two groups of students and the group of lecturers, further breakdowns of patterns by category function are needed, as illustrated below.

6.3 Results of *yeſni* (I mean) per function at each level of communication

In this section, I will present the frequency of distribution of *yeſni* per function at each level of speech act, discourse, and turn-management. In addition, the results are summarised below in Table 6.3, Table 6.4 and Table 6.5 and Figure 6.3, Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5 respectively.

6.3.1 *Yeſni* (I mean) per function at speech act level

After counting the rates of *yeſni* at the three levels of communication overall (see Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2) above, I determined the distribution of *yeſni* per function separately. Table 6.3 represents the distribution of *yeſni* for each function at the speech act level, which includes *yeſni* to signal examples with and without the phrase *bo nmune* and explanation, as discussed below. Therefore, here, I calculated the percentages of the use of *yeſni* to mark each function out of the total occurrences of *yeſni* per participant group at speech act level. For example, in the first column in Table 6.3 below, I divided 10 (which is the number of times *yeſni* is used for exemplifying without the phrase *bo nmune*) by 20 (which is the total number of occurrences of *yeſni* by the first year students at speech act level) and the result is 50%. Thus, the percentage uses of *yeſni* to preface the function of exemplifying without the phrase *bo nmune* by the first year students is 50%.

Table 6.3 Rate of *yeſni* per function at speech act level

Speech act	1st years		4th years		Lecturers	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Example	3	15%	2	1%	4	10%

with the phrase <i>bo nmune</i>						
Explanation	7	35%	74	58%	27	67%
exemplifying without the phrase <i>bo nmune</i>	10	50%	51	40%	9	22%
Total	20		127		40	

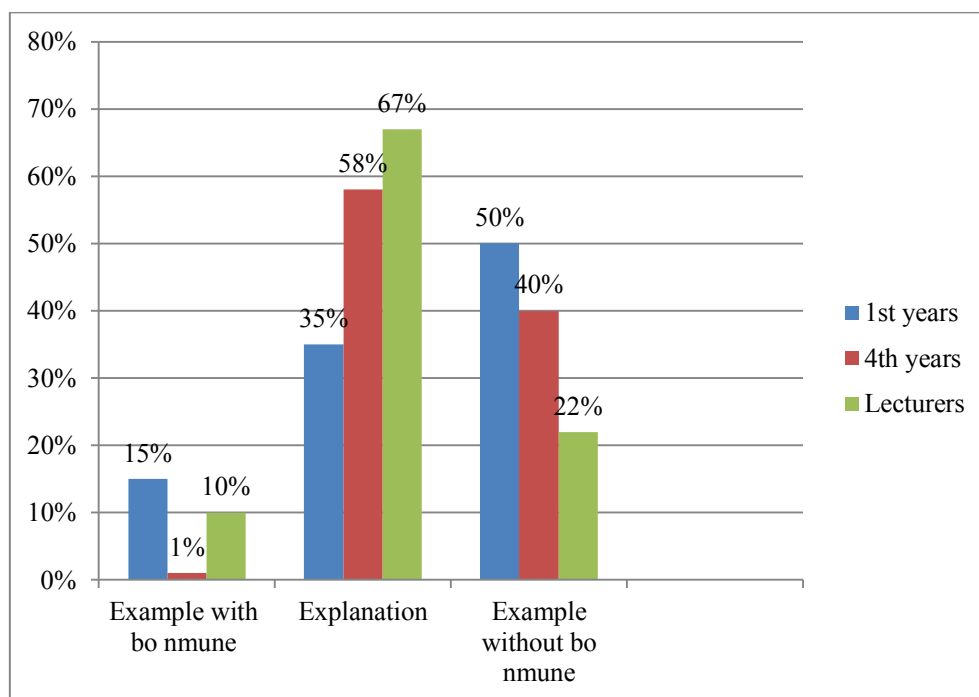


Figure 6.3: The difference rates of *yeʃni* per function at speech act level out of the total proportion per group

Table 6.3 and Figure 6.3 above illustrate the distribution of *yeʃni* to signal the functions at speech act level by the three groups of participants. In the fourth year

students' conversation, *yeŋni* was used to signal the explanation function most frequently (58%), which is similar to its use by the lecturers (67%), but very much higher than its use by the first year students (35%). Moreover, the frequency of *yeŋni* to mark exemplifying without the phrase *bo nmune* is the second highest frequency by the fourth year students (40%), which is quite similar to the figure (50%) used by the first year students and much higher than the figure (22%) used by the lecturers. However, all the three groups use *yeŋni* to preface examples similarly and very infrequently (n=4 or less for all groups). Overall, we may note that the fourth year students are similar to the lecturers at explanation, whereas the first year and the fourth year students are similar at signalling examples without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). However, all the three groups are similar in the example function with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). To summarise, there is not a clear pattern at this level, as sometimes the fourth year students are similar to the lecturers and sometimes to the first year students.

I turn now to discuss the results of the differences and similarities *yeŋni* to signal individual functions. The results in the usage of *yeŋni* by the lecturers to signal explanation in this study are consistent with the findings of Al-Makoshi (2014, pp.276-277), who found that DM *yeŋni* was often used to give an explanation by teacher participants in her study. Further, these results also seem to be consistent with Yang (2011, p.104), who points out that DMs are important for lecturers, because they play an important role in making students understand the language of the lecture better. Even though the context of my study is different from the studies mentioned above, (they examine using DMs by lecturers inside classrooms, whereas my lecturers are in the interview outside the classroom), the results show that my lecturers behave similarly to the lecturers of the previous studies. These results suggest that lecturers are lecturers, whether they are inside or outside classrooms, as they use the same linguistic resources. Moreover, however, a possible explanation for the low frequency of using *yeŋni* to signal explanation by the first year students could be linked to the ambiguous cases (38%) as presented in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 above. Given differences in the frequency of each function at speech act level, now I will turn to show the differences in tendencies of using *yeŋni* within each individual function of explanation and exemplifying below.

On the basis of level of individual usage across the speech act level in the data, there are differences in the tendencies of speakers to use *yeſni* to signal adding information versus justifying in both explanation and exemplifying and to indicate positive versus negative evaluation in exemplifying. With regard to the different frequencies of tendencies in using *yeſni* to signal explanation, *yeſni* occurred in 108 utterances, as illustrated Table 6.1 above. That is, overall, *yeſni* was used to add information to previous ideas in 62% (n=67) of cases, whereas it was used to justify prior talk only in 39% (n=41) of instances. In the same way, when speakers signal exemplifying, *yeſni* was frequently (71% n=57) used to signal justification, whereas it was less frequently (28% n=23) used to mark the addition of information. In addition, *yeſni* was preferred to signal negative values of exemplifying (78% n=7), but it was less preferred to signal positive values of exemplifying (22% n=2) (not shown in the tables above). These results indicate that *yeſni* was preferred to signal justification more than adding information to the previous ideas in both explanation and exemplifying. The results also show that speakers use *yeſni* more to signal negative values of exemplifying than to signal positive values of exemplifying. This suggests that speakers might interchange the use of *yeſni* with the use of other DMs, such as *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal explanation and exemplifying. Thus, this could be associated with interchangeability as will be discussed more in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.1).

6.3.2 *Yeſni* (I mean) per function at discourse level

Unlike the inconsistent patterns of frequency of *yeſni* at speech act level, at discourse level (assessment and result); the two groups of students are similar, whereas they are different from the lecturers as shown in Table 6.4 and Figure 6.4 below.

Table 6.4 Rate of *yeşni* per function at the discourse level

Discourse	1st years		4th years		Lecturers	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Assessment	29	69%	63	79%	11	37%
Results	13	31%	17	21%	19	63%
Total	42		80		30	

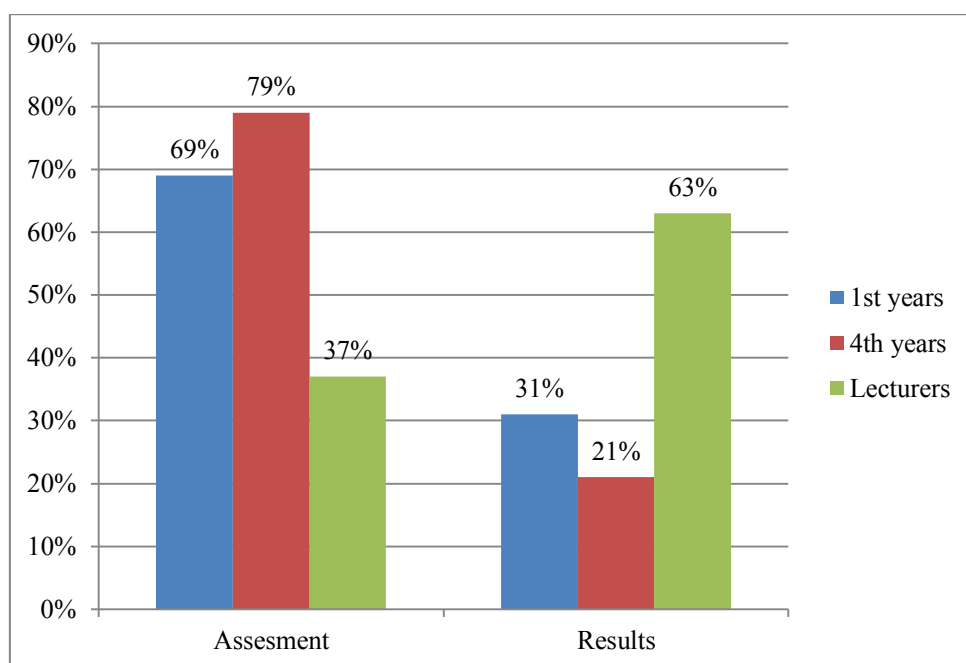


Figure 6.4: The difference rates of *yeşni* per function at discourse level out of the total number per group

As can be seen in the frequency occurrences of *yeşni* at discourse level to preface the result function (see Table 6.4 and Figure 6.4 above) the two student groups are similar, and different from the lecturers. The first year and the fourth year students

are relatively similar in using *yeʃni* to signal the function of results (31%) and (21%); however, their figures are much lower than the figure found for the lecturers (63%).

Similarly, in the case of the assessment function, the first year students use a quite similar rate of *yeʃni* (69%) to the fourth year students (79%), whereas those are very much higher than the figure used by the lecturers' (37%), as can be seen in Table 6.4 above. The high figure of *yeʃni* by fourth year students (79%) to signal assessment could be explained by the fact that the fourth year students are a CoP; I will fully discuss this in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.1). In addition, the speakers used *yeʃni* to indicate negative assessments more (66% n=68) than to indicate positive evaluations (34% n= 35).

Thus, the distributions of *yeʃni* to signal the assessment and the results at this level is similar between the two groups of students, and both of them are different to the lecturers. Therefore, this pattern at discourse level is different from the pattern of the functions at speech act level, where fourth year students are sometimes like the first year students, and sometimes like the lecturers, as can be seen in Table 6.3 above. Having discussed the distinction in frequencies of the functions at discourse level, I now turn to discuss the differences in tendencies of using *yeʃni* to signal positive and negative values within assessment and result functions below.

Both assessment and results can be positive or negative. Speakers use *yeʃni* with different tendencies to signal assessment and result. They use *yeʃni* to signal negative values of assessment very frequently (66% n= 68), but infrequently to signal positive values of assessment (34% n= 35). On the other hand, *yeʃni* (so) occurred more commonly in contexts with positive result (61% n=30) than its occurrence with negative values of result (39% n=19), as illustrated in Figure 6.5 below. These results indicate that speakers used *yeʃni* to signal different functions with different preferences. I will return to discuss this topic in detail Chapter Nine (see Section 9.3).

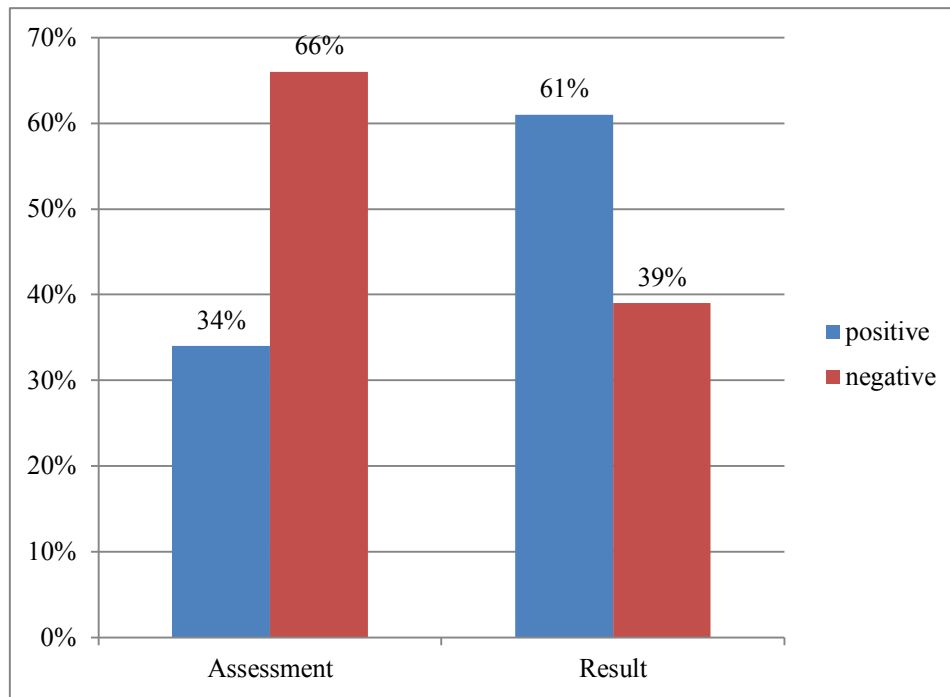


Figure 6.5: The difference rates of *yeʕni* (I mean/so) to signal positive vs. negative

6.3.3 *Yeʕni* (I mean) per function at turn-management level

The distribution of *yeʕni* at turn-management level (floor-holding and self-correction) illustrates the variation in frequencies among the three groups of participants. As can be observed in Table 6.5 and Figure 6.5 below, and similar to the distribution at the discourse level, both groups of students and the lecturers are all similar in the frequency of use of *yeʕni*.

Table 6.5 Rate of *yeʕni* per function at the turn-management level

Turn-management	1st years		4th years		Lecturers	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Floor-holding	46	92%	88	97%	76	100%
Self-	4	8%	3	3%	0	0%

correction						
Total	50	-	91	-	76	-

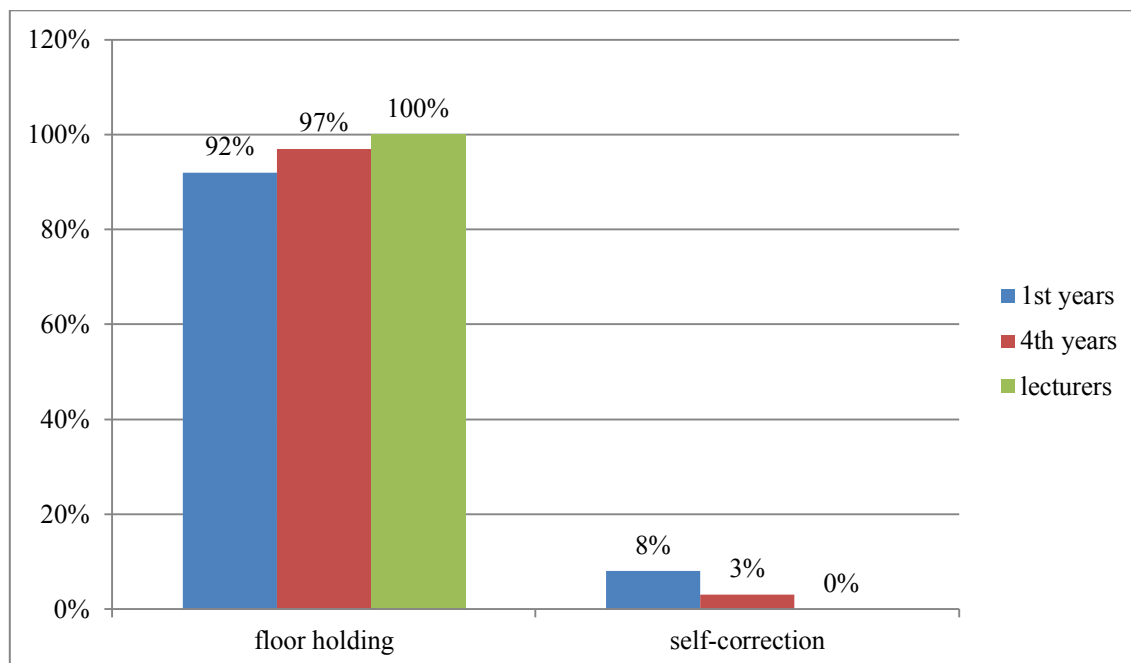


Figure 6.6: Distribution of *yefni* per function at a turn-management level

The results presented in Table 6.5 and Figure 6.6 above reveal that the three groups have similar distributions of using *yefni* to signal both the floor-holding function and the self-correction function. Regarding the use of *yefni* to indicate floor-holding, all groups are quite similar at over 90%. In addition, all three groups use *yefni* to signal self-correction similarly and infrequently (less than $n=4$ for all the groups). Thus, these results indicate that the three groups of participants are quite similar in the frequencies of using *yefni* at the turn-management level, unlike the patterns seen at both the speech act and the discourse level.

6.4 Conclusion

Three key findings emerge from this chapter. The first finding is that, as regards to the quantitative analysis of *yeɣni*, overall, the fourth year students are different, in as much as their use of *yeɣni* is far more frequent than both the first year students and the lecturers. As demonstrated in Table 6.1, the most important finding is the highest frequency of *yeɣni* (48%) by the fourth year students out of the total occurrences of 727 compared to the first year students (25%) and the lecturers (27 %). This result proposes that the fourth year students are a CoP.

The second finding is that there are differences in the use of *yeɣni* among the three groups. As illustrated in Figure 6.2 and Table 6.2, overall the fourth year students show the frequency (58%) and the first year students only (35%) of *yeɣni* to signal explanation at the speech act level, and the lecturers, in contrast, record the highest frequency of using *yeɣni*, (67%) to signal this function. These results suggest that the lecturers use *yeɣni* to signal justifying and explaining what they said before more than the students do, which is in line with the results identified by previous research Al-Makoshi (2014) and Yang (2011). However, a possible explanation for the low frequency of using *yeɣni* (35%) to signal the function of explanation by the first year students could be linked to the ambiguous cases (38%) as presented in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 above. This is because the first year students have the highest rate (38%) of ambiguous cases among the three participant groups. That is, the ambiguous cases are categorised only (14%) by the fourth year students and (21%) by the lecturers (38%), as shown in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2 above. Therefore, a number of the ambiguous cases categorised by the first year students might be used for signalling explanation.

The last major finding is that speakers across the three participant groups use *yeɣni* with different usages for signalling different individual functions. They use *yeɣni* to signal justifying more than adding information while they use it to signal explanation. In addition, speakers prefer to use *yeɣni* for signalling negative values of assessment, while they prefer to use it to signal positive values in the function of result. These findings suggest that speakers use *yeɣni* interchangeably with the other three DMs *ésta*, *xoi* and *îtr* and this might be linked to grammaticalisation, as will be shown in further

detail in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.5). The next chapter deals with the qualitative analysis of the pragmatic functions of the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* in the present study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF KURDISH DMS *ÊSTA*, *XOI* AND *ÎTR* (I MEAN)

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will focus on exploring the pragmatic functions signalled by the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in my exploration of the data of the current study. I have observed that, similar to *yeŋni*, these three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* occur at the speech act and discourse levels. In the absence of Kurdish sources and to ground my discussion on these DMs, I will follow the structures established for *yeŋni* by previous scholars, such as Gaddafi (1990), Kurdi (2008), Rieschild (2011), Yilmaz (2004) and Noora and Amouzadeh (2015), as discussed in Chapter Five (see Section 5.3). The DM Framework was developed using Owens and Rockwoods' (2008) classification of the functions of *yeŋni*, as outlined in Chapter Five, Table 5.2. So far as I am aware, these three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* have not been the subject of analysis in Kurdish and they have not been translated into English before in their DM functions. I will deal with the translation of the DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* based on their interchangeability with the DM *yeŋni* and I will translate them as English *I mean* as demonstrated in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.1).

Firstly, in this chapter, based on Brinton's (2017) framework of pathways of change, from a purely synchronic perspective I will display that these lexical items have two different uses grammatical and pragmatic. *Êsta* and *îtr* appear to have originally developed from adverbs of time and *xoi* has developed from a reflexive pronoun. As stated earlier if I had diachronic data, I would investigate how these lexical words have been changed to be used as DMs overtime. First, I would establish if they were used only as adverbs and reflexive pronouns, then I would expect to find ambiguous cases before finally finding cases where there were clearly DMs. After demonstrating that these lexical items have non-DM uses, I will illustrate that *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* signal some of the same pragmatic functions as *yeŋni*, and then I will compare the pragmatic functions signalled by each of these three DMs with my discussion of *yeŋni*.

Secondly in the chapter, by adopting Oh (2000, p.260) and Gray's (2012, p.155) framework of interchangeability, I will assume that the three DMs are interchangeable with one another for some of the functions as they act in the same way and they have the same meaning. Oh (2000, p.260) and Gray's (2012, p.155) propose that interchangeability is possible when one DM can be replaced by another DM with no substantial change to the interpretation of the utterance. In terms of the definition of interchangeability, most of the dictionaries of English for example Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987, p.761), Longman Dictionary (1992, p. 687), Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005, p.666) and Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005, p.809) agreeing on defining interchangeability as putting two words in the place of each other without making any particular difference in the meaning of the process. That is, if two words are interchangeable, they can be exchanged with each other and they almost have the same meaning. Furthermore, in addition to having interchangeability of these three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* with one another to signal some functions, these three DMs are interchangeable with *yeŋni* to signal some functions as will be demonstrated in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.1, Section 9.2 and Section 9.3). I will suggest that the principle of layering of grammaticalisation explains the case of interchangeability among the DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* (which I will explain further in Chapter Nine, see Section 9.5).

The chapter is organized as follows. First, in Section 7.1, I will present the grammatical use and the pragmatic functions signalled by the DM *êsta*. Then, in Section 7.2, I will deal with the grammatical use and the pragmatic functions signalled by *xoi*. In Section 7.3, I will discuss the grammatical use and the pragmatic functions signalled by *îtr*. Next, in Section 7.4, I will present interchangeability of the *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*, their English translation and I will discuss the process of development and the principle of layering of these forms. Finally, Section, 7.5 contains the conclusion.

7.1 The DM *êsta*

Êsta is often found among those linguistic items that are occurred in the current study data. Like English *now*³², the lexical item of *êsta* has two different uses, as I demonstrate below; it can have both a pragmatic use as a DM and a grammatical use as an adverb of time. Even though I will only focus on its pragmatic uses in this study, I will provide an example of its use as an adverb of time.

