FORMLAIC EXPRESSIONS IN NORTHERN KURMANJI:  
A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT
Formulaic language covers a wide range of prefabricated linguistic units from idioms and proverbs to speech act routines, turns of phrase and collocations. One important feature of formulaic language is arbitrariness: there is often no particular (linguistic) reason why a particular expression should be preferred among semantically equivalent expressions to fulfil a particular communicative function, thereby becoming a formulaic means of expressing a particular meaning. The current study investigates formulaic expressions in Northern Kurmanji with reference to English. It is an attempt to find out the frequency of using these expressions in daily interaction. The study also tries to cover some of the common formulaic expressions exchanged by speakers of Northern Kurmanji. These include the analysis of expressions used in welcomes and greetings, departure, swearing, condolence, weddings, party and food. The analysis of the data has revealed that native speakers of Northern Kurmanji use different formulaic expressions in different aspects of life and occasions. Such occasions can be classified into anxiety provoking events, happy events and rapport establishment events.

KEYWORDS: Pragmatics, Politeness, Compliments, Compliment Responses, Northern Kurmanji

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is an important composition of the national culture. It expresses registers, transfers and informs the other culture’s compositions. Regarding Kurdish language, Kurdish people have the right to be proud of their language because it is a pure, rich, delicate, and pleasant language (Sadiq, 2003: 19).

Language does not remain within the heritage boundaries. It extends and develops to the extent of the civil and national culture’s development and progress. In the course of the language progress, some of its words become shorter and more fluent. The limits of the language are not fixed. According to the culture and civilization progress, its area becomes boarder, and new words and idioms are formulated (ibid: 21).

Kurdish language, like other languages, is rich of formulaic expressions. However, most of the Kurdish speakers are unaware of using these expressions, i.e. Kurdish speakers use these expressions because they become a part of their daily life. These expressions include idiomatic expressions, proverbs, collocations, clichés, speech act routines, etc. This study examines the common formulaic expressions used by Northern Kurmanji speakers such as greetings and welcomes, departure, swearing, funeral, weddings, pray and food. The study is an attempt to identify the areas in which formulaic expressions are used. Moreover, it tries to classify such expressions according to the speech acts they refer to.

1.1 Aims Of The Study

The aim of the study is to identify the main categories of formulaic expressions used by Northern Kurmanji speakers. The study also attempts to figure out the occasions where formulaic expressions can be used.

1.2 Research Questions

In order to achieve the aims of the study, the following questions have been addressed:
a) Linguistically speaking, why do Northern Kurmanji speakers use formulaic expressions?
b) What are the categories of formulaic expressions used by Northern Kurmanji speakers?
c) In which occasions Northern Kurmanji speakers frequently use formulaic expressions?
d) Who use formulaic expressions more frequently, the old generation or the young generation?

1.3 The hypotheses

The study is based on the following hypotheses:

(1) Northern Kurmanji speakers use formulaic expressions in everyday interaction as a part of their culture and language identity.

(2) Northern Kurmanji speakers use formulaic expressions frequently in certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, swearing, praying, etc.

(3) Formulaic expressions are frequently used by old people rather than the young generation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition

According to Tannen and Oztek (1981: 37), formulaic expressions are combinations of words which have become associated in everyone's mind and are often repeated in sequence. They include idioms, cliches, stock phrases, aphorisms and proverbs.

Wray (2002:9) defines formulaic expressions as "a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar.

Formulaic expressions are multiple-word strings that behave as single units in which realizing a single meaning or function. They are a key component of language and are fundamental to the way language is used, processed, and acquired (AlAli and Schmitt, 2012: 153).

Based on the information given above, formulaic expressions can be defined as fixed expressions that consist of more than one word and whose meaning cannot be identified from the meaning of its individual words. Such expressions violate the common rules of grammar and serve to express thoughts and emotions in a smooth and authentic way. Formulaic expressions have been passed on from generation to generation as a part of culture heritage.

