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STANDARD ACCENTED TURKISH SPEAKERS' PERCEPTION OF KURDISH
ACCENTED SPEAKERS: THE FACTORS BEHIND THE EVALUATIONS

by

Busra Can

B.A., Middle East Technical University & State University of New York at New Paltz, 2019

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree

Department of Linguistics
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
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Busra Can

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the field of Linguistics

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Busra Can, for the Master of Arts degree in Linguistics, presented on March 23, 2021, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: STANDARD ACCENTED TURKISH SPEAKERS' PERCEPTION OF KURDISH ACCENTED SPEAKERS: THE FACTORS BEHIND THE EVALUATIONS

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Shannon McCrocklin

This study investigates the attitudes of standard accented Turkish speakers towards non-standard Kurdish accented speakers of Turkish. Given the fact that there are strict language policies in Turkey, this paper analyzes the effect of such standard language ideologies on listener attitudes using a mixed-methods design. The study included 50 Turkish participants with ages ranging from 19 to 51. Participants completed a survey with 21 questions and could volunteer to also participate in an interview. The survey asked about biographical data, evaluations of various speakers and ratings of accents of Turkish. Using a matched guise technique in the survey, a Kurdish accented speaker was recorded both in standard and non-standard accented Turkish. To explore possible differences based on age, survey responses were divided into groups with young adults (under 30) and adults. For qualitative data, 13 respondents were interviewed to explore their language ideologies. The results show that the Kurdish accented speaker received the lowest scores among all the speakers in the survey and were perceived negatively in all categories such as pleasantness, correctness and educatedness. When the standard accent was attained by the same speaker, the ratings increased. The attainment of the standard accent also effected the identification of the speaker as respondents identified the Kurdish speaker as “Kurdish” when they heard the non-standard and “Turkish” when they heard the standard accent.

During the interviews, One nation-one language ideologies which was promoted in the country and the standard language ideologies have been observed.

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DEDICATION

For all the Kurdish children who received little to no education due to language barriers.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Non-linguists' evaluation of language variation has been subject to many studies in a number of linguistic contexts. These studies have shown that respondents who are non-linguists can make a distinction between different sounds and can reliably assign these differences to specific regions (Preston, 1996). Moreover, this natural social skill can be used to create and reinforce social hierarchy (Labov, 1986). Especially if those regions are related to poverty, ruralness, and a minority group of speakers, the phonetic variables can become highly stigmatized. Labov (1968) explains the importance of studying these evaluations saying, "Once the social significance of a given linguistic variant has been determined, ..., this variable may then serve as an index to measure other forms of social behavior." (p. 240). Thus, the social meaning that a specific linguistic variable carries may give linguists clues about the source of perceptions of a certain dialect or accent. The present study analyzed the evaluations of non-standard accented speech from an extreme situation: a context in which there is ongoing linguistic oppression of minority language speakers. Specifically, the attitude towards Kurdish accented speech in Turkish will be studied to gain an understanding of the effects of language ideologies in Turkey on linguistic perceptions.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGES IN TURKEY

In this chapter, the sociolinguistic situation of minority languages in Turkey will be discussed.

2.1. KURMANJI (NORTHERN KURDISH) SPEAKERS IN TURKEY

Kurmanji is the largest variety of Kurdish (Haig & Öpengin, 2015) and the largest minority language in Turkey (Sirkeci, 2000). Haig and Öpengin (2015) stated that there are 8 million to 15 million speakers of Kurmanji in Turkey, with the numbers depending on the way researchers define these speakers. For example, Polat and Schallert (2013) categorize Kurdish speakers by language use into three groups; the first group is those who identify themselves as Kurdish but speak little or no Kurdish. The second group consists of people who only speak Kurdish (mostly people who had no access to Turkish due to the lack of schools in rural areas). Finally, the third group is bilingual speakers of both Kurdish and Turkish (Polat & Schallert, 2013), who are also the subject of the present study. The exact number of Kurdish-Turkish bilingual speakers is unknown, however, because the country collects no ethnic data. In 2004, the European Commission projected the Kurdish population of Turkey to be around 15-20 million (European Commission, 2004). Similarly, the Ministry of the Interior of Turkey announced in 2019 that the population of the Eastern and Southeastern regions of the country, which are often associated with the Kurdish population, has reached almost 15 million (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Bilgi İşlem Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2019). In Hassanpour's (1992) study the Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia regions were labeled with more than 50% usage of Kurdish. Figure 1 below displays Kurdish and other minority languages in Turkey.

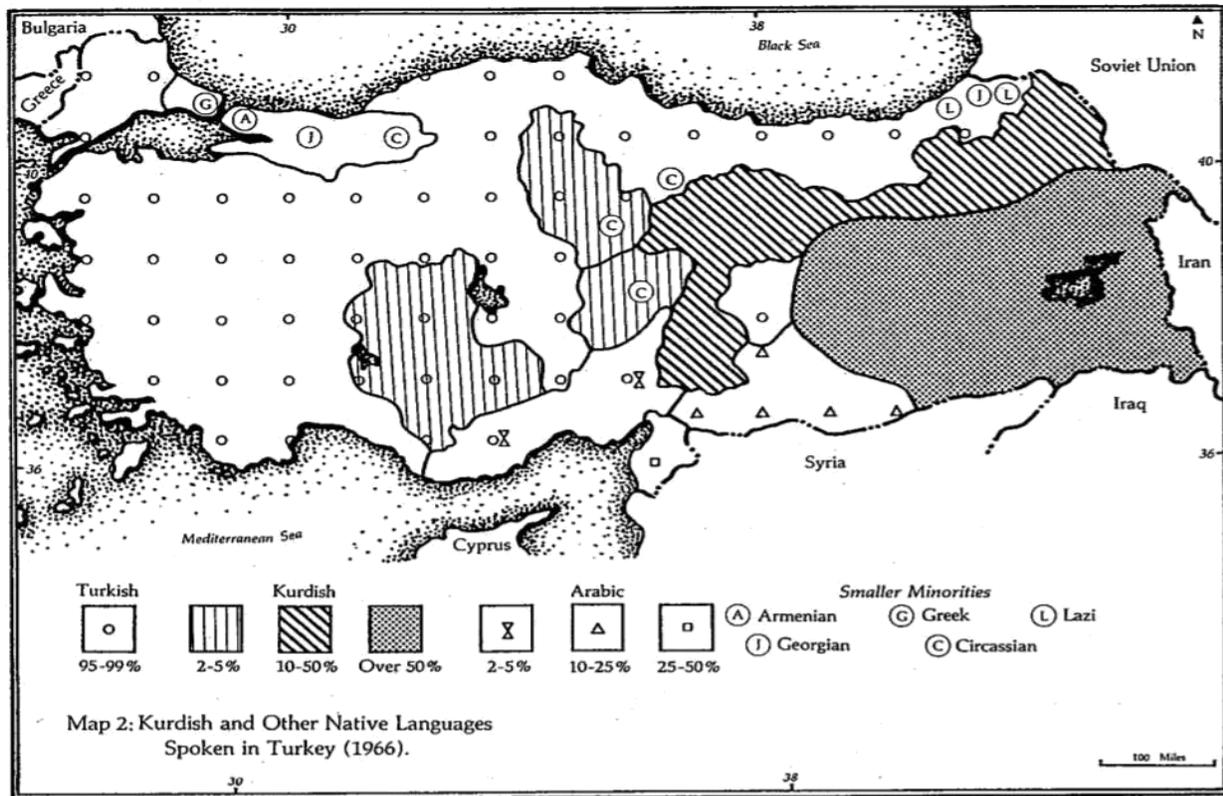


Figure 1: Kurdish and Other Native Languages Spoken in Turkey in 1966 (Hassanpour, 1992, p. 4).

2.2. OTHER LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS OF TURKISH SPOKEN IN TURKEY

Turkey is a country where various languages are widely spoken. Although the multilingual setting in the country has started to change as a number of languages has become extinct (Yağmur, 2001), there are still a number of languages spoken by people from different ethnic backgrounds than Turkish. Yağmur (2001) brings in data from various studies that have investigated both Turkic and non-Turkic languages spoken in Turkey and one of those studies shows that, there are 42 different languages spoken in Turkey (Grimes, 1996) as cited in Yağmur, (2001).

Among all 42 languages, the Laz language, which is a South Caucasian language, is widely spoken in Northeastern Turkey near the Black Sea where the majority of the Laz

population (approximately 1.5 million) lives (Özfidan et al., 2018). Nonetheless, it was projected in Grimes (1996, as cited in Yağmur, 2001), that the language is spoken only by 92,000 people. Özfidan et al. (2018) stated that the young generation of Laz people is only fluent in Turkish. Most Laz speakers use the language only in their social circles because of linguistic alienation (Gunter & Andrew, 1993 as cited in Özfidan et al., 2018).

Although the Laz language is gradually becoming lost (Kutscher, 2008), Northeastern dialect¹ is categorized separately from the Western Anatolia and the Eastern Anatolia dialects (Karahan, 1996). Karahan's study (1996) categorizes dialects of Turkish considering all linguistic variables as well as pronunciation differences (Buran, 2011). In the very well-documented study of categorization of Anatolian dialects, Karahan (1996) lists other main groups of dialects as the Eastern dialect and the Western dialect. These two dialects have a number of sub-categories based on geographical areas such as Aegean cities, Central Anatolian cities, and Western Black Sea cities.

2.3. LANGUAGE POLICIES IN TURKEY

It is important to understand the basis of the foundations of the country and language reform of Turkey to get an insight into the extreme language policies it applies to minority speakers in the country. Turkey was founded in 1923 as a nation-state for people with a Turkish ethnic background. Yet, it was not possible at the time to create a homogenous nation as its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire, included millions of people with different ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012). To eliminate the multinational setting of the

¹ Dialect studies in Turkey do not use ethnic group names such as "Laz dialect". Instead, geographical terms are used to describe dialects.

Ottoman Empire and create a nation-state, the republic aimed for homogenization (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012).

To achieve this aim, assimilation efforts toward minority groups targeted minority languages to demolish linguistic differences. Linguistic Unitarianism was encouraged by promoting a “one nation-one language” principle (Yağmur, 2001). This principle is the most common justification of the assimilation efforts toward minority languages within the country. Adopting this principle meant that the Turkish language was the only language that could be spoken and therefore should be promoted within the borders of Turkey. However, given the reality of a country with a diversity of languages and ethnic backgrounds, the goal of creating a national community led to ethnic and linguistic anxieties and insecurities (Cizre, 2001).

Linguistic genocide efforts toward minority languages in the country shape the language ideologies and policies in many areas; the educational system of Turkey is one of them. The compulsory 12 years of education in Turkey is delivered in standard Turkish. Although the country does not enforce Turkish to be the only language taught at schools, linguistic discrimination is applied to Kurmanji. Although there are bans on compulsory education in Kurdish, the learning of English, French, and German are highly promoted including in government schools (Polat, 2007). Besides western languages being taught, Armenians, Rums, and Jews have the right to open schools in Turkey (Kaya, 2009). However, there are no daycares, kindergartens, or schools in Kurdish (Taylor & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Kaya (2009) claims that Turkey is in breach of international law as the country put limitations on the education rights of minorities.

For this reason, bilingual speakers of Kurdish and Turkish learn Turkish at school as their second language (Polat & Schallert, 2013). Their pronunciation in Turkish includes

linguistic features that deviate from the standard Turkish accent (Polat & Schallert, 2013). Table 1 below displays the phonemes that exist in Kurdish accented Turkish, as well as their counterparts in the standard accented Turkish.

Table 1: Linguistic features used in the identification of Kurdish learners' native-likeness of Turkish accent (Polat & Schallert, 2013, p. 752).

Linguistic Features	Kurdish Pronunciation	Turkish Pronunciation
Diğ er	ɛ	J
Bayağ ı	i	ı
Farklıdır	q	K
Har bi	x	H
Hissederiz	ħ	H
Çi ç eklerle	g	K
Vardır	w	V
Soğ u klar	ɸIX	γuk

This variety of Turkish, spoken by bilingual Kurdish people or people with a Kurdish ethnic background who have grown up in the Eastern part of Turkey, has been mentioned in previous studies as the “Eastern dialect of Turkish” (Demirci, 2002; Demirci & Kleiner, 1999; Polat, 2007). Nonetheless, there is also a population in the Eastern region that is both ethnically Turkish and Turkish-speaking. (Hassanpour, 1992). Likewise, the Kurdish speaking population also lives outside the Eastern part of Turkey as many Kurdish speakers emigrated to the western cities of Turkey due to the conflict between the PKK (Partiya Kerkeren Kurdistanê, an illegally

armed group associated with terrorist activities) and the Turkish army in the Eastern area (Öpengin, 2012). Accordingly, the present study will analyze this variety as “Kurdish accented speech”, not only as a regional variety but as representing a minority group of speakers who live across the country.

Minority languages in a country are often assigned less value compared to the dominant language of the area, although in many cases they carry an ‘authentic’ or ‘touristic’ importance, such as Basque (Gal, 2006). In the European context, the preservation of minority languages is considered as one of the linguistic aims of those countries (Gal, 2006). Yet, in the context of Turkey, Kurmanji has attracted much less interest compared to minority languages in the rest of Europe. On the contrary, the propaganda of creating a homogenic country has resulted in defining Kurds as mountain Turks, those who live in mountainous areas of Turkey and speak a language variety that differs only slightly from Turkish (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Although Armenians and Rums can launch schools and are recognized by the constitution, Kurds do not have those rights. In the Lausanne Treaty (the treaty signed after The Independence War of Turkey against imperialist powers, which led to the foundation of the country), Kurds were not acknowledged, unlike Armenians and Rums (Karimova & Deverell, 2001). Only non-Muslim communities were recognized as minorities of Turkey in this treaty. Thus, the denial of the existence of the Kurds and the Kurdish language has been much easier.

The lack of linguistic rights of minority speakers affects almost all parts of their lives in Turkey. Extreme language policies such as banning the use of Kurmanji in both social and private life were in effect until 1991 (Öpengin, 2012), causing excessive oppression, assimilation, and coercion of Kurdish people (Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2009). There were no media that could broadcast in Kurdish and no political party could give speeches in Kurdish. It is

still? prohibited to use any language or script other than Turkish for political parties in any media or in other election propaganda (Yıldız & Fryer, 2004, as cited in Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012). Speaking in Kurdish became so stigmatized that brutalism and violence against Kurdish speakers grew. As cited in Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p. 327) “A Kurdish mother in Diyarbakir visits her son in prison. The guard says that they have to speak Turkish to each other. The mother does not know any Turkish” (Phillipson et al., 1994). Aliser Cengaver shared his experience in a government school in Turkey, where the assimilation efforts were strong, during an interview: *“If the children spoke Kurdish, they were punished. Some were beaten on the hands with rulers; others were forced to stand for hours. Some teachers punished children by burning their hands on the stove used to heat the classroom.”* (Taylor, 2000, as quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 323).

