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Socio-psychological factors in the attainment of L2 native-like accent of Kurdish origin young people learning Turkish in Turkey

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by

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Dedication

To My Dearest Parents, Emine and Habip

and

To My Wife, Laura

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In this long journey of education, which was once referred to as a progressive discovery of our ignorance, I have reached one further step: the completion of my doctoral degree. For all other things it is worth, I hope it has helped me not to forget the possibility of being entrapped in qualifying as the person Benjamin Franklin describes as follows: “He was so learned that he could name a horse in nine languages; so ignorant that he bought a cow to ride on.” I hope that this is not a forlorn hope, because it would be unfair for all the scholarly, material and emotional support that have been invested in me by so many people to whom I do not know how I can ever thank enough.

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Socio-psychological factors in the attainment of L2 native-like accent of Kurdish origin young people learning Turkish in Turkey

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Second language acquisition research has sought to identify socio-psychological factors underlying language learners' degrees and rates of acquisition. Studies have shown that learners with autonomous motivation orientations and positive attitudes towards the L2 community (Donitsa-Schmidt et. al., 2004; Schumann, 1978; Spolsky, 2000) acquire the target language better than those without such orientations and attitudes. This study utilizes social network theory (Milroy, 1987), identity theory (LePage & Tabouret Keller, 1985; van Dijk, 1998) and self determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1987) to explore how L2 learners' socially constructed identities, *external, introjection, identification and integration* motivational orientations, and *exchange*, *interactive*, and *passive* family and non-family networks relate to the attainment of the regional Turkish accent by young Kurds. Using a cross-sectional research design, this study addresses the following questions: (1) How native-like is the participant's accent when speaking Turkish as rated on a 1-5 scale? (2) What are the identity patterns found in the Kurdish-speaking community, and how do these patterns relate to their Turkish accent? (3) Do different motivational orientations significantly relate to attainment of native-like accents? (4) What are the social networks of the Kurdish-speaking community, and how do these networks relate to accent native-likeness? Data collected from 120 middle and high school students included speech samples from a read-aloud accent test and four questionnaires regarding their motivation to learn Turkish, their identification patterns, and social networks. Global accent ratings revealed significant degrees of variation in participants' accents varying from 1.1 to 4.7. Findings suggested that the degree of *identification with the Turkish-speaking community* was a positive predictor (.31, $p < 0.01$), and the degree of *identification with the Kurdish-speaking community* was a negative predictor (-.34 $p < 0.01$) of accent native-likeness. Data also showed that among four motivational orientations, *integration orientation* was a positive (.32, $p < 0.01$), and *introjection* was a negative (-.20; $p < 0.01$) predictor of accent native-likeness. Results indicated that participants with a more native-like accent also had more Turkish-speaking family and non-family networks that were exchange and multiplex in nature than the networks of those participants with less native-like accents. Results also suggested several significant gender and age effects.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures and Graphs

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Context of the Study

For years, Kurds in Turkey have been pressured to assimilate into the mainstream system by becoming "Turkified" through formal educational institutions seeking to act as a melting pot. State policy has been constructed to foster subtractive bilingualism by forcing speakers of Kurdish not to use their native language but to attain complete fluency in the Turkish language in order to make them indistinguishable from native Turkish speakers. Kurds have not been recognized as an official minority by the State, nor has Kurdish been accepted as a minority language. Therefore, Kurds have had to live in a society in which all official and inter-group interactions have been carried out only in Turkish, a language that their parents generally either could not speak at all or spoke only minimally for survival.

Based on previous research on similar linguistic and cultural environments, we can make certain predictions. We can expect that in order to perform well in school and attain access to higher education, Kurds have had to acquire complete fluency in the Turkish language. Moreover, in order to impress educators and future employers, they have had to appear to be as Turkish as possible. For those who have chosen to integrate into the system within Turkish-dominated network zones for the sake of the afore-mentioned instrumental values, motivation for acquiring absolute fluency in Turkish may have been great. These groups of Kurds may have had weaker ties to the Kurdish communities of the country, have had less of an incentive to maintain the use of the

Kurdish language, and may generally not have been able to resist the shift to Turkish that the formal educational setting encourages. Such structural configurations help us see how nation-states directly and indirectly foster language shift and loss.

As for those who do not seek higher education, life has not been easy. From the perspective of the same research and theoretical explanations, their language proficiency may not have exceeded a simplified form of Turkish. These groups of Kurds may subsequently have stronger ties with Kurdish-speaking network, and therefore more incentive to maintain their use of Kurdish and resist the State's goal of their attaining Turkish to a native-like level. They may have restricted their interactions to Kurdish-only or Kurdish-dominated communities with remarkably little motivation to learn Turkish, resulting in a lack of identification and integration into the Turkish-speaking community, and their social and economic marginalization.

1.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In this study, I aimed to explore how socially constructed identities and attitudes of second language learners were related to degree of existing social solidarity or distance between the native and target language communities, their motivational orientations, and their exchange, interactive, and passive networks as these relate to the degree that these learners attain a native-like Turkish accent.

More specifically, the purpose of this cross-sectional quantitative and qualitative study was to investigate the relationship between the acquisition of a native-like regional Turkish Accent (RTA) and the three variables of language identity, social networks, and motivation. The variables were drawn from the literature on motivation, on language identity and on social network theories. Regional Turkish accent is operationalzed as "passing as a native speaker of the regional Turkish accent, specifically the accent of Erzurum."

Pronunciation in standard Turkish is rather simple because it follows certain phonetic patterns with all letters having the same value in most situations. Granted that Turkish is a vowel-harmony language, there are rules regarding in what order vowels may follow each other. The Turkish alphabet contains all the letters of the English alphabet except for *q, x,* and *w*, and has some additional letters. Generally most letters are pronounced similarly to English letters with a few exceptions.

Although Turkish has a standard dialect, several regional accents exist in different geographical regions in Turkey; Rumelice, Cyprus, Black Sea, Middle Anatolia, and Eastern Anatolia are some of these. Sometimes these accents contain certain phonological features from the languages of neighboring countries. For example, the Eastern Anatolian accent has been influenced by Persian and Arabic.

