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Narrative Identity in Personal Experience Stories Told by Displaced Iraqi Kurdish Yazidi Females

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Abstract

This paper explores the cultural and social identities of the Yazidi women through analyzing their life experience stories. This study explores the storytelling patterns of three Yazidi Kurdish women who have been displaced from the Shingali community. It employs a qualitative methodology to shed light on their experiences during the migration in 2014. The data was gathered from individuals residing in the Khanki camp located in Duhok city. The analysis reveals that the Yazidi women construct their cultural identities through using different linguistic choices and different types of story genres and topics. Also, the selected participants tell a certain type of story genre more than others. In this case, they tell more exempla than other types of story genres as exempla highlight the moral stances of the tellers through which they can construct their social and ideological identities.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, narrative identity, Yazidi women.

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الهوية السردية في قصص التجارب الشخصية التي ترويها النساء اليزيديات الكرديات
العراقيات النازحات

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المستخلص

تبحث هذه الدراسة في الهويات الثقافية والاجتماعية لنساء الإيزيديين من خلال دراسة قصص التجارب الحياتية. تحاول هذه الدراسة دراسة أنماط السرد لثلاث نساء إيزيديات كرديات نازحات من مجتمع شنگال، وتستخدم منهجية نوعية لتسليط الضوء على تجاربهن خلال الهجرة في عام 2014. تم جمع المعلومات من المشاركات المقيمات في مخيم خانكي الواقع في مدينة دهوك. تكشف التحليلات أن نساء الإيزيديين يتفاوضن على هويتهن الثقافية باستخدام لغات وأنماط قصص ومواضيع مختلفة. علاوة على ذلك، تميل المشاركات المحددات إلى رواية نوع معين من السرد أكثر من غيره، حيث يروين قصص "الحكمة" أكثر من غيرها لأن هذا النوع يبرز المواقف الأخلاقية للراويات ويسمح لهن بإعادة بناء هوياتهن الاجتماعية والفكرية.

الكلمات الدالة: تحليل الخطاب، الهوية السردية، النساء اليزيديات.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2014, people in Sinjar, Northern Iraq, and particularly the Yazidi religious minority were attacked by Daesh (ISIS), resulting in the displacement of the overwhelming majority of the community. The majority of those who were displaced were women as some men were killed and some escaped to the mountains. Most of these women went through a brutal experience. The brutal experience that these Yazidi women went through, makes it a rich area for research to shed light on their difficult lives and their suffering. Their life after displacement is worth to be under the focus of research. A study was dealt with the Yazidi women by Pasha (2018). She analysed the Yazidi women's lives politically by focusing on their experiences as Yazidi women living in one of the refugee camps and local service providers. Cetorelli, et al (2017) also dealt with these displaced people from a medical perspective. However, to the best knowledge of the researcher, no study has

tackled these displaced women's life experiences linguistically. Thus, this study will be the first step towards this goal. In order to gain a rich and deep knowledge about the displaced Yazidi women suffering lives and their cultural and social identities after being attacked by ISIS, their personal experience stories should be put under the lenses of this research.

The objectives of this paper are:

1. These women have suffered discrimination and mistreatment. So, the aim of this study is to shed light on their suffering and to analyse their stories linguistically.
2. Analyse the narrative identity of the participants and discover whether their stories of personal experiences construct the various cultural identities for the participants.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. What is Narrative?

According to De Fina (2003: 13), "narratives can be described not only as narratives that have a sequential and temporal ordering, but also as texts that include some kind of rupture or disturbance in the normal course of events, some kind of unexpected action that provokes a reaction and/or an adjustment." This definition demonstrates structuralism because it includes both textual elements as well as contextual circumstances in which the narrative occurred.

Researchers have debated the definition of narrative for a very long time. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008: 379) identify two rivaling methods to define "narrative" as either coming from conversational principles or originating from a universal interpretation of stories. According to them, the Labov and Waletzky's (1967) model of narrative analysis and social sciences narrative turn together implied and predicted this approach.

Garson (2013: 8-9) explains that several authors confuse narrative and story terminology because they fail to distinguish between them. De Fina (2003: 13) defines stories as specific writing forms which include disruptions in the natural sequence of events while De Fina connects tales to the narrative category. According to Mishler (1986) narrative refers to any structured storyline following a clear sequence for which researchers need to establish clear distinctions.

According to Hymes and Cazden (1980: 131, cited in Georgakopoulou, 1997: 1), human life inherently depends on narrative for growth of personal identity. According to Bruner (1986, 1990), there exist two principal ways of obtaining knowledge: the "narrative mode" handles human reality alongside experiences and beliefs along with doubts and emotions while the "paradigmatic mode" focuses on truth observation and analysis in addition to reasoning and proof. The study of discourse consists of narrative analysis as one of its "best and most thoroughly researched fields" (Van Dijk 1991: 4, cited in Georgakopoulou, 1997: 2).