This extreme oppression of Kurmanji speakers has led any form of Kurdishness to be stigmatized as political and public spheres have become tenser and tenser (Öpengin, 2012).

2.4. AMENDMENTS TO THE POLICIES

Following the government party’s “Kurdish initiative” period, which aimed to solve the Kurdish question in the country, there were some betterment efforts in the late 2000s to give Kurmanji speakers some of their fundamental linguistic rights (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012). In Artuklu University an “Institute of Living Languages” was established with the approval of Turkey’s Higher Education Board. The institute was originally called the “Kurdish Institute”, although its name was changed swiftly due to public reaction (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012). The Institute offers postgraduate education in Kurdish as well as other languages. Furthermore, the state television channel “TRT SES” started broadcasting in Kurdish, which later changed its name to “TRT Kurdi”. More than that, prisoners were granted their right to speak Kurdish among themselves or

with visitors (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012). Whether these improvements were implemented effectively or not in reality remains a question, yet it is certain that even though they may have been symbolic, they made Kurdish less ‘invisible’ (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012).

2.5. CURRENT SITUATION AND ONGOING POLITICAL TENSION

In 2014, the “Kurdish initiative” process was halted due to terrorist activities by the PKK, and many Kurdish activists and politicians were arrested (Barkey, 2019). Since then, the tension has been rising between the Turkish and Kurdish communities as Turkish nationalists blamed the “Kurdish initiative” process for the terrorist activities that happened. The political tension has also continued outside the borders of Turkey; in 2019, the national forces of Turkey were in Northern Syria, staging a land assault against Kurdish forces (Schmitt et al., NYTimes, 2019).

The ongoing tension may add to the existing prejudices against the Kurdish ethnicity. Hence, anything related to this identity, such as the salient markers of their Kurdish-accented Turkish speech, is likely to be perceived negatively. What is more, the political tension between the Kurdish and Turkish communities and oppression of minority speakers may lead to extreme results in terms of evaluations of Kurdish accented speakers. For example, Demirci and Kleiner’s study (1999) unsurprisingly showed that Kurdish accented speech is rated lowest among all dialects of Turkish standard accented speakers. The present study seeks to build on this previous work by exploring the factors behind the evaluations of Kurdish accented speech and using an understanding of the extreme language policies to better understand language perceptions and the extreme oppression of Kurdish speakers.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding the role of phonetic variables in language perceptions is key to investigating attitudes towards a specific accent. Scovel (1988) identifies pronunciation as the strongest marker of L2 learners' acculturation and identification. The phonetic variables within a language may be perceived as indicators of social class, age, and ethnic background by non-linguists. In his well-known study in New York City, Labov (1986) found that phonetic variables are used as a demonstrator of social status. He examined the speech of three salespeople in New York department stores. Each of the department stores had a different client profile: whereas the department store Saks served upper-class customers, Klein's customer profile consisted of people in a lower-class. The salesperson at Saks used /ɹ/ the most, and Klein's the least, to appeal to their customers. However, when they were asked to repeat, the salesperson at Saks skipped the use of /ɹ/. So, a single phoneme, /ɹ/, was perceived and used in these stores in New York City as a sign of social hierarchy. The use of the English phonetic variable /ɹ/ by the three salespeople indicated that people tend to use phonetic variables to construct social identity.

Phonetic variables are used by listeners not only to assign a social identity to a speaker but also to link the speech they hear to specific geographical regions. Moreover, they hold opinions about the regional varieties of a language. For example, Preston (1989) used a methodology in his prominent work in Michigan to reveal the attitudes of people about certain accents. The researcher asked his respondents to draw dialect regions on maps of the U.S. and label them with a couple of words or sentences. In addition, the respondents were asked to describe those speech areas in terms of correctness and pleasantness. The results showed that the respondents attached specific linguistic features to certain speech areas. Furthermore, the

findings suggested that non-linguists tend to find their own accent correct. For instance, they rated their dialect as correct and Southerners' speech as incorrect. Contrastingly, respondents found correct forms less pleasant than what they described as incorrect. This shows that, in the U.S. context, non-standard dialects could be found warm and pleasant although they have not been found correct.

There has been little research investigating listener perceptions in the Turkish context. One reason might be that there are strict language policies in almost all parts of life. Among the few studies that have been conducted Demirci and Kleiner (1999) and Demirci (2002) studied standard accented Turkish speakers' perceptions of various dialects of Turkish using the mental-mapping technique. Demirci and Kleiner's (1999) mental-mapping study displayed important results for the basis of the present study as it included attitudes towards Kurdish accented speakers in Turkish. The study aimed to measure the pleasantness and correctness evaluations of standard Turkish speakers as was done in Preston's (1989) famous Michigan study. The mental mapping tasks were given to 142 respondents who were standard accented Turkish speakers, and the results were divided into groups in terms of age and social class. Regardless of the group, the cities in the East and Southeast of Turkey, where the area is highly associated with the Kurdish population, received the lowest scores among all dialects in the study. Preston (1989) stated that the power certain languages or dialects hold may have an impact on the perception of the "correctness" of a language; while some dialects or one of the linguistic variables are viewed as the correct form, the others are perceived as incorrect (Preston, 1989). Moreover, Preston's (1989) study showed that people tend to evaluate some dialects correct and some as pleasant. In Demirci and Kleiner's (1999) study the Kurdish dialect received the lowest scores for both pleasantness and correctness. Respondents displayed quite negative attitudes towards the dialect;

they called the Southeastern and Eastern cities “undeveloped” and speakers “illiterate”, “backward”, and “harsh”. A very notable point from the results was that they described the Eastern and Southeastern speech as the most “degenerated” Turkish and claimed those speakers “speak from the throat” (Demirci & Kleiner, 1999). These listener comments are valuable in terms of displaying standard language ideologies, specifically their personality attributions to Kurdish speakers.

Another study that sheds light on attitudes towards Kurdish speakers measured gender differences in these perceptions through a mental-mapping task (Demirci, 2002). The results showed that both genders were able to differentiate the Kurdish dialect region from the rest, with men being more precise and detailed (Demirci, 2002). Whereas men made more linguistically descriptive comments on the Kurdish speech, such as the dropping of sounds from the words, adding affixes, the replacement of front vowels with back vowels, and using certain Kurdish structures in Turkish because their L1 is Kurdish, women made comments to express how they felt about their speech: “their language is unbearable”, “the reason they can’t speak Turkish is them being stupid and primitive” (Demirci, 2002, p. 48). The effects of extreme language policies and linguistic discrimination can be observed in these comments. Without any exposure to the Kurdish accented speech by a Kurdish speaker, just “Kurdishness” triggered the respondents’ attitudes toward those speakers. However, this methodology is not enough to understand the level of linguistic discrimination that Kurdish people face when they speak in a Kurdish accent as it did not include an explicit identification task of the Kurdish accent. The present study will try to fill this gap to reveal whether standard accented speakers can identify Kurdish speakers and attach a Kurdish identity to them without any prior information such as where the speaker is from or which ethnicity the speaker belongs to.

These negative attributions to the Eastern accent can not only be explained with ethnic discrimination but also other factors such as linguistic ideologies in a given context, and the effect of politics and economics on those attitudes. For example, the ratings of the “correctness” of speech by a hearer are determined by standard language ideologies. These ideologies create hierarchies within the speakers of a language. Gal (2006) asserted that “Standard language ideologies do not create unity but rather heterogeneity” (p. 171). Although standard dialects are supposed to be anonymous and belong to no one, they belong to elitists or a certain group of people in society who hold power over others. Thus, standard varieties of languages do belong to a certain group of speakers, meaning that standard Turkish was created by the Turkish elitists and belongs to the people who speak it. It is a variety that is promoted over others. These power dynamics have a great impact on the perceptions of certain forms of the language. If one of the forms of a language is accepted as “correct” by an institute or the elitists of that society, the non-standard is to be perceived as “incorrect”. In this case, any other form of speech that diverges from the standard Turkish will be accepted as incorrect. For this reason, the present study will choose respondents from among standard accented Turkish speakers, to be able to both see the role of standard language ideologies and deviation from one’s speech.

If a form of speech is perceived as correct and the others are accepted as incorrect, it should be considered how strictly these borders of “correctness” are built. As was mentioned earlier, Kurdish speakers of Turkish use some phonetic variables that do not exist in standard Turkish. Labov’s (1986) study revealed that a single phoneme might be an indicator of social status, so phonetic variables might also be indicators of “correctness” and divergence from the standard. This means that only one form of a linguistic variable is acceptable, that which is accepted as standard, and other variables will be stigmatized. Lippi-Green (2012) claimed that

speakers view a standard dialect as a uniform way of speaking (i.e., variation is not acceptable in standard dialects). The stigmatization of the non-standard variables will also carry meanings. Although in some contexts the use of a specific variable is attributed to higher class such, as /ɹ/ in Labov's (1986) study, in some cases they give hints to the listener about the speakers' ethnicity. If standard dialects are being taken into consideration, in most cases receiving education will be attributed to the standard accented speakers. Lippi-Green (2012) notes that standard dialects are created by the elite who are educated, and this situation causes a circularity; the standard is created by educated people, and they are evaluated as educated because they speak the standard. Hence, it is highly expected that non-linguist folks will attribute the trait "educated" and "speaking correctly" to those who speak the standard and the opposite to those who speak the non-standard, Kurdish accented speakers in this specific context.

Along with standard language ideologies, politics or a tense public sphere may affect the way listeners perceive speakers. When a certain identity is stigmatized due to the ongoing tension between two ethnic groups, or hostility towards a specific ethnic group exists, anything attached to that identity may be loaded with negative meaning for the perceiver. The effect of political tension on linguistic attitudes can be seen in the comments that were made by respondents in Demirci and Kleiner's (1999) and Demirci's (2002) studies. The Korean Peninsula is another example of where political tension is high and non-linguists' perceptions of non-standard accents or dialects are quite negative. For example, Long and Yim's (1999) study examined the language perceptions of South Koreans by giving respondents a map of the Korean peninsula and asking them to label where people speak differently or the same. Most of them completely skipped labeling the North Korean area; only 35% of the respondents divided the peninsula with a border between North and South Korea and labeled North Korea, and the other

respondents did not recognize the area (Long & Yim, 1999). The respondents who made comments on the North Korean speech area did not include much linguistic commentary, as they mainly made notes on the speakers rather than the area. The most common descriptor of North Korean speakers was “pitiful” (Long & Yim, 1999). Thus, it may be concluded here that politics matter in perceptions of speech areas, and most importantly they may result in prejudices against the speaker.

In addition to politics, race and economic development affect the perceptions of listeners to a great extent. Based on the previous studies, it is already known that there is a stigmatization of the Kurdish identity, which resembles another race other than Turkishness in Turkey. It is very common for an oppressed minority group to consist of the lower-class people in a specific society, and Kurdish people are one of those minority groups. The Eastern part of Turkey is underdeveloped (Öpengin, 2012); 60% of the people there live under the poverty threshold (TESEV, 2006, as cited in Öpengin, 2012). Just as in education and access to formal education, a circular relationship between linguistic discrimination and economic development occurs. Because for low-income Kurdish people it is hard to get jobs due to linguistic barriers (Öpengin, 2012), their speech is related to economic backwardness and poverty (Öpengin, 2012). The relationship between perceptual dialectology and race and economic development was also found in Alfaraz’s language attitudes study (2002). In his study, Alfaraz (2002) identified the two most salient factors that have an impact on the evaluations of Spanish in the Caribbean as race and economic development. In the study, varieties in the economically well-developed speech areas of Latin America were rated the highest by Miami Cubans. Nonetheless, the variety that Puerto Ricans speak was rated the lowest, although it is the third most prosperous area among those studied. Alfaraz (2002) explained the negative ratings of Puerto Rican speakers by

noting Puerto Rican speakers being in the greatest poverty of all Hispanic groups in Miami, where the respondents lived. In addition, the study revealed that there are inverse relationship between race and correctness ratings. The countries consisting predominantly of white people received the highest rates; speakers in the Dominican Republic, where people are predominantly black, got the lowest score in terms of correctness among all countries (Alfaraz, 2002).

Listeners also attach value to phonetic variables in terms of aesthetics. Pleasantness and aesthetic evaluations are two very commonly tested phenomenon in perceptual dialectology studies. Where standard language ideologies are highly adopted by speakers of a language, the pleasantness tasks may result in contradictory findings to Preston's study (1989). For example, in Demirci and Kleiner's study (1999), respondents labeled the Kurdish accented speech neither correct nor pleasant. Yet, the evaluations of different dialects are not only about personality traits or "correctness". When a phonetic variable is stigmatized for its incorrectness, speakers' profile, etc., that variable is perceived as "ugly" as well. For example, Bezooijen's (2002) study on aesthetic evaluations of Dutch revealed that standard Dutch were found more beautiful than non-standard dialects of Dutch by all listener groups. The respondents consisted of 7-year-olds, 10-year-olds, and adults from different regional backgrounds. Additionally, the dialects more intelligible to listeners and closer to the standard received higher rates on aesthetic evaluations. Bezooijen (2002) suggested that sounds similar to standard Dutch are rated higher because standard sounds are accepted as beautiful. In the present study, any phonetic variable that is linked to the Kurdish accent should be perceived as "ugly" as well as all other negative attributions.

Furthermore, "minority speakers might devalue their speech comparing their language production to standard accented productions" (Gal, 2006, p. 178). This was an interesting

outcome of Preston's (1989) study; the respondents did not rate their dialect the highest. Similar to Preston's findings, Polat's study (2007) revealed that in parallel with standard accented speakers' views in Demirci and Kleiner (1999) and Demirci (2002), Kurdish accented speakers would like to attain a standard accent. Additionally, in the study, it was found that some Kurdish adolescents were able to attain a native-like accent although Turkish was their second language (Polat, 2007). The motivation for attaining the standard accent should be very high if the speaker is aiming to make social ties with the Turkish-speaking community, given that in the Turkish context anything related to Kurdishness is stigmatized. Polat (2007) noted that Kurdish speakers "had to" appear to be as Turkish as possible. The respondents in Polat's study (2007) demonstrated negative language attitudes and linguistic discrimination that the Kurdish adolescents faced at school and in their everyday life. One of the respondents in the study stated that Turkish people mock their accent and think they are bad people or terrorists (Polat, 2007). What is more, he claimed that if he speaks "bad Turkish" people may not give them jobs or they may get bad grades at school (Polat, 2007). Accordingly, the present study focuses on standard accented listeners' evaluations of Kurdish accented speakers to see whether such negative attitudes will be displayed by standard accented speakers. This would help us understand whether Kurdish accented speech only would be enough to trigger stereotypes against Kurdish people.