I collected my data in Erzurum where people speak an Eastern Anatolian accent reflecting phonological features from Azerbaijani. Native speakers of Turkish in Erzurum generally use features such as [z] instead of [j] *cami* 'mosque', or [ch] instead of [g] *gelirmisan*? 'are you coming?', or [ch] instead of [k] when they say *selam-un aleykum* 'Hi!' In contrast, Kurdish speakers generally use phonological features such as [q] instead of [k] *kardash* 'brother', or [w] instead of [v] *vardır* 'there is', or [x] instead of [k] *yaprak* 'leaf'.

In this project, I first aimed to determine how native–like the regional accents of Kurds living in Erzurum, Turkey were. Second, I aimed to investigate the relationships between motivation, identity, and accent variation. Third, I aimed to address the potential interactional relationships between levels of the variables and degrees of native-likeness of the regional Turkish accent spoken by young Kurds living in Erzurum. Finally, I addressed how these constructs were affected by age and gender.

1.3. THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Scholars have investigated to some degree the socio-psychological factors influencing second language acquisition. Studies have demonstrated the effects of identity/attitudes, social networks, and motivational orientations on the rate and variability of the acquisition of a second language. These constructs can be understood by viewing them in a wider theoretical framework. First, Vygotsky's (1978) socio-constructivist theory of learning has shifted overall perceptions of learning to the fact that the social world has primacy over the individual in a very special sense. Society is the bearer of the cultural heritage without which the development of mind is impossible, and language is the primary cultural tool that must be acquired and the ultimate mediation through which these developmental processes occur. Thus the interactions of children in classroom activities are a small but important part of their enculturation into the required social actions of the society.

As agreed upon by many scholars in this field, no classroom environment is an isolated box. It is part of a wider community (of school and beyond) that has cultural practices and social norms. Socio-cultural theory underscores the co-relationships between language, culture, interaction, negotiation, and development (Lave & Wenger, 1991). These arguments are very much in line with several studies in second language acquisition such as those of Cook (2001), Lybeck (2002), and Schumann (1978) that second language (L2) acquisition is one aspect of the general process of acculturation and that L2 learners will succeed in learning the target language to the degree that they become acculturated to the target language group.

Second, because not all kinds of social interactions and networks have the same effect on second language acquisition, it has been argued that we need to understand the architecture of social communities and how members are tied together within social communities. Using the influential theory of social networks, Leslie Milroy (1980, 1987; Milroy & Gordon, 2003) used social networks as *a way of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' variable language behavior* in L1 context (p. 47). These personal communities, as she states, are constituted by interpersonal ties of different types and strengths, different content, and of different density and multiplex structural relationships. Therefore, every individual situates herself or himself in certain first order network zones (FONZ) tied with weak or strong ties (Lybeck, 2002). Individuals with dense but weak ties are likely to use different linguistic variants than their network members; in the case of second language acquisition, they would likely interact with members of the target language, and this would positively affect the degree and rate of their success of second language learning.

Furthermore, early sociolinguistic scholars such as Labov (1972) proposed that pronunciation among native speakers is a better parameter of socio-cultural identification than other linguistic parameters as far as language use was considered. Similarly, Scovel (1988) defined pronunciation as the strongest linguistic marker of L2 learners' acculturation and identification. According to Blommaert and Verscheuren (1998), among other language skills, accent is the one that can trouble a person's identity most significantly both within local and outside speech communities and contexts.

Bongaets (1999) also proposed that the motivation to sound like a native speaker can be a factor in acquiring native-like pronunciation in a second language, though it must be acknowledged that this desire may not be shared by all language learners. As I mentioned earlier, extrinsic motivation has been reported to have less effect on attainment in a second language than intrinsic motivation. Deci and Ryan's (2000) self determination theory suggests that within the domain of motivation, there exists many different types of orientations, some of which fall very close to intrinsic motivation along a continuum of autonomy. Moreover, Deci et al. found that some of these orientations, like integration, can, in fact, be as strong in their effect on learning as intrinsic motivation. More importantly, because, these types of orientations can also result in high-quality achievement, it is important that we know the forces behind these different orientations and consider them in our educational design. Especially, because as Deci and Ryan (2000) suggested it is a fact that many of the tasks that are planned and designed by educators for learners are not inherently interesting or enjoyable, it is of utmost significance to focus on active and more autonomous forms of motivation to foster successful learning.

As much as these socio-cultural factors apply to all second language learning situations, in a case like the Kurdish situation in Turkey, where members of a minority group must learn the dominant language, they play pivotal roles due to the history of clashes between the Turkish State – and Kurdish separatists. In my particular research setting, Turkish is the only language whose use is enforced in every stratum of life, whereas Kurdish, after years of subtractive linguistic and cultural policies, has just recently begun to gain promotional rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995).

Therefore, it is of utmost significance to consider the roles of the social networks, identities, and motivational orientations of Kurdish origin individuals throughout the processes of their acquisition of Turkish in formal educational settings. In a language education program that has circumscribed young Kurdish learners' potential by diminishing their zone of proximal development to certain situations like the classroom setting or certain groups of people through first-order network zones, decreasing their learning opportunities, it becomes more likely that social-psychological distance will prevail, and that the language will not be learned successfully by the students because they have few exposure opportunities to L2.

1.4. Practical Significance of the Study

A significant amount of research in second language acquisition has been devoted to the identification of biological, psychological, and social factors to explain the variability among language learners in terms of degree of success and rate of acquisition (Cook, 2001; Horwitz, 2007). In fact, in the last 50 years, the field of second language acquisition has generated many hypotheses in search of understanding these factors. Some researchers have focused their theories on innate factors whereas others have emphasized environmental and social factors as determinants of the acquisition of language. Scholars, like Krashen (1987) and Schumann (1978), hold both psychological and social factors accountable for the variability often encountered in second language acquisition. Of course, the question of whether or not current research is conclusive enough to clarify the issue of variability has interesting implications. More specifically, second language research on social factors and orientations has not only generated innovative theoretical constructs such as L1 effects on L2, critical period, social distance, learner attitudes, language identity, and additive/subtractive bilingualism but it has also broadened the general view of language as a social communication tool (Birdsong, 2004; Horwitz, 2007; Kramsch, 1993; Schumann, 1978; Spolsky, 1989; Valenzuela, 1997).