2.2. Narrative and Identity

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) identity means “the social positioning of self and other”. Narrative identity, according to McAdams (2011:99), is the “internalized and evolving story of the self that a person constructs to make sense and meaning out of his or her life”. The different meanings people and individuals themselves assign to someone form the basis of identity (Ibarra and Barbulesco, 2010: 137). These meanings derive from two sources according to their argument: first, from social roles people play and second, from unique personal traits which others perceive through observation of behavior. Ibarra and Barbulesco keep on and define “identity work” as “people’s engagement in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, or revising their identities”. Bamberg (2010: 4) demonstrates that identity represents a human endeavor to separate and unite the personality across multiple social and personal dimensions. Per his discussion it is possible to identify and demonstrate multiple social identities through categories such as gender, age, race, occupation, gangs, socioeconomic position, ethnicity, class, nation states or regional area.

Identity defines the starting point of maturity when an individual develops "life in continuous perspective, both in retrospect and prospect" (Erikson, 1958: 111, cited in McAdams, 2018: 360-361). The person who possesses identity shows he can reconstruct past events to make his life story seem like he plotted it or it planned his path.

De Fina (2015: 359) points out that identity researchers tend to agree that just as identities are plural with possible multi-voiced characteristics, they also exist in diverse categories that span various environments. The examination of identities may be conducted either through personal or social discourse approaches. People choose to explicitly belong to groups which others share membership of or show that they bear certain human types.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 593-594) describes how identity receives its formation. The theory of identity and interaction developed by them essentially uses this phenomenon known as “indexicality” to explain how language forms generate identity positions. An index represents a language form which takes on meaning according to its situational use in discourse (Silverstein, 1976: 11-55). Indexicality includes all instances where semantic associations create links between linguistic features and social meanings according to Ochs (1992: 335–358) and Silverstein (1985: 219–259). Indexicality develops its meanings through ideological frameworks since cultural beliefs and values determine the relationship between language and identity formation.

According to Hamilton (1996) intertextuality functions as the bond between existing and past discussions. Linguistic anthropologist Wortham (2006, as cited in Tannen (2007: 13)) studies identity models that develop across 12 Talking voices in a school year. The analysis of students' changing identity expressions enables him to track local and universal identities through their reaction to various educational situations. Wortham provides a complete explanation about identity formation and habitual signs which students use for identity expression through studying multiple incidents within a single classroom during months. According to Linguist Cynthia Gordon (2002, 2003, 2004, 2006 as cited in Tannen (2007: 13)) family discourse reveals how intertextuality influences identity construction in social interactions. By following how specific linguistic patterns evolve

during family interactions she investigates how repetitions help develop family identity through identifying the source of such language usage.

According to De Fina and Bamberg (2006: 2) social constructionism provides the fundamental approach to discourse-identity studies through “the assumption that identity is neither a given nor a product”. Identity functions as a process which first emerges in actual interactional environments and second creates multiple identity constructs rather than single unified expressions while it develops from social negotiations rather than individual production and requires "discursive work" (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1970: 87-106).

A framework for analyzing identity as it is created through linguistic interaction is proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 585) and is based on the following principles: identity is a social and cultural phenomenon, influenced by linguistic and semiotic practices, and includes global demographic categories, attitudes, and cultural positions; linguistic identification can be achieved through labels, implicatures, postures, styles, language structures, and systems; identity is relationally produced through qualities of one's relationship to others, such as resemblance and difference, authenticity and artifice, and authenticity and delegitimacy; identity may be deliberate, habitual, or influenced by interpersonal negotiation, views, and ideological processes.

The link between identity and narrative exists as a direct and strong connection. The primary method to express identity rests with narratives according to De Fina (2015: 351). According to story theorists our self-told narratives shape the person we become in the world. After growth the discipline develops into a major multifaceted study field which various academic disciplines now investigate. De Fina (2015: 351-352) explains how human beings use narratives as tools to develop and mediate personal and group-based identities. Story analysts agree with various main concepts emerging from poststructuralist philosophers' works. Semiotic processes create identity development because they exceed both quantitative features and individual variation.

The research fields dealing with identity and narrative function as major investigative areas studied by multiple disciplines and theoretical frameworks according to Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001: 2). They note that despite extensive historical research in these areas only few accidental connections emerged between identity studies and narrative research. They state that literary criticism and literary theory contrast with psychology when we examine how many psychological studies focus on human life language patterns yet psychological research creates unique psychological capabilities to understand memory and mind and the self. The two analytical methods have mostly operated independently throughout their research process.

McAdams and McLean (2013: 233) state that the internalized life story of individuals that integrates reconstructed pasts with forevisioned futures to create meaningful direction and structure is called their narrative identity. Studies on narrative identity focus significantly on psychological adaptability and growth. To develop their narrative identity people need to learn storytelling techniques inside particular cultural

settings alongside different group environments including families and peer groups as well as formal and unstructured social interactions.

Bühler and Dunlop (2019: 2) explain that narrative identity describes the dynamic personal life story which unites past events together with present moments and future predictions into an organized storyline. Everyone who participates in narrative acts uses this cognitive method as their psychological tool while experiencing multiple personal effects which interact with societal structures. McAdams (2013: 3) explains how people construct integrated life stories called narrative identities during their late teenage years through early adult phase. The self-constructed narrative identity represents the subjective experience of remembering the past along with current conditions and future anticipations.

McAdams (2019: 2) explains that storytelling emerges from narrative identity because narrative identity develops from human sociality. The following statement from McAdams demonstrates two social properties which characterize stories. Every narration requires its essential listener (the narrative always includes someone to watch it whether the audience is intimate friends making fun or the readership of a first novel). Stories mainly focus on human interactions between conscious social beings who appear across numerous situations throughout the durations of time.