Regarding the use of *êsta* as an adverb, according to Ameen (2014, p.192), *êsta* is an adverb of time which is used to describe the moment when the action happens in a sentence. The occurrence of *êsta* in example (1) refers to the moment when the action happened. Therefore, *êsta* in example (7.1) below has a grammatical function that references the moment of having lunch through the verb *daxom* (having).

(7.1) *Êsta* nani niwero dexom.

I am having lunch *now*.

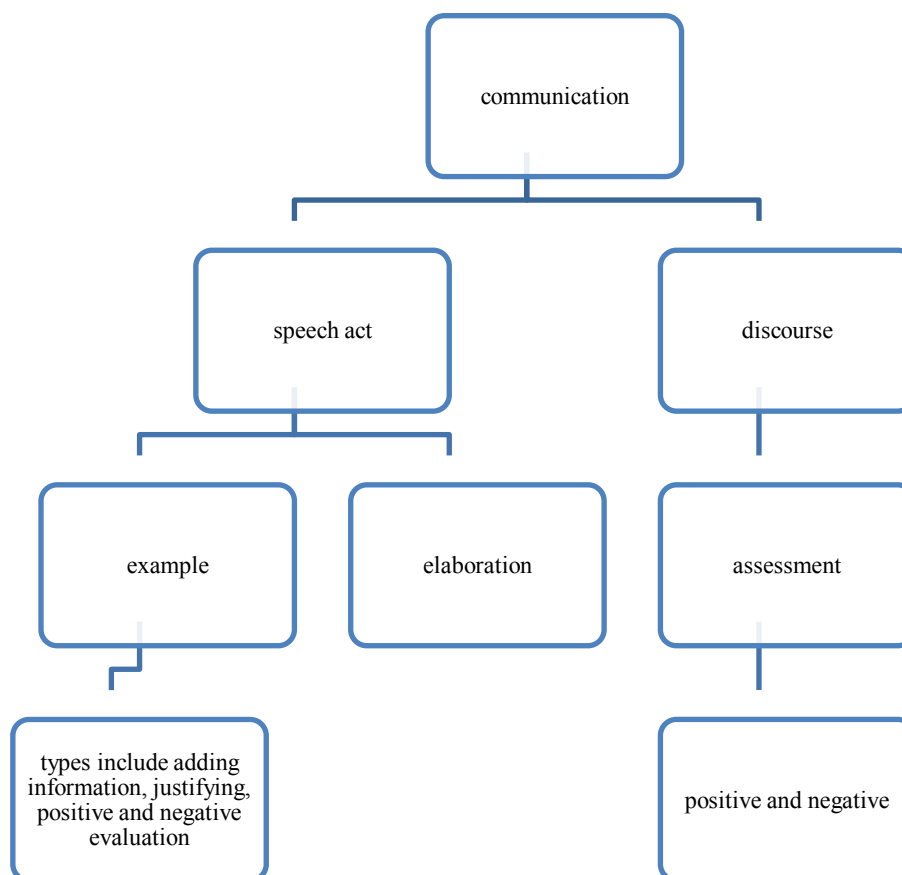
Thus, *êsta* in example (7.1) is an adverb of time and it does not function as a DM. This suggests that the DM *êsta* has developed from an adverb of time. It is important to note that in the present study these instances of *êsta*, as in example (7.1) above will not be focused on. In this section, I will show that speakers in this study, used *êsta* to signal the pragmatic functions exemplifying, elaboration and assessment.

Regarding its pragmatic functions, *êsta* is used to signal two levels of communication: speech act and discourse. Even though *êsta* has quite similar characteristics to *yeŋni* at the speech act level and the discourse level, unlike *yeŋni*, *êsta*

³²Fritz (2007, p.11) claims that English *now* can be used in two different ways: it can act either as a DM with a metalinguistic function or as an adverb with a temporal meaning.

is not used to signal functions at the turn-management level of communication. At the speech act level, *êsta* occurred to signal functions of elaboration of the prior talk, exemplifying with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example), and at the discourse level it appears to indicate assessment. In addition, *êsta* at the level of usage was also used for instance, for signalling exemplifying and assessment as I demonstrate below. Speakers used *êsta* to give both positive and negative values of evaluations. Further, similar to *yefni*, *êsta* has some ambiguous cases, that is, cases where use of *êsta* might signal two different functions at the same time. In order to show these functions, examples of the occurrence of *êsta* from my data are presented in the extracts below. I will show where *êsta* is used to signal functions at the speech act level in Section 7.1.1 and its use to signal functions at the discourse level in Section 7.1.2 below. Figure 7.1 below illustrates the levels and functions signalled by *êsta* in the present study.

Figure 7.1: Levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by *êsta*



7.1.1 *Êsta* at speech act level

It is observed in the data that *êsta*, similar to *yeñni*, occurred to signal functions at the speech act level. At the speech act level, again similar to *yeñni*, *êsta* appeared to signal exemplifying with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). In addition, similar to the function of example signalled by *yeñni*, the function of example signalled by *êsta* includes other usages such as elaboration/adding more information, justifying, positive or negative evaluation. However, *êsta* occurred to signal elaboration by additional information to expand the topic under discussion. This topic expansion use is unlike *yeñni* which was used to signal explanation of the previous talk which may contain other usages such as adding information or justifying, more specifically to

introduce what he/she means by what he/she said, as discussed in chapter Five (see Section 5.3). Thus, the function of elaboration by *êsta* appears to have the usage of adding more information to the prior talk but it does not occur to have the usage of justifying.

7.1.1.1 *Êsta* to signal elaboration

In the current study data, I observed that *êsta* was used by the participants to signal an elaboration by adding information to the prior ideas. The structure of *êsta* to indicate this function of data in the current study is:

An idea in the previous talk + *êsta* + elaboration by adding more information.

In extract (7.1), two first-year students were asked about the amount of material covered by teachers. I suggest that the use of *êsta* in line (2) is to preface elaboration of a previous talk.

Extract 7.1

1. 23F: *Be pêi mamosta kewtwe*

It depends on the lecturers themselves

2. 23F: *Êsta*, mamostay wa heye lewanye dw pere bxwênê,

I mean, there are some lecturers who might teach two pages,

3. 23F: mamostay waş heye zor exwênê

Some other lecturers might cover a lot

4. 23F: *Bes grng têgeyştni telebekana lêy*

However, the most important thing is students' comprehension of them (lecturers)

The speaker used *êsta* to signal adding information to her topic statement through making a comparison. In line (1) in extract (7.1), the speaker introduced her comparison with a topic statement: *Be pêi mamosta kewtwe* (It (how much material the

lecturers cover) depends on lecturers). Following that, in lines (2) through (3), she used *êsta* to mark her comparison: *Êsta, mamostay wa heye lewanye dw pere bwxênê, mamostay waş heye zor exwênê* (I mean, there are some lecturers who might cover two pages, some other lecturers might cover a lot). Therefore, 23 F used *êsta* to signal upcoming information by presenting additional ideas to her previous talk. To put it another way, Speaker 23F uses *êsta* to signal progression about what she said in the previous talk. Therefore, unlike *yeñni*, which was used to signal to explanation of the previous talk, *êsta* was used here to signal elaboration by making progression and expanding previous ideas by giving additional information to the prior talk. This suggests that each of the DMs *êsta* and *yeñni* in the present study occurred to signal a specific, distinct type of expansion of the prior topic.

7.1.1.2 *Êsta* to signal exemplifying with the phrase *bo nmune*

The DM *êsta* accompanied with the phrase *bo nmune* occurred in the data to signal exemplifying. Extract 7.2 below presents the use of *êsta bo nmune* to signal an example and provide more detail about a previous talk. Based on the structure *yeñni bo nmune* (I mean for example), as discussed in (Section 5.3), the structure of *êsta bo nmune* is:

Previous topic + *êsta* + (*bo nmune* (for example)) justifying/adding information/evaluation.

Extract (7.2) illustrates how *êsta* is used to preface the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) that explains a previous sequences of talk. The extract is related to a question I asked two first year students about whether they consider Facebook to be positive or negative. Although there are three occurrences of *êsta* in lines (3) through (4), I will focus only on the one accompanied with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) in line (3). This is because the second instance of *êsta* in line (3), and the occurrence of *êsta* in line (4) after a false start which seems to be a repetition of the second instance, that might have been used as self repair uses of *êsta*. Now, I will demonstrate how Speaker 11F used *êsta* accompanied by the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) in line (4) to provide a specific example.

Extract 7.2

1. 11F: *wella xoi.hendê car positivee*

Well, I mean, it (Facebook) sometimes is positive.

2. 11F: *hendê car negativee*

Sometimes it is negative

3. 11F: *Êsta bo nmune êsta zor heye###*

I mean for example now there are lots ###

4. 11F: *Êsta zor xalk heye*

Now there are lots of people

5. 11F: *le mektebiş nin*

who are not studying at school

7. 11F: *be rasti mektebişyan bejê hêştwe*

For real, they have skipped school

7. 11F: *belam le Facebook fêri Englizi bune*

but they learned English from Facebook

In lines (1) through (2) in extract (7.2), Speaker 11F stated that Facebook has benefits and drawbacks: *wella xoi.hendê car positivee hendê car negativee* (Well, you know it (Facebook) sometimes is positive sometimes it is negative). Then, in lines (3) through (7), he used *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) to preface a specific example of using Facebook: *Êsta bo nmune êsta zor heye ### Êsta zor xalk heye le mektebiş nin be rasti mektebişyan bejê hêştwe belam le Facebook fêri Englizi bune*. (I mean for example, now there are lots of ###, now there are lots of people, who are not studying at school for real, they have skipped school but they learned English from Facebook). Then, in the following lines (5) through (7), he introduced his positive evaluation in which he appreciates and agrees that Facebook helps people to learn English, even

when they quit school. Thus, the speaker used *êsta* to mark a specific example with a positive evaluation on using Facebook. Both *êsta bo nmune* and *yeŋni bo nmune* (I mean for example, as discussed in Section 5.3) can be used to give positive and negative evaluations. However, as I will show in Section 7.1 the use of *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) is mostly used to signal positive evaluation of the previous talk.

7.1.1.3 *Êsta* to signal exemplifying without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example)

The speakers of the current study used *êsta* without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal giving a specific example, similar to *yeŋni* (see Section 5.3). However, in some ambiguous cases, it is difficult to decide whether the instance of DM *êsta* is functioning to mark moving from a general to a specific example or if it occurs to signal moving from a specific topic to give a specific example. I will argue that *êsta*, similar to *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) discussed above, in extract 7.3 below, was used to give a specific example. That is, I am distinguishing between using the DM *êsta* to signal exemplifying from a general to specific idea, and using it to signal moving from a specific idea to give specific example in the given extract (7.3) below. Based on the structure of *yeŋni* (see Section 5.3) to signal exemplifying, the structure for DM *êsta* to signal this function is as below:

Previous topic + *êsta* + specific example (justifying/ adding information / evaluation) to the previous talk.

The context of this extract (7.3) is related to a question that I asked two first year students about what kind of lecturers they liked. In this extract, I will argue that the occurrence of *êsta* in line (3) is an ambiguous case. The speaker might be shifting from a specific to give a particular example, or moving from a general topic to signal a specific example to expand and evaluate the previous ideas, as I discuss below.

Extract 7.3

1. 12F: Mamosta muhazereke alozneka,

A lecturer who does not make the lecture complicated

2. 12F: qursi neka

He/she does not make it difficult

3. 12F: *Êsta*, cary wa heye

I mean, there are some occasions

4. 12F: Mamostayekeman heye êh...

We have a lecturer uh...

5. 12F: *Bo nmune* telebe dest helbrê

For example, if a student (puts his or her) hand up

6. 12F: ta bçête derewe,

to go outside,

7. 12F: elê "No"

He/she (the lecturer) says "No"

In extract (7.3), Speaker 12F responded to the question by stating that he liked lecturers who simplified the material instead of making it difficult, as evidenced in lines (1) through (2): *Mamosta muhazereke alozneka, qursi neka* (a lecturer who does not make his/her lecture complicated, he/she does not make it difficult). This is a specific kind of lecturer: one who makes the lessons easy. Following the expression of this specific topic, Speaker 12F shifted from the previous specific topic he expressed in line (1) to a different specific example by using *êsta* in lines (3) through (7): *Êsta, cary wa heye mamostayekeman heye êh Bo nmune telebe dest helbrê... ta bçête derewe, elê "No"* (I mean, there are some occasions we have a lecturer uh... for example, if a student (puts his or her) hand up to go to outside, he/she (the lecturer) says "No"). That is, the speaker stated that he had a particular lecturer who did not let the students excuse themselves whenever they needed. As can be seen in line (6), Speaker 12F used a *bo nmune* (for example), but it is not immediately after *êsta*. So, it is a shift from describing lecturers by type of lecture given, to give an example about lecturers in terms

of their classroom management style. So, *êsta* might have been used to signal a shift from specific idea to indicate a specific example.

On the other hand, Speaker 12F might have used *êsta* at the beginning of the line (3) to signal an example about his previous idea. He started replying in lines (1) through (2): *Mamosta muhazereke alozneka, qursi neka* (a kind of lecturer who does not make his/her lecture complicate, he/she does not make it difficult). That is, he implied that generally he did not like teachers who make their lessons difficult for the students. So, this is his general point. Following that, he moved from his general point to a give a more specific example in lines (3) through (7). He used *êsta* in line (3) *Êsta, cary wa heye mamostayekeman heye êh Bo nmune telebe dest helbrê... ta bçête derewe, elê "No"* (I mean, there are some occasions we have a lecturer uh... for instance, if a student (puts his or her) hands up to go to outside, he/she (the lecturer) says "No"). Thus, lines (3) through (7) might be a specific example about lecturers in general. Speaker 12F may have given a specific example after using *êsta*.

Thus, it seems that the use of *êsta* is the same as the use of *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) as discussed in Section 7.2 above. This is because both are used to give a specific example to elaborate and evaluate the previous idea. That is, both *êsta* *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) were treated in the same way.

7.1.3 *Êsta* at discourse level to signal assessment

At the discourse level, *êsta*, like *yeñni*, occurred to indicate assessment of the previous ideas as could be noticed in extract (7.4) below. In addition, similar to *yeñni*, *êsta* also occurred at the usage level to signal positive and negative assessment, as will be analysed below. Based on the structure with *yeñni* (see Section 5.3) to signal assessment, the structure of *êsta* to signal this function is:

Previous ideas + *êsta*+ positive/ negative assessment by using adjectives.

In this extract, Speaker 6L expressed his interest in the lesson on translation.

Extract 7.4

1. 6L: le her fieldek hezi le ştêke
(Everyone) is interested in a different field
2. 6L: hezm lêye *êsta* coş w xroşe
I like (translation) I mean it is enjoyable
3. 6L: şti nêwi têdaye
it has new stuff in it
4. 6L: wşekan update debnewe.
The words are being updated.

In line (2) in extract (7.4), Speaker 6L described how he liked the lesson on translation: *hezm lêye êsta coş w xroşe* (I like (translation) I mean it is enjoyable). He used *êsta* to preface the adjective *coş w xroşe* (enjoyable), a positive evaluation on the subject of translation.

7.1.4 Summary

As discussed above, the Kurdish DM *êsta* occurred to signal two levels of communication, namely, speech and discourse. Although *êsta* is only used at the speech act level and the discourse level of communication, it is characterised by marking similar functions to *yeşni*. Further, similar to *yeşni*, there are also ambiguous cases in which it is difficult to decide what function *êsta* signals. Given the analysis of functions signalled by the DM *êsta*, I will now move to discuss the Kurdish DM *xoi* in the conversation data of the study in the next section below.

7.2 The Kurdish DM *xoi*

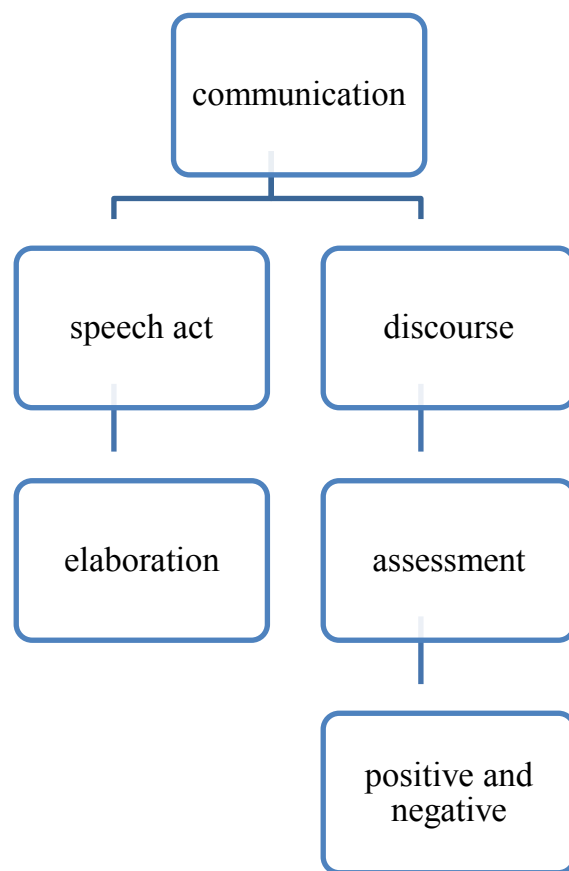
Similar to the case of *êsta*, the conversation data from this study reveals that *xoi* has a grammatical function, which is separate from the DM function. In its grammatical use, *xoi* is used as a reflexive pronoun as discussed in Chapter One (see 1.1.3.3.3). Fattah (1997, p.168) and Kurdish Academy (2011, p.26) describe *xoi* as a reflexive emphatic pronoun for the third singular person (himself/herself) which always comes directly after its antecedent. Details can be found in Chapter One (see 1.1.3.3.3) and here we may consider the following example:

(7.2) Kure ke *xoi* mamostake bu.

The boy himself was the teacher.

The function of *xoi* in this example (7.2) is to emphasize that the boy was the teacher, not someone else. Here, *xoi* comes directly after the subject *kureke* (the boy). Thus, in this example (7.2), *xoi* is a reflexive pronoun and it is used to give emphasis. This result shows that *xoi* as a DM has emerged from its use as a reflexive pronoun. Traugott (2003, p.645) and Brinton (2017, p.13) point out that DMs can emerge in language use from all levels of grammatical categories such as verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives. However, these studies did not mention reflexive pronouns in the levels of the grammatical categories. Even though *xoi* has not been mentioned in Kurdish linguistic literature as a DM, the conversation data in this study showed that, similar to *yeşni* and *êsta*, *xoi* occurred to indicate pragmatic functions. Similar to *êsta*, *xoi* appeared at two levels of communication: the speech act and discourse levels. At the speech act level, *xoi* occurred to signal elaboration of the prior talk, whereas at the discourse level *xoi* appeared to mark assessment. I analyse the pragmatic functions signalled by the DM *xoi* in the study data in extract 7.5 and extract 7.6 below. Figure 7.2 below outlines the levels and functions signalled by *xoi* in the present study.

Figure 7.2: Levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by *xoi*



7.2.1 *Xoi* at speech act level to signal elaboration

The DM *xoi*, similar to *êsta*, is used to signal elaboration, that is, to expand the previous talk. The pattern in which *xoi* occurred to signal this function in the study data seems to be similar to the pattern of the DM *êsta*, that is:

Previous talk+ *xoi* + elaboration by adding more information.

The following extract (7.5) is from a conversation between two first year students. The extract is about why some students go on unauthorized (by the University) student-organized trips, while others do not. Speaker 23F used *xoi* twice. The first instance in line (1) is a reflexive pronoun, which I exclude. I will argue that the second occurrence of *xoi* in line (2) is a DM used to signal elaboration, as discussed below.

Extract 7.5

1. 23F: wellahi ewe kewtote ser telebeke *xoi*

Well, it depends on the students themselves

2. 23F: ***Xoi*** ême ta êsta sê car çwynete derewe

I mean, we have gone on trips three times so far

3. 23F: Sê careke mn hiçyan neçum cge lewey sê şeme

I did not go any of the three times except the one on Tuesday

In the first line extract (7.5), Speaker 23F stated that going or not going on (student- organized) trips depends on the student in general: *wellahi ewe kewtote ser telebeke xoi* (Well, it depends on the students themselves). After that, Speaker 23F, in line (2), added more information, by prefacing with the DM *xoi* in line (2): *Xoi ême ta êsta sê car çwynete derewe* (I mean), we have gone to trips three times so far). Thus, Speaker 23F used the DM *xoi* to preface addition of relevant information to the previous talk. Similar to *êsta*, the data showed that *xoi* was used to signal the function of elaboration to the previous idea.

7.2.2 *Xoi* at discourse level to signal assessment

The Kurdish DM *xoi*, similar to *yefni* and *êsta*, occurred in the data to signal assessment. Moreover, *xoi* also occurred to signal positive and negative evaluation when it was used to mark assessment, similar to *yefni* (see 5.3.3.2) and *êsta* (see 7.1.3):

Previous ideas + *xoi* + positive/ negative assessment by using adjectives

This extract (7.6) is a continuation of extract (4.1) (see 5.3.3.1) which was about students' participation in the classroom. In this segment, the occurrence of *xoi* in line (12) seems to be used to signal the negative usage of assessment of the prior idea.

Extract 7.6

1. 24S: be taybeti mamostayakman heye bew şêweyey dekat *yeşni* (X)
Particularly, we have a lecturer who is doing that, I mean (X)
2. 24S: boxom carêk rexnêki zori lê grtm
Once, he commented (gave feedback) on me too much
3. 24S: ke wam lê hatwe le berdem ew mamostayeida her qse nekem
This made me stop talking with that lecturer
4. 16S: mamosta eweş grnge rastkrdnewey telebe
Miss, correcting students is important (by lecturers)
5. 16S: le class yan le jurêkei xoi
Either in their class or their office
6. 24S: qeyna, bes şkandenewekey
It does not matter (to give feedback) but their style
7. 24S: şêwazi şkanewekey na!
His style of commenting, you know!
8. 24S: *yeşni*, her wam lê hatwe ke la *dersi* ew mamostayey her beşdari nekem.
So, this made me never participate in this lecturer's class.
9. 24S: guti "wern"
He/she (the lecturer) said "come (to my office)"
10. 24S: *yeşni*, "pêtan delêm helekantan êyew."
I mean, "I would tell you your mistakes."
11. 24S: bes be şêwayeki wa qsekei krd!
but he/she (the lecturer) talked in such a way !
12. 24S: *xoi* xoşe ke be şêwezeki wa pêt blê

I mean, it would be nice to tell you

13. 24S: ke ewende net škênête

In a way, that he/she (the lecturer) does not offend you that much

As discussed in extract (5.8) in Chapter Five, Speaker 24S complained that they had a particular lecturer who criticised them a lot, which resulted in her not participating in the class. In lines (9) through (11) Speaker 24S described how the lecturer called them to his/her office and how he/she gave them feedback unkindly. Following that in lines (12) and (13), Speaker 24S used *xoi*: *xoi xoşe ke be şêwezeki wa pêt blê ke ewende net škênête* (I mean, it would be nice to tell you in a way that he/she (the lecturer) does not offend you too much). In lines (12) through (13), two items are used to evaluate the situation. The first one is a clause of *xoşa* (it would be nice) which is prefaced by *xoi*, and the other is *net škênête* (does not offend you) both of which are used for the purpose of evaluation. There is no negativity in the first one: *xoşa* (it would be nice), whereas negativity is found in the second one *net škênête* (does not offend you). Thus, Speaker 24S evaluated the situation as negative but she made it polite by making a suggestion, saying that it would be preferable if the lecturer did not upset the students that much. Therefore, she used *xoi* to evaluate a negative situation politely.