Given the lack of studies that measure listener evaluations of Kurdish accented speakers, the present study adopted a matched-guise technique, to be able to analyze the evaluations based on accents. The matched-guise technique will help us analyze both these attitudes and non-linguists' ability to differentiate between different accents as well as recognizing the standard accent attainment. Besides, it will minimize the effect of other variables

such as the speakers' age and the voice quality on the ratings and help to focus more on the effect of the Kurdish accent in those evaluations.

Language attitudes emerge differently in each context (Baker, 1992). There is no such model that can be used to measure hearer perceptions in every context. Baker (1992) suggests that a method that applies to one context may not be meaningful in some other context.

Therefore, the present study will look at language attitudes in different ages because, in the Turkish context, there have been some betterment efforts over time, and this may affect the attitudes of Turkish speakers. While older generations may have received education in under such strict policies, the newer generation may have experienced a warmer atmosphere due to the betterment efforts. Moreover, Demirci (1998) has found some patterns between young and adult groups in terms of displaying different attitudes towards dialects of Turkish. In Demirci's (1998) study, the younger generation was more positive towards non-standard dialects; so, the same method of grouping participants based on age will be adopted to see if age still shows effect on the language attitudes in the Turkish context.

As Bourdieu (2010) noted, "a person not only speaks to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished" (p. 648), and Polat's study (2007) has shown that some highly motivated Kurdish speakers might attain a native-like Turkish accent to make social ties with the standard speakers. It is important to revisit standard accented Turkish speakers' attitude towards Kurdish accented speakers with a broader investigation adopting a mixed methodology. After many years and the betterment efforts in terms of language rights, this study intends to shed light on accent perceptions in an extreme situation and how language policies influence hearer perceptions. As Demirci (1998) found a pattern between gender, age, and language evaluations of Turkish speakers, the age factor will be taken into consideration for the

present study because, given the changes in language policies over the years, it would improve our understanding of effects of these policies on different generations.

Based on the previous findings, the present study aims to investigate the following research questions.

1. Are standard accented Turkish speakers able to identify Kurdish accented speakers and link their accent to the Kurdish identity without any prior information about the speakers?
2. Among standard accented Turkish speakers, are there differences in attitudes towards Kurdish accented Turkish speakers based on age?
3. What is the role of linguistic ideologies on evaluations of Kurdish accented Turkish speakers?

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

To get a solid understanding of language attitudes and language ideologies behind them, data were collected both quantitatively and qualitatively. Such mixed methods may help increase the research validity in social sciences (Hussein, 2009). Similarly, in sociolinguistics studies, a combination of methodologies helps with understanding the multiple layers of meaning (Holmes, 2007) because mixed methods are the only way to answer some research questions that could not be answered in any other way (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). For this reason, the present study investigated Standard Turkish speakers' attitudes towards Kurdish accented Turkish speakers using a matched-guise technique and an accent identification task, in which various speakers with different accents in Turkish were evaluated by standard accented speakers in terms of correctness, pleasantness, accentedness, intelligibility, and personal attributions.

4.1. PROCEDURES

The call for speakers was posted online on the social media platforms Instagram and Facebook. On Instagram, the flyer was shared on the researcher's personal account. On Facebook, the flyers were shared in university groups and city groups such as "People from Trabzon", "People who live in Denizli", etc. After a quick interview with the researcher to decide if they fit to the necessary speaker profile (having those regional accents), they were asked to read the given text while recording it on their smart phones. Audio-recordings were sent to the researcher via WhatsApp. All speakers provided permission for the audio-files to be used in the research study.

The flyer to call for respondents was posted on social media platforms in a similar method with a link to the survey attached to them. On Facebook, the flyer was posted to

university groups, job seeking groups, and city groups such as Istanbul and Ankara to reach out to respondents with various ages, levels of education, and occupations. The consent form was embedded in the survey designed on Qualtrics, which was also used to recruit respondents for the interviews. There was no separate call for respondents for the interviews; it was given as an option for survey respondents. Those who volunteered to have interviews with the researcher were recruited by giving them a space in the survey to indicate if they wish to participate in the interviews and an option to leave their contact information, an e-mail address or cellphone number. They were contacted by the researcher on their e-mail address or on WhatsApp to schedule the videocall for interviews. The interviews were held on WhatsApp or FaceTime after they filled out the consent form for the interview. The interviews were audio recorded.

It should also be noted that since the study have been conducted with participants who are Turkish speakers, all materials were designed in Turkish. These materials were translated into English and the translation was checked and approved by another native Turkish speaker who is fluent in English and currently working as a professor in a US College. The quantitative and qualitative data were also collected in Turkish. The interviews were held in Turkish as well. The recordings of the interviews were first transcribed in Turkish and then translated into English by the researcher.

4.2. MATCHED-GUISE SURVEY

A survey which was created using a blend of Preston's tests (1989) and Lambert et al.'s matched-guise technique (1960) was used to obtain quantitative data. The respondents were asked to evaluate speeches that were audio files in the survey which consisted of a Kurdish accented speaker reading a given text in both Kurdish accent and standard accent along with other speakers using various accents of Turkish. The survey included questions regarding

respondents' language ideologies with a similar task to Preston's mental-mapping technique (1989), that could help demonstrate the effect of proximity on those attitudes and provide an insight to their perceptions of Turkish accents.

4.3. GUISES

A Kurdish accented speaker was recorded reading a provided text on housing preferences both in Kurdish accented and standard accented Turkish as well as other speakers with various accents in Turkish who took place in the study as the fillers. All of the speakers were asked to not change the content of the given text in order to only focus on pronunciation and exclude morphological and syntactical markers of dialects. The text that was written by the researcher for the Kurdish accented recording included the linguistic features /k/ and /h/ which were likely to be replaced with linguistic variables /x/ and /ħ/ within the Kurdish-accented speech based on Polat & Schallert's (2013) study (displayed on Table 1). The recording of was checked through Praat to ensure these variables which are found in the Kurdish accent such as /x/ and /ħ/ (Polat & Schallert, 2013) were performed in the recording of the Kurdish accented speaker.

The Kurdish speaker was 28 years old and had attained the native-like or standard accented Turkish. His speech in standard accent was analyzed on Praat in terms of segmental features and compared to a 28-year-old standard accented speaker. As a result, no noticeable variation was found in their speech, other than minor differences such as voice pitch that could be attributed to individual differences. The Kurdish speaker grew up in Agri. In Demirci and Kleiner's study (1999), the city Agri was categorized within cities where the Eastern dialect is widely spoken. He spent a significant amount of his life in Izmir, which is one of the major cities in Turkey where most speakers have the standard accent. He received his bachelor's degree in

Usak and currently lives there. The city of Usak was identified in the same dialect area as Izmir by respondents in Demirci's study (2002).

There were other speakers in the study with various accents of Turkish, playing the role of fillers between the two recordings of the Kurdish accented speaker. These speakers were specifically selected to represent different geographical areas in Turkey and no other speakers from Eastern Turkey or who are ethnically Kurdish were recorded. Audio files of one Black-Sea accented speaker, one Laz accented speaker, one Central Anatolian accented speaker, one Aegean accented speaker, and another standard accented speaker with a Turkish ethnic background were evaluated by respondents in addition to the Kurdish accented speaker using both accents. All the speakers in the study were male and aged between 30 to 35.

4.4. QUESTIONS

The survey consisted of three major sections: demographics, Matched-guise survey/identification task, and questions regarding language ideology. Demographic questions included age, gender, ethnicity, level of education, and the city they live in. The matched-guise survey consisted of 7 different audio files which were each approximately 30 seconds long. Two of the audio files were recorded by the same Kurdish accented speaker. Four guises were placed in between those two audio files and one guise were placed at the beginning of the survey. Thus, the ordering of the audio files was as follows:

*1. Black Sea Accented speaker- 2. **Kurdish accented speaker**- 3. Standard Accented speaker- 4. Laz accented speaker - 5. Central Aegean accented speaker - 6. Central Anatolian accented speaker - 7. **Kurdish accented speaker with a standard accent***

After each audio file, the respondents were asked to make evaluations regarding each speaker. There were 13 questions on a 5-point-Likert scale graded from most negative to most

positive attitudes. Those questions were divided into three categories: perceptions of sound, language, and personality attributions.

Example:

1. How correctly does this person speak Turkish?

1. Very Incorrect 2. Incorrect 3. Neutral 4. Correct 5. Quite Correct

A multiple-choice question asking the where the speaker is from and one short answer question asking the ethnicity of the speaker were placed at the end of matched-guise questions

After the matched-guise/identification task, respondents were asked questions similar to Preston's mental-mapping task (1989). They were asked to rank geographical regions of Turkey in terms of speaking Turkish correctly and then separately to rank them in terms of speaking Turkish pleasantly. A short answer question asking the reason behind their rankings? was placed after the ranking questions. The full questionnaire is attached in Appendix A.

In the interview, there were 12 open-ended questions which were designed to reveal respondents' language ideologies and the possible reasons behind their evaluations.

Example:

1. Do you think every person who lives in Turkey should speak in the same way? Why/ Why not?

Interview questions are attached in Appendix B.

4.5. RESPONDENTS

The respondents were people who identified themselves as standard speakers of Turkish. The flyer for the survey indicated the qualification to participate in the study as "not having a regional accent in Turkish". This was verified with the question "Do you think you have an accent in Turkish?" and "Why do you/ not think so?". Respondents who answered the

question as “Yes” and provided a reason except denying the standard language ideology were eliminated from the study. In other words, the respondents who stated that they have a regional accent were eliminated from the study. Overall, 50 of the respondents were kept in the study and included in data analysis. They were divided into two groups: a young adult group (n=26) aged between 18-30 with a mean age of 24.46 (sd=2.86) and an adult group (n=24) aged 30 years old and above with a mean age of 36.96 (sd=6.52). There were 13 respondents who volunteered for interviews in the survey. These 13 respondents were categorized as young adult (n=7) and adult (n=6) using the same method. Among all respondents, 24 people identified their gender as male, 25 of them as female and 1 of them as genderfluid. While one of the respondents did not specify any ethnicity, 2 of them identified themselves as Arabic, 1 of them Cherkes, 1 Macedonian Turkish, 1 of them belonging to the Turkish Republic (TC), and the rest as Turkish. The respondents were from 29 different cities in Turkey, the majority of them (60%) currently living in two major cities where standard Turkish is widely spoken: Ankara and Istanbul. The number of respondents that hold a bachelors’ degree is highest and the primary school graduates are the lowest. It should be noted that the highest level of education was based on the level completed. Figure 2 below represents the educational level of the respondents.

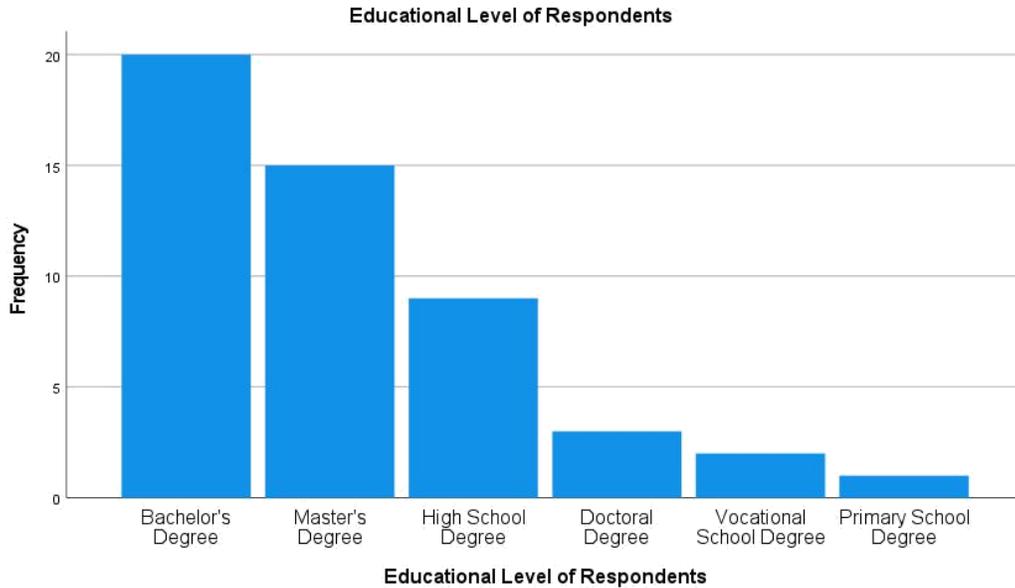


Figure 2: Educational Level of Respondents.

100% of the respondents indicated that Turkish is their first language, and 78% of them stated that they speak a second language, 94.8% of whom speak English as their second language.

4.6. ANALYSIS OF DATA

Quantitative data was analyzed through SPSS to get descriptive and inferential statistics. T-test was used to observe the relationship between overall attitudes and respondents' age. One-way ANOVA was used to analyze the relationship between age and variables such as intelligibility, accentedness, pleasantness and correctness. The correlation between variables such as accentedness and intelligibility were analyzed through calculating Pearson correlation coefficients. Qualitative data were first transcribed into text by the researcher. Then, key words were identified through deriving meaning out of the respondents' answers. The answers were first categorized as negative and positive attitudes, and then categorized into sub-groups based on reasoning. For example, answers with a positive attitude towards phonetic varieties were sub-

categorized as being completely linguistically aware and valuing diversity. The explanations for each evaluation were categorized based on the key words that were used in the answers, such as “communication”, “diversity”, “unity of the country”, “purity of the language”. To be more specific, the respondents who expressed that there is no correct use of a language were considered as linguistically aware and respondents who said accents are wrong, but they respect diversity, were considered as valuing the diversity. The key terms were extracted from each answer, and AntConc were used to run the key words and find out the frequency of the use of these terms or the number of the respondents agreeing on a concept, based on the question type. Then, they were placed into the categories that were coded by the researcher.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The results are described in five sub-sections: (1) overall analysis of Matched-guise survey, (2) the effect of the age factor on evaluations of the Kurdish accented speaker, (3) analysis of the matched-guise survey, region ranking tasks, and region accentedness rating task, (4) analysis of ethnicity identification task, and (5) analysis of qualitative data. The relationships between the variables pleasantness and correctness, accentedness and intelligibility, and accentedness and educatedness will be examined throughout the results section.

5.1. OVERALL RESULTS OF MATCHED-GUISE SURVEY

The quantitative data showed that in overall ratings from the matched-guise survey, the Kurdish accented speaker received the lowest score among all guises. These overall ratings comprise all five-point Likert scale ratings in the matched-guise survey. Figure 3 below shows the evaluations of speakers based on the overall ratings of matched-guise survey.