2.3. Levels of Bamberg's Model of Positioning

Bamberg (1997: 336-337) established three different levels where positioning occurs when asking these positioning questions:

- 1. Within reported instances what are the arrangements of characters in comparison to other people?** Through this analysis we seek understanding of how the story world presents its characters through distinction between main protagonists and antagonists and between actors who commit deeds and those subjected to them. The analysis investigates the language tools which create understanding about how one person assumes (a) the active role of completing actions against others while remaining in control and (b) the passive role of being controlled by external forces or becoming fortunate through attributes like bravery and nobility (Bamberg, 1997: 336-337).
- 2. The speaker establishes his/her position with the audience through what means?** This stage analyzes the distinctive linguistic instruments that appear in the selected discourse mode. Throughout the narrative, does the narrator deliver instructional guidance for conflict situations or does he make promises to others for the events that took place (Bamberg, 1997: 336-337)?
- 3. Narrators use what positions to present themselves within their stories?** Through language which narrator makes factual statements beyond their immediate conversation context. We maintain that linguistic devices in narrating functions to communicate information which extends past content and interlocutor. The narrator overcomes the audience understanding question by building content alongside participant roles which is necessary for self-positioning. The (structures) in a narrative system form an (answered) identity for a narrator regarding their personal self. Any attempt to find an answer about the speaker starts as a localized effort which may not extend beyond its defined space (Bamberg, 1997: 336-337).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Approaches

The chosen method for this paper is qualitative. The inability to count frequencies in qualitative studies leads researchers to analyze the three textual content elements of entities processes and meanings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 8). The inductive theme analysis of word assessment in textual data leads to findings through qualitative methods according to Creswell (2014: 32). This paper analyzes the difficulties faced by three Yazidi women whose families lost their home after ISIS attacked Shingal in August 2014.

3.2. Participants

The current research includes three women from the Yazidi community who speak only Kurdish (Fairoz, Ramzia, and Zarif). The stories, in this paper, are mostly told by Fairoz along with Ramzia. The research adopts qualitative methodology to build complete understanding about storytelling patterns that exist within Kurdish communities. These three participants are Yazidi Kurdish women who faced displacement and speak Kurdish with Shingali accent. The participants are all married illiterate housewives whose ages range between 46 and 55 years old. These participants were chosen to show the collective experiences of the Shingali Yazidi community throughout their 2014 migration. Data collection took place among Khanki camp inhabitants who lived in Duhok city.

3.3. Data Collection

This research employs ten short stories gathered from three Yazidi women displaced in Shingal for analysis purposes (see Appendices A and B). The research participants described their experiences of displacement in 2014. The researcher recorded the individuals before transcribing their spoken stories. After obtaining the transcriptions the researcher translated them into English before performing an analysis.

4.4. The Model

The research model in this paper conducts Bamberg's model of positioning (1997). Bamberg presents the fundamental notion that identity develops within narratives and social relations between people. According to Bamberg (1997), people create their positions relative to others by defining their identities as well as understanding who the others are along with their social interaction roles and relationships. Bamberg (1997) shows that identities continuously change according to various situations. Bamberg defines positioning with three distinct dimensions: (1) self-positioning; it covers how people create their social relations, (2) other-positioning; it describes their efforts to position others against themselves and (3) recognition of positioning; it shows their ability to comprehend and respond to the positions other individuals take. A detailed study shows that positioning consists of more than identity expression since it relies on how fellow social members either accept or reject these expressions (Bamberg, 1997).

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The narratives present three separate ways to construct identity through the evaluation of Bamberg's Positioning Model comprised of story-based position subjectivity as well as interactional positioning and societal positioning (Bamberg, 1997: 335-342). The analysis of supplied stories proceeds through assessment of their content according to the following structure:

4.1. Level 1: Positioning within the Story

We investigate how the narrators (Fairoz and Ramzia) place themselves alongside others in the story events at this level. For instance, within Story 1 (The Orphan Girl's Story) Fairoz takes the role of an understanding observer who deeply feels the pain of the orphan girl and the grief-stricken man. She describes the bleak circumstances of the situation to establish herself as someone who deeply empathizes with the sufferings of others, as she says:

"بخودئ ئەم رۆنشتین ئەم رۆنشتین قیچکەکا نا گۆنەها نا ئیختیم بوو نا بی باب وداک بوو بابی وی
شەهیدبوو داکا وی ژێ نا لجوی ما."

"I swear by God, we sat down and there was an orphan girl without a father or mother, as her father had been martyred and her mother had remained in the mountain."

In Stories 2 (Reaching a Hotel in Duhok City) and 3 (Final Settlement in Duhok's Governor's Square), Fairoz portrays herself as someone who depends on receiving kindness from others when she required shelter and support from the Duhok residents. Through her words she establishes herself as somebody who remains grateful while developing into a modest appreciative person, as she says:

"خودئ مالکیت خوی خیرا همی ئافاکه. ویت کوردا وههچیی خیر بئزیدیا کری خیریت همالبا خودئ ژیرا قەبول
بکه."

"Many thanks to the charitable, as well as the Kurds and everyone who did good to the Yazidis. I ask God to accept their benevolences."