2.2 The Structure Of Formulaic Expressions

Coulmas (1981: 70) claims that formulaic expressions can neither be studied in terms of syntax nor semantics. Their structure does not follow any specific rule. i.e., they violate syntactic rules. On the other hand, the meaning of these formulas is restricted to the situations in which they occur (See also Coulmas (1994: 1293)).

"From the point of view of grammar, formulaic speech is conspicuous because of the non-generative nature of many formulaic expressions. Although they exhibit an internal structure which is generated by the rules of ordinary syntax, they violate syntactic rules or exemplify absolute rules which have become unproductive. As a result, their structures are unique or arbitrarily restricted in productivity and distribution. Syntactic patterning and semantic composition are not matched. Many formulas are, therefore, semantically not transparent since their meanings are deducible from their structures (ibid)."

In grammar these expressions are called optatives since they are associated with one of the optative verbs. They usually describe a clause or sentence containing a verb expressing a wish or desire in the subjunctive mood. We can simply describe them as formulaic utterances (Quirk et al., 1985: 839).

Generally Speaking, formulaic language in each speech community is differentiated by popularity and conventionality. Some are not known as formulas but still can be distinguished basically as formal particularities. Formulaic speech is prominent due to the non-generative nature of many formulaic expressions. They are not operated by the rules of mere syntax even if they show an internal structure. That is, they violate syntactical rules or exemplify old rules which are unproductive. So they have a unique structure and their structures are arbitrarily restricted in productivity and dispensation. The pattern and semantic composition are unconfirmed (Coulmas: 2001, 234).

According to Wray and Perkins (2000: 5), the syntactic irregularity of formulaic expressions comes in various ways. They claim that, for example, it is not possible to pluralize the idiom "beat around the bush" or passives the idiom "face the music" because they will lose their formulaic status. Another type of irregularity can be found when a direct object occurs with an intransitive verb as in "to come a cooper" and "to go the whole hog".
As far as the semantic ambiguity of formulaic expressions is concerned, it is common for a formulaic expression to carry a metaphorical meaning. Sometimes, it is impossible for the hearer to understand the meaning of a formulaic expression for the first time without a direct context as in "to pull someone's leg". In other cases, the metaphorical meaning of such expressions can be understood directly as in "I can Read You Like A Book" (Ibid: 4).

2.3 Classification Of Formulaic Expressions

Coulmas (2001, 234) classifies formulaic expressions into four main types: fixed phrases for daily use, ritualistic formulas and routine formulas. Each of these has a great variety of subtypes.

Fixed phrases include idioms, phrasal verbs, standard metaphors, binomials and other paired items, collocations, conventional simile and familiar quotations (Coulmas, 2001, 234).

Ritualistic formulas are formulas that are used in religious exercise including blessings, absolutions, vows, magic incantations, contract formulas, and government, e.g., oath of office, public announcements, and diplomatic invitations (Ibid).

Routine formulas (also called pragmatic idioms) are expressions which highly occur in some communication tasks such as salutations (an expression of greeting, goodwill, or courtesy by word, gesture, or ceremony), introductions, thanks, apologies, excuses, compliments, toasts, epistolary beginnings and closings, as well as conversation managements, e.g., claiming passing or soliciting a turn, interrupting, introducing a topic, requesting repetition or explication, closing a topic of conversation (Ibid).

According to Kecskes (2003, 193-194), certain language sequences have conventionalized meanings which are used in predictable situations. He called such sequences "formulaic continuum". The classification of formulaic continuum fall into the following main categories; grammatical units (for instance: be going to) fixed semantic units (for instance: as a matter of fact; suffice it to say), phrasal verbs, speech formulae (for instance: not bad), pragmatic expressions (such as situation-bound utterances: welcome aboard; help yourself) and idioms.

