Keyness for Revelation of Self and Other Representation in Kurdish National Identity Construction

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ABSTRACT

The presentation of Self and Other as the basis of inclusion and exclusion strategies, which is the core of ideologically formation of national identity, has been examined using various branches of CDA. This paper demonstrates that the *keyness* technique combined with concordance can reveal the ideology behind the representation of Self and Other in national identity construction relying on the discourse-historical approach (Wodak et al. 2009) as a theoretical basis. Accordingly, four discursive strategies that signal the presentation of Self and Other: constructive strategies, perpetuation strategies, transformation strategies, and dismantle strategies, are explored. As a methodology, the six-step outline proposed by Subtirelu and Baker (2018) was followed. A corpus was compiled with data from two focus group interviews. For the focus group interviews, ten participants were recruited purposefully from postgraduate students in University Utara Malaysia. As the study is on how Kurds depict Self and Other in their national identity construction discourses, only Kurdish students were reached.

The paper seeks to contribute to the body knowledge of corpus linguistic analysis in the revelation of ideology through co-text and intertext. The findings display that Kurds emphasize the ingroup sameness and sharply distinguish themselves from their Other. However, they intend to confer a shade of vagueness on their other through depersonalizing and institutionalizing. Through the discursive construction of Kurdish national identity, the informants rely primarily on transformation and dismantling strategies.

1. Introduction

It started with watching Italian PM Giuseppe Conte in news reporting that the coronavirus decease increased to 10,000 in his country and hoping that the "European Union has to prove if it can rise up to the challenge that history is posing" (Conte, 2020). During the Covid-19 pandemic, each nation-state encounters the plight in isolation and struggles to alleviate it on their citizens. In his speech, the representation of Self and Other was conspicuous by repetitively using the collective pronoun "we" when referring to how the Italy government provided 400 million euros to support the poor in his country whereas the European Union fell back in fulfilling its obligations. In the age of globalization and the promotion of cosmopolitan concepts reinforced in the previous century by establishing institutions such as the League of Nations, United nations, and European Union, the Covid-19 pandemic has made most governments sensed that there is a default on the part of these institutions.

In the same vein, the spectacle was not better at the local level. As the Kurdistan Region is a part of Iraq, and hence, Kurds are Iraqi citizens, the central government did not fulfill its obligation towards the Kurdistan Region's citizens. The Iraqi government continued cutting the salaries of the region's citizens because of not reaching to an agreement with the region's government on its share of the oil produced in the region, albeit the health crisis in the region due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Miller (1995) argues that in a state comprised of two nations, the minority group feels excluded as the dominant group controls the power.

This situation begs the question concerning the way the citizens of the Kurdistan Region articulate their national identity. As "identity construction always implies inclusionary and exclusionary processes, i.e., the definition of ONESELF and OTHERS" (the origin emphasis) (Wodak, 2011, p. 216), it is crucially important to examine how Kurds portrait themselves as a nation compared to their 'Other'. By doing this, this paper tries to contribute to pinpointing the linguistical structures used to establish inclusionary and exclusionary groups in multi-ethnic societies that may cause polarization.

Ting (2008) describes the word nation as being "amorphous" (p. 453). This description perfectly reflects the existence of numerous concepts of nation in literature. Scholars treat the term nation differently, relying in this on two aspects of nation either as a political entity focusing on its instrumental function (Gidden, 1983; Anderson, 1983; Wodak, 2018), or as ethnical community with its primordial features (Miller, 1995; Guibernau, 2000; Smith, 2009). Therefore, it is essential to set a frame for the concept of nation which is followed in this paper.

Kurds are "the largest nation without state" (Phillips, 2015); therefore, this paper follows Gubernau's (2000) view of nation without state. Gubernau (2000) defines nations without states as "nations which, in spite of having their territories included within the boundaries of one or more states, maintain a separate sense of national identity generally based upon a common culture, history, attachment to a particular territory and the explicit wish to rule themselves (Guibernau, 1999 as cited in (Guibernau, 2000, p. 990).

This passion to self-rule is the pivot of our investigation of the representation of Self and Other in discourse of ordinary Kurds on the Kurdish national identity constructions to understand what evokes it. Miller (1995) suggests that "each nation should have its own set of political institutions" so that they work on what benefits every member of the nation (p. 81). Thus, this paper assumes that in a multinational state, if the nations are not treated equally, the members of the subordinated nation will have strong sentiment towards their nation and to self-rule a multi-national state, if the nations are not treated equally, the members of the subordinated nation will have strong sentiment towards their nation and self-rule, which is the core of nationalism ideology.