And also, when she says:

"بخودئ تیشتی خودئ ئەم دەهوکیا شمەرا ئەئانی. تیشتی خودئ ئەمە خودئ خیریت همالبا قەبول بکه. بەروپنکفە و
سەری وه بی ساغ."

"I swear by God, there is nothing that Duhok's people have not provided us with. I hope that God will accept everyone's good deeds. I wish you good health."

Fairoz portrays herself, throughout her stories, as an individual who survives through tough times and adjusts successfully to the difficulties she faces including her husband's injury and forced displacement. The development of strength and adaptability forms the basis of her self-identity.

Ramzia, the second narrator, functions as a caregiver in Stories 4 (Preparing for Departure Amid Uncertainty), 5 (Initial Journey to the Mountains), and 7 (Caring for Young

Children's Needs) while organizing for departure and supplying food and water to her family and caring for their children. In these passages, Ramzia establishes herself as someone who takes responsibility to nurture and care for others, as it is clear in the following example:

"مه دگوته زاروا هون بخون داکئ تشتک نینه مه ئیت مهزن مه ژنیت مهزنیته بهرو وان و مامئ و وان د گو بابو تشتک نینه گوداریا خودئ بکهن همبو کو زارو پشت ابمهفه بو. "

"We told the children, "You eat, everything is okay. Don't worry". We, the older women and the children's uncles, reassured them that everything is okay."

Ramzia demonstrates her status as a community member through her actions of jointly sharing supplies and resources with other survivors in Stories 5 (Initial Journey to the Mountains), 8 (Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food) and 9 (Receiving Fuel and Preparing to Leave). Her self-image emerges as a person who puts community needs and unity first.

Ramzia takes the role of witness throughout Stories 6 (Struggling for Water on the Mountain) and 8 (Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food) to observe the hunger and thirst suffered by others specifically focused on children. She constructs her identity of being compassionate and morally upstanding through showing empathy and performing acts of sharing food, as in the following example from story 8 (Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food):

"ئهم نه ژبه خو بتنی ترسهان مه مهیزا ئیزدیته خو هما عامهت دکر."

"We were not afraid only for our own sake, but we also took into account the Yazidis in general."

Through her experiences described in Stories 9 (Receiving Fuel and Preparing to Leave) and 10 (Difficulties on the Journey) Ramzia demonstrates resilience as she faces enormous challenges with no fuel supply and having to care for children on the journey. Such actions help create her image as someone who remains fearless and committed.

4.2. Level 2: Positioning in the Interaction

This level assesses the way narrators create their relation with listeners and the people who hear their narrative. Fairuz asserts the factual basis of her story through repeated use of swearing by God (بخودئ) about the story's truthfulness. Through her statements, Fairuz establishes herself as a believable and truthful storyteller whose main focus is to have people listen to and understand her experiences.

Fairoz establishes herself as a thankful storyteller through her appreciation of Duhok residents and Kurdish people thus presenting herself as someone who recognizes support received from others. Her manner of speaking makes the audience recognize her as someone who shows gratitude and humility, as she says:

"خودئ مالکیت خوی خیرا همی ئاقابکه. و بیته کوردا وههچیی خیر بنیزدیا کری خیریت هما لبا خودئ ژیرا قهبول بکه."

“Many thanks to the charitable, as well as the Kurds and everyone who did good to the Yazidis. I ask God to accept their benevolences.”

The way Fairoz emphasizes the suffering of others while highlighting both an orphan girl and a lost man demonstrates her moral character and creates an authority figure. The listener naturally recognizes Fairoz as someone with high moral values through these expressions.

Ramzia, on the other hand, illustrates reflective storytelling through extensive descriptions of her actions (waiting for water and sharing food) which establishes herself as an individual who deeply considers the moral dimensions of her conduct. Listening to her tale engages the audience at both heartwarming and ethical levels.

As a community advocate, Ramzia focuses on Yazidi collective experiences to establish herself as their spokesperson. Through this approach the narrator implies to her audience that she represents a wide demographic, as it is evident in the example below from story 8 (Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food):

”ئەم نە ژ بەر خو بئنی ترسەهان مە مەیزا ئیزدییەت خو ھەما عامەت دکر.”

“We were not afraid only for our own sake, but we also took into account the Yazidis in general.”

Through her life experiences, Ramzia developed her wise insights about moving past tough times which positions her as an experienced wisdom keeper. The presentation encourages the audience to consider her an inspirational leader who provides guidance.

4.3. Level 3: Positioning in the Broader Social and Cultural Context:

In this level, we analyze at this level the construction of narrators' identities which happens inside the wider social structure along with the cultural aspects and historical background. Fairoz, through her stories (1-3), portrays the widespread pain that affects every Yazidi who experienced forced displacement. Fairoz exists as part of a collective community that was formed by conflict and migration events.

Fairoz demonstrates resilience through her capacity to face challenges while maintaining gratitude which makes her a symbol of hope for her entire societal network after war events and displacement.

During times of crisis, Fairoz receives support from Duhok citizens and Kurdish communities because the people hold values of mutual aid and common hospitality. The solidarity network creates an identity for her as one of its members.