2.4 Categories Of Formulaic Expressions

Tannen and Oztek (1981: 39-43) argue that formulaic expressions fall into three main categories: "anxiety-provoking events", "happy events" and "rapport establishment".

Anxiety-provoking events seem to occasion formulas for the purpose of creating a sense of control over forces that otherwise seems uncontrollable and threatening. They fall into two categories: health and loss. Formulas under the broad category loss can be further classified as referring to departure or death (Ibid: 40).

Happy events are always occasions for formulas which acknowledge good fortune, although there is also awareness that luck may change, so there are formulas to protect the good from evil forces. Happy events fall into the general categories occasions and gain. Occasions include general occasions such as holidays as well as personal occasions such as birthdays, weddings, baptisms. Gain includes arrivals and new possessions. For example, a good wish is expected when a new article of clothing is acquired (Ibid: 41).

Any social interaction is an occasion for establishing rapport between participants. There are two strategies for building rapport: putting oneself down and putting the other up. A fascinating example of a situation in which rapport establishment is called for is the common experience of speaking favorably about one friend in the presence of another (Ibid: 42-43).

2.5 Functions Of Formulaic Expressions

The purpose behind using Formulaic expressions is to reduce the difficulty of the social situation by granting speakers linguistic means to go with situations properly in cases where they do not have time to create original utterances (Dogany, 1989: 50-51).

Socially, formulaic expressions are known as ways of interacting in certain situations and as they are part of native speakers’ shared background, they prevent communication breakdowns and misunderstanding. They can also indicate group membership. They are part of everyone’s repertoire that's why they do not require negotiation. Formulaic expressions are good devices to “regulate behavior in public place,” due to the fact that successful interaction depends on standardized ways of organizing interpersonal encounters (Ibid).
According to Tannen and Oztek, (1981: 44), formulaic expressions perform a social function and thus are part of the social institutions of the cultures in which they function. They reflect and reinforce the institutions and attitudes of those cultures. Speakers should be aware in using daily formulaic expressions because what is acceptable in one culture could be unacceptable in another.

Formulaic expressions are widespread in language use. A number of studies have shown that a large amount of discourse is made up of different kinds of these expressions. One reason that these expressions are so widespread is that they communicate a wide number of meanings (e.g., on the other hand = conversely) and functions (e.g., Watch out! = warning) in discourse. Formulaic language has processing advantages. There is enough evidence to prove that formulaic expressions are processed faster and more accurately than creatively generated language (AlAli and Schmitt, 2012: 154).

3. METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

3.1 Data Collection And Procedure

The data of this study has been collected via structured face to face interviews. That is, the same questions are asked of all respondents. The population of the study consists of twenty five native speakers of Northern Kurmanji (see appendix 1). The interviewees were asked to use the common expressions that are frequent in certain social occasions. The occasions addressed are departure, funeral (condolence), greetings and welcomes, wedding parties, food (complimenting and complaining), swearing, and Pray (positive and negative). The researchers visited the interviewees in their houses and each interview lasted about an hour.

3.2 The Model

The model that has been adopted in this study is a modified version of Tannen and Oztek's work. In their study of Turkish and Greek (1981), they classified formulaic expressions into three main categories; anxiety provoking events, happy events and rapport establishment events. Accordingly, the data of this study are analysed based on these three categories.

3.3 Limits Of The Study

The current study is limited to examine formulaic expressions in Northern Kurmanji or Bahdini dialect in the city of Duhok with reference to English. The participants are twenty five native speakers of Northern Kurmanji (10 men and 15 women), whose ages are ranged from 76 to 43. The study has excluded the young generation because the researchers believe that formulaic expressions are frequently used by the old generation rather than the young generation.

4. ANALYSIS OF FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS IN NORTHERN KURMANJI

Kurdish language is rich in polite formulae in every occasion. Many of these polite formulae are exchanged by Kurdish interlocutors in the form of formulaic expressions in greetings and welcomes, introductions, thanks, journeys, weddings, funerals, departures, food and drinks, festivals, etc.