An analysis of the field of second language acquisition suggests that certain potential factors such as identity, social networks, and motivational orientations have often not been seriously considered in the design, application, and advancement of language education. For example, it is interesting to note the amount of research that has been conducted on how differences between the target and the native language (L1-L2) affect the level of difficulty or positive/negative interference in language education whereas much less research has been published on how differences in identities and attitudes that the second language learners and the members of target language have in relation to one another affect second language acquisition. For example, Walqui (2000) stated that in some language schools like the Defense Language Institute in Monterey in California, languages are categorized based on their presumed learning difficulty. In such settings, a basic language course can be as short as a couple of weeks for languages like Spanish based on their structural linguistic factors whereas the same program for the same learners would be at least twice as long for a language such as Korean. However, the same concern is not shown for socio-cultural factors.

The extent to which socio-psychological factors become more influential also varies depending on the learners, learning goals, the setting, and overall instructional design. In a situation like the one described earlier with Kurds learning Turkish as a second language in their home countries, it is too naïve not to expect a certain lack of motivation in language classes as well as a lack of interaction with native speakers of Turkish along with strong attitudinal factors that will not encourage mastery of Turkish. Unfortunately, in some cases in the United States and in many cases around the world, especially in the education of minority or under-studied languages, similar situations are extant.

Because of the history of language policy in Turkey, Kurdish-speaking children are not even considered non-native speakers of Turkish by the schools. They are offered the same Turkish language arts classes that are offered to native speakers of Turkish, thereby providing them with insufficient, inappropriate, and incomprehensible exposure with the expectations that they will acquire native-like proficiency. Needless to say, these language classes are not offered in bilingual or ESL-like program settings or with such curricula designs and students do not attain adequate level of academic language proficiency that their native speaker peers have. This situation puts Kurdish-speaking students in a very disadvantageous position when it comes to the university entrance exam (an SAT-like standard test given to all high school graduates) and probably denies many of them access to higher education.

The current study was aimed to address the relationship between the attainment of native-like Turkish accent and several motivational orientations, different kinds of social networks, and various patterns of identification with native and target language communities. Using both qualitative and quantitative methods, this study attempted to address the following research questions: How native-like is the participants' accent when speaking Turkish as rated on a global scale? Within this particular setting, what are the identity patterns of the Kurdish-speaking community, and how do these patterns relate to their level of regional Turkish accent?

Do participants at different levels of a regional Turkish accent report different levels of each of the four types of self-determined motivational orientations? What are the social networks of the Kurdish-speaking community, and how do these network zones relate to speakers' level of a regional Turkish accent? Finally, it aimed to address whether age and gender were associated with different levels of regional Turkish accent.

1.5. Overview of the Dissertation

This section provides a brief outline of the content of this dissertation. In Chapter One, in an attempt to provide a rationale for the major research questions, I present the purpose of the current study and then elaborate on its theoretical and practical significance. Chapter Two includes a review of research literature on the context of Kurds living in Turkey. Then, various theories regarding how language identity, motivational orientations, and social networks relate to the acquisition of an L2, in particular Turkish, are presented. Chapter Three concerns the research methodology including research framework, research questions, participants, setting, operationalizations of major constructs, and paragraph read-aloud exercise and linguistic features. Then, a brief description of both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods is provided. While Chapter Four examines the results of the research questions outlined previously, Chapter Five situates the study findings within the framework of the previous literature and then addresses similarities and differences between my findings and those of other studies. Lastly, it presents practical implications, discussing the limitations, and the potential research suggestions that could be pursued based on the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature will first provide background information on the context of Kurds in Turkey. Following this discussion, theories related to how language identity, social networks, and social aspects of motivational orientations can individually and/or interactionally affect some aspects of the acquisition of languages for certain second language learners in particular settings will be presented.

2.1. Background on The Kurds in Turkey

There are many factors that may affect the learning and production of a language. Many of the early sociolinguistic studies attempted to address significant questions about the interaction of social factors and language. Some studies, like the ones conducted by Labov (1972) on variation in speakers' accent, and Scovel (1988) and Guiora et al. (1972) in language acquisition studies focused on pronunciation as a strong linguistic marker of a speaker's cultural identification. In addition, Bourdieu's (1991) theory about the symbolic power of language and Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory have also been influential in theorizing about the connection between social factors and language, which in turn has affected the field of language teaching.

In order to study speech patterns and degrees of attainment of a language group, we need to understand the community's life regarding social, cultural, historical, and economical realities. Therefore, this section of the literature review provides background information on the context of Kurds living in Turkey. More specifically, the review describes the situation of the Kurdish-speaking community during the Ottoman Empire and during the early and later years of the Turkish Republic. Finally, some review of literature will follow about the current situation of the Kurdish-speaking community in Turkey.

2.1.1. The Kurdish-Speaking Community during the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire was a loosely integrated group of entities that encompassed a wide variety of cultures and languages, stretching at various times from what is today Algeria to the Caspian Sea, and from Yemen to Hungary and Southern Poland. Under this system, also often referred to as "the Millet System", the right to practice one's own religion and speak one's own language was upheld, a situation theorists of language rights referred to as tolerance rights (Hassanpour, 1992). However, under this system, there was no effort to support minority languages or promote their use. For instance, the educational system was all in Ottoman Turkish or Arabic. Further, most of the printing presses were owned by the government, which had little interest in publishing works in other languages; therefore, the vast majority of documents were printed in Turkish (Hassanpour, 1992). Thus, while the Ottoman Empire did not directly outlaw the use of minority languages in general, there was no encouragement for their use or growth.

As for the Kurdish areas, until the early 1800s, these were essentially independent, and a written Kurdish literature and culture blossomed. However, during the 1800s, Ottoman control grew greater, and social institutions, consulates, and schools (all in Turkish) were increasingly established throughout the region (Kendal, 1978). In the constitution of the Republic of Turkey of 1923, a proscription against Kurdish was written into law (May, 2001). The names "Kurd" and "Kurdistan" were banned and replaced by "Mountain Turks" and "the East" (Hassanpour, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). The consequence was that individuals of Kurdish origin were made to feel ashamed of their origin and language, and they were depicted as bad, dirty, and primitive. It was said that Kurdish was not a real language, that it had no grammatical rules and a vocabulary of roughly only 8000 words, of which only 300 were originally Kurdish, the rest being from Turkish, Arabic, and other languages of region (Hassanpour, 1992). Kurdish was banned from being used in public in 1923 and was banned from being used in formal education in 1925 (Kendal, 1978; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). As noted below, in the past decades this situation has begun to change in many important ways.