The presentation of Self and Other has been examined using various branches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Wodak (2018) examines Cameron's Bloomberg speech presenting the UK as Self and European Union as Other employing a Discourse-historical Approach. In exploring constructive strategies, she examines linguistic utterances that establish ingroup, for instance, the pronoun 'we' combined to a toponymical label as in "we English" (p. 38). van Dijk (1984) also investigates how discourse of the white group majority in Amsterdam manifest the representation of Self and the minor ethnic groups as their Other.

Afzal and Harun (2015) study the uprising in Libya and Syria in two different sets of newspapers. In their study, they give a different dimension to in- and out-groups as viewing Saudi Arabia media as Arab news (ingroup) and Pakistani media as international news (outgroup). This is a new perception of in- and out-groups as discourse producers usually establish ingroup through affiliating themselves or showing sameness and solidarity with the social actors or actions of the ingroup, and they establish outgroup through distancing themselves and showing their differences to outgroup. Following van Dijk's (1998) model, they examine the positive Self-representation of protestors (us-sentiment) and negative Other representation of the authorities (them-sentiment).

Although the presentation of social actors has been investigated in numerous studies, the representation of Self and Other in discourse on national identity construction has not been paid that much attention. Series of studies were conducted to explore the representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants in the UK press, such as Baker et al. (2008), Gabrialatos and Baker (2008), and KhosraviNik (2010). Van Leeuwen (2008) investigates the representation of immigration as a social practice as well as the involved social actors in Australia media. However, the presentation of Self and Other, albiet it is fundamental for national identity construction, has not been privileged with thorough investigation, especially in Kurdish context. Thus, the present study endouvears to shed light on the language used to portray Self and Other in Kurdish national identity construction.

2. Theoretical Framework

An interdisciplinary approach is essential in any CDA research as the question is what best answers the problem under investigation rather than the need for a grand theory (Wodak & Weiss, 2005). Although CDA lacks a uniform theory, Wodak (2001, 2009) argues that the eclectic approach to theory can be considered as a privilege as no single theory can thoroughly explain the mediation between linguistic structures and social structures. Miller's (1995) concept that there is a dialectical relation between the existence of a welfare state and a shared national identity, namely, the welfare state fosters the sense of belongingness to the state among the citizens. The concept can be of twofold benefit to inform conceptual understanding of the problem under investigation as well as to support the interpretation stage of the findings.

CDA aims at revealing the "strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 8). Therefore, DHA's concept of discursive strategies of Wodak et al. (2009) was applied which helped the researchers to detect the construction of sameness of ingroup and their differences from outgroup. We studied how discourse producers employ discursive strategies to present Self and Other. The strategies are constructive strategies that establish the uniqueness within ingroup and their differences from outgroup.

National identity construction is context-contingent (Cohen, 2001; Wodak et al. 2009; de Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999), It is up to the discourse producer to decide what aspects of social actions or social objects s/he wants to include in or exclude from her/his discourse. Furthermore, discourse is the representation of the world, namely, it is not a matter of being truth, but rather a perspective (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, it is crucial to examine ordinary Kurdish people's discourse to understand their perspectives of their national identity.

In a similar vein, the flexible quality of national identity bestows various representation of it in the discourse according to who articulates it in what context and for which audience, and this is what Wodak (2018) refers to as that national identity constructed in and by discourse. It is constructed through discursive strategies which depend on the dichotomy of Self and Other representation; positive Self-representation versus negative Other representation; establishing sameness and

uniqueness of ingroup and differences and distinction from outgroup; emphasizing good action and quality of ingroup and bad action and quality of outgroup whereas mitigating or hedging bad actions of ingroup and good action of outgroup.

3. Rationale for Sampling

This paper attempts to examine how ideology anchors in the discourse of ordinary people drawing on the fact that ideology is a belief that is socially shared. Ideology production has been investigated in the politicians as well as media discourse but rarely through ordinary people. The approach to ideology as a top-down process excessively examined in which ideology has a negative connotation that exploits to sustain power. Nevertheless, for ideology, I follow van Dijk (1998) ideologies are defined as the basis of the social representations of groups. Ideologies are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of their members, and more particularly, acquired, confirmed, changed, and perpetuated through discourse (van Dijk, 2006, P. 115).