The analysis of Formulaic expressions in Northern Kurmanji is based on Tannen and Oztek's (1981) classification of formulaic expressions in Turkish and Greek. According to their classification, most of the formulae fall into one of the following categories: anxiety-provoking events, happy events and rapport establishment.

4.1 Anxiety Provoking Events

1- Departure

According to Coulmas (1981: 40) departure is the act of leaving or going away. It can be classified under the category of loss. Certain formulaic expressions are used when the speaker, the addressee, or a third person goes to sleep or go on a trip.

Şeva te xoş.
Night you nice
'Good night.'

Xewnêt xoş bi bînî.
Dreams nice see
'Sweet dreams.'

Daxaza demêt xoş bo te.
Wish times good for you
'I wish you had a nice time.'

Demêt xoş bi borînî.
Times nice spend
'Enjoy your time.'

Wexera te ya xêrê bit.
Departure you is good be
‘I wish you a safe departure.’  
Bi silameti bi gehî.  
Is safe arrive  
‘Have a safe arrival.’  
Leave taking is as important as greeting because it also shows the relationship between the speakers and their future meeting can be interpreted by the use of same particular expressions:  
Bi xatira hewe.  
Be Goobye you  
(Good bye.)  
E sji su?beta hewe têr nabim.  
I from talking your no hungry  
(I never get bored of your talking.)  
Xodê avaket.  
God build it  
(May God build this house.)  
Xodêdile we her xo?ket.  
God heart your always comfortable make  
(May God make your heart comfortable.)  
Xodê ba?yi?e bidet.  
God goodness give  
(May God give goodness.)  
Xodê 3emreke direj bidete hewe.  
God age long give you  
(May God extend your age.)  
Xodê sitara xo li 3eyalê tebiket.  
God protection his on children you make  
(May God protect your children.)  
Forgive us we bothered you  
(Forgive us if we bothered you.)  

2- Funeral (Condolence)  
A funeral is a ceremony for celebrating, respecting, sanctifying, or remembering the life of a person who has died. Birth and death are closely associated, because they are both part of the cycle of human life. Kurds have their own expressions to express their feelings in such occasions (Ibrahim, 2004: 82).  
The following are some expressions used by guests in funerals to express their grief for a dead person.  
God from satisfy be  
(God satisfies with him/her (their deeds).)  
Place he/she heaven be

(Hope he/she is in heaven.)  
Peşimanî vê diniyayê nebît.  
Regret this world not be  
(Hope he/she never regrets this world.)  
Musîbetêt xodê di xo?sin.  
Troubles God are nice  
(Anything, even troubles, from God are welcomed.)  
Dinya male kesê nine.  
World possession anybody not  
(This world is not ours.)  
Em hemi tuvê mirinê ne.  
We all seeds death are  
(We all are born to die.)  
Xodê bu hewe bedel veket.  
God to you compensate be  
(God recom pense you with another child.)  
Xodê şerbeta xo bi dile hewe da biket.  
God juice his to heart your sprinkle  
(God grant to you patience.)  
God wiling be bird of heaven  
(Hope she/he will become a little bird of heaven.)  
İn?salah 7oriya bi?e?stê bît.  
God wiling nymph heaven be  
(Hope she/he will become a nymph of heaven.)  
The relatives of the dead person use these expressions for welcoming the guests:  
Bixêrhatin dayê, esgorî.  
Welcome mother, I sacrifice  
(Welcome son, or (be sacrificed for you, old to young especially women).)  
Xodê xêra we bînvisît.  
God charity your write  
(God reward you.)  
Xodêbo we bi 7ecekê bînvisît.  
God to you with pilgrim write  
(God reward you with a Haj (Islamic pilgrim).)  
Xodê 3ezîzêt hewe bi?e?lit.  
God dears your leave  
(God bless your dears (children).)  
Xodê çi n qeza u belayê nedete hewe.  
God no evil and trouble not give you  
(God forbid evils and troubles to yours.)  
Xodê e?u bala ji hewe bide tepas.  
God pains and mourns from you put aside  
(God protect you from pains and mourns.)  
Xodê nexê me ne inîte serekesê.
4.2 Happy Events