2.1.2. Kurdish-Speaking Community in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic

In contrast to the olden Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey took great interest in the regulation of languages other than Turkish. From the inception of the modern Turkish republic in 1923, government policy sought to create a national identity under the guise that Turkey was populated by only one group of people with a single language, Turkish. The official language of Turkey is to this day Turkish only. To varying degrees over the past 80 years, it has been illegal to speak, write in, publish in, broadcast in, or essentially communicate in minority languages in government offices in the country (Hassanpour, 1992; Kendal, 1978; May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). Kurdish was portrayed as a dialect of Turkish, Mountain Turkish. Oddly, the learning and use of certain languages such as English, French, and German were enthusiastically encouraged throughout this period.

All in all, Kurds were not allowed to use the name of the language in writing, speak the language in public, listen to recorded music or radio in the language, produce movies and theatrical performances, own, sell, or purchase books in Kurdish, circulate print and audiovisual matter in Kurdish, broadcast or write in Kurdish, have education at any level in Kurdish, use Kurdish in local administration, or form language academies or literary associations (Hassanpour, 1992; Kendal, 1978; Koivunen, 2001; May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). Nevertheless, these rules forbidding the use of Kurdish were not always followed by the people; in private sites and personal places, Kurdish was and still is used by many individuals, especially in Southeastern Turkey.

More specific examples of the day-to-day prohibition of the language are prevalent throughout the literature. In the educational realm, students were punished for speaking their language outside the classroom during breaks, and boarding schools were established to acculturate students in the Turkish culture and to encourage them to forget their mother tongue (Hassanpour 1992). Written Kurdish was easily banned, and any publication in the language was quickly confiscated and their authors imprisoned. Suppression of the language even followed outside of Turkey, where Turkish embassies in other countries attempted to prevent Kurdish courses and publications, particularly in European conutries (Hassanpour, 1992).

After 1950, the private use of Kurdish was legally tolerated, but its public use was still banned (Kendal, 1978). In 1961, Turkey adopted a new constitution in which some publications in Kurdish were allowed, but from the late 1960s until the early 1990s, there was an increased suppression of Kurdish culture/language as the relations between the controlling government and the political Kurdish activist movement worsened. Note that during this era several military copes took place, and the Turkish politics was dominated by the military or ex-military people. In the constitution of 1982, the laws enacted in 1923 were reiterated, banning the use of Kurdish in the public realm (May, 2001). In addition, increased militarization and political control of the Kurdish provinces were accompanied by new assimilation programs with a general campaign to improve literacy in Turkish with more Turkish-language courses introduced in primary school (Hassanpour, 1992).

2.1.3. Kurdish-Speaking Community during Recent Years of the Turkish Republic

In 1991, the Turkish government, under President Turgut Özal, who was partly of Kurdish origin, announced its intention to legalize Kurdish, and there was a general relaxation of proscriptive laws against Kurdish. The new law permitted the use of Kurdish in contexts other than radio and television broadcasts, publications, and education (Koivunen, 2001). However, once again anti-Kurdish laws were reintroduced by the late 1990s. There were criminal proceedings against those who promoted Kurdish language courses (May, 2001). As had been the case since the establishment of the Republic, the Kurdish language was constructed as a danger to the existence and independence of the state and the security of the community (May, 2001). As recently as 2002, students and parents were arrested for distributing flyers demanding education in Kurdish and the teaching of the Kurdish language because their activities were considered threats as part of the the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) activities.

However, in the past three years, the government, mainly due to pressure from the European Union, which Turkey hopes to enter, has lifted the ban on speaking Kurdish in public, making radio broadcasts and publishing in Kurdish, and having language education in Kurdish. Recently, private Kurdish language courses have been offered in the southeast region of Turkey. However, all laws include certain limitations on the use of Kurdish, such as the government control over the broadcasts made in Kurdish, and the restriction of the number of hours per week such broadcasts can be made. Although the situation is still restricted, with people not having the full, free range of possibilities such as bilingual education, the government has relaxed its earlier full prohibition against the public use of language.

During the early Republic, Kurdish intellectuals adapted and learned to express themselves in Turkish. However, a resistance began early, picking up in the 1960s and 1970s with the circulation of illicit Kurdish literary and political texts (Kendal 1978).

> There were many uprisings from the 1920s to the 1970s; however the Kurds have been quite unable to create any effective opposition. They have been too dispersed geographically and too fragmented by religious and tribal affiliations, socio-economic activity, and language. Only a few Kurds have evolved any coherent idea of Kurdish identity, not to mention the political consequences of such ideas (Koivunen, 2002, p. 132).

In 1970, there were an estimated 8.5 million Kurdish speakers in Turkey, although the actual figure could have been between 8 and 12 million (Kendal, 1978). According to Mutlu (1996), the number of Kurds in the 1990s was much lower than in 1965, with only approximately 3 million Kurds when assessed by mother tongue. That number grew to approximately 7 million by 1990. According to May (2001), the number of speakers who speak Kurdish as a first language is currently number 3.9 million in Turkey. According to the latest large-scale study conducted on 1500 participants in 23 different cities in Turkey by the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (November, 2006 Report), the number of people who identified themselves as Kurdish has increased significantly in Turkey. In 1999, 1.2 % reported their identity as Kurdish whereas in 2006 this number went up to 2.7%, which has been interpreted by social scientists as a sign of more freedom and minority rights.

In 1984, armed resistance began in the form of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). As reported by Koivunen (2002) the PKK declared war on Turkey gaining very little support among the urbanized Kurdish middle class, but it was successful among Kurdish peasants and urban lower classes. Essentially a guerrilla-style war between the PKK terrorists and the Turkish government existed from early 80s until 1999 (with some remnants remaining today) even as non-PKK affiliated Kurds have staged demonstrations during the past decade demanding their rights. Much of the support for the resistance comes from abroad from Kurds who have fled from Turkey and live in Europe and elsewhere.

2.1.4. The Current Situation of the Kurdish-Speaking Community in Turkey

The current Kurdish population is represented in almost all geographical regions in Turkey, but the majority of Kurds live in the southeast, in the mountainous areas close to Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Kurds speak Kurdish, a language of the western Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. In Turkey, where more than 95% of the population is Sunni, the vast majority of Kurds are Sunni Muslims as well, but a very small group of Kurds living in Iraq is Yazidis. There is a very small Shiite Kurdish population living in Turkey as well. Kurds predominantly live in rural areas such as villages and small cities with a large number of recent immigrants to Istanbul. Animal husbandry and agriculture are major sources of the rural Kurdish economy.