7.2.3 Summary

I have showed that *xoi* has a grammatical use which is a reflexive pronoun. In addition, similar to *êsta*, *xoi* was used by the participants in the current study to signal the functions of elaboration and assessment. However, unlike *êsta*, *xoi* did not occur in the data to signal exemplifying with/without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). In the next section, I will discuss the pragmatic function of DM *îtr*.

7.3 The Kurdish DM *îtr*

Although I will only concentrate on the functions of *îtr* as a DM, I will distinguish the DM use of *îtr* from its usage as an adverb of time. No reference is usually made to the fact that *îtr* can function as a DM. Qazzaz (2000, p.46) in the *Sharezoor Kurdish-English Dictionary* describes *îtr* mistakenly as an adjective, without providing any details of its grammatical status. I cite the example of *îtr* given by Qazzaz in (2000, p.46) including his translation:

(7.3) *Îtr em Karem pê: nakrêt.*

I cannot do it³³ anymore.

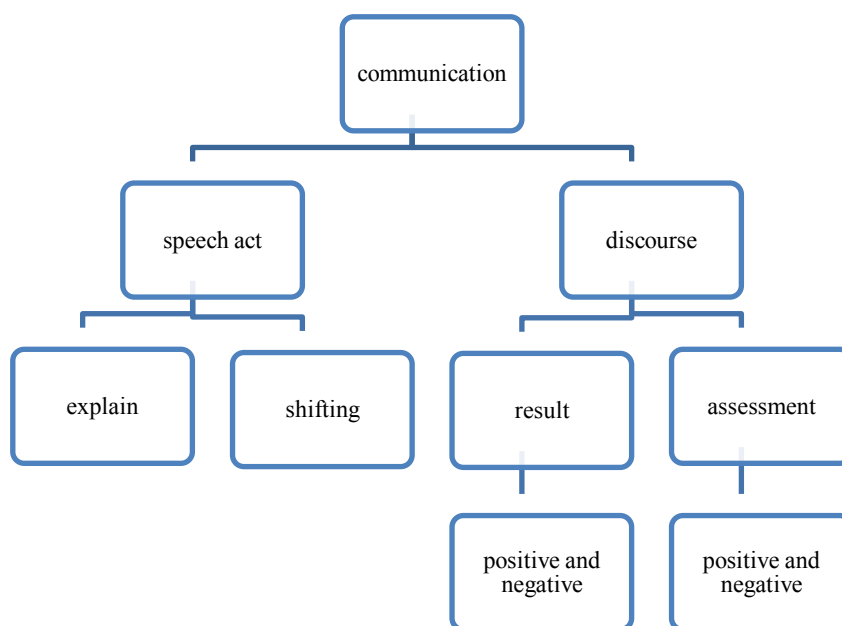
There are two reasons that *îtr* should be treated as an adverb: first, Qazzaz translates *îtr* as the English adverbial *any more*. Second, example (7.3) means *I used to do this job in the past but cannot now*. This use shows that *îtr* is used as an adverb because *îtr* (*anymore*) describes the action (that is, the verb). Thus, *îtr* in example (7.3) is an adverb, not an adjective as claimed by Qazzaz (2000, p.46). In the rest of this study, I will exclude instances of *îtr* used as an adverb and I will only deal with the pragmatic functions of *îtr*.

Regarding the pragmatic occurrences of *îtr*, similar to *êsta* and *xoi*, *îtr* only occurred to signal pragmatic functions at the speech and discourse levels. On the other hand, unlike *êsta* and *xoi*, *îtr* at the speech act level was observed to signal shifting from a different topic to another different (tangential) one. In addition, *îtr*, similar to *yeşni*, occurred to signal explanation of the previous talk by providing more information to what he/she means about the previous utterance. As far as the functions signalled by *îtr* at discourse level are concerned, similar to *yeşni*, *êsta*, and *xoi*, *îtr* was used to signal assessment, which may contain the positive and negative evaluations usage. *Îtr*, also

³³Although he has given *it* in the English gloss, *am karam* should be translated as *this job*.

similar to *yeŋni*, occurred to signal result with positive and negative usages. Figure 7.3 below outlines the levels and functions signalled by *itr* in the present study.

Figure 7.3: Levels of communication, function, and usage signalled by *itr*



7.3.1 *itr* at speech act level

At the speech act level, it is observed that *itr* was used by speakers to mark explanation and shifting. First, in extract (7.7), I will show how *itr* was used to signal explanation. Then in extract, (7.8), I will demonstrate how *itr* was used to signal shifting. The structure of *itr* to signal explanation is similar to the patterns used for *yeŋni* to signal the same function (see 5. 3.1.1). However, unlike *yeŋni*, *itr* was not observed to signal justifying usage under the level of explanation function, *itr* only occurred to signal the usage of adding information.

7.3.1.1 *Îtr* to signal explanation

Previous utterance + *îtr* + explanation by adding information

Extract (7.7) is an illustration of this function of *îtr*. This extract (7.7) is related to the discussion of students and their opinion about the unauthorized trips. I will argue that the use of *îtr* in line (2) seems to be used to signal explanation of the previous talk.

Extract 7.7

1. 23F: Hendê kesîş şaeylekanyan hokare

And some of the people because of... their families

2. 23F: rêgry eken lê yan ... *îtr* kr w kiç

They (their families) might not let them (children) go... *I mean* boys and girls

3. 23F: yan lewaneye hendêkyan bari darayan tewaw nebê

or some others might not afford that

4. 23F: w netwane

are not able

5. 23F: netwanê bê bo ew sefreye

are not able to go to this trip

In line (1) of extract (7.7), Speaker 23F mentioned that some students might not be allowed to go to unauthorized trips by their families: *Hendê kesîş şaeylekanyan hokare* (and some of them because of their families). Afterward, in line (2) she gave more detail: *rêgry eken lêyan ... îtr kr w kiç* (they (their families) might not let them (children) go... I mean boys and girls). Thus, the speaker uses *îtr* to signal the explanation of a previous item *lêyan* (them). So, the phrase *kr w kiç* (boys and girls) is the explanation of *lêyan* (them), which is preceded by *îtr*. Therefore, Speaker 23F used *îtr* in line (2) to mark explanation of the prior talk.

7.3.1.2 *Îtr* to signal shifting

For the use of *îtr* to signal shifting, in the data of the present study there is a contrast to the other DMs, *yeşni*, *êsta* and *xoi*, because there were a few cases where the speakers used *îtr* to indicate a topic change.

Previous utterance + *îtr* +shifting to a different (irrelevant) topic.

The questions in extract (7.8) were about which subject the two fourth year students liked and their views on the teaching style of the lecturers. I will argue that the occurrence of *îtr* in line (6) is to mark a topic change.

Extract 7.8

1. 13S: *belam...belam eger yeşni... ham şlmeke ewe hemuman hemane*
but... but if I mean... and knowledge that we all have it (knowledge)
2. 13S: *hemu mamostayekan heyene*
All the teachers have it (knowledge)
3. 13S: *belam eger le bwarêki taybet helbjard*
but if you chose a specific field
4. 13S: *ew bware ew bawre eger rastew xo peywendî be wene wtnewew,*
psychology xot w talabawa w shtanawa bet
if that field, that field is relevant to teaching and (to) you and your
students' psychology and the like
5. 13S: *Zyatr sarkewtw tr debi le bwari mamostayetyda*
You would be more successful in the field
6. 13S: *Îtr emn nazanm boçi hemîşe ew mamostayanem be lewe grnge*
I mean I do not know why I am always impressed by those kind of
teachers and
7. 13S: *zyatr lêyanwe fêr debm w*
I would learn from them more

8. 13S: *zyatr hez dekem bçme naw darsekanyanewe*

I want to stay in their classes

9. 13S: *ke methodology bê*

Those lecturers teach methodology

10. 13S: *ke testing bê*

Those lecturers teach tesing

11. 13S: *nek nek grammar yan syntax bêt*

not, not grammar or syntax (lecturers)

In lines (1) to (5) in extract (7.8), Speaker 13S expressed her interest in being a successful teacher in the future and she described what kind of teacher is more successful than other teachers are. Then, in lines (3) through (4), she mentioned a way to become a successful teacher: *ew bware ew bawre eger rastew xo peywendî be wene wtnewew, psychology xot w talabawa w shtanawa bet Zyatr sarkewtw tr debî le bwari mamostayetyda*. (If that field [...] is relevant to teaching and you and your students' psychology and the like, you would be more successful in the field). Thus, the speaker finished one topic, which was about being successful in teaching in line (5). She then moved to a different topic in line (6). The topic is about how the speaker is impressed by teachers of the field of methodology and how she does not like others of grammar or syntax: *Îtr emn nazanm boçî hemîşe ew mamostayanem be lewe grnge* I mean, I do not know why I am always impressed by those kinds of teachers). Thus, Speaker 13S signals a different topic in line (6) by *îtr* after expansion and finishing the previous topic. Therefore, the use of *îtr* in the above extract (7.8) is to signal shifting to a different topic from the previous one.

7.3.2 *Îtr* at discourse level

Îtr, similar to *êsta* and *xoi*, is used to signal assessment and it occurred in the data to signal both positive and negative usages of this function. However, unlike *êsta* and *xoi*, but similar to *yeŋni* (see 5.3.3.2), *îtr* was used to signal result; it occurred with both positive negative usages. In the following extract (7.9) and extract (7.10), first, I will show how it is used to signal assessment with different usages and then I will demonstrate its usages to signal result.

7.3.2.1 *Îtr* to signal assessment

The pattern in which *îtr* occurred to signal this function is similar to *êsta* and *xoi* (discussed above) and *yeŋni* (see 5.3.3.2):

Previous ideas + *îtr* + positive/ negative evaluation by using adjectives

In the following extract (7.9), I asked two first year students whether the lecturers accept work from the students who are simply copying and pasting materials from other sources. I will argue that the occurrence of *îtr* in line (9) is to signal the function of assessment with a negative usage value, as discussed below.

Extract 7.9

1. 17F: be ray mn hemuyan copy pasteyan awê

In my opinion, they (lecturers) all want us to do copy and paste

2. 17F: ewe grammar hiç yasaye

but grammar is not like that, as it is all about rules

3. 17F: egina ewiş aywit copy pastem bo bkan

Otherwise, he/she (the grammar lecturer) would ask for doing copy and paste

4. 17F: phonetics ewe her copy pastee hhh

Phonetic (lesson) is also copy (and) paste hahaha

5. 17F: *hh dersi phonetic zor naxoşe*

Hahaha the lesson of phonetics is very boring

6. 15F: *wella xoşe*

Indeed, it (phonetics) is fun

7. 15F: *dersêki zor xoşe!*

It is a very interesting lesson!

8. 15F: *bes ke mamostakan daway copy paste ken le telebe*

but if the lecturers asked the students to do copy and paste (for them)

9. 15F: *îtr eweş naxoşe*

I mean that would be boring

10. 17F: *nazanm mn hiç hezm pê nye.*

I do not know I'm not interested (in phonetics) at all

At the beginning, Speaker 17F expressed her opinion about the acceptability of copying and pasting by the lecturers in lines (1) through (4) in extract (7.9). Then, in line (4) Speaker 17F mentioned that she was not interested in phonetics: *hh dersi phonetic zor naxoşe* (hahaha the lesson of phonetics is very boring). Following that, Speaker 15F interrupted her in line (6) by stating her opinion: *wella xoşe* (indeed, it (phonetics) is fun). She continues in line (7): *dersêki zor xoşe!* (It is a very interesting lesson). Speaker 15 F holds the floor and adds an assessment in lines (8) through (9): *bes ke mamostakan daway copy paste ken le telebe îtr eweş naxoşe* (but if the lecturers asked the students to do copy and paste (for them) I mean, that would be boring). Thus, 15F uttered *îtr* before stating the adjective *naxoş* (boring), which explains her disagreement about copying and pasting for phonetics. Thus, the use of *îtr* in line (9) is to signal the function of assessment of the previous talk, which is similar to the function of assessment by the use of *yeŋni* (see 5.3.3.2).

7. 3.2.2 *Îtr* (so) to signal results

Similar to *yeŋni* (so), speakers often used *îtr* (so)³⁴ to signal a result of a previously stated cause, as demonstrated in the extract (7.10) below. Similar to *yeŋni* (so), the structure of *îtr* (so) to signal result is:

Cause(s) + *îtr* (so) + positive /negative values of result(s).

In the following extract (7.10), I asked two lecturers a question about why some students skip lectures. Speaker 1L expressed his opinion about the feeling of students and teachers in general in Kurdistan towards universities. I will demonstrate below that the use of *îtr* (so) in line (19) is to mark the function of result.

Extract 7.10

1. 1L: belam be daxwe lay ême her kesêk ke çu bo zanko

But unfortunately, here (in Kurdistan) anyone who goes to university

2. 1L: wa hest dekat

They think that

3. 1L: ke asantrin şwêni jyanyeti.

It (university) is the easiest place in their life

4. 1L: mn êstaş le birme

I still remember

5. 1L: mamostayekan le amadey be mnyan degut

my teachers at high school used to tell me

6. 1L: bes lêre qurse

but here (high school) is hard

³⁴Similar to *yaŋni* (so), I have changed the translation of *îtr* from *I mean* to *so* for this function because both function like English *so* as discussed in detail in 6.4 below.

7. 1L: bes bçi bo zanko
Just go to university
8. 1L: detwani her dewamiş nekei
You can be absent as much as you want
9. 1L: le ber ewey boxot azadi lewê
Because you are free there
10. 1L: detwani eimza ko bkeyewe
You can sign in
11. 1L: neçi bo dewam
And not attend at university
12. 1L: detwani lêi bdei
You can skip lecturers
- 13- 1L: detwani eimza ko bkeyewe
You can sign in
14. 1L: Şutle dabnêi
To make holidays
15. 1L: eizma ko keyewe
Sign in
16. 1L: imtihan nekei
in order not to do exams
17. 1L: em core ideaye le naw komelga her le ewe bo ew le ew bo ew le ew
bo ew degwazrêtewe.

Such kind of ideas is transferred in the society from one generation to another.
18. 1L: *Îtr* kes hest be we nakat

So, no one realizes that

19. 1L: ke zanko gringtrin şwêni komelgaye

the university is the most important place in life

20. 1L: wa hest deken

They feel that

21. 1L: ke zanko dwaşwêni komelgaye ke

it (university) is the place for entertainment

22. 1L: mrov têyda relaxation u eisahet u ke têki xoşy teyda berête serê.

that people can find relaxation in it.

In lines (1) through (3) in extract (7.10), Speaker 1L first stated that he thought people in Kurdistan neglect the importance of universities: *belam be daxwe lay ême her kesêk ke çu bo zanko. wa hest dekat ke asantrin şwêni jyanyeti*. (But unfortunately, here (in Kurdistan) anyone who goes to university they think that it is the easiest place in their life). This answer is the main opinion of Speaker 1L about universities in Kurdistan. In the following lines, (4) through (16), Speaker 1L listed what he was told by his high school teachers about the ease of university life including being absent and not participating in exams. Then, in line (17), he said that this bad idea is passed on across generations: *em core ideaye le naw komelga her le ewe bo ew le ew bo ew le ew bo ew degwazrête*. (Such kind of ideas is transferred in the society from one generation to another). In this extract (7.10), the misconception of what university life is like is the cause. In lines (18) through (19), he stated the result of the cause, which is prefaced by *îtr* (so): *Îtr kes hest be we nakat ke zanko gringtrin şwêni komelgaye* (So, no one realizes that university is the most important place in life). The speaker used *îtr* to introduce expressing his disappointment that people do not appreciate the importance of the university. That is, the speaker used *îtr* to signal his negative assessment. These results indicate that the DM *îtr* (so) is interchangeable with *yefni* to signal the function of assessment as both DMs are used to signal negative assessment of the prior idea.

7.3.3 Summary

I have presented that each of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* has grammatical use. *Êsta* and *îtr* are used as adverb of time while *xoi* is used as a reflexive pronoun. Thus, I have shown that *êsta*, *îtr*, and *xoi* have undergone syntactic and semantic pathways of change. Syntactically, they have emerged from lexical items: *êsta*, and *îtr* from adverbs and *xoi* from reflexive pronoun. Further, semantically, overtime, they have gained some procedural meanings to act as DMs from adverbs of time and reflexive pronouns with the propositional meanings. Thus, even though Kurdish is a genetically dissimilar language from English and other European languages, interestingly, Kurdish DMs illustrate similar pathways of change as of Brinton's (2017) Framework. Cross-linguistically, this suggests that Kurdish DMs undergo similar changes in the grammaticalisation process of DMs as linguistic features in general.

Moreover, as summarized in Table 7.1 below, I have demonstrated that the three Kurdish DMs, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* were used to signal two levels of communication: the speech act and discourse levels. In addition, they occurred to signal certain functions and usages. *Êsta* occurred to signal example and elaboration at the speech act level and it appeared to mark assessment at the discourse level. Similarly, *xoi* occurred to signal elaboration at the speech act level and assessment at the discourse level. Finally, *îtr* occurred to indicate explanation and shifting at the speech act level, assessment and result at the discourse level. These results suggest that these three DMs have developed from lexical items adverbs and pronouns in language use which shows that Kurdish items illustrate similar pathways of change of DMs as identified by Brinton (2017, pp.13-26). The study adds that similar to the other grammatical levels such as adverbs, adjectives and nouns, DMs can emerge from reflexive pronouns as well. Thus, the study shows that Kurdish DMs follow the similar pathways of change to other DMs cross-linguistically. These findings suggest that DMs may emerge from similar pathways of change universally.

Table 7.1 Levels signalled by the three Kurdish DMs in the present study

DM	speech act				discourse	
	example	elaboration	explain	shifting	assessment	result
<i>Êsta</i>	Yes: adding information justifying/ positive/ negative evaluation	Yes	-	No	Yes	No
<i>xoi</i>	-	Yes	-	-	Yes - positive/ negative	-
<i>îtr</i>	-	-	Yes	Yes	Yes positive/ negative	Yes positive/ negative

7.4 Interchangeability of the DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the present study

In this section, I will show that *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* are interchangeable to signal the functions that they were attested for and that they might be interchangeable to signal some functions where they were not attested for in the data. For this purpose, I will apply three categories of interchangeability to describe the cases in the current study, as

illustrated in Table 7.1. I will also describe how I have distinguished what is established with the data and what is based on my linguistic intuition.³⁵

As far as the interchangeability of DMs is concerned, a very limited amount of literature has been published on the topic. However, some previous research on English DMs (Gray 2012, p.155; Oh 2000, p.260) suggests that interchangeability is possible when one DM can be replaced by another DM with no substantial change to the interpretation of the utterance. Since the cases of interchangeability in my data are complex, based on the study data and my intuition I have listed three possibilities: ‘No’, ‘Plausible’ and ‘Yes, but different preferences’ (not identical) as illustrated in Table 8.1 below. I will apply these three categories to describe interchangeability cases in the current study. For the cases where the use of one of the DMs is not attested for a particular function in the interview data, I will depend on my intuition as a Kurdish speaker to indicate if the DM is possible or not. For the cases with intuition, I have provided examples of use with extracts already displayed earlier in the chapter. In addition, in Chapter Seven, I will present a quantitative analysis which shows different tendencies (see Section 7.4).

³⁵ In addition to my intuition, I often asked my husband and some of my friends to see what I am saying about the cases of interchangeability of the DMs are reliable. They supported my views as well.

Table 7.2 The criteria to distinguish interchangeability cases in the current study data

Interchangeability	Criteria	Examples
No	Not attested for same function and not possible	<i>Êsta</i> and <i>xoi</i> for exemplifying (see Section 7.11)
Plausible	Not attested for same function but possible	<i>Êsta</i> and <i>îtr</i> for exemplifying (see Section 7.12)
Yes but different preferences (not identical)	Attested for same function but tendencies are different	<i>Êsta</i> and <i>îtr</i> for assessment (see Section 7.4.2)

The first category, *No* describes a case with two DMs where one has been tested for a function but the other one has not been attested for the same function, and my intuition indicate an equivalent meaning is not possible. The second row of Table 7.2 illustrates that if one of the DMs is attested for a function but the other one has not been attested for the same function, but my intuition suggest it is possible, it is considered plausible that they can be used interchangeably. The last row of Table 7.2 displays the case where both DMs have been attested to signal the same function. However, in all these ‘yes’ cases, the DMs occur with different tendencies (e.g. used with positive versus negative statements), suggesting that they are interchangeable, but not entirely identical, as I demonstrate in the next chapter. Now, I will present the interchangeability cases between *êsta* and *xoi* in Section 7.4.1, *êsta* and *îtr* in Section 7.4.2 and *xoi* and *îtr* in Section 7.4.3.

7.4.1 *Êsta* versus *xoi*

The data in the current study showed that *êsta* and *xoi* both signal the functions of elaboration and assessment. As illustrated in Table 7.2, *êsta* and *xoi* are interchangeable to indicate the functions of elaboration and assessment because both act in the same way to signal these two functions. In addition, I will suggest that there might be a plausible case of interchangeability between *êsta* and *xoi* to signal example as demonstrated below.

Table 7.3 Interchangeability of *êsta* and *xoi*

Functions	<i>Êsta</i>	<i>Xoi</i>	Interchangeability
Elaboration	Yes	Yes	Yes
Assessment	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exemplifying	Yes	Not attested for same function and not possible (see extract 7.11)	No

As the first row of Table 7.3 shows, *êsta* was attested to signal exemplifying, whereas *xoi* was not. Based on my intuition, I will argue that *xoi* might not be used to signal exemplifying and might not be interchangeable with *êsta* to signal this function. Consider the following extract (7.11) (repeated from extract (7.2), Section 7.1.1.2):

Extract 7.11

1. 1F: wella *xoi*.hendê car positivee

Well, you know...it (Facebook) sometimes is positive.