1- Greetings and Welcomes

Sometime the greeting duration depends on how long the participants have not seen each other. It is also determined by the kind of relationship, i.e., whether the speakers are close friends, members of family or relatives, or co-worker (Hudson, 1980, 220-221).

Greetings and welcomes are very close expressions to each other. They are part of Kurdish culture especially among women. The following are some examples:

\( \text{çi li ber pêt hewe bidem?} \)
What at front feet your throw?
(What should I throw at your feet?)
(What should I break under your feet?)

This expression is used when someone, especially a relative, is warmly welcomed. It can also be used when it has been a long time since two or more people have last met.

(a) \( \text{Guskekê li ber pêt hewe bidem?} \)
Vase at font feet your throw?
(Shall I break a vase under your feet?)

(b) \( \text{Ka guskekê binin da li berpêt wî bi dem.} \)
Let vase bring to at front feet his throw
(Bring me a vase to break it under his feet.)

Such expressions are also used to show warm welcome to other family members.

\( \text{Te mala me run kir.} \)
You house our light made
(You have brought light into our house.)

\( \text{Teyrekê xerîb!} \)
A Bird strange!
(What a strange bird!)

\( \text{Gurgek yê mirî!} \)
Wolf is died
(A wolf has died!)

The last three expressions are quite familiar in Kurdish culture and usually used to show a sense of surprise. That is, the speaker uses such expressions because he/she does not expect any visitors.

4.3 Rapport Establishment Events

1- Weddings

According to Coulmas (1981, 41), happy events are always occasions for formulas which acknowledge good future, although there is also an awareness that luck may change. Accordingly, weddings are happy events which go under the category of personal occasions. Below are some expressions that Kurdish people use in weddings:

\( \text{Piroz bît.} \)
Congratulation be
(Congrats.)

\( \text{Serxërê bît.} \)
Over good be
(Be over good deeds.)

\( \text{Nexxe li jiyaneka xoş.} \)
Hope in life nice
(Be sign of a good life.)

\( \text{Pêkve pîr u kalbibin.} \)
Together aged be
(Be aged together.)

\( \text{Hêлина we ya zêrin bît.} \)
Nest your become golden be
(Be in the golden nest.)

\( \text{Bi xoşi di gel êk bijin.} \)
With happy with each other live
(Have a good life together.)

\( \text{Xodê çi astenga ne êxite rêka we da.} \)
God each obstacle no put way your in
(May God prevent your way from obstacles.)

2- Food

Cooking is considered as one of the basic duties of housewives or women in general from ancient time up to now. These responsibilities fall upon women's shoulders; thus women are the only people who must cook every day. Women have different expressions in the area of cooking (Tayib, 2010: 43).

a) Complimenting

\( \text{7eft tam yê jê dihên.} \)
Seven tastes from it come
(Wow! It has seven tastes.)

\( \text{Hind yêxoše xo dê mirîxon.} \)
Much delicious even deceased eat
(It is so delicious that even dead people can eat it.)

\( \text{Hind yê xoše xo dê tiblet xo digel da xon.} \)
Much delicious even fingers their with it eat
(It is so delicious that you would eat your fingers with it.)