Although the public education system offers free primary, middle, and high school education in Turkey, school attendance is lower in rural areas, primarily in southeast Turkey than it is in urban areas. According to the Turkish Statistics Association (TUIK, 2006), although the number of girls being considered literate has increased in the last 5 years, the difference between male and female literacy rates is still more than 10% in Turkey. In the already low schooling rates in these areas, the attendance of girls is even lower. Therefore, Kurdish families in east and particularly southeast Turkey have the lowest literacy rates among other cities in Turkey.

In terms of language rights, advocates of Kurdish sought at first to lift the prohibition against the language to gain tolerance rights, as had existed during the Ottoman Empire. However, after achieving partial tolerance rights at various times in the last five decades, Kurds began to seek promotional rights for their language with the aim of language maintenance, as described in Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak (1995). The aim has been mainly to achieve not only the freedom to speak and write the language, but also the right to teach Kurdish and have education in Kurdish.

The current situation for the Kurdish language in Turkey can be seen from two perspectives: the language itself and its actual use by speakers. Kurdish is currently written in various countries in a number of different scripts, including Arabic, Cyrillic, and Roman. The development of Kurdish as a language has been stunted by the fact that its native speakers are dispersed, and the language has been repressed. Most native speakers are not literate in the language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). Especially in

Turkey, where only recently have publications been allowed, the vast majority of speakers have never seen the language written in its modified Latin script. The term "linguistic oppression" has often been used when referring to the Turkish government's treatment of Kurdish (Hassanpour, 1992; Kendal, 1978; May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995), which leads to the conclusion that either the number of people who speak Kurdish as a first and second language in Turkey has to have declined or the overall Kurdish demographics have changed in the past 80 years.

However, the exact numbers of Kurds and Kurdish speakers in Turkey is not easy to establish. According to various sources, the number of Kurds in Turkey ranged from 3 to 15 million (May, 2001; Mutlu, 1996), with the exact number of Kurds who speak Kurdish even more difficult to verify. This difficulty arises from a number of different sources. First, the last official census figures regarding Kurds was gathered in 1970. Second, in official and unofficial counts, many speakers, because of fear of government reprisal or the stigma that goes with being or speaking Kurdish, do not admit that they are Kurdish (Hassanpour, 1992; Kendal, 1978). On the flip-side, some ethnic Kurds who want to emphasize their Kurdish identity claim to speak Kurdish because they relate their identity strongly with the language, but in fact they do not. Third, the number of speakers is often under-valued or over-valued for political means. Finally, the Kurdish population has been thinned out of the area often considered "Kurdistan" by mass immigrations to other regions in the country, with many having been "Turkified" (Hassanpour, 1992). Therefore, it is difficult to judge the exact numbers of speakers of Kurdish.

Although the number of Kurdish speakers is unclear, in an attempt to define the current situation of the Kurdish language spoken in Turkey today, we can place Kurds into three categories in terms of language use. The first group includes those who do not speak Kurdish at all, or very little, but consider themselves ethnically Kurdish (Mutlu, 1996). The second group includes monolingual speakers of Kurdish only. These speakers represent mainly women and older individuals, or those who have not attended government schooling, which is all in Turkish, and the rural population (Smits & Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003). The third group consists of those who are bilingual speakers of both Kurdish and Turkish. This third group can be divided further into speakers who are native bilinguals without equal proficiency levels in both languages, and speakers who were monolingual in Kurdish until they began formal education in Turkish, beginning around 6 or 7 years of age. Currently there are no concrete figures or estimates about how many speakers fall into each group.

In this type of environment, as the country becomes more urban and educated and with the spread of communication, such as television, the number of speakers who are monolingual in Kurdish is likely to decline further. Also, as more Kurds move from rural areas, where they are the majority to urban areas where they are the minority, their children will most likely become bilingual in both languages or speak Kurdish as a second language. Without education in the language, the likelihood for Kurdish to remain an active first language for speakers remains low. However, the southeast region of Turkey is majority Kurdish, and there, speakers are more likely to keep Kurdish alive.

2.2. SOCIAL THEORIES, IDENTITY AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISTION

In this section, I review the literature on identity and social theories as these relate to second language acquisition. The review includes social theories of second language acquisition, identity as operationalized in this study as a social phenomenon, identity and language, ethnic identity and language, and group loyalty. Moreover, I discuss the literature on parental influence on identity, and I concluded with a section on how language learning is affected by identity issues.

2.2.1. Social Theories of Second Language Acquisition

Scholars in second language acquisition agree that language learning is a complex process involving both cognitive processes and socio-psychological factors. These scholars also emphasize that learning a language involves complex social interactions and power relations that engage L2 learners' identities in many ways (Peirce, 1995). Studies that incorporate social distance factors into the learning of a second language include Berry (1998), Cook (2001), Ellis (1999), Gullestad (1991), Lybeck (2002), Maple (1982), and Simpson (1997). One of the most important socio-cultural theories directly discussing second language acquisition has been social distance. In the 1970s, Schumann introduced his theory of social distance including in it the pidginization hypothesis and the acculturation model. In these, Schumann (1976) merged both psychological and social factors in explaining affective issues in second language acquisition.

The idea of social distance is to clarify details pertaining to an individual as a member of one social group that is in contact with another social group whose members speak a different language. *Social distance* refers to the societal factors that either promote or inhibit social solidarity between these two groups, thus affecting the extent to which members of a second language learning group can acquire the language of a particular target language group. In general, the greater the social distance between the two groups, the less likely it is for the members of the language learning group to acquire the language of the target group.

Greater social distance, and hence a *bad language learning situation*, can often exist when a number of factors are present, factors that can interact and affect one another. According to Schumann (1978) greater social distance can occur when (a) a second language learning group is either dominant or subordinate to the target group, (b) both groups desire the preservation of lifestyle and high enclosure, (c) the second language learning group is both cohesive and large, (d) high enclosure is desired by one or both of the groups, (e) the two cultures are not congruent, (f) the two groups hold negative attitudes towards each other, and (g) the second language learning group intends to remain in the target language area only for a short time. Social solidarity, and hence a good language learning situation, will exist when (a) the second language learning group is non-dominant in relation to the target language group, (b) both groups desire assimilation for the second language learning group, (c) the second language learning group is small and non-cohesive, (d) low enclosure is the goal of both groups, (e) the two cultures are congruent, (f) both groups have positive attitudes towards each other, and (g) the second language learning group intends to remain in the target language area for a long time.