2. 1F: hendê car negativee

Sometimes it is negative

3. 1F: *Êsta bo nmune êsta* zor heyê
I mean for example now there are lots
4. 11F: *Êsta* zor xelk heyê
now, there are lots of people
5. 11F: le mektebiş nin
who are not studying at school
6. 11F: be rasti mektebişyan bacê hêştwe
For real, they have skipped school
7. 11F: belam le Facebook fêri Englizibuna
but they learned English from Facebook

At first sight, it appears that *êsta* may be replaced with *xoi*, but by putting *xoi* in place of *êsta* in the above extract (7.11), it seems that the speaker wants to give his/her opinion instead of giving an example. Consequently, this suggests that *xoi* cannot be used interchangeably with *êsta* to signal exemplifying.

7.4.2 *Êsta* versus *îtr*

As discussed above, *êsta* and *îtr* only shared the function of signalling assessment. I will suggest that even though these two DMs were not attested for the same function, it is plausible that they are interchangeable when used to signal exemplifying, shifting, and result, as discussed below. However, they might not be interchangeable to signal explanation as shown below. Table 7.4 summarises the attested and not attested functions of *êsta* and *îtr*.

Table 7.4 Interchangeability of *êsta* and *îtr*

Functions	<i>Êsta</i>	<i>Îtr</i>	Interchangeability
Assessment	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exemplifying	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 7.12)	Plausible
Shifting	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 7.13)	Yes	Plausible
Result	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 7.14)	Yes	Plausible
Explanation	Not attested for same function and possible (see extract 7.15)	Yes	No

As observed in the first row of Table 7.4, both *êsta* and *îtr* were attested to signal assessment in the study data. This suggests that both DMs are interchangeable for signalling assessment. Moreover, as can be seen in the second row of Table 7.4, *êsta* was attested to signal exemplifying, whereas *îtr* was not attested to signal the same function. However, based on my intuition, they are probably interchangeable to signal this function as demonstrated below in extract (7.12) (repeated from extract 7.2).

7.4.2.1 *Êsta* versus *îtr* to signal exemplifying

As the second row of Table 7.4 above illustrates, *êsta* was attested to signal exemplifying but *îtr* was not attested to signal the same function. In this extract (7.12), below, replacing *êsta* with *îtr* seems possible.

Extract 7.12

1. 11F: wella *xoi*.hendê car positivee

Well, you know...it (Facebook) sometimes is positive.

2. 11F: hendê car negativee
Sometimes it is negative
3. 11F: *Êsta (îtr) bo nmune êsta* zor heye
I mean for example, now there are lots
4. 11F: *Êsta* zor xelk heye
now, there are lots of people
5. 11F: le mektebiş nin
who are not studying at school
6. 11F: be rasti mektebişyan bacê hêştwe
For real, they have skipped school
7. 11F: belam le Facebook fêri Englizibuna
but they learned English from Facebook

By using *îtr* with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) as can be seen in line (3), the functions will remain the same and nothing would change to the utterance. This suggests that *îtr* can be used to signal exemplifying interchangeably with *îtr*. As Gray (2012, p.155) and Oh (2000, p.260) argue, interchangeability between two DMs is possible, if they can be exchanged without making any difference in the meaning of the utterance.

7.4.2.2 *Êsta* versus *îtr* to signal shifting

As the third row of Table 7.4 displays, *îtr* was attested to signal shifting for a different topic but *êsta* was not attested to signal the same function. However, if *îtr* is replaced by *êsta*, the utterance seems appropriate and remains the same as shown in line (6) below in extract (7.13), that is, to signal shifting to a tangential topic.

Extract 7.13

1. 13S: belam...belam eger yeşni... ham şlmeke ewe hemuman hemane

But... but if I mean... and knowledge that we all have it (knowledge)

2. 13S: hemu mamostayekan heyene

All the teachers have it (knowledge)

3. 13S: belam eger le bwarêki taybet helbjard

but if you chose a specific field

4. 13S: ew bware ew bawre eger rastew xo peywendî be wene wtnewew,
psychology xot w talabawa w shtanawa bet

if that field, that field is relevant to teaching and (to) you and your
students' psychology and the like

5. 13S: Zyatr sarkewtw tr debî le bwari mamostayetyda

You would be more successful in the field

6. 13S: *Îtr* (*êsta*) emn nazanm boçî hemîşe ew mamostayanem be lewe
grnge

I mean I do not know why I am always impressed by those kind of
teachers and

7. 13S: zyatr lêyanwe fêr debm w

I would learn from them more

7.4.2.3 *Êsta* versus *îtr* to signal result

The fourth row of Table 7.4 illustrates that *îtr* was attested to signal result, however, *êsta* was not. Replacing *îtr* with *êsta* suggests that interchangeability between these two DMs is probably possible.

Consider the following extract (7.14) (it is a part of Extract 7.9 above).

Extract 7.14

17. 1L: em core ideaye le naw komelga her le ewe bo ew le ew bo ew le ew
bo ew degwazrêtewe.

Such kind of ideas is transferred in the society from one generation to another.

18. 1L: *Îtr (êsta)* kes hest be we nakat

So, no one realizes that

19. 1L: ke zanko gringtrin şwêni komelgaye

the university is the most important place in life

Based on my intuition, using *êsta* instead of *îtr* in line (18) in extract (7.14) is plausible because it does not change the function and the meaning of the utterance.

7.4.2.3 *Êsta* versus *îtr* to signal explanation

The last row of Table 7.4 illustrates that *îtr* was attested to signal explanation, whereas *êsta* was not attested to signal this function in the data. On the other hand, unlike exemplifying, shifting, and result discussed above, in this function, my intuition indicates that using *êsta* instead of *îtr* seems impossible as shown in extract (7.15) (repeated from extract 7.7) below.

Extract 7.15

1. 23F: Hendê kesiş ſaeylekanyan hokare

And some of the people because of... their families

2. 23F: rêgry eken lê yan ... *îtr* (? *êsta*) kr w kiç

They (their families) might not let them (children) go... *I mean* boys and girls

3. 23F: yan lewaneye hendêkyan bari darayan tewaw nebê

or some others might not afford that

4. 23F: w netwane

are not able

5. 23F: netwanê bê bo ew sefreye

are not able to go to this trip

Interchangeability between *êsta* and *îtr* does not seem plausible here in extract (7.15) because, by using *êsta*, it appears that the speaker wants to expand the utterance instead of explaining it. This suggests that they are probably not interchangeable to signal explanation.

7.4.3 *Îtr* versus *xoi*

The data indicated that the speakers used both *îtr* and *xoi* to signal the function of assessment as shown in Table 7.5 below. Besides assessment, *xoi* was attested only for elaboration, whereas *îtr* was attested for a number of functions, as shown in Table 7.5. I will first demonstrate that *îtr* could replace *xoi* to signal elaboration and then I will show that *xoi* might be replaceable with *îtr* to signal some of the functions signalled by *îtr*.

Table 7.5 Interchangeability of *îtr* and *xoi*

Functions	<i>Îtr</i>	<i>Xoi</i>	Interchangeability
Assessment	Yes	Yes	Yes
Elaboration	Not attested for same function but possible(see extract 7.16)	Yes	Plausible
Explanation	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 7.17)	Plausible
Result	Yes	Not attested but possible (see extract 7.18)	Plausible
Shifting	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 7.19)	Plausible

7.4.3.1 *Îtr* versus *xoi* to signal elaboration

As can be noticed in extract (7.16) (repeated from extract 7.5), if *xoi* is replaced with *îtr* in line (2), the function and the meaning of utterance will not receive any different interpretation. Therefore, this result suggests that similar to *êsta* and *xoi*, *îtr* also can be used to signal elaboration and might be used with *xoi* interchangeably to mark this function.

Extract 7.16

1. 23F: wellahi ewe kewtote ser telebeke *xoi*

Well, it depends on the students themselves

2. 23F: *Xoi (îtr)* ême ta êstasê car çwynete derewe

I mean, we have gone on trips three times so far

3. 23F: Sê careke mn hiçyan neçum cge lewey sê şeme
I did not go any of the three times except the one on Tuesday
4. 23F: *Îtr* dwanekei tr hezm lê nebu
I mean, I did not like the other two
5. 23F: bes emeyan hezm lê bu
but I liked this one

7.4.3.2 *Îtr* versus *xoi* to signal explanation

The third row of Table 7.5 shows that *îtr* was attested to signal explanation, whereas *xoi* was not attested for the same function. However, as can be noted, *xoi* may be replaceable, as demonstrated in extract (7.17) (repeated from extract 7.7) below.

Extract 7.17

1. 23F: Hendê kesiş faeylekanyan hokare
And some of the people because of... their families
2. 23F: rêgry eken lê yan ... *îtr* (*xoi*) kr w kiç
They (their families) might not let them (children) go... *I mean* boys and girls
3. 23F: yan lewaneye hendêkyan bari darayan tewaw nebê
or some others might not afford that
4. 23F: w netwane
are not able
5. 23F: netwanê bê bo ew sefreye
are not able to go to this trip

By replacing *îtr* with *xoi* in line (2), the function and the meaning remain the same. This suggests that unlike *êsta*, *xoi* is interchangeable with *îtr* to signal explanation.

7.4.3.3 *Îtr* versus *xoi* to signal result

The fourth row of Table 7.5 shows that *îtr* was attested to signal result while *xoi* was not. However, it seems that they are interchangeable as demonstrated in extract (7.18) part of extract 7.10).

Extract 7.18

17. 1L: em core ideaye le naw komelga her le ewe bo ew le ew bo ew le ew
bo ew degwazrête.

Such kind of ideas is transferred in the society from one generation to another.

18. 1L: *Îtr* (*xoi*) kes hest be we nakat

So, no one realizes that

19. 1L: ke zanko gringtrin şwêni komelgayê

the university is the most important place in life

Using *xoi* in place of *îtr* in line (17) seems plausible. The result suggests that probably *xoi* can be used interchangeably with *îtr* as the same fun signal result.

7.4.3.4 *Îtr* versus *xoi* to signal shifting

The last row of Table 7.5 shows that *îtr* was attested to signal shifting, whereas *xoi* was not. I will propose that they might be interchangeable as demonstrated below in extract (7.19) is part of extract 7.9.

Extract 7.19

1. 13S: belam...belam eger *yeşni*... ham şlmeke ewe hemuman hemane

But but if I mean... and knowledge that we all have it (knowledge)

2. 13S: hemu mamostayekan heyene

All the teachers have it (knowledge)

3. 13S: belam eger le bwarêki taybet helbjard

but if you chose a specific field

4. 13S: ew bware ew bware eger rastew xo peywendî be wene wtnewew,
psychology xot w talabawa w shtanawa bet

if that field, that field is relevant to teaching and (to) you and your
students' psychology and the like

5. 13S: Zyatr sarkewtw tr debi le bwari mamostayetyda

You would be more successful in the field

6. 13S: *Îtr* (*xoi*) emn nazanm boçî hemîşe ew mamostayanem be lewe
grnge

I mean I do not know why I am always impressed by those kind of
teachers and

7. 13S: zyatr lêyanwe fêr debm w

I would learn from them more

As shown in line (6), replacing *îtr* by *xoi* does not change the function of shifting and the utterance remains with no loss in meaning. This suggests that, similar to *êsta*, *xoi* is also interchangeable with *îtr* to signal shifting.

7.4.4 Summary

The results of the examination of the interchangeability data show that *êsta* and *xoi* can be used interchangeably to signal assessment and elaboration, whereas *xoi* may be not replaceable with *êsta* to signal exemplifying. Moreover, regarding the cases of

the interchangeability between *êsta* and *îtr*, the results show that these two DMs can be used interchangeably to signal assessment. In addition, my intuition indicates that both *êsta* and *îtr* can plausibly be used interchangeably to signal exemplifying, elaboration, shifting, and result, but they might not be interchangeable to mark explanation. Finally, the data shows that *îtr* and *xoi* are interchangeable to signal assessment, and it seems plausible that *xoi* can be used in place of *îtr* to signal elaboration, shifting, and result. Therefore, the results show that all the three DMs are interchangeable to signal assessment and they can be used to signal most of the functions interchangeably, because they act in the same way. These results suggest that the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* are probably equivalent to each other and that they can be translated into English as *I mean*, based on their interchangeability for most of the functions with *yeŋni* as will be discussed fully in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.4). Consequently, it seems that participants in the study data have used three layers *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* to signal certain pragmatic functions. This consists with the principle of layering of grammaticalisation that described by Hopper (1991, p.22) and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994, pp.19-22).

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, even though I have not had diachronic data, based on the study synchronic data I have proposed that *êsta* and *îtr* appear to have originally developed from adverbs of time and *xoi* has developed from a reflexive pronoun. This conforms to the findings of the previous studies by Traugott (2003, p.645) and Brinton (2017, p.13) who identify that DMs can derive in language use from all levels of grammatical categories such as verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives. The pragmatic functions signalled by the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, *îtr*, and the question of the interchangeability of these three DMs in the conversation data have been discussed in this chapter. Unlike *yeŋni*, which occurred at three levels of communication, speech act, turn-management and discourse (see Section 5.3), these three DMs are only observed at the speech act and discourse levels. Moreover, I have shown that, similar to *yeŋni*, all the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* can signal a range of functions. The functions

marked by the DM *êsta* are elaboration, exemplifying (with and without the phrase *bo nmune*), and assessment. The second DM analysed in this chapter was *xoi*. Similar to *êsta*, this DM also occurred to signal elaboration and assessment. I have also shown that the third Kurdish DM, *îtr*, occurred to signal assessment, whereas, unlike *êsta* and *xoi*, this DM appeared to signal explanation, shifting, and result. Moreover, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Eight (see Section 8.2); *îtr* is a regional feature which was often used by the participants of Suleimani sub-dialect, whereas it was rarely used by the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect.

I have also demonstrated that all three DMs are interchangeable with one another for some of the functions, because they act in the same way and they have the same meaning. The interchangeability of these three DMs might be explained by the concept of layering of grammaticalisation as will be fully discussed in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.5). In addition, the interchangeability of these DMs suggests that *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* are equivalent DMs and that they can be translated into English with the same meaning. The current study suggests that the most suitable equivalence for these three DMs based on the interchangeability of the functions in which they mark with *yeŋni*, is *I mean* in English (see Section 9.4). Having presented the qualitative analysis of functions marked by the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* and their interchangeability in the study data, the upcoming chapter will deal with the quantitative analysis of the same DMs.

CHAPTER EIGHT: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF KURDISH DMS: *ÊSTA*, *XOI*, AND *ÎTR*

8.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the three Kurdish DMS *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*, where the differences and similarities in the frequencies of these DMS across the three groups of participants (first year students, fourth year students and lecturers) are examined. I will demonstrate that there are differences in frequencies of *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* within the three participant groups and the fourth year students are the most frequent users of these three DMS and *yeşni*. I will argue that the patterns can be explained by regarding the fourth year students as a CoP. I will also show that the DM *îtr* is a regional feature which belongs to the Suleimani sub-dialect and which rarely occurs in the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect. Additionally, I will argue that speakers have a tendency to use the DM *êsta* to signal positive evaluations rather than negative evaluations.

To the best of my knowledge, these three Kurdish DMS have not been studied before. The methodology I used to analyse these three Kurdish DMS is the same methodology I used to carry out a quantitative analysis of the DM *yeşni* in Chapter Six (see Section 6.1). To carry out the quantitative analysis of these three Kurdish DMS, first, all occurrences of *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* were identified and counted for each group of participants. Following that, I determined how often each of these DMS was used to signal the individual functions by each group of the participants. Finally, I counted and analysed the tendencies of different usages, for example, positive and negative values of assessment.

The chapter is organized into three main sections. First, the overall occurrences of the three DMS *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the study data, as shown in Table 8.1, will be presented. Second, I will present the functions signalled by each DM in the three groups of the participants as shown in Table 8.2, Table 8.3, and Table 8.4. Following that, I

will present a breakdown of the DMs in order to gain insights into the frequency of different usages, and the interchangeability cases among them.

8.1 Overall occurrences of *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* in the study data

All three DMs, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*, are treated together in order to demonstrate their relative frequency. I have included a few cases that might not be interchangeable, as demonstrated in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.4). Table 8.1 shows that the total occurrence of these three DMs in the data is 236. Similar to the case of *yeŋni*, the participants in this study used *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal pragmatic functions with different frequencies. As illustrated in Table 8.1, *êsta* is the most frequent DM with a total of 57% (n=135) of the occurrences out of 236 instances in the data. The second highest Kurdish DM in the data is *îtr*, with 31% (n=74). However, *îtr* was used most frequently by two groups of the participants, the first year students and the lecturers, while rarely used by the fourth year students. Finally, the DM *xoi* is the least frequent DM used by the three groups of the participants with a total of 11% (n=27) of occurrences, as shown in Table 8.1 below. Thus, the results show that these three DMs, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*, occurred with different rates in the study data.

Table 8.1 Overall frequencies of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the study

DMs	Total No.	%
<i>êsta</i>	135	57%
<i>xoi</i>	27	11%
<i>îtr</i>	74	31%
Total	236	

8.1.1 Overall frequency occurrences of *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* by the three groups of the participants

In this sub-section, I will demonstrate that *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* were used by the three groups of participants with different frequencies. I will also show that *îtr* was rarely used by the fourth year student groups, and suggest that this is because *îtr* is a regional dialect DM.

As the results presented in Table 8.2 and Figure 8.1 below show, *êsta* varied in total occurrences by the three groups of speakers from 20% to 50%. The total number of occurrences of *êsta* in the study was 157. The highest rate of occurrences was 50% by the first year students, and this is equal to the combined rates of the fourth year students and the lecturers: 30% and 20% respectively. These results indicate that the fourth year students are quite similar to the lecturers, while the first year students are different in the overall use of *êsta*.

However, similar to the use of *yeŋni* (48%) as discussed in Section 5.1, the fourth years used the Kurdish DM *xoi* most, accounting for 70% of the total. This suggests that the fourth year students are a CoP, as discussed fully in Chapter Four (see Section 4.3). On the other hand, the first year students used *xoi* much less, (22%), and the lecturers used *xoi* the least (7%).

Finally, as shown in Table 8.2, each group of speakers used different overall quantities of *îtr* out of the total number of 74 instances of *îtr*. Similar to the use of *êsta*, the biggest users of *îtr* (61% n=74) were the first year group of students, followed by lecturers (36% n=27), whereas the fourth years' use of *îtr* accounted for only 3% (n=2). These results indicate that *îtr* is a regional DM that is; it is not used in the Qeladizê (Pijder) variety.

Table 8.2 Overall frequencies of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* by the three groups

DMs	1st years		4th years		lecturers	
<i>Êsta</i>	67	50%	41	30%	27	20%
<i>Xoi</i>	6	22%	19	70%	2	7%
<i>Îtr</i>	45	61%	2	3%	27	36%

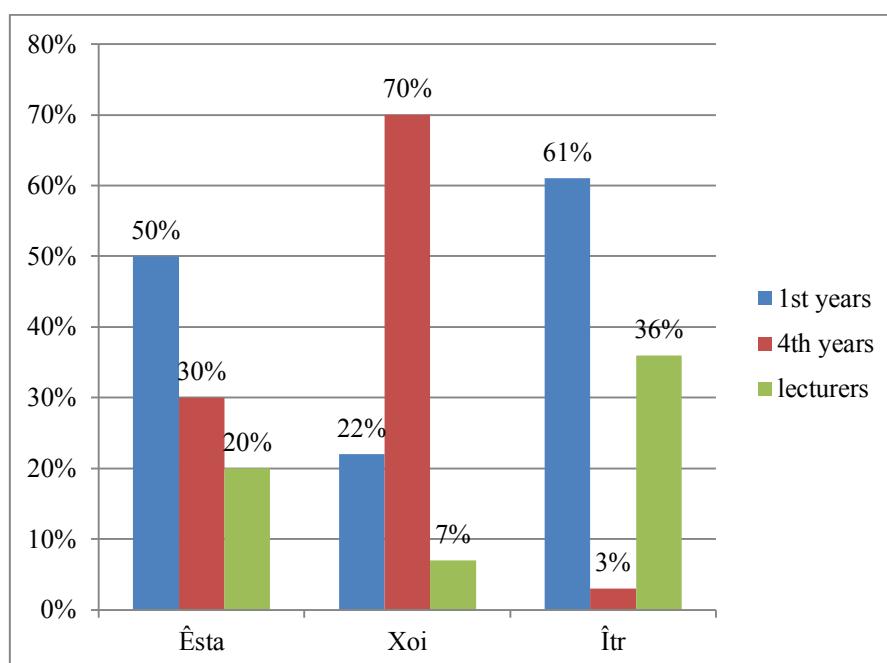


Figure 8.1: Overall frequencies of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* by the three groups

8.1.2 Summary

The results illustrated in Table 8.1 above reveal that the three Kurdish DMs occurred with different total occurrences in the data, that is *êsta* (57%), *xoi* (11%), and *îtr* (31%). Further, Table 8.2 and Figure 8.1 show that the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* were also used with different rates by the three participant groups. The most frequent users of *êsta* (50%) were the first year students, whereas the most frequent users of *xoi* (70%) were the fourth year students. The high rate use of *xoi* (70%) by the fourth year

students might be explained by their status as a CoP, as demonstrated in Chapter Four (see Section 4.3). In addition, even though *îtr* was used by both the first year students (61% n= 45) and the lecturers 36% n=27), the fourth year students used them very rarely (3% n=2). The rare use of *îtr* by the fourth year students suggests that it is a regional DM and that it is not used by the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect.

8.2 Frequency occurrences of functions signalled by *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr*

In this section, I will first outline the differences and similarities of the frequency of the DMs by the three participant groups. After that, I will summarize the patterns of use of the four DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, *îtr* and *yeŋni* by the three groups of participants.

8.2.1 Frequency occurrences of functions signalled by *êsta*

The data of the current study shows that the DM *êsta* has a rather different use from the DM *yeŋni*. *Yeŋni* was used to signal functions at three different levels of communication: speech act, discourse, and turn-management, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. The DM *êsta* was used only at the speech act and discourse levels. At the speech act level, *êsta* occurred to signal elaboration and example, with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example), and at the discourse level it occurred to signal assessment. As the data provided in Figure 8.2 and Table 8.3 below indicate, among the three groups of speakers, the fourth year students used *êsta* most (55%) to mark elaboration, which is around three times as frequently as the lecturers (15%) and the first years (16%). However, with regard to the use of *êsta* to mark an example with the phrase *bo nmune* (for example), 37% of the occurrences in the data were by the first year students, while the fourth year students and the lecturers showed relatively similar figures, 15% and 11% respectively. In addition, using *êsta* without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal exemplifying occurred at low rates (under 6) by the lecturers, whereas it was used at a higher rate (22% n=15) by the first year students. These results indicate that, even though the rates are low, the participants used *êsta* both with and

without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal exemplifying interchangeably. The possible explanation for the interchangeability of using *êsta* with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal exemplifying might be the principle of phonetic reduction in grammaticalisation, which will be discussed fully in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.5).