A) \( \text{Destêtte ne eşîn} \)
Hands your not pain

B) \( \text{si7et bît / guştê pê bi girlî.} \)
Healthy be or meat gain
(A: I hope your hands never get pain)
b) Complaining

- Birinceka wekê hevîrî da me.
- Rice like flour-past gave us
  (They gave us a flour-past-like rice.)
- Nîska min wekê teqnê ya lêhatê.
- Lentil my like mud become
  (Oh, my lentil soup has become mud.)
- Me zadekê xav xar.
- We food uncooked eat
  (We had uncooked food.)
- Ew zad bi dilêmin ve ne nisîya.
- That food to heart my not touch
  (I did not like that food.)
- Hindî hind ya bê xêye di devê miravî da dikevît.
  (It is that unsalted food. It would fall from
  one’s mouth.)

4.4 Anxiety and Rapport Establishment Events

1- Swearing

Swearing is a widespread phenomenon in
Kurdish culture, especially among women.
Women swear of God, prophet, sacred persons,
and also swear of grave and head of alive people
(Tayîb, 2010: 66).

- Bi wî keme yê ez çêkirî.
- By he whom me created
  (I swear by the one who created me.)
- Bi her sê navê xodê ke me.
- By all three names of God be
  (I swear by all three names of God.)
- Bi cîl hizar pêxembera.
- By forty thousand prophets
  (I swear by forty thousand prophets.)
- Bi gura pêxemberi keme
- By grave of the prophet be
  (I swear by the grave of prophet.)
- Ez sind dixom bi wê Qur’ana min lê xandî.
  I swear eat by that Quran I read
  (I swear by the Holy Quran that I used to read.)
- Bi kelamê xodê.
  By the speech of God
  (I swear by the words of God.)
- Bi cîzî.
- Bi Juzamma
  (I swear by Juzamma (a part within Quran)
  Ez sind dixom bi vî te3amê.
  I swear eat by this food
  (I swear by this food.)

Bî wî te3amê xodê daye me.
By that food God give me
(I swear by the food that God has given us.)
Bî vê ruja xêra.
By this day holy
(I swear by this holy day.)
Bî mal a xodê.
By house of God
(I swear by house of God (referring to the
mosque)
Besides swearing by God and prophet, men can
take some other oaths:
- Bi şeref.
  By honor
  (I swear by my honor.)
- Pa bi telaq.
  By divorce
  (I swear by divorce.)
- Bi şerefa birayînê ke me.
  By the honor of brotherhood be
  (I swear by the honor of brotherhood.)
- Es bi lawîniya xo keme.
  I by youth my be
  (I swear by my youth.)
- Min çi din u îman nebin.
  I neither religion nor faith have
  (I swear by religion and faith.)
- Telaqêt min di çoiy bin.
  Divorces my gone be
  (I swear by my divorce (my divorce statement
  is done)

2- Pray

People often mention God’s name, prophets or
some other religious people when they pray, when
they are in trouble or even when they ask for
forgiveness and want to repent. According to
Kurdish dictionaries, there are two types of
praying: positive and negative (Tayîb, 2010: 48).

1) Positive pray

a) Praying for a child

E sgurî te bim.
I sacrifice you be
(May I be sacrificed to you.)
Ruja te ne bînim.
Day your not see
(I wish I would never see your day (death).
Destê pêxembera li ser sere te bit.
Hands of prophets be on head you be
(May Prophets' hands be on your head.)
Xodête bi hêlît.
God you protect  
(May God protect you.)

b) Praying for women and girls
Inşallah de neviçîrket xo bînê.  
God willing will grandchildren your see  
(I ask God that you live enough to see your grandchildren.)

Xodê 3eyalê te bu te hîzarsalî ket.  
God children your to thousand year be  
(May God protect your children for thousands of years.)

Xodê li dif dilê te bidete te.  
God like heart your give you  
(May God give you as you wish.)

Xodê Mirada te 7asil ket.  
God wish your come true  
(May God make your wish come true.)

Xodête li din u dîntayê serferaz ket.  
God you in religion and world successful be  
(May God make you happy in the both the Day of Judgment and life.)

c) Praying for men or boys
Xodê te ji belaya bi parêzît.  
God you from plights be protect  
(May God save you from all plights.)