Based on Schumann's operationalization of integration patterns of second language learners, we can argue that an example of a *bad language learning situation* is the situation of Kurds in some regions of southeast Turkey. In terms of culture, the Kurdish culture in southeast Turkey resembles more that of Arab or Persian culture than Turkish culture. Turks are the dominant social group, regarding the Kurds as subordinate, and as a result of past conflicts some Turks have negative attitudes towards Kurds in this region. Similalry, some Kurds in this region also have negative attitudes towards Turks based on past patterns of contact. In the southeast, Kurds often represent 60-80 percent of the population, outnumbering the Turks. There is, thus, a high desire and possibility for enclosure by Kurds, and thus Kurds remain cohesive.

Furthermore, in his acculturation model, Schumann (1978a) combined the social distance factors with psychological distance factors to predict that the degree of a learner's success in second language acquisition depends upon the learner's degree of acculturation. He suggested that L2 acquisition is one aspect of the general process of acculturation and that second language learners will succeed in learning the target language to the degree that they acculturate with the target language group. Although the acculturation model consisted of both social and psychological distance, Schumann considered psychological factors to be subordinate to the social.

Berry (1998) pointed to the significance of the patterns of acculturation complementing each other. He asserted that the continuum between assimilation and separation depends on whether the learners want to preserve their identities or whether they value relationship with the target language group. Ellis (1999) also described the process of acquiring competence in a language as acculturation and claimed that the degree of achievement depended on social distance. Simpson (1997), within a similar framework to that of Schumann, found that learners who had greater social distance had more difficulty in acquiring communicative and pragmatic competence in the target language than learners with less social distance.

2.2.2. A Social View of Identity

In the last decade, identity as a socially constructed phenomenon has become one of the major variables in language learning research. For many scholars, the connection between identity and language learning is now inextricable. Therefore, in order to examine Kurdish learners' success in attaining a native-like Turkish accent, it is of indispensable importance that I present a social view of identity and how it relates to my particular language learning context. As it is operationalized in this study, identity entails certain components such as *individual as well as social, multiplex, diverse, complex, dynamic, fluid*, and so forth. Attempts to define identity are generally centered around *Self* and coherent manifestations of *Self* in broader social settings (Bruner, 1990). Taylor (1998) used Bakhtin's notion of the *dialogical self* to represent the *self* as constructed within social interactions with others. Relatedly, Gee (1996) argued that social discourses shape both how we think and what we do throughout the construction of our identities.

Hence, in these views, identities are multiple and are actively constructed and re-constructed by individuals through social interactions, bringing in the effort of numerous power relations in different social contexts based on historical and cultural entities (Weedon, 1987; Bourdieu, 1991). Saville-Troike (1989) referred to this as "a person's repertoire of social identities" and envisaged language as a tool that can either facilitate or inhibit integration within a speech community. Because a person has multiple identities available depending on different social contexts, the person strives to use different linguistic systems so as to resemble those of the groups with which he or she wants to identify (LePage, 1986), implying that membership in numerous speech communities is the norm.

Similarly, identity is not a one-way street (van Dijk, 1998). The ways members of other social groups perceive and define us and the ethnic and cultural communities to which we belong are as important as our self-perceived identities. Members of a particular community, based on certain shared beliefs that they consider fundamental principles, construct a social identity that is defined by van Dijk (1998) as a shared essence of social self-definition which consists of a set of social representations that members consider typical for their own speech community. Because there has not yet been a definition of identity as a social construct that is embraced by the majority of researchers in second language acquisition, it has highly been difficult to examine the relations between language and language identity. The different views taken by the scholars below indicate the multiple possibilities of exploring this relationship.

2.2.3. Identity and Language

In an attempt to define the link between language and identity, Anzaldúa (1987, p. 59) claimed, "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language." In linking identity to language, Woolard (1989a, 1991) argued that language identity acts as a self-conscious badge indexing allegiance with or betrayal to a language community. In the case of the Catalan language, refusal to use Catalan obstructed its acquisition while identification with Catalans positively added to the acquisition of the language for many people. Therefore, in order for Catalan to become a language accepted by the public, it needed to disengage its ties in essence from the ethnic identity that was ascribed to it. As stated by Jenkins (2002) and Cornell and Hartmann (1998), ethnic identity involves numerous constituents, which makes it difficult to embrace only one set of definitions or conceptual theories.

As stated by Gibson (2004), Spolsky (1989) reported, “Language is a central feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity” (p. 181). It is obvious that language use is not the only tool that identifies someone with an ethnicity as bilingualism and multilingualism confuse the connection between one language and one ethnicity. Nonetheless, multilingualism can also be a part of ethnic or national identity as it has been in countries such as India.

As Gans (1997) stated, the attainment, retention and reinforcement of ethnic identity can be affected by the social realities of a particular society, as, for example, the construction of a Kurdish identity in Turkey. Furthermore, attempts that define ethnic identity as adherence to cultural tradition and internal solidarity should not overshadow or undermine the significance of external conditions and other outside forces in constructing ethnic identity (LePage & Tabouret Keller, 1985). Therefore, the relationship between ethnic identity and language loyalty as it emanates from inter-group interactions requires further elaboration to understand the implications of this study.

2.2.4. Ethnic Identity and Group and Language Loyalty

From an assimilationist point of view, to renounce entirely one's mother tongue, and as pointed out by Johnson (2000) thereby lose a significant constituent of one's identity, and embrace the target language is the best way to acquire a target language, justifying the case for a monolingual society. The assimilationist viewpoint can also be understood in Lippi-Green's (1997) words, when she argued "a standard language ideology, which proposes that an idealized nation-state has one perfect, homogenous language, becomes the means by which discourse is seized, and provides rationalization for limiting access to discourse" (p. 64). In contrast, other second language points of view champion additive bilingualism and/or multilingualism rather than assimilationist or preservationist viewpoints. Between these two views lies a middle ground: acculturation (Krashen, 1987; Schumann, 1978).