 Therefore, ideology as a shared belief can "provide the socio-cognitive basis for the struggle against" "ideologies of domination" (van Dijk, 2013, p. 175). Namely, emerging, pervading and reproducing of nationalism ideology can be seen as resistance to discrimination, and racism of the dominant group.

Along with the above discussion, probing ordinary people's discourse is important to understand how ideology permeates as "discourse is a social practice" (ibid, p. 176). The study is an attempt to demonstrate how ideology as the basis of social representations of groups (van Dijk, 1989) anchors in the discourse of ordinary people. For this task, the *Keyness* technique of the Wmatrix4, which detects statistically significant items is used. *Keyness* is calculated by Log Likelihood (LL) measure when comparing the corpus under investigation to a reference sampler uploaded in the Wmatrix4 (Rayson, 2008) which is a Web-based corpus tool.

4. Rationale for the Synergy

In addition to its theoretical purpose, this paper has a methodological purpose of evaluating the synergy between corpus linguistics (CL) and CDA. We sought to examine to what extent *keyness* technique can reveal the ideology of nationalism

within Self and Other representation in the discourse on Kurdish national identity construction of ordinary people. It is an attempt to contribute to the corpus-based critical discourse analysis approach. The combination between CL and CDA has proved to answer the subjectivity question (Widdowson, 2004; Breeze, 2011; Kamasa, 2016). CDA is criticized for intuitionally selecting extracts as topics of the discourse under investigation; however, with CL, the selection of extracts for analysis is based on "a clear and precise criterion" (Kamasa, 2016), namely for this study, *keyness* and concordance.

Another criticism to CDA is bias due to the political stance of researchers which cause them to approach their study on personal ground rather than scholarly principles (Breeze, 2011). By utilizing the *keyness* technique the researchers strive to unbiasedly capture the ideology formation in Self and Other representation for national identity construction. Accordingly, the overriding linguistic pattens that are detected by the software cannot be overlooked by the researchers.

5. Methodology

According to Subtirelu and Baker (2018), integrating corpus analysis into CDA has two purposes: gaining new insights into discourse that may have otherwise gone unnoticed as well as addressing the issues of representativeness and generalization. To ensure that the keywords is peculiar to the whole corpus rather than to several texts in the corpus, "most important measure is keyness, which refers to the degree to which a word is more common in one corpus than in a comparison or reference corpus" (p. 113). Following the methodological outline proposed by Subtirelu and Baker (2018, p. 110), six steps were taken, as shown in figure 1.

Step 1: Research topic and questions
• A general research questions were put forward before background research and corpus collection.
• The questions were refined after Steps 2 and 3.
• The final version of the questions was: 1) How effective is *keyness* technique for revelation of Self and Other representation? And 2) How do Kurdish members portray Self and Other in their discourse for their national identity construction?
Step 2: Background research

• Varying accounts of social actors' representation including Self and Other in discourses on national identity were read.

• Research was undertaken for recruiting participants for focus group interview.

Step 3: Corpus collection

• Informed by Step 2, ten participants constitute two focus group interviews due to their time and venue convenience.

• the interviews were recorded, transcribed, member checked, cleaned and uploaded into the Wmatrix corpus software comparison tool (Rayson, 2008).

Step 4: Corpus-based analysis key words extraction

• Keywords were extracted from the corpus through *keyness* technique.

Step 5: Qualitative analysis

• We closely examined the usage of the key words identified in Step 4 through concordance technique.

• We formed interpretations about how these keywords were used in the corpus.

Step 6: Corpus-based analysis co-context analysis

• When possible, we sought to examine four level contexts (co-text, metalinguistic, intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and historical and socio-political context) of the items by turning to corpus data, using concordance of the key words.

Figure (1): Overview of the methodology used in the investigation of the Kurdish national identity construction

Keyness identify the keywords, then relying on concordance the three-dimensional analysis of DHA, which encompasses identifying contents; examining strategies; and examining linguistic means of realization (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 30), was implemented.