Xodê çi dergeha li te ne hülitê girtê.  
God any doors to you not keep closed  
(May God never close the doors of his mercy for you.)

Inşallah dê risqê te weki dara zeytunê bît.  
God willing will fate your like tree of olive be  
(I ask God to make your sustenance live like olive trees.)

Xodê te ji zolim u zordara bi parêzît.  
God you from injustice and tyranny be protect  
(May God protect you from injustice and tyrants.)

2) Negative Pray  
a) Praying for children (Unintentionally)
Xodê te bi kujît.  
God you be kill  
(May God take your life.)

Sere te bin berkem.  
Head your under stone be  
(I would put your head under stones.)

3emrê tenëmiînit.  
Age your not remain  
(Death to you.)

Sitoyêtebişêkî.  
Neck your get broken  
(I hope that your neck get broken.)

Ne3let li wişîrêtxari.  
Curse be on that milk you eat  
(Curse be on the milk that you have drunk.)

b) Praying for women or girls
Inşallahulandikê nehejînî.  
God willing you cradle not handing  
(I hope you will never hand the cradle.)

Inşallahnekeye di landikê da (buafreta b du giyan).  
God willing not put in the cradle (to woman pregnant)  
(I hope you never put it in the cradle) (to a pregnant woman).

Inşallahagirêcegerêtebigîrit.  
God willing fire liver you get  
(I hope you get the pain, fire, of losing your dears.)

Inşallahdê li mala babe kezî u biskêt sipî ve hinî.  
God willing will in house of father plait white pleats  
(I hope that you twist gray pleats in your father’s house) (i.e., never marry).

Inşallah tu bilawîiya xo xoşiyê ne bey.  
God willing you with youth your happiness not enjoy
(I hope you never enjoy your youth.)

Inşallah dê bê ziriyet bî.

God willing will no descendent be

(I hope that you never have children, and be descendent.)

5. CONCLUSIONS

The study has come up with the following conclusions:

1. Formulaic expressions are culture specific. Thus, literal translations of formulaic expressions or prefabricated expressions into other languages can cause communication problems. That is, their equivalents might not exist.

2. Formulaic expressions help the conversation progress gentle and smooth. Formulaic expressions can be considered in one way or another as one type of phatic communion. That is, they are mainly used to make the communication among the members of a society go on. People use formulaic expressions to establish rapport and to maintain friendly relations.

3. Formulaic expressions are used quite frequently by speakers of Northern Kurmanji in everyday communication. The most common expressions are those exchanged in greetings and welcomes, departure, swearing, funeral (condolence), weddings, pray, food and others. However, further study on formulaic expressions may lead to different results.

4. The frequency of the formulaic expressions mentioned varies from one person to another. Some of them are used more frequently by women comparing to men or children. Others are restricted to men and children.

5. It is interesting to note that the majority of expressions appealing to God’s power were given by women.

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Appendix (1)