In the remaining stories (4-10), Ramzia demonstrates representation of the Yazidi community because she focuses her narration on their collective endurance and strength. Her personality emerges through her membership in a victimized community fighting for life and justice, as in the example below from story 8 (Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food):

"مه دگو مه بخو ئەز د فکریم م دگو چ ل وهذعی مه ئی وکا چی ئی سهری مه.. ئەم نهشبهه تشتکی ئەم نه ژبهه برچی وان دترسههان."

"I myself was thinking and saying what would happen to our situation and what would happen to us. We were not afraid for the sake of hunger and fear."

Maternal strength in Yazidi culture finds its representative symbol in Ramzia through her work as both protector and community organizer. As a strong protector, Ramzia emerges in the stories as someone who provides care to her family and defends both her family and community.

The act of sharing her story allows Ramzia to become an advocate for displaced people, thus showing their difficulties and endurance of spirit. Through this act, she establishes herself as someone who defends her community from various dimensions within social structures and political frameworks.

5. CONCLUSION

Discourse, situational, and transportable identities represent the three types of identities. People take up different "discourse identities" such as "storyteller" or "audience member" since these positions align with their speaking responsibilities. People acquire situational identities that become relevant during doctor-patient interactions and various other social contexts. Identity labels that transcend individual situations or circumstances make up transportable identities while connecting to permanent characteristics of people or collectives such as gender and socioeconomic class background or ethnic affiliation (Zimmerman, 1998 as cited in De Fina, 2015).

In this paper, the Positioning Model of Bamberg guides readers to understand how Ramzia and Fairoz develop their identities as caregivers and survivors and community representatives in their stories. Their stories establish their place in both Yazidi society and society as a whole because they serve as symbols of survival and advocates of displaced persons. Three positioning analysis levels reveal how storytelling forms identity through narrative processes which establish individual experiences relative to recognized societal patterns.

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Appendix A: The Stories

Story (1): The Orphan Girl's Story

فیروز: بخودئ ئهم رونشتين ئهم روپنهشتين قیچکهکا نا گونہہا نا ئیختیم بوو نا بی باب وداک بوو بابی وی شهیدبوو داکا وی ئی نا لچوی ما. ئیکا ههچهنکوکا بو راستا قاسی ساهیکا کجکبو بوی خودئ دگری گوتن تو چرا گری گو خودئ بابی وی پیر شکوربا زارویی خو گوپنج کور پینج کوریت وی وبوکا وی یا بی همر شمش لچوی د عاسی مان گوتن تو چرا گری گوتن ده بوئ خودئ ژکوربا کچکیت وی بابی وی تهرمپیلی تازو لبر نافی همتا بهر نافی تهرمپیل نژواندا گو لبر نافی گو بوی خودئ نکي جهلتي ليدا سهر نافی تاوهها ستیرنی تهرمپیلی گو جهلتي ليدا ش کوربا زارویی خو خورتیوو. جهلتي ليدا لوی دهرئ برن ناین با توختوری دورهویی ولور مر شکوربا کچکین خو مر بخودئ ناین مالا ناغ تیکلی خو لوی دهرئ شوشتن بخودئ ل زههمانی دورهویی بن ناخ کرن.

زهریف: رهحما خودئ لی بیت. گلهک هوسا بن ناخ کرن.

فیروز: سهری گوهدارا ئیساخ نهوژی بنهجهکر همتا سبههی ئهم لور بوون.

Story (2): Reaching a Hotel in Duhok City

فیروز: دئ ئهم بکیده چین بکیده ئیین ئهم نزانین ئم چاوا بکین وشهعن تیلهفونا نینه والله شهعن کرن وی شیقی تلهفونیت خو شهعن کرن تی مهدرسیدا. و بخودئ ری بون ئهم بریبون مه گو ئهم ب کیده چن بخودئ ئهم هاتن فندهقا دههوک. ئهم هاتن فندهقا دههوک. کالمبرهکی مه کالمبری می لنگی وی لقره خهرا بو ئی شکستهیه ئی شکستهی بوو. خودئ همتا مه گههاند ه سهرئ فندهقی ومخته ومخته روعی مه ل دهقی مه رهیی. و قیجه بیهنا وی ژوی یاتهنگبوو ومهقه تهقهها نا رویت مه شععیبا دکهفتن قادی ئی بیهن تهنگ بوو.

Story (3): Final Settlement in Duhok's Governor's Square

فیروز: بخودئ ئهم دوو شیقا فندهقی بوون بخودئ جاری تیلهفونین مه کرن وگوت د وهرن. بخودئ ئهم چوون گهنن هوشا محافده ئی جهی پیز بوو و جهی فیکاهیی بوو. علوا فیکهی بوو و جهی پیز ژری بوو هممی پاقر کرن وبرا مه هاجر بینه تیدا. بخودئ ئهم شیقهکی ددوا لور بون بخودئ ئم شورژی چوون. ئهم چوین عساف وان خابرکر گو وهرن. نزا عساف بو نه نه عساف بوو خیری بوو نافی من. خیری بوو خابرکر گو وهرن هونژی بامه خالد و ئهو ئهم و خالد بون گو ئهم ژری چوون با وان. ناخر ئهم چوون تی وی مهدرهسی بخودئ ئهم لوو مهدرهسی بوون همتا مهها نه. مهها نه گوتن قین ونه قین خودئ مالکیت خوی خیرا همی نافیابه. و بییت کوردا وهچی خیر بنیزدیا کری خیریت هما لبا خودئ ژیرا قهبول بکه.