Although research has been inconclusive about the relationship between a language and certain positive values that are ascribed to it (Phillipson, 1999), as in the case of Catalan in Spain (Pennycook, 1994), strong ethnic identity with a minority language is deemed by the national government as a potential obstruction to national integration. For example, in the case of the use of Navajo language by Native Americans in the United States (Valenzuela, 1999), English was ascribed positive values while the use of Navajo was devalued and its speakers were denigrated and shamed, which resulted in subtractive schooling policies and linguistic and cultural erasure. Language and identity seem connected, as found during the pilot study that preceded this project, Kurdish parents who considered Kurdish a core constituent of their ethnic and cultural heritage automatically defined language as an identity marker.

Some studies addressed identity within the framework of social mobility. For example, as pointed out by Isajiw et al. (1993), ethnic identity and social mobility among four European groups in Toronto used four dimensions to measure values ascribed to an ethnic community to which a person belonged. In their study, a significant correlation was found between the cultural dimensions (preference for ethnic food and media of an ethnicity) and social mobility.

The investigation of identity as it relates to language loyalty was also addressed in relation with socio-economic conditions. In investigating the relationship between ethnic identity and socioeconomic status, Kalbach and Kalbach (1995) found that individuals who showed greater commitment to their ethnicity through, for example, using their ethnic language more at home, reported lower levels of educational and economic status than those who were not as ethnically committed. Note that because these studies were conducted in different settings, implications can also vary. Considering the assumption that commitment to ethnic groups may not be as influential as commitments, mutually exclusive norms, and exchange of services involved in family interactions with respect to language use and socialization, micro analysis of identity and language learning in terms of family-influence has become inevitable.

2.2.5. Parental Influence, Identity, and Language Use

Fairclough (2001) stressed that language socialization is connected with social entities and power relations among communities because language is not only a communication and self-expression tool but also an instrument used for the expression, constitution, and reproduction of social relations and identities. Language socialization, as pointed out by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), involves both how children acquire correct uses of oral and written language as a communication tool and how they construct their beliefs, values, and identities within the context of their families and their ethnic groups. Therefore, the potential effect of language socialization on language choice for the use of a particular language seems rather plausible.

Malave (2006) in addressing the interconnectedness of language identity, parental involvement, and language socialization found different patterns among Hispanic parents concerning the role of identity as it related to language in general and the maintenance of Spanish language in specific in their families. He found that Mexican immigrants self-identified as Mexicans by showing a sense of loyalty to Hispanics, or more specifically to the Hispanic immigrants, and thereby maintained the use of Spanish in their communication at home.

In his study, Malave (2006) identified three interconnected sets of parents' beliefs about different communities including the immediate Mexican ethnic community to which they belonged and their broader Hispanic identity as an ethnic group, the distinction between Hispanics and European Americans, and finally the differences both within the Mexican and the Hispanic communities. Malave (2006) also reported that parents' beliefs about the Spanish language and commitment to identification with the Hispanic community turned into attempts to influence their children's construction of identity and their language acquisition. Note that parents in his study had been born in the United States, and in spite of expressing extrinsic motivation-related reasons (jobs for Spanish-English bilinguals) for maintaining Spanish as well, identification with the

Hispanic roots was reported to be a stronger force behind maintaining Spanish than those other potential forces.

In another study, Bayley and Schecter (2003) examined Mexican families' attitudes towards the importance of the preservation of linguistics and cultural heritage of Spanish and Hispanic identity. A good example of how family can affect language use, maintenance and socialization came from Davidson (1996), when he reported that some bilingual Mexican immigrant adolescents worked out rules of language use at home (e.g., speaking only Spanish every Tuesday and Thursday). Now, my analysis of identity as it relates to society, ethnic community, and family, now, turns to a focus on the relationship between learner identity and success in L2 attainment regarding different language skills.

2.2.6. Learner Attitudes and Language Learning

Earlier studies (e. g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972) researched the relationship between second language acquisition and learner attitudes towards the target language community and reported that learner attitudes affected the motivation to learn a target language. Among these studies, Schumann's (1976) social distance theory added a new social dimension to the previous research. He found that Hispanic learners who were in a *bad language learning situation* due to their attitudes towards the English-speaking community and who had high affective filter only attained a pidginized form of the language.

Spolsky (1989) stated that, in addition to formal classroom learning, informal socialization with speakers of the target language community gives second language learners a vital opportunity to practice the target language. Spolsky (1969), using a semantic differential technique, found that learner attitudes towards the speakers of the target language, which was English, accounted for a significant amount of variation in the level of achievement in acquiring the second language. More specifically, in cases where participants considered themselves as more like the speakers of the target language as opposed to speakers of their mother tongue, they achieved higher levels of proficiency of the target language. He concluded that a learner acquires a second language better if he or she wants to be a member of the community that speaks the target language.

Similarly, Oller et. al. (1977) used a semantic differential technique to study the attitudes and motivation of Chinese speakers learning English in the United States. Conducting the study in an English as a second language (ESL) environment, they concluded that learner attitudes were the best predictors of the attained level of a second language proficiency, verifying Spolsky's (1969) findings. Nonetheless, they also found that participants' attitudes towards the speakers of the target language changed remarkably as they became more proficient in the target language. In another study, with adult Japanese speakers learning English as a foreign language (EFL), Chihara and Oller (1978) in their study on Japanese English language learners, reported that although a significant relationship between learner attitudes and attained level of proficiency in L2 was obtained, the relationship was weaker in the EFL study as opposed to the ESL study most likely due to the differences embedded in the settings.

According to Bucholtz (1999), learners who have internalized the identity of a particular speech community will engage in positive identity practices; however, refusal to identify with the target language will lead to negative practices in L1 settings. This argument is very much in line with Schumann's claim for L2 learning (1976, 1978b) that socio-psychological factors create social distance inhibiting social solidarity between the learners and the target language community, and thereby affecting language acquisition. Norton (1995) argued that language use and identity are not fixed; rather both of them are dynamic and act differently depending on time and place.

Complementing socio-cultural arguments regarding identity and society relationship, Ochs (1993) stated: "Social identities have a socio-historical reality independent of language behavior, but, in any given situation, at any actual moment, people in those situations are actively constructing their social identities rather than passively living out some cultural prescription for social identity" (p. 296). Thus, the complexity of such socio-psychological factors including those associated with social points to the difficulties inherent in the process of attaining a second language. And these are not by any means the only factors associated with L2 acquisition. I, next, turn to language learning motivation as it relates to the L2 learners' identities as members a speech community.