Regarding the functions of *êsta* at discourse level, as seen in Figure 8.1 below, only the fourth year students used *êsta* to signal assessment (7%). Additionally, the high number of ambiguous cases by the lecturers is striking (44%) and leads to the speculation that the lecturers might have used some of the ambiguous instances to signal elaboration or exemplifying. In any case, there is not a clear pattern in the participants' uses of *êsta*.

Table 8.3 Frequency of using *êsta* at speech act level

Levels	Function	1st years	%	4th years	%	Lecturers	%
<i>êsta</i>	Example without <i>bo nmune</i>	15	22%	3	8%	6	22%
	Elaboration	11	16%	22	55%	4	15%
	Example with <i>bo nmune</i>	25	37%	6	15%	3	11%
Discourse	Assessment	-	-	-	-	2	07%
Ambiguous		16	24%	9	23%	12	44%
Total :135		67	-	40	-	27	-

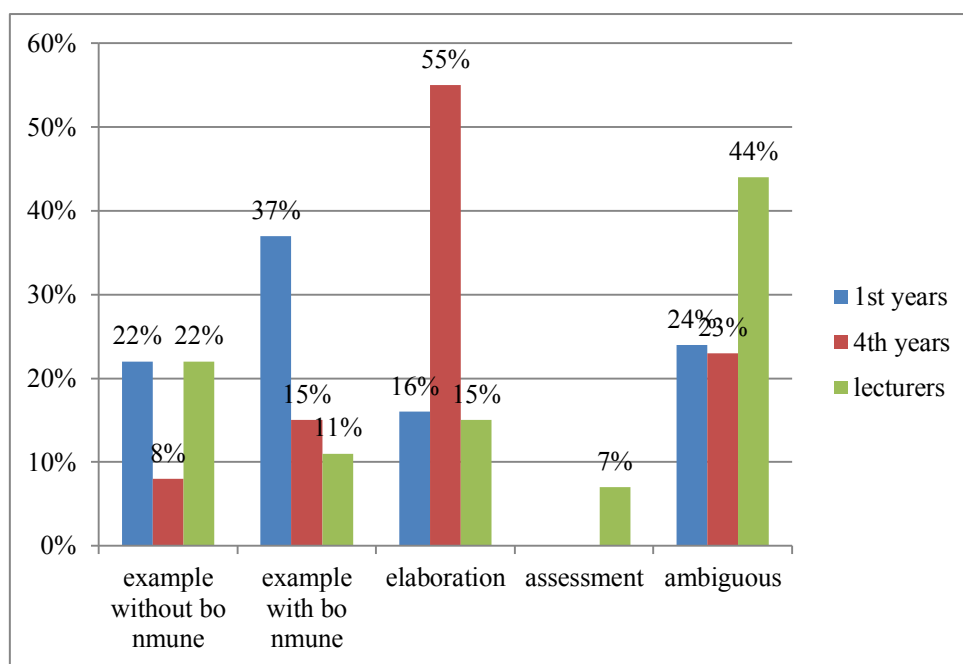


Figure 8.2: Frequency of *êsta* at speech act level

8.2.1.1 Frequency occurrences of *êsta* to signal exemplifying with positive and negative evaluations

The use of *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) occurred differently either to signal positive or negative evaluations, as demonstrated below. In contrast to the use of *yeŋni bo nmune* (I mean for example) presented in Chapter Five (see Table 5.3), which was used to signal negative (78% n=7) more than positive (22% n=2) evaluations, the speakers in the data used *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) to mark positive evaluations (54% n= 13) more than they used it to indicate negative evaluations (46% n=11). Thus, the results suggest that the participants in the data have a tendency to use *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) with positive evaluations. However, since the difference is less than 10%, it is not such a strong contrast as seen with *yeŋni*.

8.2.1.2 Summary

The Kurdish DM *êsta* occurred differently in frequencies of use for individual functions by the three groups of participants. In terms of frequency of *êsta* to signal exemplifying, the first year students use it as much as the fourth year students and lecturers combined. However, the fourth year students used the highest figure (55%) of *êsta* to signal elaboration out of all of its uses across the three groups of the participants. Additionally, the ambiguous cases are mostly attributed to the lecturers (44%). Some of these ambiguous cases can be seen as instances of using *êsta* to signal elaboration, example, or assessment. Given the results of using the DM *êsta*, I will now turn to present the results of the Kurdish DM *xoi* below.

8.2.2 Frequency occurrences of *xoi* within the three groups of participants

The distribution of the occurrences of *xoi* to signal the pragmatic functions across the three groups of participants, the first year students, the fourth year students and the lecturers, are shown in Table 8.4 and Figure 8.3 below.

Table 8.4 Frequency of *xoi* based on function level

Level	Function	1st years	%	4th years	%	Lecturers	%
Speech act	Elaboration	3	50%	6	32%	1	50%
	Explanation and prefacing <i>bo nmune</i> were not attested in the data						
Discourse	Assessment	3	50%	4	21%	-	-
	Results were not attested in the data						
Ambiguous	-	-	-	9	47%	1	50%
Total : 27	-	6	-	19	-	2	-

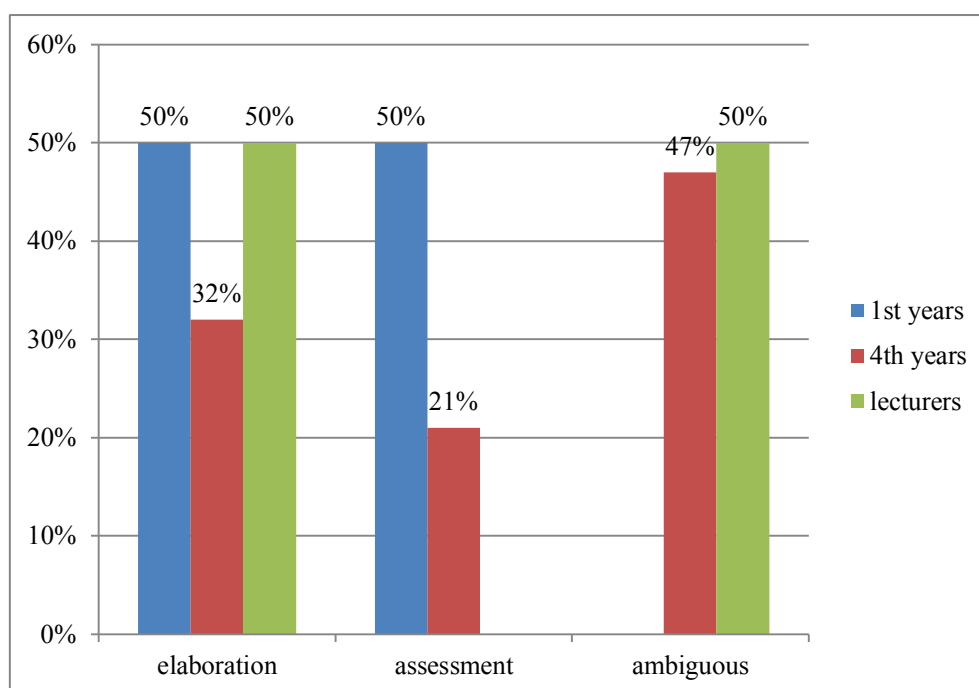


Figure 8.3: Frequency of *xoi* based on function level

Similar to *ésta*, the speakers in the current study used *xoi* to signal elaboration at speech act and assessment at discourse level. As Table 8.4 and Figure 8.3 above reveal,

the first year students' use of *xoi* to indicate both functions of assessments and elaborations accounts for 50% of the total occurrences. On the other hand, while the lecturers' use of the DM *xoi* to signal elaboration accounts for 50%, they never used *xoi* to signal assessment in the current study data. However, the DM *xoi* was used to signal elaboration and assessment by the fourth year students a total of 32% and 21% of all occurrences respectively. Thus, the pattern to be noticed here is that while the first year students and the lecturers acted similarly, the fourth year students behaved differently. Due to the very small number of cases that were examined, I cannot draw any firm conclusions from these very limited data.

8.2.3 Frequency occurrences of the DM *îtr*

As Table 8.5 below shows, similar to *êsta* and *xoi*, *îtr* appeared only at the speech act and the discourse levels of communication, unlike *yeŋni* (see Table 6.2 in Chapter Six) which occurred in all the three levels of communication. However, I will demonstrate that *îtr* is a regional feature and the fourth year students, who use a different sub-dialect, rarely used this DM.

As noted in Table 8.5, there are only two occurrences in the fourth year students data; one was used to signal shifting and an ambiguous one. This result suggests that *îtr* is a regional DM and it is rarely used by the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect. On the other hand, the DM *îtr* was often used by both first year students and the lecturers, who typically belong to Suleimani sub-dialect, as described in Chapter Three (see Section 3.1). In the same way as *yeŋni* was used to signal explanation (see Table 7.2), the DM *îtr* was used to indicate this function. *Îtr* was used to signal explanation by first year students with the lowest frequency (7%) which is half of the figure (14%) used by the lecturers. However, the first years used *îtr* to signal the function of result approximately twice as much (40%) as the lecturers used it to signal that function (21%). In addition, only the first year students used *îtr* to signal the function of assessment (19%). Speakers used *îtr* to signal both positive and negative assessments, as demonstrated in Table 8.5. Furthermore, *îtr* was used to signal the function of shifting, that is to say, it was used to

signal to the listeners that a new topic has begun to be discussed, a topic different to that discussed in the prior talk. In contrast to the use of *itr* for the function of explanation, the lecturers used *itr* to mark shifting (31%) more than the first year students (19%), as shown in Table 8.5. This suggests that the first year students and the lecturers do not share a clear pattern in using *itr*. Now, I will move to demonstrate the differences in the frequency of the DMs to signal the same function.

Table 8.5 Frequency of the DM *itr* among the three groups of participants

Levels	function	1st years	%	4th years	%	Lecturers	%
Speech act	Explanation	3	7%	-	-	4	14%
	Example	not attested in the data					
	Shifting	8	19%	1	50%	9	31%
Discourse	Assessment	8	19%	-	-	-	
	Result	17	40%	-		6	21%
Ambiguous	-	7	16%	1	50%	10	34%
Total: 74	-	43		2		29	-

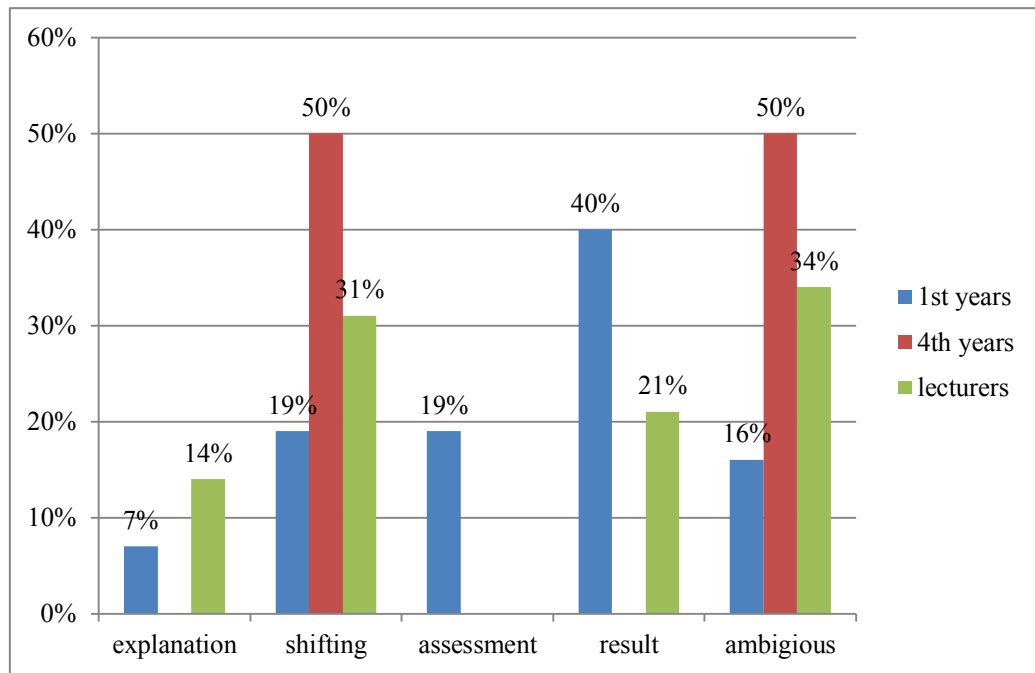


Figure 8.4: Frequency of *itr* (I mean) on the basis of function level

8.2.4 Summarizing the patterns of uses of the four DMs

As demonstrated in Chapter Six (see Table 6.1) and Chapter Eight (see Section 8.1), the results show that there are differences in the overall distribution of all four DMs *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *itr* across the three groups of participants. *Yeŋni* occurred a total of 727 times, and 48% (n=348) of that total were produced by the fourth year students. This demonstrates that the fourth year students are different from the first year students and the lectures in the frequency of their use of *yeŋni*. The use of *yeŋni* by the lecturers (27% n=196) and the first year students (25% n=183) was quite similar.

It was also observed (see Table 8.2) that the DM *xoi* was most frequently used (70% n=19 out of the total instances of 27) by fourth year students. On the other hand, *xoi* was less frequently used by both the first year students and lecturers, though it was used slightly more by the first year students (22% n=6) than the lecturers (7% n=2) out of the total number of 27). The DM *êsta* also had variation across the three groups of speakers. In this case, however, it was the first year students who used the highest rate (50% n=67, out of the 135 total number of *êsta*); this is equal to the combined rate of

the fourth year students (30% n= 41) and the lecturers (20% n=27). These results indicate that the fourth year students are quite similar to the lecturers in using *êsta*. Finally, as shown in Chapter Eight (see Table 8.2), each group of speakers used different overall quantities of the DM *îtr*. The total number of instances of *îtr* in the data was 103. Similar to the use of *êsta*, the biggest users of *îtr* (61% n=74) were the first year group of students, followed by lecturers (36% n= 27). The fourth year students used *îtr* only twice (3%).

These results indicate that the fourth year students were the most frequent users of DMs. They often used *yeſni* and *xoi*, and sometimes used *êsta*, though they rarely used *îtr*, probably because it is a regional feature, as discussed earlier (see Section 8.1). On the other hand, the first year students frequently used *êsta* and *îtr*, and sometimes used *yeſni* or *xoi*. Finally, the lecturers sometimes used *yeſni* but used *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* infrequently.

Previous research demonstrates that CoPs use a high frequency of DMs, particularly in academic settings. In their study about the use of DMs in an advanced classroom of English speakers of learners of German, Liebscher and Daily-O’Cain (2006, p.106) conclude that the participants use a large number of DMs as they are a CoP. Liebscher and Daily-O’Cain’s (2006, pp.105-106) claim that:

The existence of the Community of Practice has allowed distinctive linguistic practices to be introduced by the individual learners, and then subsequently spread to the majority of the learners (Liebscher and Daily-O’Cain's 2006, pp.105-106).

Moreover, Tang and Chung (2015) 'investigated the online discourse functions of non-native speakers of English in a CoP which comprises student-teachers, frontline practitioners, and faculty staff members'. They found that a "frequency count of the DMs functions has revealed significant discourse features of online communication in a CoP context among non-native speakers of English" (Tang and Chung 2015, p.48). Thus, the results for the DMs used by the fourth year students are consistent with their being a CoP). In contrast, the other groups, the lecturers and the first year students, use

the DMs less frequently because they are not CoPs, as demonstrated in Chapter Four (see Section 4.3).

8.3 Frequency and interchangeability

In this section, I will present the differences in how the participants used the three DMs to signal the same function. First, I will show the differences in the ways that *êsta* and *xoi* were used to signal elaboration. This is followed by a presentation of how frequently *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* were used to signal assessment.

8.3.1 *Êsta* versus *xoi* to signal elaboration

In the study data, *êsta* and *xoi* were used to signal elaboration by all three groups. Overall, *êsta* was used to signal elaboration (79% n= 37), whereas *xoi* appeared to signal this function only 21% of the total (n=10), as can be seen in Figure 8.5 below. Table 8.6 shows that both the first year students and the fourth year students used identical rates of both DMs *êsta* (78%) and *xoi* (21%) to signal elaboration. On the other hand, the lecturers used both DMs to signal elaboration accounts of the total are 5 times, which is a very small number. However, the pattern across all three groups is nearly identical as can be seen in Table 8.6. As illustrated in Figure 8.5, even though the participants do more or less the same thing with both DMs to signal elaboration, they used *êsta* (80%) 4 times higher than *xoi* (19%) to signal the same function.

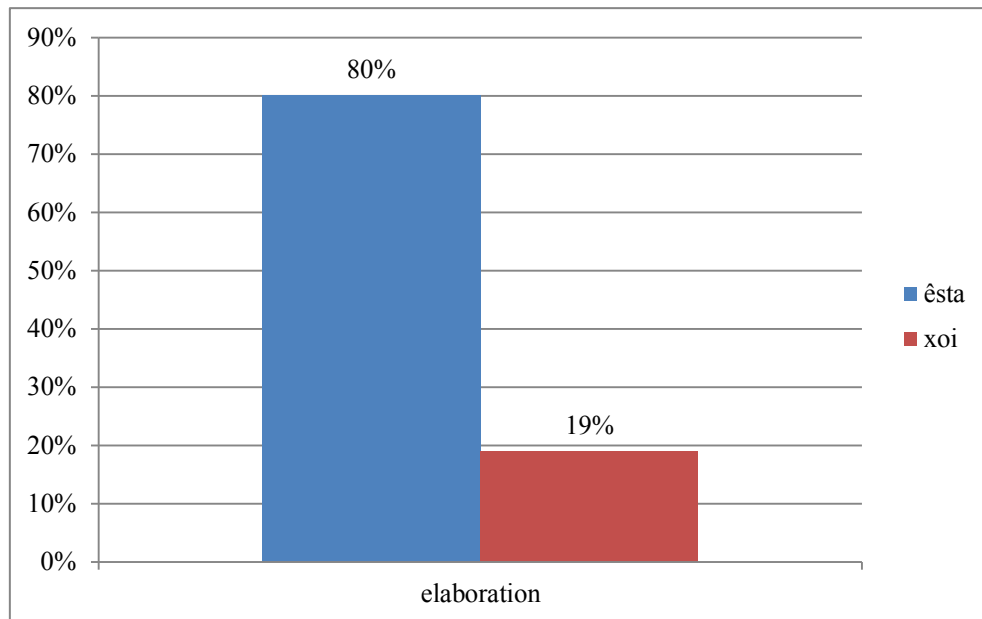


Figure 8.5: Overall frequency of *êsta* and *xoi* to signal elaboration

Table 8.6 The function of elaboration signalled by *êsta* and *xoi*

Function	DMs	1st years		4th years		Lecturers	
	-	count	%	count	%	count	%
Elaboration	Êsta	11	79%	22	78%	4	80%
	Xoi	3	21%	6	21%	1	20%
Total	-	14	-	28	-	5	

8.3.2 *Êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* to signal assessment

Figure 8.6 illustrates that even though participants used all three DMs, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*, to signal assessment they used them with different preferences on the usage level. As can be noted in Figure 8.6 below, participants in the study preferred to use *êsta*

and *xoi* to indicate positive evaluations more than to signal negative evaluations; whereas *itr* was used to indicate positive and negative evaluations the same number of times (50%). Thus, *êsta* (62%) and *xoi* (57%) occurred to signal positive evaluations more frequently than to signal negative evaluations, (33% and 42% respectively). Interestingly, these results suggest that even though these three DMs may be alternatives to one other, the patterns are not identical.

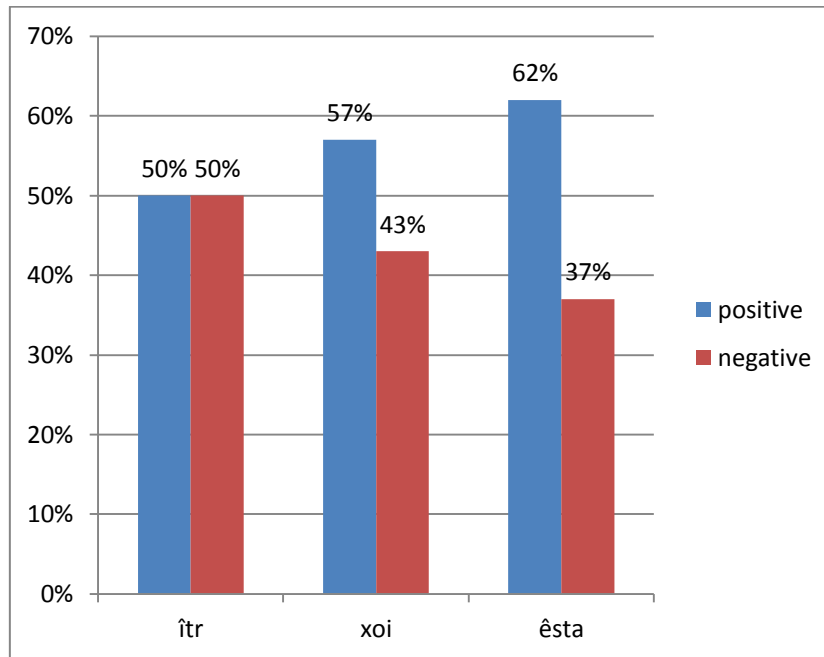


Figure 8.6: Frequency of *êsta*, *xoi*, and *itr* to signal elaboration

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a quantitative analysis of functions marked by the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the study data. The findings show that there are differences in the overall distribution and frequencies of the three DMs across the three groups of participants, as summarized now.

As demonstrated in this Chapter, all three DMs occurred in the speech act and the discourse levels of communication. Table 8.3 has shown that the DM *êsta* was used to indicate the function of elaboration and example at the speech act level, and to introduce assessment at the discourse level of communication. As illustrated in Table 8.3 and Figure 8.2, both *êsta* and *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) were used by the participants to signal exemplifying. Moreover, similar to *yeŋni bo nmune* (I mean for example), which was used to signal both positive and negative evaluations (see Table 6.4 in Chapter Six), speakers used *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) to indicate positive and negative evaluations. This suggests that participants used both *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) and *yeŋni bo nmune* (I mean for example) to signal exemplifying with positive and negative usages interchangeably. There is a lot of inconsistency in the participants' use of these three DMs, but the speakers tend to use them for more or less the same thing. The possible explanation for the interchangeability of *êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) and *yeŋni bo nmune* (I mean for example) is the notion of layering in grammaticalisation as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.5).

As illustrated in Table in 8.5, *îtr* was used to signal functions of explanation, shifting, assessment and result by both the first year students and the lecturers. However, the fourth year students used *îtr* only twice ($3\% = 2$), once to signal shifting and once in an ambiguous instance. Thus, the data from the current study indicates that the Kurdish DM *îtr* is a regional feature, not used by the fourth year students because of their use of the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect. In addition, as demonstrated in Table 8.2, the fourth year students used the DM *xoi* considerably more than the other two groups (70%) and also used *êsta* a lot (30% of the total). The results suggest that the high

frequency of use of the DMs *yeŋni* and *xoi* by the fourth year students is a consequence of their status as a CoP.