رمزیه:خهلکن دههوک

فیروز: بخودئ نیشتی خودئ نهما دههوکیا شمرا نهانی. تیشتی خودئ نهما خودئ خیریت هما قهبول بکه. بهروپیکه و سهری وه بی ساغ. و دورا م خهلاس و قیجه دورا وهی.

Story (4): Preparing for Departure Amid Uncertainty

رمزیه: ئی ئهمیرا تی چ بیژی.....؟؟ نهژی قالا رهفی بکهه مهما مهودوعه کی دی. دیهلا.. دور فی چاغی خودئ پیزانی خه لک هممی عامهتهن درهفین. مهژی کاری خوکرم گو مای می ژاما می ب عمرت مهزن بوو. ئی ب عهمرتین مهزن بوو مه گو داکئ بابو خه لک هممی درهفی. ئی م جلک و فهراق و تشتکی مهی سهفهری م کارکر. م گو ئهمزیک ئی چن خه لک هممی دچی. وان گو تشتک نینه درهوه و نا غیر درهوهی نینه. مه کر و نه کر مه چار پ نهبر گو ئهم نائین. گو هون ههرن ئهم نائین. ئهم چون ئی تهرمبیلای ئیکئ ش جینارین مه خرچوون سهر دهی شاری. هنه کی ب تهرمبیلی و هنکی ب لنگا ئهم مهشین.

Story (5): Initial Journey to the Mountains

رمزیه: ئهم ئیقارکی د فی ئالی بوون ئهم هین نه گههان چوی و ئهم پشتی بو سببهه ئهم دیسا هنکی مهشین ئهم چونه چویده. ئهم چونه چویده ئهم پینج عائله مالیت مه همی لبا ئیک بوون ئهم پینج عائلوون بیژه. ئم همی

لوئدهرئ د ئالی بان د جوئدا بوون مه تشتکی سهفهری بوو. پا مه هنه کئ هیفیترمه هیفیر هنکا ژمه استرهها هنکا مه نانی د پهت . مه گوت دا زاروبت مه برچی نه بن نا وه که مال بو دهردی مه قهدهی ئهم د سی شیفا لور بوون اشدنگی تهلقا و ش گری زاروا و ش عالهما ئاتی و برچی و ژ گرینا گهلهک خوارن هه بوو. نه نفستن لمه. مه دگوته زاروا هون بخون داکئ تشتک نینه مه ئیت مه زن مه ژنیت مه زنیت بهرو وان و مامئ و وان د گو بابو تشتک نینه گوداریا خودئ بکهن هه و بو کو زارو پشت ابمهفه بو.

Story (6): Struggling for Water on the Mountain

رمزیه: بخودئ نه زبخو گهله کی ئەز دگریم ئەز ترسه هام. نه شهبه رخو بتئی بهر عامه تن ئیزدیا وودعی مه ئی پیسبوو. ئهم ئی ئاقلئ می ههفت شیفا ئهم دواسی بون حالی بوون. بههوه ربکه دیار چافئ م بخو ئەز چوبوم فئجه ئاف ش مه ئا دوور بوو. ئاف نه بو زلام فهخوه. جارنا هما ئەز بخو بههوه ربکه جاره کی بخو ئی دیسا سهعه ته کا مه ئا پیسک بو ئا دهستی میده بوو دوو سهعه تا دگ ئەزا د سهرا ئافئ دا بووم. ئهو سهرا ئافئ بدهست من نه کههت ئهس فالاهاتمه مالی. و فئجا واسی زاروبیت من چوون وئی مهسهل ئیت بابئ من بوون و مامئ من بوون هه می واسی ئهم دچوون ئاف شمه دوور بوو قبههتا بوو نه بوو.

Story (7): Caring for Young Children's Needs

رمزیه: ئاف ژئ نه بوو. ئهی ئهف فئجا مه ئا کچک بوو پا ته دیبه زاروبیت کچک پا ئهم رهفین ومه زانی مه مهیزا خو نه کربوو. مه تیرا وان چه فاذ و تشت نه بریوون. زارونه و لازم ههک چه فاذی نه بن جلك هه بهن ههک جلك هه بن لازم تو وان جلكا جارنا بشوی .. ئیحتیمال ئاف دفیت ههک ئاف نه بی ژیان نینه.

Story (8): Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food

رمزیه: فئجا ئا ههفت روژا ئم لوئدهرئ بوون بخودئ حالی مه بی خوهشی بوو با خه لکی قبلهت، خه لکی قبلهت گلک رهزیل بوو پس بخودئ پا هه که چه وای رهفه و ترسه. ئهم نه ژبه رخو بتئی ترسهان مه مهیزا ئیزدیت خو هما عامهت دکر. مه دگو مه بخو ئەز د فکریم م دگو چ ل وهذعی مه ئی وکا چی ئی سهری مه .. ئهم نه شهبه تشتکی ئهم نه ژبه ر برچی وان دترسه هان. ئیک برچی نانی هه ر خودئ د قه دینی بهس بخودئ عالهم برچی دبوو بههوه ربکه ژ خودئ ئەز دبه هه کارا چوم ئافئ و ئەز تهاتم بههوه ربکه ژ خودئ د فئ گلاسیدا برنج ل سه رکربوو و شهش ههفت زاروبیت کچک ییت وهک فیا ومیستر و کچکتر لدوری بوون و همی ش نیرا دگرین. همی ش نیرا دگرین وئهو برنجا لسه ر بوو و ئەز تهقه کئ چووم و ئەز تقا دی هاتم هنک نان و هورک و ئەو بو م ههک ب سنیلئ پهت بوو من ددو د زلفه کی کرن ئی و ئه فاها قیجا من گوت داکئ ئەف چیه ؟ من گو شوغلی من ژئ ههنه. من گو م ئانی م داییتی بههوه ربکه داکا وان هزار دوعا لمی کرن.