List of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Sania Salih Hussein</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
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</table>
الخلاصة
تعطي اللغة النمطية مجموعة واسعة من الوحدات اللغوية الجاهزة التي تتألف من التعبيرات والأمثال إلى روتوتين كربارين ناشفتي، هميين غوتنا رسته و بيكهاتان. ز ساخلتمين گرئگ ين زمانئي شترواز كییک کي کي چی نیکهین دیابرکی (زمانئی) تینین کا یوچی دیابرینینگا دیابرکی نینیته زیگئن زیاف هیمدک دیابرینینی دی دین و مکهی میز لاپای و یانایبی ویم یهمر میها ماجمیا کارکی یاءیه بیمیؤن بیکیکری، ول دومهای دیبیتی نامرآمده، بو دیابرینینی و یانایی کا دیابرکینئیه فکوئیلینه ل دور گوتینه دیابرینین نی نی زمانئی کوردی (کرمائیا زیری) دیگئل نامزهگری بو زمانئی نینگیزی، نیه فکوئیلینه هیوله که زیو زانینا جنینی بکارئینیا نیقین دیابرینین لیپکینی لیوزانه، هیورهسا نیف فکوئیلینه بیئیگ دهندی سنکهین سه رکی خی نی کی رهیلا نی دهندی هیئین دیابرینین دنایی را نآفختفیکرون زمانئی کوردی (کرمائیا زیری)، کی بیک دهین ز chuẩnکو دیابرینین دهینه بکارئینیان ل پیشوازیان و سلافکری، و چاراکسیتی و سوییدخوارتی و شهیانان و تهیگان.شرویفرکرنا دنایین دیابرکیه کو ناخفتمکه زمانئی کوردی (کرمائیا زیری) فورمین چواتقی دین دیابرینین ل لاپین تیجارزا ز زیانی و هیئکفیکارکدنی، نمی شین نیقی هیئکفیک، د رووداتین گاهه، نه نارامدا و رووداتین کهف خوشی و چافینی فنیولین بکین.

2- Asia Salih Ahmed 1943 Housewife
3- Mariam Saeed Rasheed 1944 Housewife
4- Aysha Abas Ismail 1944 Unemployed
5- Zainab saeed Ahmed 1945 Housewife
6- Nasreen Mohammed Saeed 1946 Housewife
7- Khalid yusif Ali 1946 Unemployed
8- Hassan Kamil Sabri 1947 Unemployed
9- Jamila Ismail Ahmed 1948 Housewife
10- Zalikha Jasim Ali 1949 Housewife
11- Naif Ali Sabri 1950 Peshmarge
12- Azeez Ahmed Mohammed 1951 Peshmarge
13- Amina Mohammed Salih 1951 Housewife
14- Raeqer Abdulrezaq Ali 1952 School Guard
15- Jelal Hamza Hassan 1962 Teacher
16- Nahla Mohammed Hassan 1965 Housewife
17- Laiyla Suleiman Murad 1967 Teacher
18- Hazim Sherif Jabir 1968 Peshmarge
19- Salah Hussein Ali 1968 Teacher
20- Nawal Salih Ali 1969 Teacher
21- Madina Mohammed Sharif 1970 Teacher
22- Sabah Ahmed Qadir 1971 Worker
23- Muna Jaafar Khalid 1973 Nurse
24- Jihad Hassan Idrees 1975 Teacher
25- Laiyla Suleiman Murad 1967 Teacher
تميز اللغة النمطية، حيث لا يوجد في الغالب أي سبب معين (لغوي) أنه لماذا نفضل تعبير معين مقارنة بتعبيرات مماثلة من الناحية المعنوية لتحقيق وظيفة اتصال معينة، وبالتالي نصبح وسيلة للتعبير عن معنى معين. تبحث الدراسة الحالية عن العبارات التعبيرية في اللغة الكردية (الكرمانجية الشمالية) مع الإشارة إلى اللغة الإنجليزية، تحاول هذه الدراسة معرفة مدى تكرار استخدام هذه التعبيرات في الكلام اليومي. من ناحية أخرى، تحاول الدراسة تغطية بعض العبارات التعبيرية الشائعة التي يتداولها المتحدثون اللغة الكردية (الكرمانجية الشمالية)، ويشمل ذلك تحليل التعبيرات المستخدمة في الترحيب والتحية والمغادرة والقسم والتعايز وحلقات الزفاف والحفلات. تبين عند تحليل البيانات أن التحدث باللغة الكردية (الكرمانجية الشمالية) يستخدمون تعبيرات (صيغ) متعلقة في جوانب مختلفة من الحياة والمناسبات، يمكن تصنيف مثل هذه المناسبات في أحداث مزعجة أو مثيرة للقلق والأحداث السعيدة وحدات ترسيخ العلاقات الاجتماعية.