The *keyness* technique in Wmatrix is available in three levels: key word, part of speech tag, and semantic tag. For the present study, only key word level is considered. *Keyness* identifies the statistically significant items which characterize a corpus in relative to the norm corpus it compared to, and it is calculated by log likelihood (LL) value (O'Halloran, 2013). These key items distinguish the corpus under investigation (the comparative corpus) from the norm corpus which is here the spoken version of the British National Corpus (BNC). The norm corpus should be representative (Biber, 1993), and BNC is representative to contemporary English language as it includes

various text types and domains (Rayson, Berridge and Francis, 2004). Concerning the size of the two corpora, they can be either the same size or a small sample corpus compared to a large norm corpus, which is the case in this paper, and in both cases the LL test is approved to be reliable (ibid). To be statistically significant only items with LL value over or about seven were considered as "The higher the figure, the greater the deviation" (Rayson & Garside, 2000, p. 4). Although LL shows the differences of the comparative corpus from the normative corpus, it does not say how important these differences are (Hardie, 2014). Therefore, the researchers also sorted the table according to the effect size, indicating the importance of these discrepancies between the two corpora. Accordingly, a table of 79 key words were displayed which were sorted by the effect size of the resulting LL value. For time and space consideration, only the highest ten of the key words in the list were analyzed qualitatively.

The analysis was conducted deductively through Self and Other categories which relies on positive presentation of ingroup versus the negative presentation of outgroup. The study aims at applying the quantitative approach of *Keyness* technique in the Wmatrix corpus software to detect lexicogrammatical items to be analyzed thoroughly through DHA to reveal the ideology underneath them.

6. Results and Discussion

Ten key words with the highest value of LL were detected by *keyness* technique in Wmatrix4, as shown in figure 2. As the list is sorted according to effect size which evaluates how important the differences between the two corpora are, the items in the list are not arranged descendingly either according to frequency or according to the LL value. These key words are the content of the corpus as their LL measure value is high and sorted by how important the differences are between the two corpora, which means that they are the most peculiar features of the comparative corpus under investigation. Thus, the item 'nation' appears in 68 occurrences with the LL measure value of 554.19. Whereas the item 'language' which is the fifth in the list occurs 91 and with higher LL value of 652.78. This indicates that the differences between the comparative corpus and the reference corpus concerning the item 'nation' is much more important than the differences concerning 'language.

	Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL	%DIFF
1 Concordance	nation	68	0.64	11	0.00 +	554.19	57319.16
2 Concordance	nations	39	0.37	14	0.00 +	293.38	25774.81
3 Concordance	Iraq	27	0.26	11	0.00 +	199.78	22698.78
4 Concordance	proud	54	0.51	25	0.00 +	392.46	19962.93
5 Concordance	language	91	0.86	46	0.00 +	652.78	18274.87
6 Concordance	nt	29	0.27	24	0.00 +	190.95	11123.47
7 Concordance	pride	10	0.09	10	0.00 +	63.33	9188.39
8 Concordance	positive	17	0.16	31	0.00 +	92.70	4993.64
9 Concordance	clothes	27	0.26	56	0.01 +	141.76	4378.33
10 Concordance	land	42	0.40	111	0.01 +	204.08	3414.53

Figure (1): List of top ten of statistically significant key words sorted according to the effect size.

We extended the width of the characters shown to the right and left of the node to 200 characters to examine the co-text of the item within a complete sentence. The concordance of the item 'nation' reveals important patterns of establishing sameness and uniqueness of ingroup which is within the constructive strategy.

Figure (2): The Concordance of nation.

In constructing sameness, the informants referred to having characteristics that tie them together, such as having "cooperative spirit … among each other" and that

"Kurds are helpful people". By doing this, they try to build borders to exclude others as according to them, these characteristics "do not exist in other nations". The repetitive use of the collective pronouns 'we' 'our' and 'us' shows that the informants have a robust sense of belonging to their nation "we are proud of our nation".

There is also sense of shared political past as referred to the formal regime Saddam and his attempts to "to eradicate Kurdish nation". Moreover, the concordance of 'nation' detects the thematic elements of mythical figure "Kawa" who, according to the story, killed the tyrant and liberated the Kurd on '*Nawroz'* day (the first day of the year in Kurdish calendar).

Another thematic content revealed by the *keyness* technique is the common shared culture. We recognized elements of culture such as *'language'* and '*clothes'*. Language appears to be important for distinguishing Kurds from other nations "When a language dies out also the nation will die out". As for the present and future political status, Kurds still have a feeling of oppression, and that is mostly because they do not feel Iraq treat them as its citizens. Thus, if Kurdish member feels that Iraq supports her/him, she/he "would say I am Iraqi and feel proud of it. Although Kurds feel disappointed for that "There are many nations whose areas are not as big as that of Kurdistan, but they have states why I cannot have", they have a great future aspiration of having their own state "all Kurds, not just within Iraq , in all four parts , have a dream to build a state". Land also is detected as an important thematic area for national identity construction.