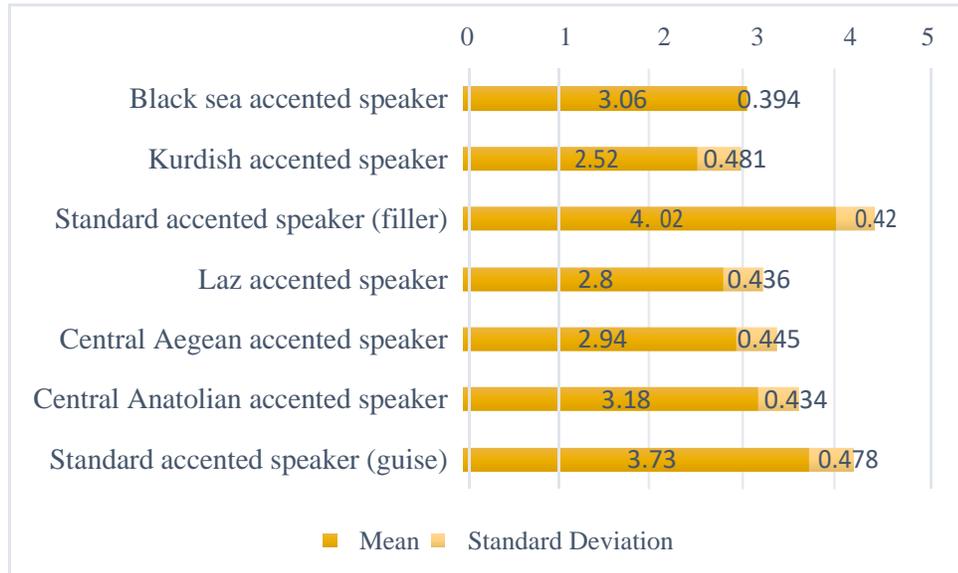


Figure 3: Overall evaluations of speakers in Matched-guise survey

Figure 3 displays that the Kurdish accented speaker received the lowest score among all the speakers. It was then followed by the Laz accented speaker, which was the only speaker that had a different ethnic identity than Turkish. The standard accented filler received the highest score among all. The guise in the standard accent has received the second highest score after the standard accent filler. Although the same speaker got an overall mean score of 2.52 for the Kurdish-accented speech, the mean score increased to 3.73 for the standard accent. This suggests that the matched-guise survey was successful, and the respondents were not able to identify the Kurdish speaker in different accents as they marked different ratings for the same speaker.

5.2. THE EFFECT OF AGE FACTOR ON EVALUATIONS OF KURDISH ACCENTED SPEAKER

There is no statistically significant relationship between age groups and the evaluations of the Kurdish accented speaker. An independent-samples t-test was used to compare overall ratings given to the Kurdish speaker by the young adults versus the adults. The difference was not significant $t(48) = -.63, p = .54$. While the Kurdish accented speaker received a mean score of 2.48 (sd= .46), the mean score of the overall ratings of the adult group is 2.57 (sd= .50).

When the effect of age on variables on the matched-guise survey are examined by one-way ANOVA test, there has been no significant relationship. Table 2 below displays the one-way ANOVA results which was used to compare pleasantness, correctness, accentedness and intelligibility evaluations of the Kurdish accented speaker to age groups. For all these variables, the p -value is quite higher than 0.05. Thus, the age factor was not separately analyzed further.

Table 2: Effect of age on Pleasantness, Correctness,, Accentedness and Intelligibility evaluations.

Variables	Df	F	p-value
Pleasantness- Kurdish accent	1	.352	.556
Correcntess- Kurdish accent	1	.477	.483
Intelligibility- Kurdish accent	1	.013	.909
Accentedness- Kurdish accent	1	.342	.561

5.3. ANALYSIS OF THE VARIABLES IN MATCHED-GUISE SURVEY, REGION RANING TASKS, AND REGION ACCENTEDNESS RATING TASK

Table 3 below shows the mean scores of overall ratings for each speaker. that The standard deviation is highest in the evaluation of the Kurdish speaker, which means there is substantial variation in terms of evaluating the Kurdish speaker in different categories. For this reason, the analysis is more meaningful if the evaluations for different variables are examined separately to gain insight into these ratings. Hence, in this section, variables that are usually found to be in relation such as pleasantness and correctness (Preston, 1989), accentedness and intelligibility (Derwing & Munro, 1997), and accentedness and educatedness (Gal, 2006) will be separately analyzed.

Table 3: Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of Overall Categories

	Black Sea accent	Kurdish accent	Standard accent (Filler)	Laz accent	Aegean accent	Central Anatolian accent	Standard accent (Guise)
Mean	3.06	2.52	4.02	2.80	2.94	3.18	3.73
Standard Deviation	.394	.481	.420	.436	.445	.434	.478

5.3.1. Pleasantness and Correctness

The Kurdish accented speaker received the lowest scores in both the pleasantness and correctness categories, with a mean score of 2.98 for pleasantness and 3.02 in terms of correctness in the matched-guise survey (given in the Figure 4 below). The Laz accented speaker received the second lowest score after the Kurdish accented speaker. The ranking of the speakers remained the same as in the overall ratings for both correctness and pleasantness in the mathed-guise survey, except for a switch between Central Anatolian and Central Aegean speakers. Whereas the Central Anatolian accent has been scored as more correct, the Central Aegean accent has been found more pleasant.

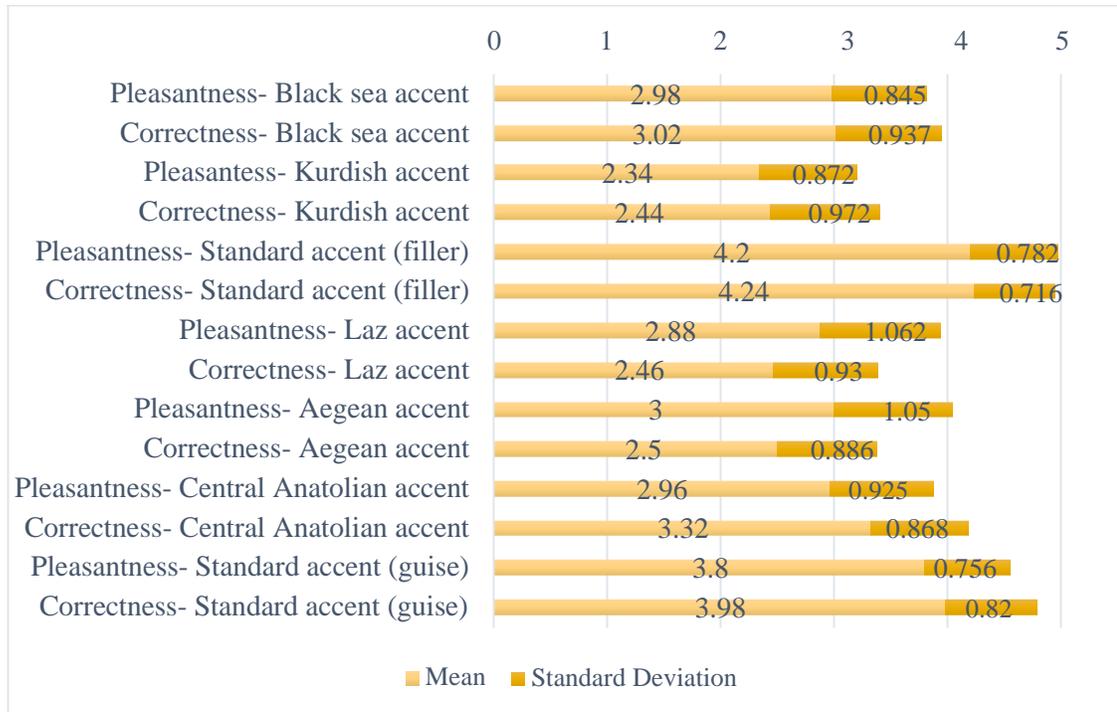


Figure 4: Pleasantness and Correctness evaluations of each accent

Considering the target accents for this study, the correctness and pleasantness ratings of the Kurdish accented speaker increased when the standard accent is performed by the speaker. However, the standard deviations for correctness and pleasantness evaluations of the Kurdish accented speaker is high, which means that respondents displayed various attitudes towards the speaker.

In addition to the matched-guise technique, there was a ranking task in the survey in which respondents were asked to rank the regions of Turkey with regards to speaking Turkish correctly and pleasantly. The respondents put the most pleasantly accented area to number one and least pleasantly accented area to number 11. 49 out of 50 of them completed this task; the remaining one respondent refused to do the task and asserted, “*no such ranking is appropriate*”. The results of the tasks are as follows (see Table 4).

Table 4: Pleasantness rankings of accents of the geographical regions of Turkey

Geographical Regions	Mean Score Pleasantness	Standard Deviation
1. Marmara	1.94	2.10
2. Western Aegean	3.31	2.08
3. Tracia	4.76	2.24
4. Mediterranean	5.08	2.53
5. Central Aegean	5.16	2.21
6. Black sea (Central and West)	5.96	2.02
7. Western Central Anatolia	6.18	2.65
8. Black sea (Eastern)	6.84	2.67
9. Central Anatolia	8.22	1.78
10. Eastern Anatolia	9.10	1.74
11. Southeastern Anatolia	9.45	2.50

The rankings are consistent with the matched-guise results. Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia as the areas highly associated with the Kurdish speaking population, were rated the lowest in terms of correctness. Those areas were followed by Central Anatolia and Eastern

Black Sea.

The standard deviation is higher for other areas than Central and Eastern Anatolia in terms of pleasantness, though; it gets lower for Eastern Anatolia and Central Anatolia (sd=1.78 and sd=1.74 respectively). So, most of the respondents come to a consensus regarding the unpleasantness of the accents in these geographical areas.

Table 5: Correctness rankings of accents of the geographical regions of Turkey

Geographical Regions	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Correctness
1. Marmara	1.27		0.72
2. Western Aegean	3.33		1.73
3. Western Central Anatolia	4.71		2.27
4. Mediterranean	5.20		2.51
5. Black sea (Central and West)	5.37		2.03
6. Tracia	5.57		2.33
7. Central Aegean	5.90		1.74
8. Central Anatolia	7.12		1.73
9. Black sea (East)	2.18		2.60
10. Eastern Anatolia	9.73		0.72
11. Southeastern Anatolia	10.61		1.37

Similarly, in the correctness ranking task, most respondents agreed on the most correct accent as that from the Marmara region ($sd=0.72$) where the standard accent is mostly spoken. Although the Kurdish speaking regions are both being perceived as the most incorrect, Southeastern Anatolia (mostly Kurdish-accented speaking) is rated lower than Eastern Anatolia (mostly Kurdish-accented speaking).

5.3.2. Accentedness and Intelligibility

The respondents were given a task at the end of the matched-guise survey that required them to select areas where they believe people have an accent. Table 6 below shows the number of each region selected by the respondents as an accented speech area. The results indicate that while the Eastern Black Sea (Laz-accented), Tracia (Tracian, non-standard), Southeastern Anatolia (Kurdish-accented), and Eastern Anatolia (Kurdish-accented) were chosen as an accented area by most speakers (n =respectively 49, 48, 47, 44), Marmara (Standard-accented) was selected as an accented area by least number of respondents ($n=13$).

Table 6: Accentedness ratings of the geographical areas of Turkey

Regions	Number of Percentage respondents who selected the region as a place where people speak accented Turkish	
Eastern Black Sea	49	98.0%
Tracia	48	96.0%
Southeastern Anatolia	47	94.0%
Eastern Anatolia	44	88.0%
Central Anatolia	39	78.0%
Central Black Sea	39	78.0%
Central Aegean	37	74.0%
Western Central Anatolia	33	66.0%
Western Aegean	29	58.0%
Mediterranean	23	46.0%
Marmara	13	26.0%

The ratings in the matched-guise survey show similar results to the accentedness task.

Figure 5 below shows the accentedness ratings of speakers in the matched-guise survey. The

highest score in the ratings show the least accented speaker as the scale went from 1 as very accented and 5 as not accented at all.

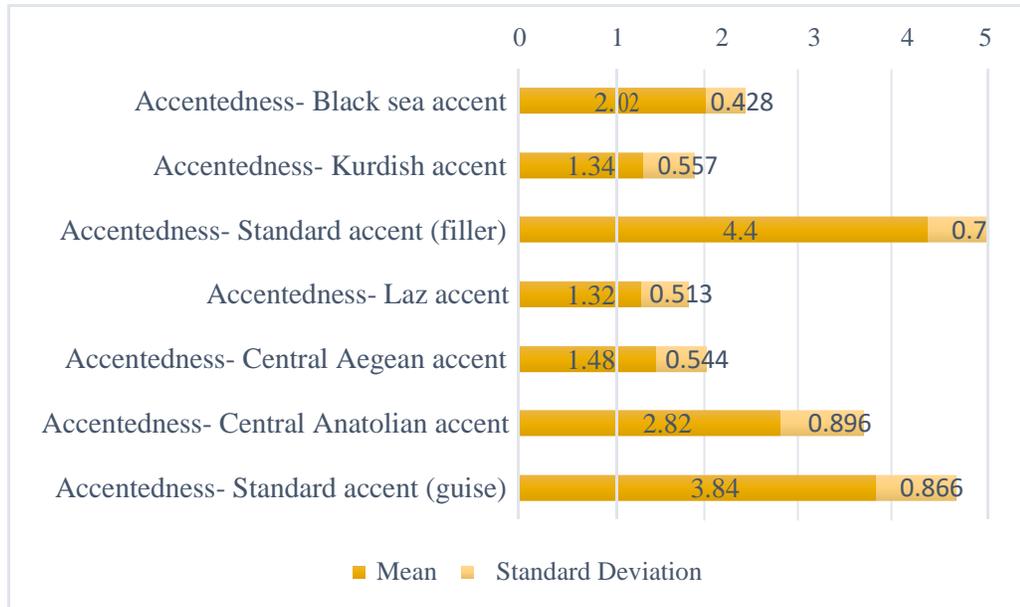


Figure 5: Accentedness Ratings in the Matched-guise survey

A noteworthy outcome from the evaluation of the speakers in the survey in terms of accentedness is that the Laz accented speaker received a slightly lower rating than the Kurdish accented speaker. The Central Aegean accent is perceived as quite accented. The Black Sea accent followed the Central Aegean accent. The Central Anatolian accent, nonetheless, did not receive a very high accentedness rating; it fell in the middle. The Kurdish accented speaker was rated as non-accented when attained the standard accent compared to the Kurdish accented speech. The standard accented speaker (filler) received the highest score.

Intelligibility scores on the other hand, follow a different pattern. Figure 9 below displays the intelligibility ratings of speakers in the matched-guise survey. The Laz accented speaker have been found the least intelligible and the standard accent have been found the most intelligible. The Kurdish speaker has been rated quite high when using the standard accent, even more than in the accentedness question.