Story (9): Receiving Fuel and Preparing to Leave

رمزیه: ئهم ئهم ههفت روژا واسی لوی حالی ئهم لوی دهرئ بوون ئی روژا ههفتئ ئیغاری مامئ می و بابئ می وان گو .. گو الله وهها کئیر نایی براکئ می ئی قهنج بوو لقی دهرئ ئی د شوغلی د کوردستان بوو. ئی بابئ می و مامئ می وان وانیت مه ئی لوئدهری ئه لموهم ژیرا خابکر گوتئ ئی گو ئەز چهوا بکه م ئەز چ شوهره بکه م؟ ئیت مه لوی دهرئ بوو گو تشته کئ ژ مهرا نه که بهس پارزینی شمهره بینه تهره مبیئل ل فر دزه هفن. گو دی ئهو و مروفتئ مه ژئ لفر بوو تهره مبیئلا وان مروفتئ مه ئاخری جه لیکانه کی بیست لیتهر پارزین ئانی. ئی مالا خودئ ئافا ئانی گه ها با مه گه ها با مه لیوه ر هاتن دوو تهره مبیئلئ د چیکرین پارزین بهردانی مالا خودئ ئافا شوغولی.

Story (10): Difficulties on the Journey

رمزیه: خودئ قه داند. ئیغاری مامئ می گو بابئ می گو دی بابو تشتئ خو ئی ئیک پا تشتک نه بوو گو سوبه هی زو دکارین ئه می چنه. مه گوتئ دی سبه هی زوده ئهم همی رابون پا ئهم پئنج عائلینه بخودئ بزور و ههفت بهلا پا ریا پئنج عائللا شکی ل تی سی تهره مبیئلئ کچک ده. قهنج بوو ئیک ژئ ئا بودی بوو. ب زورا ریا مه هه بوو بهس

مالا خودی ئافا خودی قه داند ئەم سبه هی .. سبه هی مه دا ری هه تانکی عه سری.. عه سری ئی قاری نو ئب پا هه ر نیواله کێ پا ئەز و ئەمیرا ژێ لسه ر تهره مپێله کێ دا بوون.. هه ر نیواله کێ ئەو تهره مپێلا گه ران بوو ئا خه رابوی بو ئەم هه می داهاتبوون ئەم ژ نیوالی دهریازدبوون هه تا جارێ قیجا تهره مپیل سه رتکه فت نو ئەمژی بسه رتکه فتی دیسا ئەم ساردبوون ئو قیجه زاروپیته مه فه تره شه هان گێژدبون تیشان پا ساربوو ئی قاری و بروژ گه رم بوو دترسان .. برس دیتن و ترس دیتن پا هه می ش ترسا نه ژیرجا.

Appendix B: Translation of the Stories

Story (1): The Orphan Girl's Story

Fairoz: I swear by God, we sat down and there was an orphan girl without a father or mother, as her father had been martyred and her mother had remained in the mountain. She was that size, she was the size of little Sahika, and she was crying. I swear by God, they asked her why she was crying. I swear by God, it was said that her old father, who had five children, and that his five children and his daughter-in-law, the six of them, remained in the mountain and were trapped. They asked her why were you crying? I swear by God, she said, pitying for his children. Their father drove the car and was driving the car until he reached the banks of the water, Then I swear by God he exposed to a stroke. He was a young man, but sadly for his children, he suffered a stroke. So, they took him to the doctor of Derabon village. He died there out of grief for his children, so I swear by God, they took him to the house of one of his relatives there. They washed him and I swear by God, they buried him in Derabon village graveyard.

Zarif: May God have mercy on him. Many were buried in that way.

Fairoz: May God protect the listeners. They buried him, and we stayed there until the morning.

Story (2): Reaching a Hotel in Duhok City

Fairoz: We were wondering where to go. We did not know what to do, and there was no charge in our phones. I swear by God, people charged their phones that night at school. I swear by God, on the way, we were wondering where to go, so I swear by God, we came to a hotel in Duhok city. My old husband's foot exposure to a fracture. I swear by God, until we moved him to the top of the hotel, he almost took our soul out of our mouths. He was bored of himself and exploded at us, and we felt very embarrassed as he was upset.

Story (3): Final Settlement in Duhok's Governor's Square

Fairoz: I swear by God, we stayed at the hotel for two days, and they phoned us and asked us to come. So, I swear by God, we went and lived in the Governor's square. It was a place for sheep and fruits. It was a special place for fruits and also a place for sheep, so they cleaned it and asked the displaced to reside there. I swear by God, we

stayed there for a night or two and then I swear by God, we left there as well. Assaf phoned us and said come. I don't know if he was Assaf or Khairy, but I think it was Khairy. He phoned us and said, "Come, you and Khaled." So, we and Khaled went to them. We went to that school and I swear by God, we stayed there until September. Many thanks to the charitable, as well as the Kurds and everyone who did good to the Yazidis. I ask God to accept their benevolences.