As for positive *Self* and negative *Other* representation, the concordances of the content items reveal that this dichotomy emerges constantly through various strategies such as construction, perpetuation, transformation, and destruction. Each of these macro strategies has various sub-strategies that serve it such as strategy of emphasis, strategy assimilation, the strategy of discontinuity and so on. The sub-strategies are not specific to one macro strategy, but rather they can function as "constructive, destructive, perpetuating or justifying" (Wodak et al., 2009, p.33). We tabulate the macro strategies with their sub-strategies, linguistic means and examples from data (see table 1).

Table (1): Constructive Strategy (Adapted from Wodak et al., 2009, p. 37-40)

Strategies	Linguistic means of realization	Examples
Assimilation, Inclusion and Continuation	lexemes with levelling components	our ancestors felt proud of their Kurdishness and their language, it was handed from generation to generation
Emphasis on intra-national sameness/similarity	referential assimilation spatial and personal reference, personal pronoun 'we'), realization as tropes (synecdoche, metonymy and personification)	we as a Kurdish nation are honored of our nation. I won't exchange an atom of my soil with Qaisar's Mansion. all over the world most of the people have positive talk about Kurds from all aspects, such as culture, relationship, politics.
	temporal reference indicating continuity: temporal adverbs of time ('since', 'always')	I always mentioned that I can offer my life to protect Kurdistan.
Autonomisation •Presupposition/emphasis on national autonomy and independence	referential vagueness by means of personal pronouns, adverbs of place; spatial	Of course, God creates you on that land. He creates you Kurdish on this land.
	toponyms ('with us', 'here', 'in this country')	we were born on this land, our parents our grandparents, they were all born on this land.
Singularization • presupposition of/emphasis on national (positive) uniqueness	particles which construct continuity ('continuously', 'also'	I am also proud of being a Kurd, because I feel I am from a distinct ethnicity.
		Continuously, we should protect our language and hand it to our children and to the next generations.
• emphasis on the will to unify/ co-operate/feel and show solidarity	implicit and explicit comparisons	• Kurdish female costume is more appropriate than other clothes. • we have several characteristics which make us distinguished from other nations
	lexemes with semantic components constructing autonomy	you are limited by a defined border for Kurds.

	lexemes with semantic components, constructing singularity, ('unique')	the Kurdish costume is a symbol for that nation.
	appeals for co-operation, pulling together and solidarity	• Kurds are helpful people. • therefore, its necessary to protect our language and teach it to others so that it can continue and won't vanish.
Dissimilation/Exclusion and Discontinuation •presupposition/emphasis on inter-national differences	lexemes with semantic components constructing difference	• that cooperative spirit we have among each other, they do not exist in other nations • our clothes are different from the other's clothes, even our food is different from the others. • our cultural is very very different
	referential dissimilation and exclusion through personal and spatial reference.	maybe you can find in the mountains of Kurdistan, you cannot find it in other parts of Iraq.
• ignoring/downplaying of association	downplaying	• Only that piece of paper links me to Iraq nothing else. • just I want to distance myself from Iraq.

Table (2): Strategy of perpetuation

Strategies	Linguistic means of realization	Examples
Positive Self-Presentation	referential assimilation, positive attributions for self and pejorative attributions for other, hyperboles	• Kurds are supportive. • The clothes are very suitable, very relaxing and feel comfortable
	explicit comparisons, implicit comparisons (analogies)	• The respect we have to our female does not exist in other countries around us. • Kurdish female costume is more appropriate than other clothes.
Continuation • presupposition of/emphasis on	appeal for/demand for political continuity in the future	I hope to declare our independent country

positive political continuity	normative-deontic modals ('must', 'should') and normative-deontic constructions ('it is necessary')	• when someone dare to sacrifices her/his live for land, it must be extremely important. • It is necessary to protect our land.
Strategy of Avoidance • greatest possible suppression/	• resorting to referential vagueness	it has not been attempted to become an international language
	Deletion of the agent • defining clause	The wars and issues that we confronted is rather because of other nations who attacked us.