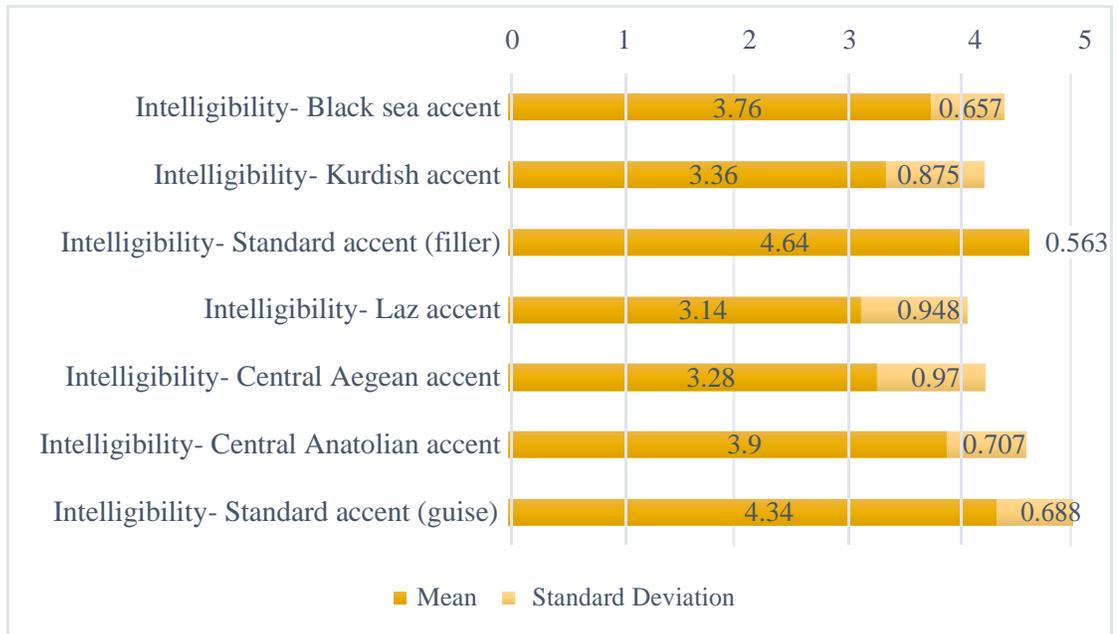


Figure 6: Mean Scores of Intelligibility

This pattern suggests that the standard accent demonstrates more intelligibility than not having an accent. This possibility was directly examined by calculating Pearson correlation coefficients between accentedness and intelligibility. The result of the test showed that there was no significant relationship between accentedness and intelligibility. Thus, standard Turkish speakers may find the Kurdish accent intelligible, yet they do perceive it as accented speech.

Based on previous research, as the respondents in Demirci and Kleiner’s study (1999) indicated during the interviews that Kurdish speakers use glottal sounds in Turkish. For this reason, in the matched-guise survey of the present study, a question regarding how much *girtlaktan* “from the throat” the person speaks was asked to the speakers. The results show that only Kurdish accent was perceived as glottal (Figure 7). On a scale of 1 to 5, as 1 meaning “very glottal” and 5 “not glottal at all”, the Kurdish accent received the lowest score, standard accent the highest and the rest of the accents including the guise in standard accent fell in the same range.

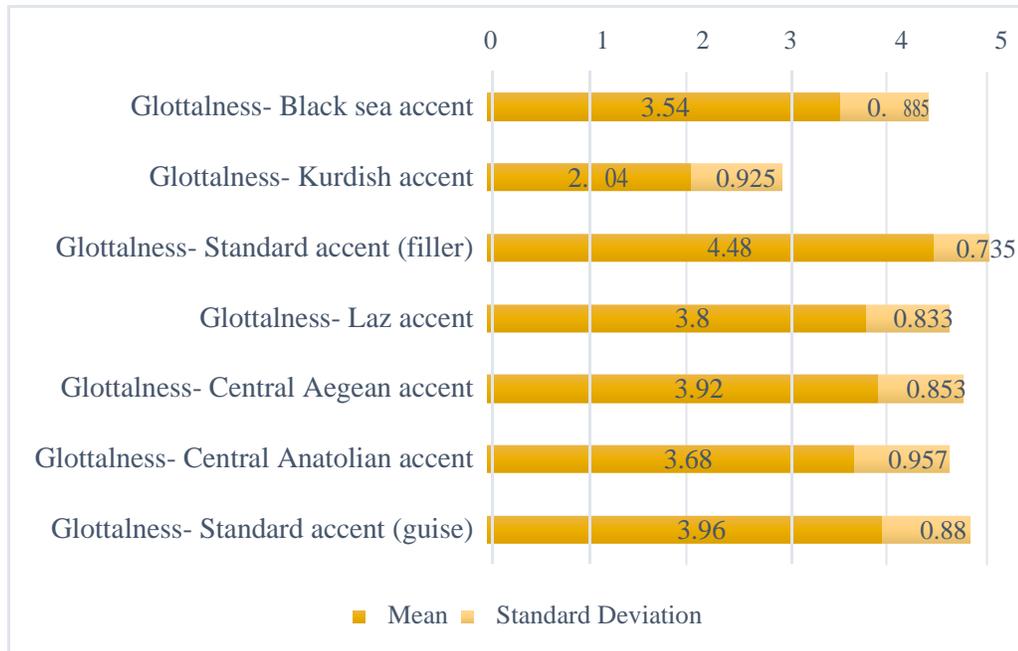


Figure 7: Mean scores of glottalness for the speakers

Since accentedness was not found to be in a significant relationship with intelligibility, it was examined whether glottalness would be in a positive relationship with accentedness ratings for the Kurdish accent. In Demirci and Kleiner’s study (1999), glottalness was emphasized by the respondents as a feature of the Kurdish accent. For this reason, Pearson’s Correlation coefficients were calculated in order to examine the relationship between accentedness, glottalness and intelligibility. The results showed that there is no significant relationship between accentedness and glottalness or between accentedness and intelligibility.

5.3.3. Accentedness and Educatedness

The ratings of educatedness for speakers in the matched-guise survey (Figure 8) display that Kurdish accented speaker received the lowest score among all speakers. The Kurdish accent was then followed by the Laz accent, the Central Aegean accent, and the Black Sea accent. The standard accented Turkish speaker was found to be very educated by the respondents. As it was mentioned in the present study that standard accent is promoted through education in Turkey, it

was examined if there is an inverse relationship between educatedness and accentedness ratings in terms of the evaluation of the Kurdish accented speaker. For this reason, Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated examine this relationship and the results show that accentedness ratings are in a positive relationship with educatedness ratings ($r= 0.317, p = .025$). As in the Matched-guise survey 1 point quite accented, and 5 not accented at all, these results actually indicate a negative relationship. So, if a speaker is more educated, the less accentedness would emerge.

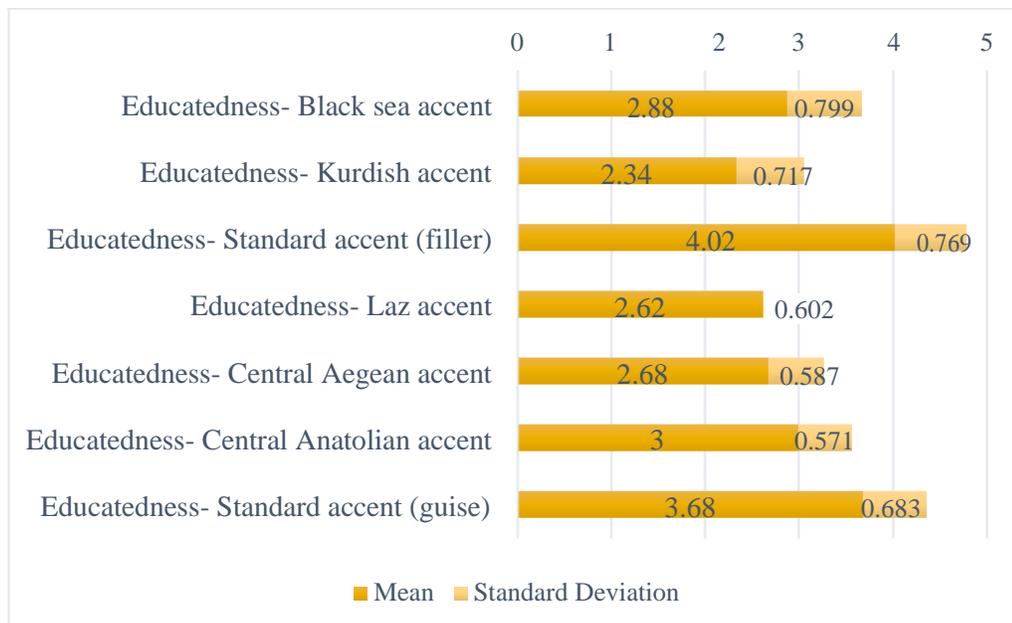


Figure 8: Mean Scores of Educatedness Evaluations in the Matched-guise survey

5.4. ANALYSIS OF THE IDENTIFICATION TASK

After listening to each speaker, respondents were asked about the speaker’s ethnic identity. The results demonstrate that Turkish speakers tend to evaluate Kurdish and Laz accented speakers as a different ethnic identity than Turkish. All other guises were said to have a Turkish identity. Specifically, 76% of the respondents used the word *Kürt* “Kurdish” to label the Kurdish accented speakers’ ethnic background. This percentage includes answers such as

Turkish/Kurdish, Kurdish or Zaza, Turkish or Kurdish, and Kurdish or Arabic. In total, 60% of the respondents answered solely as “Kurdish”.

For comparison, 86% of the respondents who used the word “Kurdish” in their answers even though partially (e.g., Turkish/ Kurdish), stated the speaker is “Turkish” when the speaker used the standard accent. The remaining 14% of them indicated “I do not know”, “We cannot know”, “It is unknown since the speaker has the standard accent”.

There was a task at the end of the matched-guise survey that asked respondents to assign accents to specific regions. The results of this task suggest that respondents can relate accents to specific regions. However, the answers were not always a correct match with the speakers’ actual origin. For the Kurdish speaker, the responses were partially correct because participants assigned the Kurdish accent to one of the Kurdish regions, although this was done mostly to the Southeastern Anatolia (54% of the respondents) whereas the speaker is from Eastern Anatolia (given by 36% of the respondents). The standard speaker (filler) on the other hand was correctly assigned to the Marmara region, where Istanbul is located, at a high rate (76% of the respondents). 14% of the respondents chose the Western Aegean region, where Izmir is located, which is a major city where the standard accent is widely used. When the standard accent is attained by the Kurdish speaker, 57% of the respondents claimed that he was from Marmara, 10% of them chose the Western Aegean region, 6% Mediterranean, and 6% Central Anatolian. Although the standard accent is the most common accent in these regions, too, the answers were more varied compared to the filler.

There were other interesting results from this task. For example, the number of respondents who could differentiate the Western Black sea and Central Black sea accent from Central Anatolian accent was low because only 34% of the respondents correctly labeled the

Central Black Sea accented speaker's origin. Another 34% of the respondents chose the Central Anatolian region as their answer for the Black sea accented speaker. An inability to differentiate Western and Central Black Sea accent from Laz accent (Eastern Black Sea) was also observed as 18% of the respondents labeled the Central Black Sea accented speaker as living in Eastern Black sea. In contrast, identifying the Laz accent was a much easier task: 72% of the respondents correctly linked the accent to the Eastern Black Sea region, whereas only 26% of them linked it to the Western Black sea and Central Black Sea regions. Although some of the respondents chose the region Central Anatolia for the Black Sea accented speaker, none of the respondents did the opposite. For the Central Anatolian accented speaker, the choices gathered around Western Central Anatolia region (34%), Central Anatolia region (16%), and the Mediterranean region (14%). What is more, only half of the respondents assigned the Central Aegean accent to the Central Aegean region. Respondents tend to relate it to Tracia (22%) and Western Aegean, Izmir (18%). To conclude, the speakers were mostly able to assign speakers correctly to the regions, however; some regions were highly picked for one another, such as Tracia and Western Aegean regions, and Central Anatolia and Black Sea regions.

5.5. ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA

There were 13 respondents in the study who volunteered for an interview. These interviews with the standard speakers revealed that standard Turkish speakers hold different opinions on language standardization and its possible outcomes; yet, they display attitudes towards accents, especially to the Kurdish accent, that show standard language ideologies. In addition, most of the speakers referred to the one-nation one-language ideology which was promoted by the government of Turkey to create Unitarianism (Yagmur, 2001). The qualitative

data shed light on existing language ideologies and how they shape perceptions of standard accented Turkish speakers.

The qualitative data collection aimed to investigate three major topics: to what extent standard language ideologies were adopted by standard accented speakers, the factors behind accent evaluation ratings, and possible reasons behind negative evaluations of Kurdish accented speakers.

5.5.1. Standard language ideologies

Although responses to every question in the interview may carry some cues to understand the linguistic ideology of the speakers, three questions were specifically designed to reveal if standard language ideologies are adopted by the Turkish speaking participants in the study. First, To begin with, respondents were asked if they believe everyone in Turkey should speak Turkish in the same way. ~~As a result,~~ The answers fell into four categories: (1) Positive linguistic attitude, displaying linguistic awareness, (2) Positive linguistic attitude, underlining the importance of diversity (3) Positive linguistic attitude, but giving certain conditions (4) Negative linguistic attitude, pointing to ease of communication. Overall, 38.4% of the respondents displayed in this question. The same participants further indicated that it is natural for accents to exist, the reason why the answers were categorized as displaying linguistic awareness. 30.7% of the respondents expressed that diversity is good, but they gave other explanations which could not be categorized as linguistic awareness. For example, Respondent 2 stated (see the quote below) that varieties are good; however, no linguistic awareness was observed in this answer. The reason for that is analysis of the present study has been done by considering linguistic awareness only as identifying standard accent just like other ones and not accepting any form of the language as superior or correct.

Respondent 2:

“Since everyone has a different ethnic background, they should all have a different accent. If everyone speaks plain Turkish, I do not think there would be joy in it.”

A small portion of the respondents (15.3%) claimed that not everyone has to speak in the same way, but only under specific conditions. For example, Respondent 7 indicated people may have different accents, but they should use some “common” words that everyone can understand. They agreed that it should be intelligible to standard speakers. Only one of the respondents (7%) displayed a negative attitude towards varieties and noted that communication would be much easier if everyone spoke in the same way.

Another question related to standard language ideologies explored whether participants believed everyone should speak Turkish with a standard accent (also named as Istanbul Turkish). Respondents had several different justifications to their answers to this question. The rate of participants who showed linguistic awareness decreased to only 15.3%. However, 30.7% of respondents displayed positive attitudes towards accentedness, half of them referencing diversity, and other half with no further comments. One respondent indicated that people do not need to speak the standard in their private lives, but they need to in public places. This answer was not counted as linguistic awareness because it shows partial negative attitudes towards an accent in a specific context. The rate of respondents who displayed negative attitudes towards non-standard accented Turkish raised to 30.7% for this question as these respondents replied saying, “Yes, people should speak the standard / it is better if people speak the standard”.