As previously described in Section 8.5, the speakers used different DMs, namely *êsta* and *xoi*, to signal elaboration, and used all three DMs, *êsta* and *xoi* and *îtr*, to signal assessment interchangeably, but with different preferences to signal positive and negative evaluations. It seems that the speakers made a clear division in use when they used these DMs to signal the same function. The next chapter, Chapter Nine, deals further with interchangeability and grammaticalisation in the current study.

CHAPTER NINE: INTERCHANGEABILITY AND GRAMMATICALISATION

9.0 Introduction

This chapter presents discussion and possible explanations of the key findings with regard to the research questions and their relationship to previous work in these areas. The main focus of this exploratory study is the analysis of the pragmatic functions and frequency of DMs *yeʃni*, *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* among the three participant groups: first year students, fourth year students and the lecturers. Thus, this chapter will address the research question on the interchangeability of the DM *yeʃni* with *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. Drawing from Oh (2000, p.260) and Gray's (2012, p.155) suggestions that interchangeability is possible when two DMs can be put in place of each other with no effective changes to the meaning of the utterance, I assume that the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* are interchangeable with *yeʃni* to signal some of the functions, as they almost have the same meaning.

The aims of the chapter are twofold. First, it aims to identify what functions of the DM *yeʃni* are interchangeable with the DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. Second, it suggests that phonetic reduction and layering constitute possible linguistic explanations for the interchangeability cases in the study data. While the data presented here are synchronic in nature, I will approach the topic from the perspective of grammaticalisation. Following Cheshire's (2007) framework of general extenders and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca's model evolution of grammar (1994) to account for the loss of the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) from *yeʃni* and *êsta* as phonetic reduction. In addition, based on Hopper's (1991) principles of grammaticalisation, I will show that the interchangeability of the DMs *yeʃni* with *êsta*, *îtr*, and *xoi* can be understood as the result of layering, that is, more than one grammatical construction being used to signal the same or similar functions.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 9.1, I will present the cases of interchangeability of *yeʃni* and *êsta* in the current study. Then, in Section 9.2, I will show that *yeʃni* and *xoi* are interchangeable only when signalling assessment. This is

followed by the interchangeability of *yefni* and *itr* in Section 9.3. In each of these Sections, two complementary approaches are taken. Firstly, the interchangeability of the DMs is assessed at the level of individual function and on the basis of the detailed qualitative analysis from Chapter Five (see Section 5.3) and Chapter Seven (see Sections 7.1 to 7.3). Secondly, in order to gain further insight into the pragmatic interpretation of the utterance and speakers' tendency signalled by these DMs in the current study data, I will use the quantitative analysis (See Sections 6.3 and 8.3). Following that, in Section 9.4, I will discuss the results of analysis of interchangeability of DMs *esta*, *xoi* and *itr* and their English translation. Moreover, Section 9.5 deals with the grammaticalisation of these forms including the processes of phonetic reduction and layering as linguistic explanations for the cases of interchangeability in this study. Finally, Section 9.6 is the conclusion of the chapter.

The chapter also brings together the discussion of DMs from Chapters Six and Seven. Table 9.2, Table 9.3 and Table 9.4 below summarize the results of the DM *yefni* from Chapter Six (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.4) and the results of the DMs *esta*, *xoi* and *itr* in Chapter Seven (see Table 7.1 and Table 7.5). In addition, for comparison and discussion, the percentages of occurrence of *yefni* and *esta* to signal pragmatic functions are displayed in Figure 9.1, Figure 9.2, and Figure 9.3 respectively.

9.1 The interchangeability of *yefni* with *esta*, *xoi* and *itr* in the present study

In this section, I will apply the three established categories of interchangeability ('No', 'Plausible' and 'Yes but different preferences') as illustrated in Table 9.1 below to describe interchangeable cases. These three categories are discussed fully in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.4). I will also describe how I have distinguished what is established with the data and what is based on my intuition. I will apply these categories to describe the interchangeability cases of *yefni* with *esta*, *xoi*, and *itr* in Section 9.1, Section 9.2 and Section 9.3 respectively. In addition, I provide evidence using Extracts that appeared earlier in Chapter Five and Chapter Seven.

Table 9.1 Criteria to distinguish interchangeability cases in the current study data

Interchangeability	Criteria	Examples
No	Not attested for same function and not possible	<i>Yeɬni</i> and <i>êsta</i> for result (see 9.2)
Plausible	Not attested for same function but possible	<i>Yeɬni</i> and <i>xoi</i> for explanation (see 9.3)
Yes but different preferences (not identical)	Attested for same function but tendencies are different	<i>Yeɬni</i> and <i>êsta</i> for exemplifying (discussed in 9.2.1 below)

9.1.1 *Yeɬni* versus *êsta*

Table 9.2 below demonstrates all the cases of attested functions and the corresponding conclusion about the interchangeability of *yeɬni* and *êsta* I will demonstrate how for exemplifying and assessment, *yeɬni* and *êsta* are interchangeable, but the participants' use of them suggests that they make a distinction between them in some cases. I will suggest that this distinction is related to whether the speaker is justifying or adding information, and whether they are making a positive or negative evaluation.

As summarised in the first and second rows of Table 9.2 below, the DM *êsta* was not attested to signal the functions of result or explanation in the current study data and my intuition indicate an equivalent meaning is not possible. Consequently, it seems that the DM *êsta* is not interchangeable with the DM *yeɬni* to signal these two functions, although it is open to future research to determine the robustness of my impressions with a larger corpus. Therefore, I exclude these two functions from my discussion and I will focus on the interchangeability of *yeɬni* and *êsta* to signal the functions of elaboration, exemplifying, and assessment.

Table 9.2 *Yeŋni* versus *êsta*

Functions	<i>Yeŋni</i>	<i>Êsta</i>	Interchangeability
Result	Yes	Not attested for same function and not equivalent meaning (see 9.2)	No
Explanation	Yes	Not attested for same function and not equivalent meaning (see 9.2)	No
Elaboration	Not attested for same function but possible(see 9.1.1)	Yes	Plausible
Exemplifying with/without the phrase <i>bonmune</i> (for example)	Yes	Attested for same function but tendencies are different	Yes but different preferences
Assessment	Yes	Attested for same function but tendencies are different	Yes but different preferences

As the third row of Table 9.2 above shows, even though *yeŋni* was not attested to signal the function of elaboration, it might be interchangeable with *êsta* to signal this function. As discussed before, *êsta* was used to signal elaboration of the previous ideas. Consider the following extract (9.1) (repeated from extract 7.1) in which *êsta* was used to signal elaboration, and using *yeŋni* to indicate the same function.

Extract 9.1

1. 23F: Be pêi mamosta kewtwe

It depends on the lecturers themselves

2. 23F: *Êsta (yeʕni)*, mamostay wa heye lewanye dw pere bxwênê,

I mean, there are some lecturers who might teach two pages,

3. 23F: mamostay waş heye zor exwênê

Some other lecturers might cover a lot

In this extract (9.1), the speaker used *êsta* to add information. Similarly, by replacing *êsta* with *yeʕni*, the pragmatic function and meaning of the utterance remain the same. Therefore, this result suggests that it is plausible to use *yeʕni* interchangeably with *êsta* to signal elaboration. I now turn to the more intricate discussions of the functions of exemplifying and assessment.

9.1.1.1 *Yeʕni* versus *êsta* to signal the function of exemplifying

As far as the interchangeability of *yeʕni* and *êsta* to signal exemplifying is concerned, the fourth row of Table 9.2 shows that both DMs *yeʕni* and *êsta*, with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) were attested to indicate the function of exemplifying. That is, for *yeʕni* and *êsta*, the presence or absence of the *bo nmune* (for example) does not change the function of exemplifying, as I demonstrated in Chapter Five (see Section 5.3) and Chapter Seven (see Section 7.1). This also supports Rieschild's (2011, p.320) claim that *yeʕni* can be used to signal exemplifying both with and without being accompanied by the phrase *mathalan* (for example) in Arabic. Thus, on the basis of the qualitative analysis, the results show that speakers use *yeʕni* and *êsta* with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) to signal the function of

exemplifying.³⁶ Therefore, it seems that speakers use both of these DMs interchangeably to indicate this function in general. However, as I demonstrate below, the speakers' tendencies in using these two DMs to signal exemplifying are not identical.

When *yeɬni* and *êsta* occur to signal exemplifying, sometimes speakers use them with different preferences. These preferences relate to the positive versus negative evaluation of the example, or, to whether the example adds information rather than justifies what has been said. As I demonstrated in Chapter Six (see Section 6.3) *yeɬni* is frequently found in the context of examples with negative evaluation and disagreement, whereas *êsta* (see Section 8.2) tends to mark examples with a positive evaluation. As the results set out in Figure 9.1 below reveal, *yeɬni* was used to introduce negative evaluative examples (78% n=7) more frequently than it was used to introduce positive evaluation (22% n=2). On the other hand, Figure 9.1 reveals that *êsta* was used by speakers to signal positive evaluation (54% n=13) more frequently than it was used to indicate negative evaluation (46% n=11). Thus, as the results indicate in Figure 9.1 display, speakers had a preference to use *yeɬni* more frequently with negative evaluative examples, while *êsta* was used more commonly with positive evaluative examples. However, it should be noted that the number of cases is small, and moreover, this is not an exclusive type of association but it is only a tendency. Therefore, as the results show, both *yeɬni* and *êsta* could be used to signal either positive or negative evaluative examples.

³⁶For the sake of brevity and clarity, I will refer only to *yaɬni* and *êsta*. The discussion of *yaɬni* and *êsta* in this sub-section can be assumed to cover both of the DMs with or without *bo nmuna* (for example).

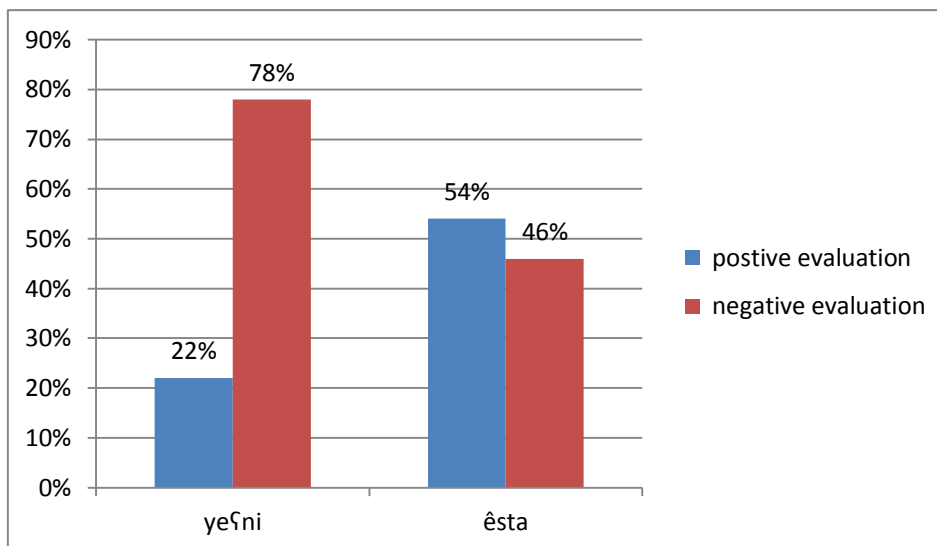


Figure 9.1: Frequency occurrences of *yeɸni* and *êsta* to signal examples with positive and negative evaluations

Moreover, when speakers give examples and invite the hearer(s) to be aware of their justification of the previous topic, they have a greater tendency to use *yeɸni* (see Section 6.3). When they exemplify and want the addressee to attend to the addition of more information about the previous utterance, they use *êsta* (see Section 8.2) more often. As Figure 9.2 illustrates, *yeɸni* was frequently (71% n=57) used to signal justification, whereas it was less frequently (28% n=23) used to mark the addition of information. In contrast, *êsta* was frequently used (81% n=26) to add information to the prior utterance and less frequently (18% n=6) used to introduce justification. In summary, these results indicate that even though *yeɸni* was used more frequently to indicate justification and *êsta* occurred to signal adding information, both DMs were used in some cases to signal justification or/and adding information. Thus, these results suggest that *yeɸni* and *êsta* are interchangeable but not identical for marking examples.

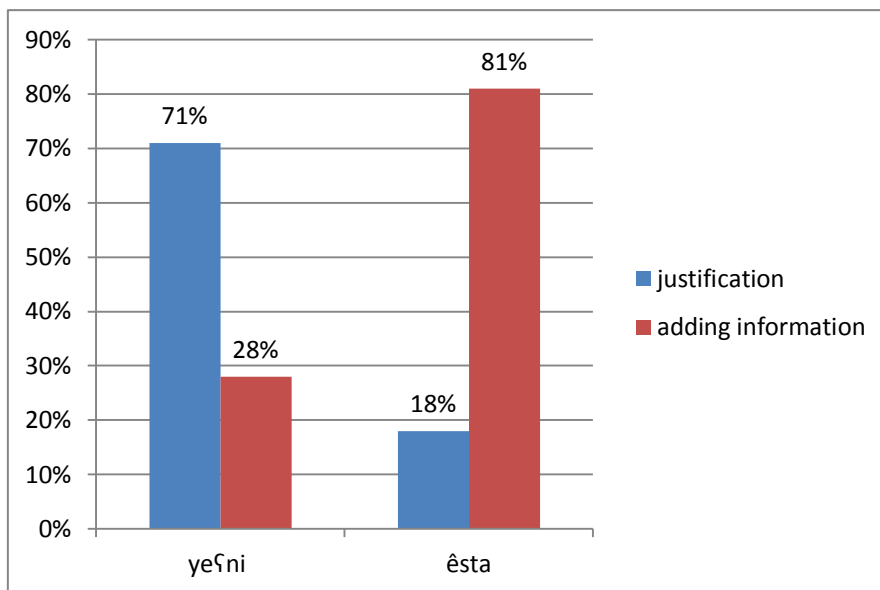


Figure 9.2: Frequency occurrences of *yeɸni* and *êsta* to signal examples with justification and adding information

Therefore, *yeɸni* and *êsta* are interchangeable to signal examples with positive and negative evaluations and for examples with justification and additional information, but are used with different preferences. I will turn now to discuss the interchangeability of *yeɸni* and *êsta* to signal assessment.

9.1.1.2 *Yeɸni* versus *êsta* to signal assessment

Regarding the interchangeability of *yeɸni* and *êsta* to signal assessment, as presented in Chapter Five (see Section 4.3) for *yeɸni* and in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.1) for *êsta*, both DMs can be used to signal assessment. As illustrated in the last row of Table 9.2 above, speakers use both *yeɸni* and *êsta* to signal the assessment. However, on the basis of the quantitative analysis, and as can be noted in Figure 9.3 below, *yeɸni* was used to indicate negative assessment more frequently (66% n=68) than its usage to indicate positive assessment (34% n=35). By contrast, *êsta* was more common with positive assessment (62% n=5) than its usage (37% n=3) to signal negative assessment. Therefore, the quantitative results show that, although *êsta* was preferred to give

positive assessment and *yeŋni* was preferred to indicate negative assessment, neither of these uses was categorical; sometimes speakers used them interchangeably to signal either positive or negative assessment. The pattern is similar to the pattern of *yeŋni* and *êsta* to signal exemplifying discussed above.

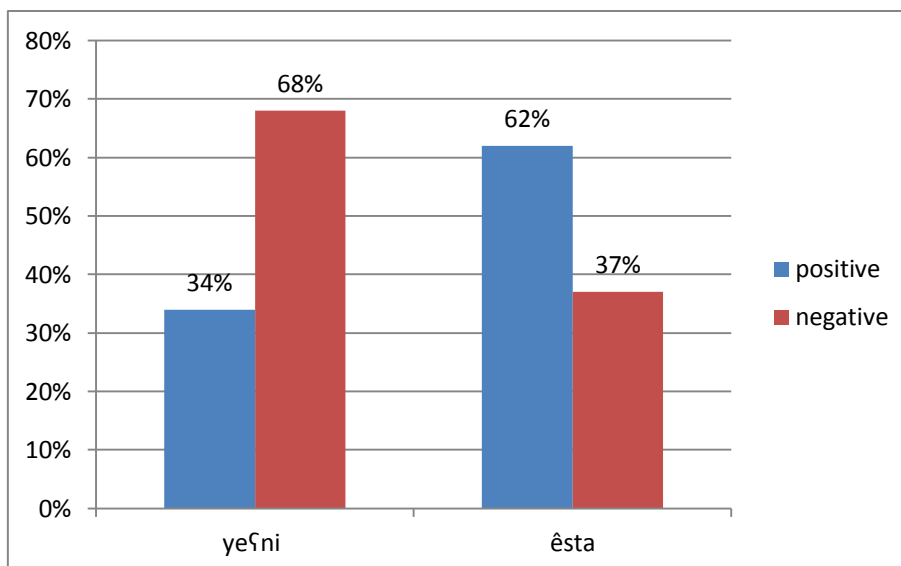


Figure 9.3: Frequency occurrences of *yeŋni* and *êsta* to signal positive and negative assessment.

9.1.2 Summary of *yeŋni* and *êsta*

The results and my intuition indicate that the DM *êsta* is possibly not interchangeable with *yeŋni* to signal result and explanation as *êsta* was not attested to signal these two functions. I demonstrated that *êsta* is probably interchangeable with *yeŋni* to signal elaboration as *êsta* was attested to mark this function and if *êsta* is replaced with *yeŋni*, the pragmatic function and meaning of the utterance remain the same. Therefore, based on the data and my intuition, it seems plausible for them to be used to signal elaboration interchangeably. Moreover, the qualitative analysis presented above also indicates that *yeŋni* and *êsta* with/without *bo nmune* (for example) appear to signal the functions of exemplifying interchangeably.

In contrast to the qualitative analysis, in the quantitative analysis, I have clearly shown that although there is overlapping in some cases, speakers have a tendency to use the DMs differently. Thus, these two DMs are used interchangeably in some cases but they are not used identically. Perhaps in the future *yeŋni* and *êsta* will be different. That is, they may not be interchangeable at some point in the future.

9.2 *Yeŋni* versus *xoi*

With respect to the interchangeability cases of *yeŋni* and *xoi*, and similar to the interchangeability between *yeŋni* and *êsta* discussed (see Section 9.1), I will suggest that *yeŋni* and *xoi* appear to be interchangeable for signalling assessment. However, the speakers' usages of them indicate that sometimes they use these two DMs differently. In addition, I will show that this distinction is associated with positive and negative assessment. Following that, I will suggest that there might be two plausible cases of interchangeability between *yeŋni* and *xoi* for marking explanation and elaboration. Table 9.3 below reviews attested and not attested functions of *yeŋni*, detailed in Chapter Five (see Section 5.3), and *xoi*, detailed in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.2) respectively.

Table 9.3 *Yeŋni* versus *xoi*

Functions	<i>yeŋni</i>	<i>xoi</i>	Interchangeability
Result	Yes	Not attested for same function and not equivalent meaning (see extract 9.3)	No
Exemplifying	Yes	Not attested for same function and not equivalent meaning (see extract 9.3)	No

Explanation	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 9.2)	Plausible
Elaboration	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 9.3)	Yes	Plausible
Assessment	Yes: negative more common	Yes: quite similar in positive and negative assessment	Yes but different preferences

Before discussing signalling assessment by using both *yeʃni* and *xoi*, I will give a brief discussion of the not plausible and plausible cases of interchangeability between them. To begin with, as the first two rows of Table 9.3 show, unlike *yeʃni*, *xoi* was not attested to signal the functions of result and exemplifying. In addition, my intuition indicates that the DM *xoi* is probably not interchangeable with *yeʃni* to signal result and exemplifying. Therefore, I will not focus on these two functions. On the other hand, even though *xoi* was not attested to signal the function of explanation, as the third row displays, it might be interchangeable with *yeʃni* in this function. As discussed before, *yeʃni* was used to signal explanation of the previous talk. Consider the following extract (9.2) (repeated from extract 5.1, Section 5.3):

Extract 9.2

3. 5L: mn bo xom hinekem masterekem la derewe bwe

I finished my, what is it called, MA abroad

4. 5L: herweha meritisha

It (the MA) is also merit

5. 5L: ***Yeʃni (xoi)***, qabilyety ewey heye

I mean, it (my MA certificate) is applicable

6. 5L: ke wa PhD pê bxwêni.

to apply for studying PhD.

In line (5) above, replacing *yeɬni* with *xoi* does not change either the utterance interpretation or the pragmatic function. Therefore, this result suggests that *xoi* could be used interchangeably with *yeɬni* to signal explanation of the previous talk.

Conversely, the fourth row of Table 9.3 below shows that while *yeɬni* was not attested to signal the function of elaboration; *xoi* was used to signal this function (see Section 7.2). As demonstrated in Extract (9.3) below, if *xoi* is replaced with *yeɬni*, neither the pragmatic function nor the meaning of the utterance changes. Thus, it seems that *yeɬni* is interchangeable with *xoi* to signal elaboration. Consider the following example (repeated from extract 7.2, see Section 7.2):

Extract 9.3

1. 23 F: wellahi ewe kewtote ser telebeke *xoi*

Well, it depends on the students themselves

2. 23F: *Xoi (yeɬni)*, ême ta êstasê car çwynete derewe

I mean, we have gone on trips three times so far

Thus, based on these plausible replacements and my intuition, *yeɬni* and *xoi* might be interchangeable for both explanation and elaboration of the previous talk. Now, I will move to discuss signalling assessment by *yeɬni* and *xoi*.

9.2.1 *Yeɬni* versus *xoi* to signal assessment

In terms of the interchangeability of *yeɬni* and *xoi* to signal assessment, as discussed in Chapter Five and Chapter Seven (see Section 5.3 and Section 7.2), the DMs *yeɬni* and *xoi* were both used to signal this function in the current study data. Additionally, as the last row of Table 9.3 above reveals, assessment is the only shared function attested for both *yeɬni* and *xoi*. Thus, the qualitative analysis indicates that

yeŋni and *xoi* are used to signal the function of assessment interchangeably. However, as I argue below, on the basis of the quantitative analysis, it seems that speakers make a distinction in the use of *yeŋni* and *xoi* when they signal positive and negative assessment. As can be noted in Figure 9.4, *yeŋni* occurred about twice as frequently in negative assessment (66% n=68) as in positive contexts (34% n=35), whereas the frequency of *xoi* was almost the same in positive and negative assessment (57% n=4) versus (43% n=3). This result shows that even though *xoi* occurred only 7 times, it was used at quite similar rates in both positive and negative assessments. Thus, it seems that speakers have a tendency to use *yeŋni* to signal negative assessment more than positive assessment, as already noted. However, they have tendency to use *xoi* to signal both positive and negative assessment. Based on these findings, it seems that *yeŋni* is more closely associated with negative values of assessment, whereas *xoi* is more neutral.