Table (3): Strategy of Transformation

Strategies	Linguistic means of realization	Examples
Positive Self-Presentation (Including Presupposition of Inter-National Difference	• S*howing superiority compared to other.*	we have several characteristics which make us distinguished from other nations such as Arab and Turkish nations
• emphasis on a difference between then and now	Showing change/ progressive tense	we are progressing
• warning against the risk of staying within Iraq	Synecdoche / metonymy	we have suffered from Iraq and under its flag. Iraq governments always tried to destroy Kurdish language
	• procatalepsis (anticipatory refutation of an opponent's argument)	no doubt I am proud of being a Kurd. But it should not escalate to Chauvinism.
Discontinuation/Dissimilation	• suggestive rhetorical question	what does it mean to ask me to talk about being Iraqi?
emphasis on a necessary difference between now and the future	• metaphors ('present prosperity	Kurdish cities have developed to great extent, even people from Iraq feel proud of Kurdistan and like to be a part of Kurdistan

	normative-deontic modals ('must', 'should') or constructions ('it is necessary)	we should not undervalue our own language. Because it is a very rich language
Devaluation/Negative Connotation of Political Continuation and Positive metaphors	downplaying being Iraqis is just a de facto right now.	
	• relative clause	Because Iraq, regarding its level of development, is not a country which you can be proud of.
	• negatively connotated	• it does not mean anything. • But no one is proud of that.

Table (4): Strategy of dismantling

Strategies	Linguistic means of realization	Examples
Discrediting Opponents/ Certain Pillars of Identity Negative Presentation (of Others)	• *P*ejorative employing negative singularization, attributions	other nations who attacked us to occupy our land. Saddam was always against the Kurdish language
Heteromerization • emphasis on extra-national dependence and/or heteronomy	• lexical units with semantic components constructing	that cooperative spirit we have among each other they do not exist in other nations
Assimilation • emphasis on intra-national sameness/similarity/commu nality	Collective noun	we are a peace seeker nation

Dissimilation/Exclusion • emphasis on inter-national differences	• dissimilative reference and dissimilative and pejorative attributions/ labelling ('enemy')	• having another culture and language, different from Iraq • They'll remain our enemy
Discontinuation • emphasis on discontinuity/ disruptions *Strategy of Pronouncing Something stop having the quality.*	• obsolescence metaphor	• I do not feel proud of Iraq because it is not even a country to me
	• assertions through derogatory metaphors as predicates	• What they call it Iraq. • It is not even a country.

The representation of Self and Other in the discourse on national identity construction is heavily relied on for manifesting the sameness of ingroup and the differences from outgroup. As it is obvious from the forthgoing displayed findings that the ordinary Kurdish people emphasize the ingroup uniqueness which is told using deictic 'we' and ascribing positive attribution which "do not exist in other nation" or "cannot be found in other parts of Iraq". Their uniqueness is also expressed by showing how they treat women, and the position Kurdish women have in society presupposing that woman in other neighboring countries "are not so privileged as Kurdish women". Moreover, they designate several positive adjectives for Self, such as "helpful people", "peace-seeker" as well as possessing "supportive spirit" "cooperation among each other" all of which show solidarity.

In line with that "Identity has to be negotiated or won" (Adley, 2001, p. 194), it is noteworthy how the informants strive to justify their strong sentiment towards their nation "for all its beautiful things". Two legitimizations bestow naturality to their sentiment: authority and moral value (Leeuwen, 2008). For authority legitimization, it is natural to love one's land because God "creates you Kurdish on this land". Whereas moral value legitimization is expressed by that they feel proud of their nation just "as any other nations" which constitute the world population.

Moral value also legitimizes their future aspiration of independence Kurdistan through rhetorical question when referring to other nations whose territories smaller

than Kurdistan but have their own states "why cannot I have one?". This expression also reveals the disappointment Kurds feel after the denial of their independence referendum by the whole world. Kurds did not expect that the international community who claims for human rights rejects their democratic practice of having a voice. This is expressed by describing the superpower countries' positive talk about Kurds as being "not sincere".

Concerning Iraq as a country, Kurds are in absolute denial of being Iraqi, as shown by the rhetorical question "What does it mean to ask me to talk about being Iraqi?". Most of them connect themselves to Iraq only through their holding of Iraqi passport and for which they hope a day will come, they will have their own state passport. They make use of plenty of adverbial intensifiers "certainly", "absolutely", definitely", and so on, to demonstrate their underestimating of their being Iraqi, for example "Iraqiness only a piece of paper", "not proud of being Iraqi" "not a country". And their justification for these downplaying is that they have suffered a lot within this country and not only them but also the other nations or sectors that comprise Iraq such as Turkman and Shia.