The last question regarding standard language ideologies was more specific as it included the word “Kurdish”. The question asked respondents’ opinions about whether Kurdish people should speak in standard Turkish. The most important result of specifically asking about

Kurdish speakers rather than asking if “everyone” should speak in the same way, is the increase in negative attitudes towards non-standard accent, from 30.7% to 38.4%. Overall, 46.% of respondents showed positive attitudes, including those who showed linguistic awareness. The term “diversity” was again mentioned, yet this time only by one respondent (7%). Instead, respondents displayed positive attitudes used key words such as “freedom” and “feeling comfortable”. Nonetheless, many of the same respondents mentioned that it is for Kurdish people’s own advantage if they spoke the standard. So, while they partly showed positive attitudes towards non-standard Kurdish accents, they covertly held standard language ideologies. For example, Respondent 6 (see quote below) displayed an example of such an attitude towards Kurdish accented Turkish. He stated that they (Kurdish people) shouldn’t be forced to speak the standard which can be interpreted as a positive attitude, though he adds that they are made fun of, therefore they should attain the standard accent for their own good. The source of the conflict here is seen as the accent instead of people’s negative behavior.

Respondent 6:

No, they should not be forced. It would be better if they received education in their mother tongue. However, it would be better for them if they spoke Istanbul Turkish. They would not be facing with prejudices or being made fun of. We tag people, and for them, those tags are usually bad. This issue has so many perspectives, but they should accommodate to the situation.

One other respondent indicated that they do not need to because they are “unable” to speak in standard Turkish. Another respondent expressed they do not need to speak the standard if they speak “proper” Turkish. One of the respondents who displayed negative attitudes mentioned “purity of Turkish”.

5.5.2. The Factors Behind The Evaluations Of Correctness And Pleasantness

To understand more of the respondents' judgements in terms of the correctness and pleasantness of various accents of Turkish, questions were asked to find out the factors behind participants' correctness and pleasantness evaluations. These questions aimed to find out respondents' opinions on how people should speak Turkish and the factors contributing to speaking Turkish correctly. Furthermore, questions regarding Kurdish speakers' use of Turkish were asked to see whether the same standards of speaking Turkish correctly or pleasantly would also be valid for Kurdish accented speakers.

. When the respondents were asked about how Turkish should be spoken, 15.3% of the respondents refused to describe how it should be spoken, explaining there should not be any fitted form for language use. For example, Respondent 4 said that everyone has their own way of using the language, and there should be no standard that people must follow. The rest of the answers pointed to standard Turkish in some way.

Respondent 4:

Well, there is that Istanbul Turkish that is the written language, and there is that everyone has a language that depends on their way of expressing themselves, daily language. Whatever people feel most comfortable with, whatever fits best to what they want to express, they should speak like that. There shouldn't be any fitted form for that.

Respondents' answers to this question were categorized in terms of key concepts that were mentioned the number of speakers (Table X below). Correct pronunciation and intelligibility were the two concepts that emerged most often in the answers. Other answers pointed to standard and precise Turkish. Correct grammar and loanwords were mentioned by the

respondents as well. In addition, the adjectives proper, pleasant and non-glottal were used to describe ideal spoken Turkish.

Although for the questions regarding standard language ideologies most of the respondents expressed “not everyone has to speak the standard” or “no, they shouldn’t speak in the same way as others”; ~~in this question~~, when they were asked how Turkish should be spoken, 84.6% of the respondents gave a description of an ideal spoken Turkish.

Similar to the task in the survey, respondents were asked in the interview about the factors that contribute to speaking Turkish “correctly” and they were requested to explain the reasoning behind those factors. “Social ties” was the concept that was most frequently mentioned by the respondents. “Effect of regions” and “education” were also highly mentioned. Even though rarely; “ethnicity”, “effect of media” and “income” were the other concepts that the respondents named as a contributing factor to speaking Turkish correctly.

The concept of social ties includes family, friends, occupation, and schoolteachers. Respondents explained these as being affected by the people we talked to, and that we imitate the speech of people around us. Conformity was another key term that was expressed by respondents. The examples below, from Respondents 4, 7, and 13, show how the idea of conformity is embedded within their answers.

Respondent 4:

“Environment effect is copying others. Whatever you hear in your environment, you get to speak like that. A newborn baby however his/her parents speak or the family he/she is born in speaks, shapes the language in that way.”

Respondent 7:

“We are the reflections of our parents.”

Respondent 13:

“In a professional setting, people have to speak the standard Turkish.”

Effect of regions were explained by the respondents as ‘where you were born affects the way you speak’. It should be noted 15.3% of the respondents mentioned ethnicity, but 84.6% used the word “region”, which could be pointing to ethnicities in those areas. For example, Respondent 3 never mentioned ethnicity, though they mentioned “Easterners”, so this answer was categorized as an effect of regions (see the quote below). On the contrary, Respondent 4 clearly named ethnicities; this response was categorized as an effect of ethnicity.

Respondent 3:

“Family you live with. Depends on where your family is from. They might be Easterners, Black Sea people, Tracians. When it is Tracia we talk as “abe, abe” (laughter).”

Respondent 4:

“Ethnicity, you know Turkey is Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, a blend country. A child of a Turkish mother and Arabic father would be born out of two different ethnicities. Because of the Turkish- Kurdish overlap, the language the child speaks may get affected, might be pushed towards correct or incorrect.”

In addition to the questions which asked about how Turkish should be spoken and the factors contributing to the correctness of Turkish, how Kurdish people speak Turkish were asked to respondents. To begin with, the way Kurdish people speak in Turkish mostly have been found in the present study as “rough”, “glottal”, and with “incorrect pronunciation”. The respondents mentioned that Kurdish speakers use different phonemes that do not exist in Turkish, use different words, make suprasegmental errors, and not follow the grammatical rules especially in question forms. Nonetheless, the Kurdish accent was described as “unintelligible” only by 15.3%

of the respondents. It was labeled as “broken”, “funny”, “cute”, “dominant”, and “warm”. In addition, the Kurdish accent was described by one respondent as similar to Arabic and Kurdish, mentioning of these languages of not being so pleasant. The answer of Respondent 8 below displays how the languages Arabic and Kurdish, and the phonemes that are linked to these languages, are stigmatized.

Respondent 8:

“They learn Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish at the same. Since different languages have different structures, it does not really fit Turkish. Not pleasant. Glottal. Therefore, sounds rough. It sounds like Arabic and Kurdish instead of Turkish.”

When their overall opinions of the Turkish that the Kurdish speakers use were asked about, respondents revealed more of their language ideologies and the reasons why Kurdish speakers have been perceived negatively. The answer from Respondent 13 below illustrates these ideologies.

Respondent 13:

Personally, I do not hold any negative opinion about any accent that denigrates any speech because it is not possible to control the language; it is like a living thing. However, I believe every language should have certain standards, for speaking and writing. If there were no standards, people would start using it as they wish. So, the language would be moved away from its own function. It would be hard to give the message you want. Language is one of the most important elements that unifies a country, a nation or a society, no need to name one (society). If it has its own standards, it takes that society further and makes them live peacefully together.

Moreover, the respondents indicated that in the West Kurdish people speak “normal” Turkish, in the East “accented” Turkish, and also said they should not be generalized as

“Kurdish” speakers. It should be noted that throughout the interviews, respondents rarely defined these speakers as “Kurdish” but rather as “Easterners”. The word “region” was repeatedly referred to as a reason for their “accented” speech. The answers below from respondents 4 and 2 are examples to how the term “region” might actually be referring to ethnicities or first languages of people in those regions.

Respondent 4:

“So, because of the region Kurdish people live in, they do not have a full command in it, and it creates confusion. “

Respondent 2:

“Their Turkish is not real Turkish. Because their accent always lapses into the region they are in, unfortunately, they do not speak the real Istanbul Turkish.”

In contrast, one respondent addressed the problem as “lack of education”, and this problem was a result of a chain of events. Respondent 5 shared his past experiences as a teacher in Eastern Anatolia, teaching Turkish language and literature to Kurdish children.

Respondent 5:

I think their Turkish is broken because they haven't received quality education. Throughout history, we could not provide them with education. This occurred because of us, because of our country, also because of people living there and because of the terrorist group there. At the end, we deal with a terrorist group who murders the teachers who go there. Therefore, it is very hard for teachers there to teach Turkish properly. Personally, I have had this experience, I am a Turkish language and literature teacher; when I said, “Turkish literature” in the class, the students at the back were shouting at me back “Kurdish literature!”. These are my students. Naturally, this is also because of their reaction. Shortly because they

cannot get good education, and we cannot teach them Turkish properly as a native tongue, their Turkish is not good. What to say, I wish they could speak it well.

5.5.3. The outcomes of speaking the standard and non-standard

In the question whether Kurdish people should speak Turkish or not, 76.9% of the respondents agreed that Kurdish people should speak Turkish. 15.3% of the respondents, who showed linguistic awareness in other interview questions also indicated that it should not be required. They added “It is good to learn languages” or “It should be both-sided; Turkish people should learn Kurdish as well”. One respondent did not recognize Kurdish as she claimed that “They already speak Turkish, we do not understand it because of the heavy accent.” All respondents who said Kurdish people should speak Turkish added “Because, it is the official language”. The need for a mutual language to communicate and the benefits of speaking Turkish were mentioned as well.

Standard speakers suggested non-standard accented Turkish would create disadvantages for people because it is not prestigious. 84.6% of the respondents indicated that people would face prejudices if they spoke in non-standard accented Turkish. Some of their examples to those disadvantages were not being able to get a job, not expressing ideas clearly, and being found untrustworthy. Yet, respondents thought having accented speech would be an advantage outside big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara for building trust and close relationships with the folk in rural areas. Respondents suggested that although non-standard accents are good for Turkey as it represents diversity, it would create disadvantages for the country too. For example, two respondents noted that the standard accent is better for the image of Turkey because foreigners also like it since there are no glottal sounds in it. Two other respondents

expressed that “real Turkish” unifies people, and non-standard accents are a threat to the form of Turkish.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter will provide a discussion based on previous research and findings of the current study. It will also draw a conclusion from the qualitative and quantitative results. Limitations of the present study and suggestions for future research will be presented.

6.1. DISCUSSION

The goal of the study was to find out standard accented Turkish speakers' attitude towards non-standard Kurdish accented Turkish speakers. Regarding this aim, the present study first investigated whether standard accented Turkish speakers could detect Kurdish accented speakers without any prior information about the speakers. To answer this question, a matched-guise technique was adopted, and a Kurdish speaker were recorded twice, both in standard and Kurdish accented Turkish. These audio-files, as well as other fillers, were listened to by non-linguists. The results of the matched-guise technique demonstrate that standard accented Turkish speakers were able to identify Kurdish accented speakers as "Kurdish", though, when the standard accent is attained by the same speaker, he was associated with a "Turkish" identity by the listeners. So, standard accented Turkish speakers can assign phonetic variables to social identities. The findings align with what was found in Labov's famous study in New York City department stores in which phonetic variables were shown to carry social meanings in a particular context (Labov, 1986). In the Turkish context, which was investigated in the present study, the phonetic variables in Kurdish accented Turkish demonstrated "Kurdishness" for the respondents. Similarly, when the standard accent was attained by the Kurdish speaker, the phonetic variables in the standard accent indicated "Turkishness" for the hearers.

These findings illustrate what Gal (2006) discusses as standard accents belonging to a group of people, not everybody. So, correspondingly in the Turkish context, the standard accent is not anonymous; rather, it indicates Turkish ethnicity. It is noteworthy that the current study did not ask respondents to pick among Kurdish or Turkish identities for speakers; they were instead asked an open-ended question. Thus, it was completely their choice to link these identities to speakers; when ethnicity was asked, they could reply as “I do not know” / “unknown”, as a small percentage of respondents did.

Preston (1989) found that non-linguists can make a distinction between different sounds and can reliably assign these differences to specific regions. The current study resulted in parallel findings as respondents frequently chose the correct region for the origin of the speaker that they listened to. For the Kurdish speaker, however, respondents could not differentiate between Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia, which are both regions associated with the Kurdish population. Those respondents’ choice could be accepted as partially correct because they demonstrate that the participants could guess the speaker was Kurdish and therefore picked one of those regions that symbolize Kurdish identity. As was mentioned before, the Kurdish accented speaker was from Agri, which is located in Eastern Anatolia, though, 54% of the respondents chose Southeastern Anatolia when they were asked “Where do you think the speaker lives?”. Similarly, the Black Sea accent, Central Aegean accent, Laz accent, and Central Anatolian accent were assigned to regions different from the speakers’ origins.

When Karahan’s (1999) classification of Turkish dialects is examined, it can be seen that speech areas in Turkey are not limited to geographical areas. For example, Karahan (1999) classified the city Agri, which is geographically in Eastern Anatolia, as a speech area with other Southeastern Anatolian cities instead of Eastern Anatolian cities such as Kars and Erzurum.

Likewise, in this classification the Black Sea region is categorized as the same main speech area with other parts of Anatolia (Karahan, 1999). Furthermore, some specific parts of the Black Sea region are even categorized as the same sub-category of speech areas with some of the Central Anatolian cities. For instance, some parts of Ordu and Giresun, which are geographically located in the Black Sea region, are categorized in the same sub-group with Tokat and Sivas, which are in Central Anatolia region. The findings of the present study show that respondents are aware of these speech areas. They did not assign the Kurdish accented speaker from Agri to Eastern , but to Southeastern Anatolia. It is noteworthy that the city Agri was together with Southeastern cities in Karahan's study (1999) instead of other Eastern Anatolian cities. Similarly, a notable portion of respondents assigned the Black Sea accented speaker to Central Anatolia. These findings of assigning accents to specific regions suggest that there is a more complex classification of accents in the hearers' mind. They do not only reliably assign phonetic variables to specific regions (Preston, 1989) but also have a way of classifying accents that are not just based on geographical locations.

Accentedness rankings displayed that Kurdish speakers were found the second most accented, after the Laz accented speaker, whereas East Black Sea (where the Laz speakers mostly live) and Tracia (there was no Tracian accented speaker in the present study) were the regions that respondents selected as the regions where people have an accent the most. The ranking of the Laz accented and the Kurdish accented speaker in overall ratings displayed that accentedness is not the only determining factor in terms of negative evaluations because Kurdish accented speaker was rated lower than Laz accented speaker in overall ratings although Laz accented speaker was found to be more accented. What is more, the Laz accented speaker was

rated as less intelligible than the Kurdish speaker. So, there are other contributing factors than accentedness and intelligibility that causes Kurdish speaker to receive the lowest overall scores.