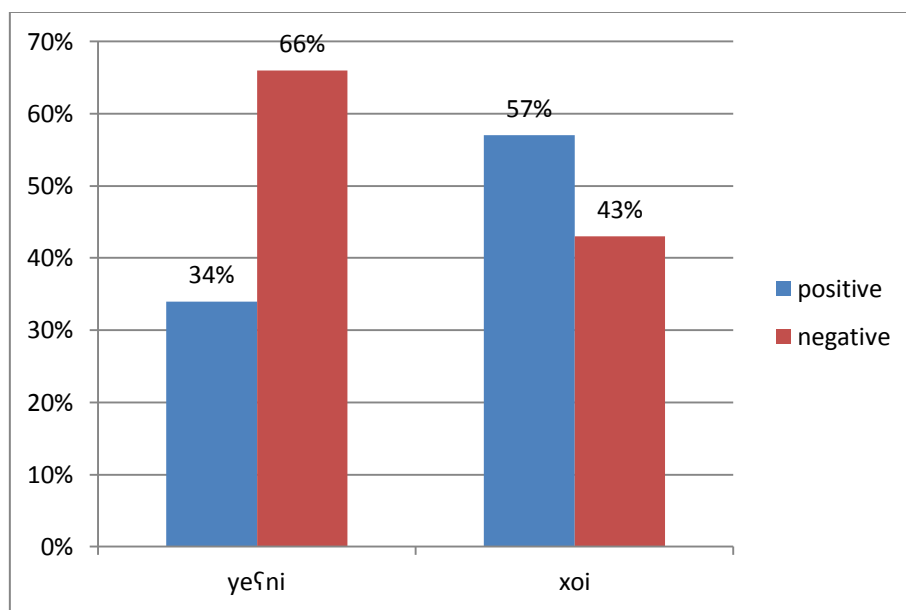


Figure 9.4: Frequency occurrences of *yeŋni* and *xoi* to signal assessment

9.2.2 Summary of *yeŋni* and *xoi*

The findings suggest that, as with *yeŋni* and *êsta*, *yeŋni* and *xoi* are not interchangeable when used to signal result. In addition, as with *yeŋni* and *êsta*, *yeŋni* and *xoi* could be used interchangeably to signal elaboration and explanation, based on the results and my intuition. However, even though *yeŋni* and *xoi êsta* are interchangeable when signalling assessment, they have different patterns of preferences for the values of positive and negative assessment. That is, the results indicate that *êsta* was preferred to signal positive value of assessment, whereas *xoi* is neutral. When compared with both *êsta* and *xoi*, *yeŋni* is more frequently used to signal negative values in both exemplifying and assessment. Therefore, as with *yeŋni* and *êsta*, *yeŋni* and *xoi* are interchangeable but not identical when used to signal assessment.

9.3 *Yeŋni* versus *îtr*

This section will examine the interchangeability cases of *yeŋni* and *îtr*. As presented earlier (see Section 5.3), the DM *yeŋni* was used by the participants to signal the functions of exemplifying (with and without the phrase *bo nmune*), explanation, assessment, result, self-correction and holding the floor. In addition, as demonstrated in Chapter Seven (see Section 7.3), the DM *îtr* was used to mark some of the above functions signalled by *yeŋni* in the current data, but not exemplifying, self-correction and floor-holding. However, it will be shown that replacing *yeŋni* with *îtr* in each of the three functions of exemplifying, self-correction and floor-holding (see Section 5.3) appears to be plausible. Moreover, I will demonstrate that the interchangeability of *yeŋni* and *îtr* to signal explanation, result and assessment below. The results of the analysis of the attested functions and the corresponding conclusion about the interchangeability of *yeŋni* and *îtr* are summarized in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4 *Yeŋni* versus *îtr*

Functions	<i>Yeŋni</i>	<i>Îtr</i>	Interchangeability
Exemplifying	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 9.4)	Plausible
Floor-holding	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 9.5)	Plausible
Self-correction	Yes	Not attested for same function but possible (see extract 9.6)	Plausible
Explanation	Yes: both explaining and justifying	Yes: only explaining	Yes but different preferences
Assessment	Yes: negative more common	Yes: similar in positive and negative assessment	Yes but different preferences
Result	Yes: positive more common	Yes: negative more common	Yes but different preferences

Before proceeding to demonstrate the interchangeability cases of *yeŋni* and *îtr*, I will examine the plausible cases between the DMs. As *yeŋni* can be replaced with *îtr* in each of the three functions analysed in Chapter Five (see Section 5.3), it appears that they are probably interchangeable. Consider the following extracts (extract 9.4 is repeated from extract 5.2, Section 5.3):

Extract 9.4

1. 11L: le gel ewey binake çanêk gewreye

Although the building is massive

2. 11L: belam ta êstaş her kêşai kemi hol heye

There are still shortages in the number of halls

3. 11L: *Yeşni (îtr) bo nmune*, başi Englizy ke telebeyan zor zore, yan başi komelayeti

I mean for example, English, or sociology department that has a large number of students

4. 11L: waku be pêi rêjei xwêndkar twanayan nye

for the number of their students, they are not capable

5. 11L: holi holi pêwistyan nye

of providing enough number of classrooms

In cases such as in Section 9.4 above, *yeşni* was used to exemplify in order to justify what was said before. Similarly, when *îtr* is used in place of *yeşni* in extract (9.4), it does not change either the pragmatic function or the meaning of the utterance. Thus, based on my intuition, it appears that interchangeability between *yeşni* and *îtr* is plausible to signal exemplifying.

In terms of replacing *yeşni* with *îtr* to signal floor-holding, consider the following extract (9.5) that I repeated from Chapter Five (extract 5.3, see 5.3.3.2) in which *yeşni* was used for that function. Now, in substituting *îtr* for *yeşni*, as can be seen below, nothing changes in the utterance. This suggests that *îtr* can be used interchangeably with *yeşni* to signal floor-holding.

Extract 9.5

3. 2L: ewey rasti bê muqattefey mamosta X dekem

In fact, I am interrupting Mr. X

4. 2L: *yeŋni (îtr)* muşkilayak haya

I mean, there is a problem

5. 2L: *mushkilaka* awaya

The problem is that

As far as the function of self-correction is concerned, *yeŋni* can again be replaced with *îtr* and the utterance remains the same. See the following extract (9.6) (repeated from extract 5.12 see 5.3.3.2).

Extract 9.6

1. 19S: nem dezani

I did not know

2. 19S: çyan lê kem.

What to do with them (the children)

3. 19S: dway translatingm dekrdwe ser Englizi.

After that, I was translating it into English

4. 19S: *êh...yeŋni (îtr)* translatem dekrd bo Kurdi.

uh...*I mean*, I translated it into Kurdish

In extract (9.6), the speaker used *yeŋni* before correcting herself. Similarly, when replacing *yeŋni* with *îtr* the pragmatic function and meaning of the utterance remain the same. Therefore, it appears that *îtr* can be used interchangeably with *yeŋni*.

In sum, based on these examples and my intuition, it seems that *yeŋni* and *îtr* could be interchangeable for signalling the three functions of exemplifying, floor-holding and self-correction. However, this is open to further research. Now, I will move to discuss the interchangeability cases of *yeŋni* and *îtr* to signal explanation, assessment, and result.

9.3.1 *Yeɬni* versus *itr* to signal explanation

With regard to the interchangeability of *yeɬni* and *itr* to indicate explanation, as the fourth row of Table 9.4 above displays, *yeɬni* and *itr* were both attested for this function. In addition, *yeɬni* occurred to signal explanation in 108 utterances (see Table 6.3, discussed in Chapter Six). In these occurrences, *yeɬni* was used to explain previous ideas in 62% (n=67) of cases, whereas it was used to justify prior talk in only 39% (n=41) of instances. In contrast however, *itr* was used infrequently (7 times), and it was used only to explain previous ideas. Based on the data, I conclude that both *yeɬni* and *itr* could be used interchangeably to signal explanation, but only in the case of explaining previous ideas. However, my intuition indicates that they are interchangeable for justifying what is said before as well. Thus, although these two DMs are sometimes interchangeable for signalling explanation of the previous topic, they are not identical.

9.3.2 *Yeɬni* versus *itr* to signal assessment

As far as the interchangeability of *yeɬni* and *itr* to signal assessment is concerned, as demonstrated in the fifth row of Table 9.4 above, the DMs *yeɬni* and *itr* were attested to mark assessment. As shown in Figure 9.5 below, although both DMs were used to indicate assessment, *yeɬni* occurred more with negative assessment (66% n=68) than positive (34% n=35). By contrast, *itr*, which occurred only in eight cases, was attested at 50% for both positive and negative assessment contexts. Therefore, *itr* is the same for both positive and negative, whereas *yeɬni* is most frequently used for negative assessment. Thus, they are interchangeable but with different preferences.

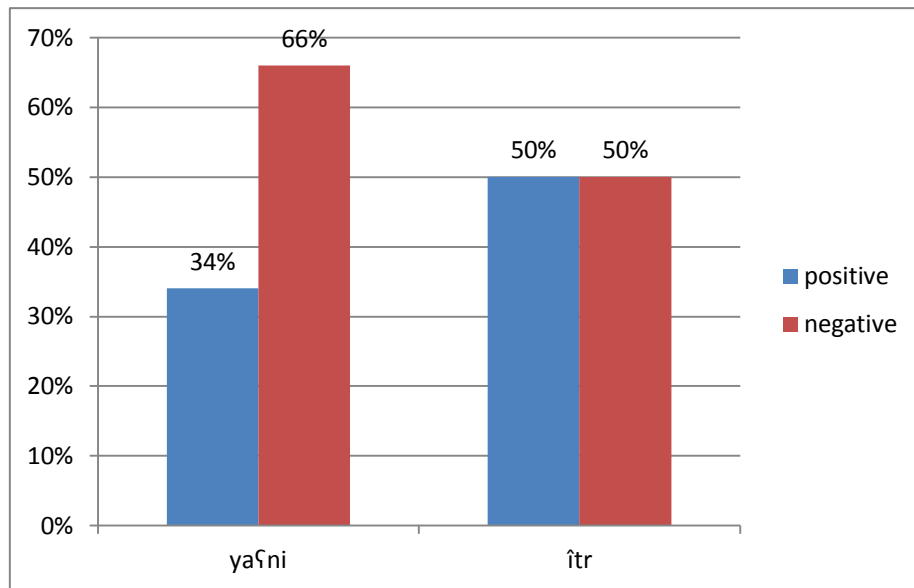


Figure 9.5: Frequency occurrences of *yeɬni* and *ɪtr* to signal assessment

9.3.3 *Yeɬni* (so) versus *ɪtr* (so) to signal result

In terms of the interchangeability of *yeɬni* and *ɪtr* to mark results, the last row of Table 9.4 demonstrates that both *yeɬni* (so) and *ɪtr* (so) were attested to signal the function of result. Consequently, it appears that they could both be used to mark result interchangeably. However, the results of the analysis in Figure 9.6 show that *yeɬni* (so) occurred more commonly in contexts with positive results (61% n=30) than with negative results (39% n=19). By contrast, *ɪtr* (so) occurred less frequently, 23 times in total. In addition, unlike *yeɬni*, *ɪtr* (so) occurred in a result context more with negative evaluations (69% n=16) than its use to signal positive results (30% n=7), as shown in Figure 9.6 below. Therefore, speakers used them interchangeably but with different preferences.

However, the pattern of using *yeɬni* (so) to signal results is different from its use to signal assessment, as shown in Figure 9.4.2. The DM *yeɬni* was used more commonly with negative rather than positive values to signal assessment, whereas it was used more with negative than positive values to mark results. These results reveal that *yeɬni* has different patterns for different functions.

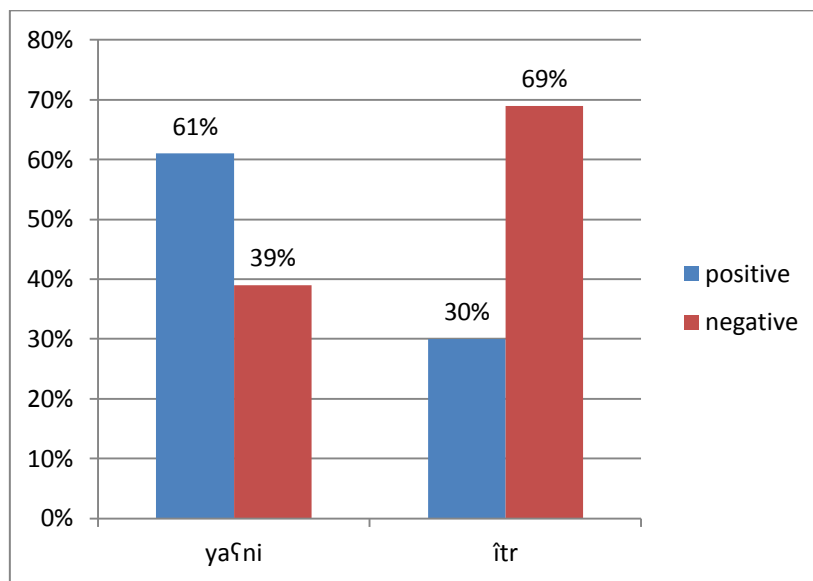


Figure 9.6: Frequency occurrences of *yeʕni* (so) and *îtr* (so) to signal result

9.3.4 Summary of *yeʕni* and *îtr*

The findings suggest that it is plausible for *yeʕni* to be replaced by *îtr* to signal the functions of exemplifying, floor-holding and self-correction. In addition, the results of the quantitative analysis demonstrate that *yeʕni* and *îtr* could be used interchangeably to signal explanation, assessment and result, but with different tendencies. Another interesting finding is that, both *yeʕni* and *îtr* have different patterns when they used to signal different functions. That is, *yeʕni* was preferred to signal negative values of assessment, whereas it was preferred to signal positive results. In contrast, *îtr* was preferred for both positive and negative assessments, while it was preferred to signal negative results. This suggests that although *îtr* is interchangeable with *yeʕni* in some functions, it is not identical to *yeʕni*.

9.4 Results of interchangeability and translation into English

This section has demonstrated the interchangeability of *yeſni* with *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*, which no previous study has investigated. Surprising findings were observed. First, *yeſni*, and *êsta* with and without the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) were used to signal exemplifying interchangeably. However, *yeſni bo nmune* was preferred to signal justification, whereas *êsta bo nmune* was more common when adding information. Second, *yeſni* and *îtr* have different patterns for different functions. That is, *yeſni* was preferred to signal negative values when it is used with assessment, whereas it was preferred to signal positive values with result. On the other hand, *îtr* was used equally to mark positive and negative values of assessment, while it was frequently used with negative value results. These findings suggest that even though *yeſni* is interchangeable with *îtr*, the two DMs are not identical. Finally, *yeſni* is interchangeable with all the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal assessment. Again, however, sometimes speakers make a distinction when they use *yeſni* or the other three DMs to signal the same function based on the tendency. The results of this examination of interchangeability indicate that the DMs *yeſni* with *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* undergo the principle of layering pointed out by Hopper (1991). Consequently, Like *yeſni* as discussed before (see 5.1.2), *yeſni* has been translated as English *I mean* in previous studies, the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* can be translated as *I mean* in English in most cases. Using *I mean* as the English equivalent for all four DMs is based on the interchangeability of *yeſni* with the three Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* for most functions. However, when they signal result, *îtr* and *yeſni* are better translated as English *so*. I will now move to discuss the process of phonetic reduction and layering in the current study.

9.5 Phonetic reduction and layering in the current study

This section discusses the possible principles of grammaticalisation of *yeſni*, *êsta*, *îtr*, and *xoi*. Since, to the best of my knowledge, data is not available to study these DMs over time, I draw conclusions from what I observe in synchronic data in the current study. In this section I will present some evidence that phonetic reduction and

layering are two aspects of grammaticalisation, which can explain the linguistic findings in the current study. Firstly, following Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca's model of the evolution of grammar (1994) and Cheshire's (2007) framework of general extenders, I will account for the loss of the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) from *yeʃni* and *êsta* through the process of phonetic reduction. Secondly, I will argue that other processes of grammaticalisation such as layering (Hopper 1991) could explain the interchangeability of the DMs *yeʃni* with *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*.

9. 5.1 Phonetic reduction

I propose that *yeʃni/êsta* with *bo nmune* (for example) have undergone a process of phonetic reduction and lost the phrase *bo nmune* (for example). As discussed in Section 9.1, *yeʃni* and *êsta* both with and without *bo nmune* (for example), are used to signal the function of example. According to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca's (1994, p.25) mechanism of change, speakers might attach a particular inference to a grammatical construction that often occurs in environment. Thus, after the DMs undergo the reductive process, the inference becomes part of the meaning of the construction. As demonstrated earlier in Section 9.1, as *yeʃni* and *êsta* with *bo nmune* (for example) have been used to signal exemplifying, I propose that *yeʃni* and *êsta* then gained an association with examples, and can now signal the function of example alone. This process of reduction of the final part of the construction, *bo nmune* (for example), would have been similar for both DMs. These results are similar to the phonetic reduction process pointed out by Cheshire (2007 p.167), described in the Literature Review Chapter (see Section 2.2). Cheshire (2007, p.167) argues that the long forms of *and stuff/things/everything like that* and *or something like that*, undergo the phonetic reduction process and consequently, they have been reduced to shorter forms such as *and stuff*, *and things*, *and everything* and *or something*. I agree with Cheshire's (2007, p.167) and I assume that *yeʃni* and *êsta* occur in contexts in the current study data may have developed from an earlier longer construction *yeʃni bo nmuna* and *êsta bo nmuna* through the process of phonetic reduction in grammaticalisation.

9.5.2 Layering

As demonstrated earlier in Section 9.2.1, the results show that speakers use *yeŋni* and *êsta* with the presence or absence of the phrase *bo nmune* (for example) interchangeably to signal the function of exemplifying. Thus, speakers have four options for examples: *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *yeŋni bo nmune* and *êsta bo nmune*. Second, as the results demonstrated earlier in Sections 9.2, Section 9.3, and Section 9.4 indicate the DM *yeŋni* is interchangeable with *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal assessment. Thus, it seems that speakers have used four different forms, *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *îtr*, and *xoi* to signal assessment. That is, there are four layers for the speakers to signal assessment. Similarly, the findings in Section 9.3 show that *yeŋni* and *îtr* can be used to signal explanation of the previous ideas. This indicates that speakers have two layers, *yeŋni*, and *îtr*, to signal explanation. Finally, in terms of the interchangeability of *yeŋni* (so) and *îtr* (so) to signal results, speakers have used them interchangeably. This suggests that there are two layers: *yeŋni* and *îtr* for speakers to signal result. Based on Hopper's (1991) and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca's (1994, p.21) a principle of grammaticalisation, this situation meets the definition of layering in grammaticalisation: speakers overlapped between the forms to signal the same function. Cross-linguistically, this suggests that Kurdish DMs undergo similar process in the grammaticalisation of DMs as linguistic features in general.

9.5.3 Summary

I have analysed two different principles of grammaticalisation: phonetic reduction and layering. I explained how *yeŋni/êsta bo nmune* (I mean for example) might have undergone a phonetic reduction process and, as a consequence, lost the phrase *bo nmune* (for example), resulting in the shorter forms of *êsta* and *yeŋni* to signal example. Moreover, I have suggested that interchangeability between *yeŋni* and *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* involves the principle of layering in grammaticalisation.

9.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have for the first time shown that speakers use *yeŋni* interchangeably with *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* to signal some functions. This suggests that the three DMs can be translated as *I mean*. In addition, I also found that using *bo nmune* (for example) with *yeŋni/êsta* does not change the function of exemplifying. The results of this investigation suggest that the possible explanation for the cases of interchangeability is grammaticalisation, specifically the principles of phonetic reduction and layering. The results of the analysis in the current study data revealed that even though Kurdish is a genetically dissimilar language from English and other European languages, interestingly, Kurdish DMs illustrate similar pathways of change in grammaticalisation. In Chapter Ten, the final chapter, I will present the conclusions of the present thesis and suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

10.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the main findings with regard to the research questions. Furthermore, the strengths and limitations of this thesis are considered, and suggestions for further research that could be conducted in the realm of DMs in Kurdish are offered. As stated in Chapter One, the primary aim of this thesis is to explore the functions and frequency of DMs in the three groups of participants, the first and fourth year undergraduate students and the lecturers, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

In the present study, the four DMs *yeſni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* have been subjected to a rigorous analysis. *Yeſni* has been dealt with in two separate chapters, and *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* have also had two chapters devoted to them. In each chapter, I carried out an in-depth empirical analysis of the DMs with illustrative data extracts. The main finding of the study is that the sociolinguistic setting of the Kurdish speech community contributed to various functions and usages of the DM *yeſni*. Most of those functions mapped to those found in other speech communities described in the previous studies, that is, by speakers of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, whereas some of the usages are identified in the Kurdish speech community data in the current study.

As far as the original contribution of this study is concerned, the contributions fall into five main areas. The first is that the thesis, for the first time, has examined the Kurdish DMs *yeſni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. It is the first study to identify the Kurdish DMs *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* and the first to set out a classification of their pragmatic functions in Kurdish. It also has demonstrated that the interchangeability based on similar but not identical patterns of use. Moreover, the study has proposed English translations for the DM uses of these items. Second, my refinements of the Owens and Rockwood (2008) framework allowed the addition of subcategories of the classification according to specific criteria, for example, the positive and negative use of assessment. Third, the study has shown that *yeſni* is a borrowing DM from Arabic. Fourth, the study also contributes to our knowledge of language variation and change, grammaticalisation, and

CoP. The last area of the study contribution is that this thesis has contributed to the study of DMs cross linguistically by examining their use in a language other than English.

The following sections provide the conclusions discussed in this thesis in response to the research questions, the implications of the study and suggestions for further research.

10.1 Thesis Summary

This summary provides answers to the Research Questions based on the findings of the current study. Each question is answered briefly.

1) What are the pragmatic functions of the DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the current study data?