Additionally, they do not consider it a country mostly because they do not feel secure living in it, comparing Iraq to other countries which protect their citizen, but Iraq does not. They transform the status qua into an imaginary one "If Iraq supported me as its own citizen", "if I sensed that I am a real Iraqi", this is in alignment with Miller's (1995) argument that every nation should have their own political institution to work for their interest. Thus, Kurds as well all they want is, as one of the informants claim, "to live as human being" in a country, and from the informants' perspectives, Iraq cannot be that country.

As for their Other, the participants mostly depend on the vague pronoun 'they', 'them' when assigning negative attribution to their others as in "they prohibited Kurdish costume", "They tried to eradicate the nation", "they will attack us". They rather tried to inanimate their Other as referring to Iraq as a country in which other nations suffer as well or referring to Iraqi governments as institution "always" have tried to destroy Kurdish culture. Using adverb of time that indicates continuity can imply lack of trust in Iraqi government as referring to their timeless, constant sufferance from the successive governments of Iraq.

Cultural elements such as costume and language are very important to emphasize their distinctiveness. For them, having a different language means having a nation. Although Kurdish language is not a homogeneous language as one of the informants mentioned an anecdote when his Chinese friend asked him to translate a text written in Kurmanji (a Kurdish dialect), but he could not as he only speaks Sorani dialect. However, he mitigates this heterogeneity of Kurdish language by regarding it as a richness of the Kurdish language.

The importance of their culture to them stems from their sense of threat on it. Therefore, they feel responsible for protecting it and pass it from one generation to another. Thus, it is in line with what Guibernau (2000) argues that nations without state hold different national identities based on their common culture as for them "existence of Kurdish language" is "existence of Kurdish nation".

However, regarding the Arab nation in Iraq, the informants insist on clearing their part from the injustice committed against Kurds when they mentioned that the hard situations, they have been through are "related to political issues not to the people". Moreover, they tried to show them rather as a victim "the Arab Shia suffered even more than Kurdish people", and neither Kurds or "even the other nations have ever experienced opulence or comfort".

The positive adjectives attached to Self-representation are: "beautiful characteristics", "beautiful clothes" "colorful clothes" "positive points", "helpful people", "peace seeker". Whereas the Other representation can be inferred by referring to their Other "who attacked us" or "will attack us" as they are stereotyped of being violent and attackers.

7. Conclusion

This study highlights how language use reflects the ideology of nationalism that is harbored as a habitus in the everyday life of ordinary Kurds. It confirms that the concordances of items detected by keyness can reveal the elements related to nationalism discourses, namely, the strategy of inclusion and exclusion.

Concerning how the ordinary Kurds present Self and Other as the basis for their national identity constructions, the paper shows that Kurds ascribe negative attribution to the successive Iraqi government as their 'Other' rather than the Iraqi

Arab people. By relating their sufferance to political issue rather than to other nations within Iraq. This reveals that their lack of belonging to Iraq is stemmed from not having cultural and political rights in Iraq. This result is in correspondence with Miller's (1995) concept of the welfare state and its essentiality for the sense of belonging among members of the nations that constitute a country.

Thus, not having full citizenship rights as members of nations constitute a state can legitimize self-determination (Miller, 1995). Therefore, fostering a sense of belonging to a state is crucial to governmental institutions that work for the benefit of all citizens. Whereas discrimination and oppression practiced by the dominant group who are in power against the minority group prompts solidarity to one's own nation group which can lead to claim for their own state.

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تەکنیکی کینس (Keyness) بۆ پێشکەشکردنی خود و ئەویتر لە دسکۆرس دەربارەی بنیادنانی شوناسی نەتەوایەتی کورد

پوختە:

لەقە جیاوازەکانی شیکردنەوەی رەخنەیی دسکۆرس بەکارهاتووە بۆ لێکۆلینەوە دەربارەی پێشکەشکردنی خود و ئەویتر وەک بنەمای ستراتیژی لەخۆگرتن و دوورخستن کە لە ناو جەقی پێکهاتەی ئایدیۆلۆژیای ناسنامەی نەتەوەییەتییە. ئەم توێژینەوەیە ئەوە نیشان دەدات کە تەکنیکی کینس لە شیکردنەوەی زمانەوانی کۆرپەس دەتوانێت ئایدیۆلۆژیای پشت نوێنەرایەتیکردنی خود و ئەویتر لە بنیاتنانی ناسنامەی نیشتمانیدا ئاشکرا بکات بە پشتبەستن بە رێبازی گوتار-مێژوویی (Wodak et al. 2009)وەک بنەمایەکی تیۆری. بەم پێیە، چوار ستراتیژی گوتاری کە ئاماژەن بۆ پێشکەشکردنی خود و ئەوانی دیکە: ستراتیژییەکانی بنیاتنەر، ستراتیژییەکانی بەردەوامبوون، ستراتیژییەکانی گۆرانکاری و ستراتیژییەکانی هەلۆەشاندنەوە، دەکۆلرێنەوە. وەک میتۆدۆلۆژیایەک، ئەو هێلکاریبیە شەش هەنگاوییەی کە لەلایەن سەبتیرلو و بەێکەر (2018) پێشنیار کراوە، پەیرەو کرا. کۆرپوسێک دامەزرێندراوە لە داتاکانی دوو چاوپێکەوتنی فۆکۆس گروپ کۆکراوەتەوە بۆ چاوپێکەوتنەکانی گروپی فۆکۆس، دە بەشداربوو کە خوێندکاری ماستەر و دکتوران لە زانکۆی ئوتارا مالیزیا وەرگیران. وەک چۆن لێکۆلینەوەکە لەسەر چۆنیەتی وێناکردنی خود و ئەویترە کە کورد لە گوتارەکانی بنیاتنانی شوناسی نەتەوەیی خۆیدا وێنا دەکات، تەنیا خوێندکاری کورد بەشداریان پێ کرا ، توێژینەوەکە هەولدەدات بەشداری بکات لە زانینی جەستەی شیکاری زمانەوانی کۆرپوس لە ئاشکراکردنی ئایدیۆلۆژیا لە رێگەی هاودەق و نێوان دەقەوە. دۆزینەوەکان ئەوە دەردەخەن کە کوردەکان جەخت لەسەر یەکسانی ناو گروپ دەکەنەوە و بە توندی خۆیان لە ئەویتریان جیا دەکەنەوە. بەلام بەنیازن لە رێگەی بێ کەسایەتیکردن و بەدامەزراوەییکردنەوە سێبەرێکی ناروونی بە ئەویتریان ببەخشن. زانیاریدەرەکان لە رێگەی بنیاتنانی گوتاریی شوناسی نەتەوەیی کوردەوە، بە پلەی یەکەم پشت بە ستراتیژییەکانی گۆرانکاری و هەلۆەشاندنەوە دەبەستن.

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تقنية كينس (*Keyness*) للكشف عن تمثيل الذات والاخر في دسكورس حول الهوية القومية للكورد

الملخص:

في البحوث عن تقديم الذات والاخر كأساس لاستراتيجية الإدماج والإقصاء التي تشكل جوهر التكوين الأيديولوجي للهوية الوطنية. الهدف من البحث الحالي هو اظهار أن تقنية كينس في التحليل اللغوي للكوربس مع تقنية الاقتران يمكن أن تكشف عن الأيديولوجية الكامنة وراء تمثيل الذات والآخر في بناء الهوية القومية بالاعتماد على نهج الخطاب التاريخى كأساس نظري. وفقًا لذلك ، يتم إختبار أربع استراتيجيات استطرادية تشير إلى عرض الذات والآخر: استراتيجيات البناءة ، واستراتيجيات الدوام ، واستراتيجيات التحول ، واستراتيجيات التفكيك. كمنهجية ، تم اتباع المخطط التفصيلي المكون من ست خطوات الذي اقترحه سەبتيرلو و بەێكەر (٢٠١٨). تم جمع البيانات من مقابلتين لمجموعة المركزة. وتم تعيين عشرة مشاركين بشكل هادف من طلاب الدراسات العليا في جامعة أوتارا ماليزيا. نظرًا لأن الدراسة تدور حول كيفية تصوير الكورد للذات والآخر في خطابات بناء هويتهم الوطنية ، فقد تم الوصول إلى الطلاب الكورد. ويسعى البحث المقدم الى المساهمة في الإضافة على معرفة التحليل اللغوي للكوربس في الكشف عن الأيديولوجيا من خلال النص المشترك والنص البيني. تظهر النتائج أن الكورد يؤكدون على التشابه داخل المجموعة ويميزون أنفسهم بشكل حاد عن الآخرين. ومع ذلك ، فإنهم يعتزمون إضفاء شيئ من الغموض على الآخر من خلال تبديد الشخصية وإضفاء الطابع المؤسسي. من خلال البناء الخطابي للهوية القومية الكردية ، وقد اظهر البحث ان المشاركين في المقابلة يعتمدون في المقام الأول على استراتيجيات التحول والتفكيك.