The results of the current study show that there is a strong positive relationship between correctness and pleasantness, unlike in Preston's (1989) study. In his study, it was found that non-linguists tend to perceive standard accents as more correct but less warm and non-standard accents as incorrect but more pleasant (Preston, 1989). Nonetheless, the opposite results were found in the present study. The findings show that the non-linguist participants tended to evaluate standard forms as more correct and more pleasant, while they evaluated non-standard accents as less correct and less pleasant at the same time. On the other hand, a slight exception was observed for Central Anatolian accented speaker, who was rated more correct than some non-standard forms but rated less pleasant than other non-standard accents. It is not possible to conclude the reasons for this exception in the current study because other non-standard accents were not the focus of the present investigation.

Similar results were found in Demirci and Kleiner's (1999) and Demirci's (2002) studies in which the Kurdish speaking regions were rated the least correct and pleasant by respondents. So, once again in the current study, it has been displayed that in the Turkish context, correctness and pleasantness evaluations do not have an inverse relationship. Likewise, there is another pattern that emerged both in previous studies (Demirci, 2002; Demirci & Kleiner, 1999) and in the current study: people with different ethnicities than Turkish were rated lowest among non-standard accented speakers. In Preston's (1986) study, non-standard accented speakers were found to be warm, yet the political tension between Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities might be influencing the hearers' perceptions of what is pleasant. Additionally, the standard accent is promoted and glorified through K-12 education, so the language policies

might be shaping the hearers' perceptions of pleasantness. While Kurdish speakers or regions linked to the Kurdish identity receive the lowest scores, Laz speakers of Turkish or the region where the Laz population lives receive the second lowest scores. As discussed above, in the matched-guise survey these speakers were ethnically identified as Kurdish and Laz. Hence, it may be concluded that ethnicity plays a role in accent evaluations. What is more, the increase in the positive evaluations of the Kurdish speaker when the standard accent was used, and the fact that he was identified as ethnically Turkish by respondents when using this accent, support this claim.

There are other cues to the effect of speaker's ethnicity in the results of qualitative data such as the decrease in positive attitudes towards non-standard accented Turkish when the word "Kurdish" was used in the question. The majority of respondents did not propose that the standard accent should be attained by every speaker of Turkish, though when it was specifically asked if Kurdish speakers should attain the standard accent, there was an increase in terms of promoting the attainment of the standard accent. This may be because the linguistic variables in the Kurdish accent re associated with Kurdishness and they trigger prejudices against the speaker because the ethnic identity is stigmatized (Öpengin, 2012). Labov suggests phonetic variables carry social meaning (1986). If it is taken into account that every non-standard accent in the present study deviates from the standard accent in a way, and accentedness and intelligibility ratings as well as educatedness ratings cannot be the only factors contributing to the lower ratings of the Kurdish accent (as discussed above), it is the specific phonetic variables that are related to a certain social identity that results in such negative attitudes.

The phonetic variables that deviate from the standard and are highly stigmatized as pointing out Kurdishness include glottal sounds /x/ and /ħ/ (Demirci & Kleiner, 1999; Polat & Schallert, 2013) which are transferred from Kurmanji Kurdish (Polat, 2007). Based on previous

research (Demirci & Kleiner, 1999), glottalness was included in the matched-guise survey and respondents rated the Kurdish speaker's accent as the most glottal, or what is called in Turkish "from the glottis". The qualitative data also showed that Kurdish speakers are highly associated with glottal consonants, as they were described as "speaking from the throat/glottis" by respondents. At the same time, their Turkish were found "like Arabic and Kurdish" which demonstrate that these sounds symbolize "East" and "Kurdishness" and this results in the accents being negatively perceived.

The stigmatization of Kurdishness could also be observed when respondents were asked if there would be any disadvantages if one speaks in non-standard accented Turkish. Many respondents claimed that non-standard accented speakers have no prestige, in parallel with what Gal (2006) suggested: that non-standard accents are not prestigious. What is more, respondents expressed that other people would have prejudices against Easterner speakers. On the other hand, the matched-guise survey that was done by the same respondents show that the Kurdish accent was related to a lack of education, untrustworthiness, rudeness, poverty, and backwardness. This shows that respondents were covertly holding negative attitudes towards the Kurdish identity and this was reflected through Kurdish accent. Munro and Derwing (2009) noted, accents are used as a cover-up for racism or discrimination. This occurs through stigmatization of phonetic variables which give clues about Kurdish identity because they are linked to the Kurdish language in hearers' minds.

It was a noteworthy observation that during the interviews, respondents avoided saying "Kurdish" and "Laz", but rather used terms like "Easterners" "they", and "people from Black Sea". As every citizen of the Turkish Republic is assumed to be Turkish because the country collects no ethnic data on its citizens, it is possible that fear of being perceived as racist

could be resulting in the avoidance of naming different ethnicities. This could easily be argued as an example of denial of the Kurdish identity. Another reason to argue this is that respondents repeatedly mentioned the effect of “regions” on accents, however no key terms such as “different culture” or “different ethnicity” in those regions were mentioned. Rather, they used geographical terms to identify people, such as “Easterners”, when the question directly mentioned ethnically Kurdish people. So, the regions that are associated with minority populations are used interchangeably to refer to minorities.

Although the respondents did not overtly display standard language ideologies given that the majority suggested that linguistic diversity is good, their covert linguistic ideologies were observable in the qualitative data. For example, when they were asked how Turkish should be spoken, they all gave a description of an ideal Turkish, which pointed to standard Turkish. For example, most of the respondents expressed that pronunciation should be “correct” and the language should be “proper”. In addition, the respondents claimed it would be much better for communication if everyone spoke the standard. For the same communication reason and as a result of promoting one-nation, one-language ideology, a substantial portion of the respondents said Kurdish people should speak Turkish. Not recognizing the Kurdish language as a separate language from Turkish was also observed in the qualitative data, although it was rare; Specifically, one participant claimed that it is a heavy accented version of Turkish. In contrast, most of the respondents expressed that non-standard accented speakers would face prejudice and that they do not speak “real” Turkish.

6.2. LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present study analyzed the effect of age on the evaluations of a Kurdish accented speaker. The effect of age was found as non-significant, though it was not possible to further

investigate other factors that could result in variation in the evaluations such as the educational level of respondents or social ties with the Kurdish community. Another issue that could be effecting the results is that in the present study the age gap between young adults and adults were narrow. Therefore, it may not reflect the difference between generations as a whole. To get a better understanding of these evaluations further research is required.

The current study discussed the effect of speakers' ethnicity as being the main factor in the accent evaluations in the Turkish context. This claim should be supported with another matched-guise study that implements priming as well. For example, giving the information about the speakers' ethnicity and then a false information in both accents would reveal if attitudes are displayed towards the accent or to the ethnicity of the speaker. Such a technique would reveal more of the linguistic discrimination against minority speakers as it would display the effect of speakers' ethnicity more clearly.

Another interesting result of the study was that respondents were able to categorize accents they heard based on speech areas instead of geographical regions. However, this claim should also be supported with a mental-mapping technique. The mental-mapping technique is implemented most widely as just providing blank maps to respondents, yet if respondents are asked to listen to speakers and to draw boundaries where the accent could be spoken, we would get a better picture of mental mapping in the hearers' minds.

Finally, noteworthy results were found in terms of correctness and pleasantness of the Central Anatolian accent. Although correctness and pleasantness had a positive relationship for other accents there was an exception to this pattern for the Central Anatolian accented speakers as respondents haven't found it as pleasant as its correctness evaluations. Further research on this exception and explanations for it could contribute to our understanding of pleasantness and

correctness evaluations.

6.3. CONCLUSION

The present study has demonstrated that standard accented Turkish speakers can identify not only Kurdish accented speakers, but also other Turkish accents included in the survey, including the standard. In addition, they accurately assign these accents to specific speech areas and ethnicities. Non-standard accents received lower scores in terms of both correctness and pleasantness. Accents of Turkish by minority ethnic groups are perceived even more negatively than other non-standard accents associated with a Turkish identity. Yet, Kurdish speakers are perceived the most negatively, even more than any other minority group of speakers, which were Laz speakers in the present study. It can be arguably stated that stigmatization of the Kurdish identity plays a key role in these evaluations. On the contrary, no significant relationship was found in the present study between the age of respondents and their evaluation of accents. This means that, regardless of amendments to strict language policies, the younger generation stigmatizes Kurdish speakers in the same way as older generations. This could be related to ongoing political tensions between the ethnic groups or the lack of proper education to raise linguistic awareness. In contrast, larger standard deviations in the evaluations of the Kurdish accent were found which needs to be further investigated because there might be another contributing factor on these evaluations different than age. Standard language and one-nation, one-language ideologies were widely adopted by respondents, arguably resulting from strict language policies in Turkey. While these ideologies were less apparent in regard to evaluations of other (non-Kurdish) non-standard accents and respondents were more positive towards linguistic diversity when Kurdish was not explicitly considered, they became obvious when directly mentioning Kurdish speakers.

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APPENDIX A
SURVEY QUESTIONS

SECTION 1.

1. DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİLER

1. DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Yasiniz:

1.What is your age?

2.Cinsiyetiniz:

2.What is your gender?

3.Etnik Kokeniniz:

3.What is your ethnicity?

4.Memleketiniz:

4.Where are you originally from?

4. Egitim seviyeniz:

4.What is your education level?

5.Suan yasadiginiz sehir:

5.Where do you currently live?

6. Konustugunuz diller:

6. What languages do you speak?

7. Konustugunuz dillerden hangisi/hangileri ana diliniz?

7. Which one/s would you consider as being your native tongue?

8. Sizce aksanli bir Turkceniz var

mi? Evet/ Hayir

8. Do you think you have an accented Turkish?

Yes/ No

9. Neden var/ neden yok?

9. Why/ why not?

2. ANKET SORULARI

2. *SURVEY QUESTIONS*

Konusmaci 1: Lutfen once asagidaki ses kaydini dinleyiniz ve ardindan gelen konusmaci 1 ile ilgili sorulari cevaplayiniz.

Speaker 1: Please first listen to the voice recording below and then answer the questions regarding Speaker 1.

(This explanation repeats right before each audio file.)

1. Sizce bu konusmacinin Turkcesi kulaga ne kadar hos geliyor?

“How pleasant does his Turkish sound?”

1.Hic hos degil 2. Hos degil 3. Ne hos ne de degil 4. Hos 5. Oldukca hos

1. Quite unpleasant 2. Unpleasant 3. Neither pleasant nor unpleasant 4. Pleasant 5. Very pleasant

2. Sizce bu konusmacinin Turkcesi kulaga ne kadar cekici geliyor?

“How attractive does this person sound?”

1.Oldukca itici 2. Itici 3. Ne itici ne de cekici 4. Cekici 5. Oldukca cekici

1. Quite unattractive 2. Unattractive 3. Neither attractive nor unattractive 4. Attractive 5. Quite attractive

3. Sizce bu konusmaci ne kadar acik/net konusuyor?

“How precise does this person sound?”

1. Hic net degil 2. Net degil 3. Ne net ne de degil 4. Net 5. Oldukca net

1. Very slack 2. Slack 3. Neither slack nor precise 4. Precise 5. Very precise

4. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar dogru Turkce konusuyor?

“How correct does this person speak Turkish?”

1.Cok yanlis 2. Yanlis 3. Ne dogru ne de yanlis 4.Dogru 5.Cok dogru

1. Very incorrect 2. Incorrect 3. Neither incorrect nor correct 4. Correct 5. Very correct

6. Sizce bu kisinin konusmasi ne kadar anlasilir?

“How comprehensible do you think does this person speak?”

1. Oldukca anlasilmaz 2. Anlasilmaz 3. Ne anlasilir ne de anlasilmaz 4. Anlasilir 5.

Oldukca

anlasilir

1. Quite incomprehensible 2. Incomprehensible 3. Neither incomprehensible nor comprehensible

4. Comprehensible 5. Quite comprehensible

7. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar girtlaktan konusuyor?

“How glottal does this person speak?”

1. Oldukca girtlaktan 2. Girtlaktan 3. Ne girtlaktan ne de degil 4. Girtlaktan degil 5.

Hic girtlaktan degil

1. Very glottal 2. Glottal 3. Neither glottal nor non-glottal 4. Not glottal 5. Not glottal at all

8. Sizce bu kisinin konusmasi kulaga ne kadar sert geliyor?

“How harsh do you think does this person sound?”

1. Oldukca sert 2. Sert 3. Ne sert ne de yumusak 4. Yumusak 5. Oldukca yumusak

1. Very harsh 2. Harsh 3. Neither harsh nor soft 4. Soft 5. Very soft

9. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar geri kafali?

“How backward do you think is this person?”

1. Oldukca geri kafali 2. Geri kafali 3. Ne geri kafali ne de degil 4. Modern 5. Oldukca modern

1. Very backward 2. Backward 3. Neither backward nor modern 4. Modern 5. Very modern

10. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar egitimli?

“How educated do you think this person is?”

1. Very uneducated 2. Uneducated 3. Neither uneducated nor educated 4. Educated 5. Very educated

1. Oldukca egitimsiz 2. Egitimsiz 3. Ne egitimli ne de egitimsiz 4. Egitimli 5. Oldukca egitimli

11. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar varlikli?

“How wealthy do you think this person is?”

1. Cok fakir 2. Fakir 3. Ne fakir ne de zengin 4. Zengin 5. Cok zengin

1. Very poor 2. Poor 3. Neither poor nor rich 4. Rich 5. Very rich

12. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar guvenilir?

“How trustworthy do you think this person is?”

1. Hic guvenilmez 2. Guvenilmez 3. Ne guvenilir ne de guvenilmez 4. Guvenilir 5. Cok guvenilir

1. Very untrustworthy 2. Untrustworthy 3. Neither trustworthy nor untrustworthy 4. Trustworthy 5. Very trustworthy

13. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar kaba?

“How rude do you think this person is?”

1.Cok kaba 2. Kaba 3. Ne kaba ne de degil 4. Kibar 5. Cok kibar

1. Very rude 2. Rude 3. Neither rude nor kind 4. Kind 5. Very kind

14. Sizce bu kisi ne kadar aksanli konusuyor?

“How accented do you think does this person speak?”

1.Oldukca aksanli 2. Aksanli 3.Ne aksanli ne de degil 4.Aksansiz 5.Gayet aksansiz

1. Very accented 2. Accented 3. Neither accented nor unaccented 4. Unaccented

5. Quite Unaccented

15. Sizce bu kisi Turkiye'nin hangi bolgesinde yasiyor? Lutfen seceneklerden birini seciniz.

In which region of Turkey do you think this person lives? Please select one.