Chapter Five, which concentrates on the pragmatic functions of *yeşni*, demonstrated that the use of *yeşni* in Kurdish is very similar to Arabic at the levels of communication and function (Owens and Rockwood 2008). These functions consist of signalling explanation, exemplifying, result, holding the floor and self-correction. However, the data analysis showed that *yeşni* occurred to signal assessment which is in line with the findings of the study of Turkish speakers by Yilmaz (2004) and the study of Persian speakers by Noora and Amouzadeh (2015). In addition, at the usage level, similar to the findings of Noora and Amouzadeh (2015), the data analysis in chapter Five revealed that while *yeşni* occurred to signal assessment; it can have two different usages, either positive or negative. Moreover, similar to the uses of English *I mean* pointed out by Beeching (2016), the data demonstrated also that when *yeşni* occurred to signal either explanation or example, it can have different usages such as justifying or adding information. Thus, the data analysis suggests two points: first, when *yeşni* is borrowed (into Turkish, Persian and Kurdish); it gains an additional aspect of usage, such as signalling positive and negative values of assessment. In particular, in Kurdish, the level of usage is found to signal justifying and adding information similar to English *I mean*. Second, the data analysis proposes further Arabic studies might be needed

since the Arabic studies mentioned in this study failed to identify that *yeŋni* can signal assessment and the additional usages (positive and negative values of assessment). Consequently, the function of assessment and usage level should be added to the Owens and Rockwood's (2008) classification of the levels of *yeŋni*.

Furthermore, as far as the pragmatic functions of the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* are concerned, the data analysis in Chapter Seven demonstrated that, similar to *yeŋni*, all the three DMs *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* were used to signal certain pragmatic functions at the speech act and discourse levels. These functions are elaboration, explanation, exemplifying, assessment, and result. However, unlike *yeŋni*, these three DMs were not observed at turn-management level to signal holding the floor and self-correction.

2) Do participants use *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* interchangeably with one another and with *yeŋni*, and, if so, why?

The data analyses conducted in Chapter Seven made it clear that *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* have both grammatical and pragmatic uses. These findings suggest that these three DMs have developed from (*êsta* and *îtr*) their adverbial uses and (*xoi*) from its reflexive pronoun usage which follow the similar pathways of development in grammaticalisation (Brinton 2017). Thus, even though Kurdish is a genetically dissimilar language from English and other European languages, Kurdish DMs illustrate similar pathways as Brinton's (2017). This proposes that DMs universally emerge from similar pathways of change. In their pragmatic uses, these three DMs are interchangeable with one another to signal some functions (assessment, explanation, elaboration and exemplifying). In addition, the data analyses conducted in Chapter Nine also made it clear that *yeŋni* is interchangeable with *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* to signal most of the pragmatic functions that were attested for in the study. In addition, for the DMs which were not attested for the same function, I suggested that their interchangeability is plausible in some cases. I also proposed that the most suitable English translation for these three DMs, based on the interchangeability of the functions in which they mark with *yeŋni*, is *I mean*.

The data analysis in Chapter Nine demonstrated that using *bo nmune* (for example) with *yeŋni* or *êsta* does not change the function of exemplifying. However, I found that the participants showed a clear preference for using *êsta bo nmune* (I mean

for example) to signal positive assessment, but *yeşni bo nmune* (I mean for example) to signal negative assessment. I also demonstrated, in my analysis of the interchangeability of the DMs, that grammaticalisation, specifically the principles of phonetic reduction (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994) and layering (Hopper 1991), might explain these patterns which suggest that Kurdish DMs follow the similar pathways in the grammaticalisation process cross-linguistically. The study offers further support for the grammaticalisation of DMs cross-linguistically by showing that even though Kurdish is a genetically dissimilar language from English and other European languages, Kurdish DMs follow the similar pathways of change. In addition, the study adds that similar to the other grammatical levels such as adverbs, adjectives and nouns, DMs can emerge from reflexive pronouns as well.

3) What are the differences in the frequency of use of the DMs *yeşni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* by participant groups?

An analysis of the data showed that the fourth year students were the most frequent users of the DMs. They often used *yeşni* and *xoi*, and sometimes used *êsta*, though they rarely used *îtr*, probably because it is a regional feature, as demonstrated in Chapter Eight (see Section 8.2). The results in Chapter Six (see Table 6.1) showed that the fourth year students used the highest rate of *yeşni* (48% of the total occurrences of 727), compared to the first year students (25%) and the lecturers (27%). It was also observed (see Table 8.2) that the fourth year students used *xoi* more frequently (70% n=19) out of the total instances (27) of *xoi*, than *îtr*. This is because the fourth year students used *îtr* only 3% (n=2). Conversely, the first year students frequently used *êsta* and *îtr*, and sometimes used *yeşni* or *xoi*. Finally, the lecturers sometimes used *yeşni* but used *êsta*, *xoi* and *îtr* infrequently.

4) What are the differences in the frequency of the DMs to signal individual functions by participant groups?

Regarding frequency of use by the three groups on the basis of individual functions, the data analysis in Chapter Six showed that, out of all their uses of *yeşni*, the lecturers recorded the highest rate (67%) to signal explanation, compared to 58% by the fourth year students and 35% by the first year students. The findings support the results

identified by previous research carried out by Al-Makoshi (2014) and Yang (2011) in a classroom setting, who demonstrated that teachers often used DMs to give explanations. The explanation for the findings of this study is therefore that teachers do the same whether they are involved in interviews or in classroom work.

Based on the data, I conclude that the Kurdish DM *îtr* is a regional feature, as the data from the current study confirmed that it was not used by the fourth year students in the Qeladizê (Pijder) sub-dialect. The data analysis in Chapter Eight (see Table 8.3) demonstrated that fourth year students used *îtr* only twice (3% =2); once to signal shifting and once in an ambiguous instance. Thus, the study concluded that, in addition to the differences in phonology and morphology, as identified by Mackenzie (1961), the Qeladizê (Pijder) and Suleimani sub-dialects are also different in their use of DMs.

5) Where differences are present, what linguistic or social characteristics of the groups can explain the observed patterns of use?

The data analysis in Chapter Four demonstrated that, based on their background information and their use of code-switching in their Facebook comments, the fourth year student group is a Cop. Evidence for this included the fourth year students' use of a particular sub-dialect of Qeladizê (Pijder). In addition, the fourth year student group had three characteristics (practice, mutual engagement and shared repertoire) which are important characteristics of a CoP, as established by previous studies (Iverson and McPhee 2002, Wenger 2006 and Lai et al 2006). On the other hand, an analysis of the data also revealed that the first year students and the lecturers used different sub-dialects, such as Hawler, Qeladizê (Pijder) and Suleimani, and that these two groups did not have the three characteristics which indicate a CoP (see Section 9.3).

The explanation for these findings is that the high rates of usage of the DMs by the fourth year students is a consequence of their status as a CoP, which corresponds to the findings of a previous study by Liebscher and Daily-O'Cain (2006), which demonstrated that CoPs use DMs very frequently, particularly in academic settings.

6) Is *yefni* a borrowed or code-switching item in Kurdish and why?

The study concluded that *yeŋni* is a borrowed DM in Kurdish as shown in Chapter Five (see Section 5.1). This conclusion follows the research by Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) which claims that high frequency usage of DMs is the best criterion to distinguish DMs as borrowings from code-switching. The results shown in Chapter Six (see Table 6.1) reveal that *yeŋni* has the highest frequency rate in the data, with 727 total occurrences.

10.2 Real World Implications of Research Findings

This study has pedagogic, methodological and communication implications for conducting future research. The findings of the study illustrate that DMs are an important part of Kurdish spoken contexts and they act as a road map in discourse to signal various pragmatic functions.

One implication of this research is that DMs should be studied in their contexts of use. Consequently, the results could enhance the field of Kurdish linguistics and they could have a great deal of influence on discourse structure and pedagogy. DMs in Kurdish higher education are probably ignored by syllabus designers. The education system can raise the students' awareness of the discourse and pragmatic functions of DMs and show how DMs are used in real life interaction, by including samples from natural spoken data in textbooks. Moreover, lecturers could also take advantage of an overt awareness of how to use DMs in structuring and organizing academic discourse.

Thus, the pedagogical implication of this study is that it would probably benefit lecturers and syllabus designers to incorporate DMs into textbooks, by focusing on spoken discourse and stressing the importance of the DMs in real life interaction.

The findings of this study suggest that it is particularly crucial for Kurdish researchers to pay attention to the spoken context (as opposed to only the written context) and to carry out investigations of the social relationships among participants, who may share knowledge, ideas, and learning experiences. Thus, this finding might direct Kurdish linguists to carry out research on the use of DMs as a linguistic inquiry for language learning.

DMs represent a fertile area in which to ground communication research. One implication of this research is that Kurdish researchers should move beyond documenting syntax and phonology to look at discourse as this kind of study in Kurdish linguistics has so far received little attention. The findings of this research suggest that DMs are important resources and instruments in building social relationships. Therefore, researchers need to pay attention to the situated language use of DMs in natural interactions between people.

10.3 Limitation of the study

The scope of the current thesis was limited to identifying the similarities and differences in the frequency and pragmatic functions of the DMs *yeŋni* and its Kurdish possible equivalents: *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr* in the three participant groups. Even though there are other DMs in Kurdish, I could not look at every single DM in the current study. That is, the thesis was obliged to limit its scope and not attempt to cover in detail all the possible Kurdish DMs, even within the data. Therefore, the focus of the present study was on *yeŋni*, *êsta*, *xoi*, and *îtr*. In addition, some of the DMs (*xoi* and *îtr*) were infrequent so more work is needed to fully understand their patterns of use. I also have only looked at one context: dyadic conversations with an observer. Other contexts (e.g. the classroom, bigger groups, etc.) would also be needed to fully understand how these DMs work.

I also have only looked at one context, universities, so I do not know what other contexts might look like. I do not know what other dialect differences there might be because I do not have speakers of all the sub-dialects. Finally, I have not explored any tendencies with gender, age, etc.

10.4 Future work

In this study, many interesting questions have been raised and answered about the use of DMs in Kurdish. Even though this exploratory research might not allow for

generalizations about DMs in the whole of the Kurdish speaking community, it may offer as an awareness raiser for the necessity to carry out more studies in this area as summarized below.

Firstly, the findings presented in this study imply that more studies must be done on DMs in the context of spoken Kurdish, especially a comparison of certain borrowed Arabic DMs (*walla*, *wallay*, *tab3an*, *hatman*) with the same unified analytic perspective. Such investigation is necessary because to my knowledge, these DMs have never been studied in Kurdish.

The next step might be to explore the repetition, sequences of DMs and patterns or collocation of DMs in spoken contexts. More focus should be given to examine the repetition patterns such as *yeŋni*, *yeŋni* or *êsta*, *êsta* or sequences of DMs such as *îtr*, *xoi*; *êsta*, *yeŋni*; or *yeŋni*, *êsta*. Research is also needed to determine the patterns of collocations of DMs such as *bo nmune êsta* or *bo nmune yeŋni*. Research of this type would be helpful to provide a more extensive description of Kurdish DMs and present a wider scope of pragmatic, linguistic, and sociolinguistic studies in Kurdish.

Furthermore, future studies should be done in order to explore DMs between the dialects and sub-dialects, and from the perspectives of social position, gender, and age. In particular, more studies on the DMs of dialects and sub-dialects with similar academic and sociolinguistic setting are required to explore the pragmatic functions and patterns of DMs.

Finally, since there is absence of literature of both synchronic and diachronic studies on the Kurdish DMs it would be very useful to have academic publications, which particularly include the DMs prevalent in Kurdish spoken discourse and their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic development through the years. This would probably help to further explanation of the pragmatic functions, which are signalled by DMs in Kurdish.

APPENDICES

The appendices³⁷ consist of the followings. First, Appendix A, which is the fieldwork permission form. Second, Appendix B, which is the participant information sheet and consent, form (Kurdish and English versions). Third, Appendix C is the student information sheet (Kurdish version) and finally, Appendix D is the student information sheet (English version).

Appendix A Fieldwork permission form

فەقۆرمی زانیاری و ره زامه ندی

به ریز سه رۆک به س/ سه رۆک سکول

من خۆیندکاری دکتۆرام له زانکۆی لیسته ر له بریتانیا. لیکۆلینه وه یه ک نه نجام ده ده م له بواری زمان تیکه ل کردن له به شی ئینگلیزیه کانی زانکۆکانی کوردستان به سه ر په رشتی دکتۆرا کتڵین ۆته رز. نامانجم نه وه یه لیکۆلینه وه بکه م له به ره ی جۆنیه تی زمان به کارهینانی له لایه ن مامۆستا و خۆیندکارانه وه له به شه ئینگلیزیه کاندای.

هه ر جه نده زمان تیکه ل کردن ژماره یه کی زۆر پیناسه ی بۆ داریژرا وه له لایه ن لیکۆله رانه وه، من لیره دا نه و پیناسه ی میوسکن (۲۰۱۱) دهخه مه رو " زمان تیکه ل کردن بریتی یه له به کار هینانی زیاتر له یهک زمان له یه ک ده قی ده ربریند". بۆنمونه:

۱- نتیجه نه هاتوه، بۆیه لیکجه که نا خۆینین.

۲- قوناغی دوو په رتیسپییه یشنیان زۆر تره له قوناغی سی.

۳- له ریسته کهدا دهجم بۆ لایبره ری.

³⁷ The appendices that contain the data are provided to the examiners electronically.

پېنج جالاکیم ههیه بۆدیتا کۆکردنوه. یهکهم ۳ فهیس بووک گروپ دهکهموه بۆ بهشداربووان. یهک بۆ مامۆستاكان، یهک بۆ قوناغی یهک وه دانهکهی تر بۆ جوارهكان. وا پی شیبینی دهکهم ۱۲ مامۆستاو ۱۲ یهکهمکان و ۱۲ ی جوارمهکابه شدار بن. هس گروپیک ۶ نیرو ۶ می. له گروپهکاندا ههفتهی یهک جار وینهیهک یان نوسینهک دادهبیزینم. بهشداربووانیش دمتوانن کۆمینتی خویان بنوسن له سهربان. ئهمه بۆ ماوهی ۴ مانگ بهردوام دهیبیت. کهواته لهو ماوهیدا من نزیکهی ۱۶ وینه و نوسین دادهبیزینم. دواتر لیکۆلینهوه له کۆمینتهکان دهکهم بۆ هس زمان تیکهل کردنیک تیایان دا.

ریگیهکی تر بۆ دیتا کۆ کردنوه سهرنج دانه له کاتی وانه وتنهویدا. بۆ ئهم مههسته ۲ وانه وردهگرم. ۲ کاتژمیر گرامهسی یهکهمکان و ۲ کاتژمیر ریپازی لیکۆلینهوهی جوارهكان. ریکۆردهریک له بهردهم کلاسهکه دادهبیم بۆ توماری دهنگی بهشداربووان. خوشم له دواوه دادهنیشم بۆ سهرنج دان و تییبینی نوسین. هس جهنده پیش ومخت رهمانهندی بهشداربووان ومردهگرم به داواکردنی واژۆ کردنی فرۆمی رهمانهندی لییان، ئهوانههی که نایانهویت دهنگیان تۆمار بکریت پپوسته جاومری کهن همتا ریکۆردهکه دهکۆژینهوه ئینجا پرسیارمهکانیان بکهن.

جالاکیهکی تر، تۆمار کردنی گفتوگۆی نا رسمیه له دهموهی کلاس بۆ ههمان بهشداربووان. دواي ومهگرتتی رهمانهندی لییان، به ۴ یان ۵ گروپ دهنگیان تۆمار دهکهم له کاتی ربهستا له کافتیریا کاتی که به زمانی ئینگلیزی گفتوگۆ دهکهم. هس گروپه بۆ ماوهی یهک کاتژمیر گفتوگۆ دهکهم. خوشم لهگهلیاندا دههم بۆ سهرنجدان.

ریگیه جوارهم، جاو پیکهوتتی روبهروی مامۆستاو خويندکارانه به کوردی بۆ ههمان گروپی بهشداربووان. بۆ ئهم مههسته دوو دوو بهشداربو (دوو نیر دوو می) بهیهکهمه گفتوگۆ دهکهم. من جهند پرسیارکی گشتیان لیدهکهم. هس جووته بهشداربویهک بۆ ماوهی نیو کاتژمیر دهوین.

دوا جالاکیم، راپرسیهکه له ناو بهشداربووان ههمویان. له یهکی له ربهستهکاندا راپرسیهکه دا دهری به بهشداربووان. لیره دا دهموهی ههلویستی مامۆستاو خويندکار بزانه له مهر بهکارهینانی ۲ یان زیاتر له کاتی وانه وتنهوه دا له بهشی ئینگلیزی. وه کاریگهری زمان تیکهل کردن جیه له سهر پرۆسهی خويندن و فیر بوونی ئینگلیزی له زانکۆی کوردیدا.

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Appendix B: Participant information sheet and consent form (Kurdish and English versions)

فۆرمی رهزانهندی (بۆ بهشداریان)

من رازیم که فاطمه بیرۆت دهنگم تۆمار بکات و نهو ولامانه که دهیده مهو له گفتوگو و فهیس بووک بهکار بینیت له لیکۆلینه ودا. نهو دهزانم که هه زانیاریه که من دهیده مه به متمانه و به شیوهیهکی نهناسراو دهپاریزیت و وه تهنها له لایهن لیکۆله رانی نهکادیمیه و به کار دیت. سهه رای نه مهش نه مه دهیتیه بهجیا له ناو هارد دیسکی دهه کیدا دهپاریزیت ههتا کاتیک نادیار. هه روه ها بهشداری کردنم له مه پرۆژدا به تهواوی کاریکی خۆبه خشانیه.

I agree to allow Fatima Berot to record and transcribe my participation in the interview and the Facebook Group. I understand that any data I submit will be anonymized and confidential and will be used by academic researchers only. In addition, this data will be stored in an external Hard Disk separately from this document to be saved indefinitely. Moreover, I know that participation in the project is entirely voluntary.

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Table A Participant consent form

NO	Name	Email	Date	Sign.
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

Appendix C: Student information sheet (Kurdish version)

بابەت زانیاری

خویندکاری بەریز

من خویندکاری دکتۆرام لە زانکۆی لیستەر لە بریتانیا. لیکۆلینە وە یە ک نە نجام دە دە م لە بواری
زمان تیکە ل کردن لە بە شی نینگلیزیە کاتی زانکۆکانی کوردستان بە سە ر پە رشتی دکتۆرا کتێلین ۆتە رز.
نامانجە نە وە یە لیکۆلینە وە بکە م لە بە رە ی جۆنیه تی زمان بە کارهینانی لە لایە ن مامۆستا و خویندکارانە
وە لە بەشە نینگلیزیە کاندای.

پێنج جالاکیم هەیه بۆدەیتا کۆکردنەو. یەکەم ۳ فەیس بووک گروپ دەکەمەو بۆ بەشداربووان. یەک بۆ
مامۆستاگان، یەک بۆ قۆناغی یەک وە دانەکە تر بۆ جوارەکان. وای شینی دەکەم ۱۲ مامۆستا و ۱۲ یەکەکان و
۱۲ جوارەکا بەشدار بن. هەر گروپیک ۶ نیرۆ ۶ می. لە گروپەکاندا هەفتە یەک جار وینەیک یان نوسینەک
دادەبەزینم. بەشداربووانیش دەتوانن کۆمیتە خۆیان بنوسن لە سەریان. ئەمە بۆ ماوەی ۴ مانگ بەردەوام دەبیت.
کەواتە لەو ماوەیدا من نزیکە ۱۶ وینە و نوسین دادەبەزینم.

ریگەیکە تر بۆ دەیتا کۆ کردنەو سەرنج دانە لە کاتی وانه و تەنەو. بۆ ئەم مەبەستە ۲ وانه وردەگرم.
۲ کاتژمێر گرامەری یەکەکان و ۲ کاتژمێر رێبازی لیکۆلینەو جوارەکان. ریکۆردەریک لە بەردەم کلاسەکە
دادەنیم بۆ تۆماری دەنگی بەشداربووان. خۆشم لە داوای دادەنیشم بۆ سەرنج دان و تیبینی نوسین. هەرچەندە پیش
وخت رەزامەندی بەشداربووان وەردەگرم بە داواکردنی واژۆ کردنی فرۆمی رەزامەندی لییان، ئەوانە ی کە
نایانەویت دەنگیان تۆمار بکەیت پێویستە جاوەری کەن هەتا ریکۆردەکە دەکوژینەو ئەنجا پرسیارەکانیان بکەن.
جالاکیکە تر، تۆمار کردنی گفتوگۆی نا رەسمیە لە دەروە ی کلاس بۆ هەمان بەشداربووان. دوا ی
وەرگرتنی رەزامەندی لییان، بە ۴ یان ۵ گروپ دەنگیان تۆمار دەکەم لە کاتی رێستدا لە کافتیریا کاتی کە بە
زمانی نینگلیزی گفتوگۆ دەکەن. هەر گروپە بۆ ماوەی یەک کاتژمێر گفتوگۆ دەکەن. خۆشم لەگەڵیاندا دەبم بۆ
سەرنجدا.

ریگە ی جوارەم، جاو پیکەوتنی روبەرو ی مامۆستا و خویندکارانە بە کوردی بۆ هەمان گروپی
بەشداربووان. بۆ ئەم مەبەستە دوو دوو بەشداربو (دوو نیر دوو می) بەیەکەو گفتوگۆ دەکەن. من جەند
پرسیارکی گشتیان لێدەکەم. هەر جووتە بەشداربو یەک بۆ ماوەی نیو کاتژمێر دەدوین.
دوا جالاکیم، راپرسیەکە لە ناو بەشداربووان هەمویان. لە یەکە ی رێستەکاندا راپرسیەکە دا دەدری بە
بەشداربووان. لێرەدا دەمەو ی هەلوێستی مامۆستا و خویندکار بزانم لە مە بەکارهینانی ۲ یان زیاتر لە کاتی وانه
وتەنەو دا لە بەشی نینگلیزی.

Appendix D: Student information sheet (English version)

Dear Student,

I am a PhD student at the University of Leicester, sponsored by the Kurdistan Regional Government. Presently, I am working under the supervision of Dr. Cathleen Waters. I am conducting a study called Code-switching in English Departments in Kurdistan Universities. My goal is to study language use by teachers and students in English Departments in Kurdish Universities.

As part of my research, I have some activities to collect data accurately for the study. Firstly, I wish to analyse your comments on Facebook. Therefore, I will create three Facebook Groups, one for the participants who are 6 teachers and the others for the participants who are students: one for 24 freshman students and the other for 24 senior. I will post a specific picture or video on each of the three Facebook Groups a week. Following that, the participants will write their comments on them. This will be continued for four months so I will post around 16 pictures or videos in this period.

Everything that is written is kept entirely confidential and you will remain entirely anonymous. The audio recording will be archived and conserved for posterity. No one will have access to the data except academic researchers and no one will have access to it unless they follow the same procedures as I do for keeping it confidential and anonymous.

Participation in the study is not a requirement of your degree programme, and your contribution will not be part of an assessment for any course. If you want to withdraw your contribution from the project at the first 2 weeks of the activities, you can do so.

Although the findings of this study will not benefit you directly, by participating in this study you will be contributing to the production of new and potentially important knowledge about the nature of language use and its consequences on teaching and learning English-language in English Departments in Kurdistan Universities.

Would you be willing to help me to conduct this research by participating in the activity described above?

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