Ramzia: ... The people of Duhok.

Fairoz: I swear by God, there is nothing that Duhok's people have not provided us with. I hope that God will accept everyone's good deeds. I wish you good health. My turn is over and now it's your turn.

Story (4): Preparing for Departure Amid Uncertainty

Ramzia: Amena, what are you going to talk about? Should I also talk about escaping or another topic? Well ... It was at this time, and God knows, that everyone in general were escaping. We also prepared and I said that my uncle and his wife are old. I told my father and mother that all people run away. So, I prepared clothes, utensils, and travel items. I said we will also leave because everyone is leaving. But they said there is nothing, it is a lie and it is a complete lie. We tried hard to convince them, but they said we would not come. They said, "You leave, we will not come". So, we left and it was one of our neighbors' cars and everyone went up the street. Some left by car, some walked, and we left on foot.

Story (5): Initial Journey to the Mountains

Ramzia: One night we were on this side and we had not yet reached the mountain. The next day we walked some distance and went to the mountain. We headed to the mountain. We were five families. Our houses were next to each other. We were five families. We were all on the wide side of the mountain and we had taken travel items. Some of us were kneading the dough and others were baking. We said "so that our children would not go hungry". It was not like home. It was an ordeal and we said we would overcome it. We stayed for three nights, despite the sounds of shots, the crying of children and thirsty and hungry people, there was a lot of food and we did not sleep. We told the children, "You eat, everything is okay. Don't worry". We, the older women and the children's uncles, reassured them that everything is okay.

Story (6): Struggling for Water on the Mountain

Ramzia: I swear by God, I was crying a lot and I was afraid, not only for me, but for the Yazidis in general, and our situation being bad. As I remember, we were in that situation for seven nights. Believe me, what I saw myself was that I went and the water was far away from us. There was no drinking water. Believe me, I myself once had a bad watch in my hand. I spent two hours in line for water. My turn didn't come to get water and I returned home empty-handed. My children went to the water, and so did my father's family and my uncle, and we all went that way

trying to bring water, and the water was far away from us and it was difficult to reach.

Story (7): Caring for Young Children's Needs

Ramzia: There was no water. My daughter this was young, and you know that children were young, and we were running away. We did not take precautions. We didn't take enough diapers and stuff for children. They were children, and if there were no diapers, there must be clothes, and if there were clothes, they must be washed sometimes. It is possible that there is a need for water, and if there is no water, there is no life.

Story (8): Witnessing Hunger and Sharing Food

Ramzia: Yes, we stayed there for seven days and I swear by God, our situation was better comparing to the people of the southern regions. The people of the southern regions went through a very difficult time. Whatever the case, I swear by God, the situation was escape and fear. We were not afraid only for our own sake, but we also took into account the Yazidis in general. I myself was thinking and saying what would happen to our situation and what would happen to us. We were not afraid for the sake of hunger and fear. No one went hungry. God must help us get over it. But I swear by God, people were hungry. Believe the God, I was passing by people to fetch water, and when I came back, believe God, I saw them cooking rice in a cup of this size, and there were six or seven small children like this one, and bigger and smaller, around that cup. They were all crying from hunger. And that rice was on the fire. I used to go at times and come back at other times, and there was some bread and crushed grain, and I had baked some of them by big pan and put two of them in a sack. My girl asked me, "What is this?". So, I told her it is for a matter in my mind. I gave it to that woman. Believe me, that woman whom was the mother of those children prayed for me greatly.

Story (9): Receiving Fuel and Preparing to Leave

Ramzia: We remained in that situation for seven days in that place, and on the night of the seventh day, my uncle and father said that it was not possible to remain in this situation. My brother was in a good condition and works in Kurdistan. So, my father and uncle phoned him. He said to them, "What do you want me to do for you?" They said to him, "We don't want you to do anything, just bring us fuel, as there are a lot of cars here". He agreed to that, and our relatives were here and had a car, so my brother brought a Jerrycan of twenty liters of fuel. Thanks to God, my brother delivered it to us. The people gathered around him and repaired two cars and poured fuel into them, the cars worked.

Story (10): Difficulties on the Journey

Ramzia: May God help us overcome this ordeal. My father and uncle said at night, "Get ready. We will leave in the morning", and we did not have anything. So, we agreed, and we all woke up in the morning. We were five families. Barely, we got into those cars, as three small cars cannot accommodate five families. It is good that one of those cars has

tail. We could hardly find our place in those cars. Praise be to God, for helping us to overcome that ordeal. We started the trip in the morning until the afternoon ... the afternoon or the night, Amera and I were in a car ... There was on every slope, as the car was carrying a large load and had a defect, we would get out of the car and cross the slope on foot until the car crossed the slope and ascended it. We would also go up and then get into the car, and our children were vomiting, dizzy, and sick, as the weather was cold at night and hot during the day. They were afraid ... They saw hunger and fear, and everyone felt fear not hunger.