A. Karadeniz (Orta ve Bati)

B. Karadeniz (Dogu)

C. Marmara (Istanbul, Bursa ve cevresi.)

D. Trakya (Tekirdag, Edirne, Canakkale vb.)

E. Bati Ege (Izmir ve cevresi.)

F. Orta Ege (Denizli, Usak vb.)

G. Bati Ic Anadolu (Ankara ve cevresi)

H. Ic Anadolu (Sivas, Kayseri ve cevresi)

I. Akdeniz (Antalya ve cevresi)

- J. Dogu Anadolu (Kars, Agri, Erzurum vb.)
K. Guneydogu Anadolu (Mardin, Hakkari, Sirnak vb.)
L. Diger _____(Comment Box)

- A. Black Sea Region (Central and Western)*
B. Black Sea Region (Eastern)
C. Marmara Region (Istanbul, Bursa and nearby cities)
D. Tracia (Tekirdag, Edirne, Canakkale and nearby cities)
E. Western Aegean Region(Izmir and nearby cities)
F. Central Aegean Region (Denizli, Usak etc.)
G. Western Central Anatolia (Ankara and nearby cities)
H. Central Anatolia (Sivas, Kayseri and nearby cities)
I. Mediterranean Region (Antalya and nearby cities)
J. Eastern Anatolia (Kars, Agri, Erzurum etc.)
K. Southeastern Anatolia (Mardin, Hakkari, Sirnak etc.)
L. Other/s _____ (Comment Box)

16. Sizce bu kisinin etnik kokeni nedir?

“What do you think is this person’s ethnicity?”

_____ (Comment Box)

SECTION 3.

3. TURKIYEDEKI AKSANLAR HAKKINDA SORULAR

3. QUESTIONS ON THE ACCENTS OF TURKEY

1. Sizce Turkiye'nin hangi bolgelerinde insanlar aksanli Turkce konusuyor? Birden fazla secenek isaretleyebilirsiniz.

- A. Karadeniz (Orta ve Bati)
- B. Karadeniz (Dogu)
- C. Marmara (Istanbul, Bursa ve cevresi.)
- D. Trakya (Tekirdag, Edirne, Canakkale vb.)
- E. Bati Ege (Izmir ve cevresi.)
- F. Orta Ege (Denizli, Usak vb.)
- G. Bati Ic Anadolu (Ankara ve cevresi)
- H. Ic Anadolu (Sivas, Kayseri ve cevresi)
- I. Akdeniz (Antalya ve cevresi)
- J. Dogu Anadolu (Kars, Agri, Erzurum vb.)
- K. Guneydogu Anadolu (Mardin, Hakkari, Sirnak vb.)

2. Neden bu bolgeleri sectiginizi birkac cumle ile aciklayabilir misiniz?

(Comment Box here)

1. *In which regions of Turkey do you think people have an accented Turkish? Why/Why not?*

A. *Black Sea Region (Central and Western)*

B. *Black Sea Region (Eastern)*

- C. Marmara Region (Istanbul, Bursa and nearby cities)*
- D. Tracia (Tekirdag, Edirne, Canakkale and nearby cities)*
- E. Western Aegean Region (Izmir and nearby cities)*
- F. Central Aegean Region (Denizli, Usak etc.)*
- G. Western Central Anatolia (Ankara and nearby cities)*
- H. Central Anatolia (Sivas, Kayseri and nearby cities)*
- I. Mediterranean Region (Antalya and nearby cities)*
- J. Eastern Anatolia (Kars, Agri, Erzurum etc.)*
- K. Southeastern Anatolia (Mardin, Hakkari, Sirnak etc.)*

2. *Could you explain why did you select these regions in a couple of sentences? (Comment Box here)*

3. Yukaridaki bolgeleri HOS Turkce konusma bakimindan bir siraya koysaniz bu nasil olurdu? Lutfen en hos buldugunuzdan en hos bulmadiginiza dogru siralayiniz.

3. If you would put those regions in an order in terms of speaking Turkish pleasantly what would it be? Please rank them from the most pleasant to least.

(Comment Box Here)

4. Yukaridaki bolgeleri DOGRU Turkce konusma bakimindan bir siraya koysaniz bu nasil olurdu? Lutfen en hos buldugunuzdan en hos bulmadiginiza dogru siralayiniz.

4. *If you would put these regions in an order in terms of speaking Turkish correctly what would it be? Please rank them from the most correct to least.*

(Comment Box here)

5. **Asagidaki faktorleri Turkceyi duzgun konusmayi saglamalari bakimindan bir siralamaya koyabilir misiniz? Lutfen en onemlilerden en onemsizlere dogru siralayiniz.**

5. *If you would put these factors that affects speaking Turkish correctly in an order of importance how would it be? Please rank them from most important to the least important.*

B. Egitim

C. Meslek

D. Konusan kisinin dogum yeri

E. Konusan kisinin yasadigi yer

F. Konusan kisinin cevresi (Ailesi, arkadaslari vb.)

G. Gelir

H. Etnik kokeni

Diger: (Comment Box Here)

A. Social status

B. Education

C. Occupation

D. Speaker's birth of place

E. Where speaker lives

F. Income

G. Ethnicity

Other: (Comment Box Here)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

GORUSME SORULARI

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

GORUSME SORULARI

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Sizce Turkiye’de yasayan herkes ayni sekilde mi konusmalı? Neden evet veya neden hayir?

1. Do you think every person who lives in Turkey should speak in the same way? Why/ Why not?

2. Sizce insanlar nasıl Turkce konusmalı?

2. How do you think should people speak in Turkish?

3. Sizce herkes Istanbul Turkcesiyle yani standard Turkce ile mi konusmalı?

3. Do you think everyone should speak in Istanbul/ Standard Turkish?

4. Sizce birisi Istanbul Turkcesiyle yani standard Turkceyle konusmadiginda o kisi icin bir avantaj ya da dezavantaj yaratir mi? Yaratirsa bunlar nelerdir?

4. Do you think it brings any advantages or disadvantages TO THE SPEAKER when the person DOES NOT SPEAK in Istanbul (Standard) Turkish? If so, what are those advantages or disadvantages?

5. Sizce birisi Istanbul Turkcesiyle yani standard Turkceyle konustugunda o kisi icin bir avantaj ya da dezavantaj yaratir mi? Yaratirsa bunlar nelerdir?

5. Do you think it brings any advantages or disadvantages TO THE SPEAKER when the person SPEAKS in Istanbul (Standard) Turkish? If so, what are those advantages or disadvantages?

6. Sizce insanlar Istanbul Turkcesiyle yani standard Turkceyle konusmadiginda Turkiye icin bir avantaj ya da dezavantaj yaratir mi? Yaratirsa bunlar nelerdir?

6. Do you think it brings any advantages or disadvantages TO TURKEY when people DO NOT SPEAK in Istanbul (Standard) Turkish? If so, what are those advantages or disadvantages?

7. Sizce insanlar Istanbul Turkcesiyle yani standard Turkceyle konustugunda Turkiye icin bir avantaj ya da dezavantaj yaratir mi? Yaratirsa bunlar nelerdir?

7. Do you think it brings any advantages or disadvantages TO TURKEY when people SPEAK in Istanbul (Standard) Turkish? If so, what are those advantages or disadvantages?

8. Sizce bir kisinin dogru Turkce konusmasini saglayan faktorler nelerdir? Sebebini aciklar misiniz?

8. What factors do you think contributes to speaking Turkish correctly? Could you explain why?

9. Sizce etnik kokeni Kurt olan insanlar nasil Turkce konusuyor? Konustuklari Turkce dogru mu ve hos mu? Nedenini aciklayabilir misiniz?

9. How do you think people with Kurdish ethnic background speak in Turkish? Is their Turkish correct or pleasant? Could you explain why/ why not?

10. Sizce etnik kokeni Kurt olan insanlar da Istanbul Turkcesiyle yani standard Turkce ile mi konusmalı? Nedenini aciklayabilir misiniz?

10. How do you think Kurdish people speak in Turkish? Could you explain why/ why not?

11. Sizce bu kisiler Turkce konusmalı mi? Nedenini aciklayabilir misiniz?

11. Should they be required to speak Turkish? Could you explain why/ why not?

12. Genel olarak etnik kokeni Kurt olan kisilerin Turkcesi hakkında ne dusunuyorsunuz? Eklemek istediginiz birsey var mi?

12. What do you think about Turkish speakers with Kurdish ethnic background overall? Do you have any further comments?

APPENDIX C

AUDIO-FILES

VOICE RECORDING TEXTS

BUSRA CAN HSC APPLICATION

Text 1- 32 seconds.

(Standard accented speaker) Aslında bu evi bes yıl oncesinde beğenmistim. O zaman başka kiracılar yaşıyordu içinde, ev bakımsız ve korkunc gözüküyordu. Ama ben burayı tamir ettiğimde güneş kadar parlak duvarları, lavantalardan esen ruzgarla mis kokan bir bahçesi, sağlam ve rutubetten arınmış bir çatısı olacak. Herkesin imreneceği kadar lüks ve şatafatlı bir ev olmasa da içinde kendimizi sıcak hissedeceğimiz yuvamız burası olacak.

“I actually liked this house five years ago. At that time, there were other tenants living in it, the house looked crummy, and horrible. But when I fix the house, it will have walls as bright as the sun, a garden that has the fragrance of lavenders because of the wind coming from them, and a roof that is strong and cleansed from damp. Although it will not be such a luxurious and gaudy house that everyone desires, it will be home to us where we feel warm inside.”

Text 2- 32 seconds

(Laz accented speaker) Bu evi geçen sene bir internet sitesinde görmüştüm. Sahibi bizim memleketten. Hemen bir mesaj attım. Bana evi bir baskasına haftalar önce kiraladıklarını söylediler. Evi o kadar çok beğenmistim ki yine de direttim. Para teklif etmeler, yeni kiracıyla konuşmalar... Sonunda evi kiralayamadım ve yakın bir semtte daha az beyaz duvarları olan bir yere taşındım. Ta ki dün aynı sokaktan geçerken evin üzerindeki ilanı görünceye dek...

“I have seen this house last year on a website. The owner is from my hometown. I immediately sent a message to them. They told me that they rented the house to someone else weeks ago. I liked the house a lot that I still pushed for it. Offering money, talking to the new tenant... At the end I could not rent the house and in a nearby neighborhood I moved to a house which has no such white walls. Until yesterday when I was walking on the same street and saw the house with the flyer that it was for rent...”

Text 3- 31 seconds

(Kurdish accented) Babadan yadigar kalan evimizde yirmi bes sene oturduktan sonra, o evin bize cok buyuk geldigini farkettk. Ne de olsa uc kisilik bir aileydik, alti odaya ihtiyacimiz yoktu. Zaten ev de cok derme catma bir yerdi. Semtine artik dondurmacilar, seyyar saticilar da ugramayi birakinca mahali iyice issizlasti. Biz de satip sehirdeki apartmanlari birinden uc arti bir bir ev tuttuk. Iyi mi ettik kotu mu ettik hala bilmiyoruz...

“After living for 25 years in the house that was the legacy of my father, we realized that the house was too big for us. After all, we were just a family of three, we did not need six rooms. Besides, the house looked old and battered. After the ice-cream trucks and hawkers had stopped visiting the neighborhood, the area became quite abandoned. So, we sold it and moved in to a three rooms apartment in those apartments in the city. We still don't know if we made a good decision or not...”

Text 4- 30 seconds

(central Anatolian accented speaker) Ruyamda beyaz bir ev gormustum, camlari onu turlu ciceklerle dolu, bahcesinde ise dev bir cinar agaci... Yillarca para biriktirip boyle bir eve sahip olmayi hayal etmistim. Ne yazikki ne esim boyle bir sey istedi ne de sehrin tam

ortasinda olan isim buna musaade ederdi. Sonucta carpik kentlesme sonucu dipdibe insa edilip, penceresinden komsunuzun o aksam hangi yemegini pisirdigini gorebildiginiz bir evde yasiyoruz...

“I have seen a white house in my dream, its windows full of flowers of different kinds, a huge plane tree in its garden... I have saved money for years dreaming of owning such a house. Unfortunately, neither my wife wanted something like this, nor my job which is right in the middle of the city center would allow me do it. At the end, we live in a house which was built extremely close to other apartments as a result of unplanned civilization, in which you can see from the windows what your neighbor is cooking for the dinner...”

Text 5- 30 seconds

(Central Aegean accented speaker) Her ne kadar bu evi cocuklarimin buyuyecegi bir ev olarak hayal ettiysem de, sehirde emlak fiyatları o kadar uctu ki, denginde bir evi ancak bir sahil kasabasında inşā edebildik. Kutahya'dan getirttigimiz ciniler, Istanbuldaki toptancılardan aldığımız imitasyon aksesuarlar, o dogu-bati sentezli evi yaratmamıza yardımcı oldu. Inanir misiniz bir sark kosemiz bile var! Sonra kocaman bir kutuphane, bahcede bir hamak...

“Even though I have dreamed of this house as a place where my kids would grow up, the house prices in the city went so up that we could only afford to build its equal in a coastal area town. The tiles that we ordered from Kutahya, the imitation accessories we got from wholesale places in Istanbul have helped us create that house in a combination of both Eastern and Western style. Would you believe that we even have a Eastern corner (this is a special area in some houses that is built in oriental style; carpets, hookah etc.) in the house! Then a huge library, and a hammock in the garden...”

Text 6- 29 seconds

(Kurdish speaker, standard accented) Hani su sosyal medyada siklikla gordugumuz dag evleri var ya, kizla cocugun sarilip kahve ictimeleri... Gidip memlekette aynisindan insa etmeye calistik. Daha market arastirmasi yaparken, tahtanin, cimentonun ne kadar pahali oldugunu gorup vazgectik. Zaten o buyuklukte bir arsamiz da yoktu, bizim memleket sarp yamaclarla dolu. En guzeli bir haftasonunu buna benzer bir dag evi konseptli otelde gecirmeye karar verdik.

“You know those chalets we often see on social media, that a girl and a boy cuddles and have coffee together... We went to our hometown and tried to build one like that. When we were making a market research yet, we gave up seeing how expensive the wood and cement are. Besides, we did not have such a big, flat land to build the chalet on, our hometown is full of sheer slopes. Then we rather decided to spend a weekend in a hotel with a chalet concept.”

Text 7- 28 seconds

(Black sea accented speaker) Biz sanirim digerlerinden biraz daha sansliyiz. Sehrin tam icinde olmayan ama cok da uzak olmayan mutevazi, bahceli bir evimiz var. Belki biraz eski, biraz da kislari rutubet oluyor ama yogun bir is gunu gelip bahcedeki masamizda yemek yiyebilmenin keyfi baska. Hem de Ramazan’da tum komsularimizla masalarimizi sandalyelerimizi bahcede birlestirip kallavi bir iftar sofrasi kuruyoruz ki...

“I guess we are luckier than others. We have a modest house with a garden which is not right in the city center but not so far from that. It may be a little old and becomes damp during the winter but after a busy working day, eating on our outdoor table is invaluable. What is more, in Ramadan, with all the neighbors, we bring our tables and chairs together in our garden to set such a large iftar table that...”

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