2.3. MOTIVATION AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

This section presents a review of literature on motivation as it affects second language acquisition. More specifically, I review general motivation theories, Self-Determination Theory, Intrinsic Motivation, and Extrinsic Motivation. I then conclude the section with literature on motivation in the Kurdish context in Turkey.

Although motivation can be seen as an ambiguous and elusive construct, and although it has been operationalized, categorized, and used quite differently by various fields, for this study, I borrowed the concept of motivation from educational psychology as it has been used in relation to the field of second language acquisition. Therefore, from a second language acquisition perspective, in terms of what the construct of motivation entails or what are its defining components, I turn to Dörnyei's (2001) understanding which broadly includes components such as: why people decide to do something, how long they are willing to sustain the activity, and how much effort they are willing to put out. Operationalizing motivation as a socially-bound construct, it is also vital to add Dörnyei's understanding that motivation affects behavior within a social milieu and cannot be separated from it. Because it provides a view of motivation within this social and psychological understanding, Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory constitutes the theoretical foundation for this study. Nevertheless, an analysis of general motivation theories in education is needed to understand the specific theories used in this particular study.

2.3.1. General Motivation Theories

Much research has been conducted on the effects of intrinsic and extrinsic or integrative or instrumental types of motivation for learning generally. Some researchers from educational psychology such as Pintrich (2003), Alexander et al. (1994), and Guthrie & Wigfield (1997) and some from second language acquisition such as Dornyei (1994, 2003), and Gardner et al. (2004) have approached motivation in learning several different aspects including interest, goal orientations, task value, self-efficacy, social context, and so on.

Several other scholars focused more on its relations to continuity and learning different environments. Oldfather et al. (1994) embark upon intrinsic motivation from this perspective defining it as the continuing impulse to learn. Wigfield (1997) and Paris et al. (1994) also reported that students' motivation is strongly influenced by their learning environment as well as their goal orientations, as did Eccles (1993) when studying the utility value of the task.

Of all other theories, Gardner and Lambert's (1959) motivation theory has dominated the research in the field of second language acquisition. Their instrumental/ integrative distinction represented as the socio-educational model became the first research tool for describing and assessing motivation. In their model, instrumental motivation refers to the pragmatic gains one can make when learning a language such as getting high grades or a good job whereas integrative orientation refers to a self-generated desire to learn a second/foreign language. Gardner (1985) and Gardner and Lambert (1975) found that learners with higher integrative motivation invested greater effort and more time toward achieving their goals. They also reported that integrative motivation correlated more highly with L2 achievement than instrumental motivation.

In the early 1990s, several scholars initiated new theoretical approaches to the understanding of motivation in second language acquisition (Dörnyei, 1994; Oxford, & Shearin, J. 1994) In describing learner roles in learning van Lier (1996) argued that learning has to be initiated by the learner because teaching cannot force learning; it can only encourage and guide learning. Unless the learner shows natural impetus and desire for learning, or attaches some external gain value to the task, learning will not take place. Pekrun et al. (2002), for example, found that students' emotions are significantly related to their motivation, self-regulation, and academic achievement. In addition to the studies above, self determination theory has been the most influential motivation theory in studying learners' self regulation in education.

2.3.2. Self-Determination Theory

Although self determination theory has been adapted and used in second language acquisition contexts by several other scholars such as Dörnyei and Schmidt (2001), Noels et al. (2001), and Vallerand (1997), this section will primarily introduce the original work on self-determination theory introduced by Deci and Ryan. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), *to be motivated means to be moved to do something* and if a person feels no impetus or inspiration to do something, by definition he or she is characterized as unmotivated.

Deci and Ryan (1985) outlined various orientations of extrinsic motivation, and described a taxonomy of human motivation that included the concepts of intrinsic motivation and amotivation as well. They proposed that motivation was based on three underlying psychological prerequisites or needs (self-autonomy, competence, and relatedness) as driving forces behind motivation. Furthermore, Ryan and Deci (2000) described several sub-theories within self-determination theory including the Organismic Integration Theory and Cognitive Evaluation Theory. These sub-theories explain the process of internalization that begins with extrinsically motivated behaviors and further develops as individuals attain greater self-regulation and autonomy.

Deci and Ryan's perspectives on intrinsic and extrinsic motivation have greatly contributed to the area of motivation in education. According to Deci (2000), intrinsic motivation reflects the natural human propensity to learn and assimilate. However, the hallmark of self-determination theory is the multidimensional view of extrinsic motivation, which is argued to vary considerably from external control to true self-regulation with regard to the degree of autonomy it gives to the learner.

The fundamental distinctions between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are that intrinsic motivation refers to inherent interest or enjoyment while extrinsic motivation refers to doing something because of potentially separable outcomes (Deci et al., 1985). Ryan et al. (1991) underscored the fact that these differences are important in that, depending on the orientation of the motivation, the quality of learning or performance experience can vary to a large extent.

Noels et al., (2003) developed a new instrument to assess the different subtypes of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation based on self-determination theory linking these orientations to Gardner's instrumental and integrative orientations. They found a strong correlation between the instrumental orientation and self-determination theory's external regulation orientation, and the knowledge orientations were also highly correlated with identified regulation and intrinsic motivation. Their findings also verified the reliability of Deci and Ryan's intrinsic-extrinsic distinction as a form of assessment for learner motivation. In another study on Japanese learners, Yamauchi and Tanaka (1998) found similar results as had been reported in previous studies using self-determination theory to measure learner motivation.

2.3.3. Intrinsic Motivation

In Deci and Ryan's (1985) words intrinsic motivation leads to high quality learning and creativity because of the learner's inherent desire for the accomplishment of an action. This phenomenon was first acknowledged when many animals were observed to engage in behaviors even in the absence of reinforcement or reward (Deci et al., 2000). Deci stated that this natural tendency plays a critical role in the cognitive, social, and physical development of human beings. Intrinsic motivation is also important because it exists both within individuals, and between individuals and activities. That is why, for example, some researchers (Eccles, 1987) have defined intrinsic motivation in relation to the task being interesting whereas others have defined it in terms of the satisfaction it brings to the individual. Eccles suggested that a person will not value becoming engaged in a task if it is too anxiety provoking, or has high potential of failure, or requires too much effort.

Deci and Ryan (2000) stated that if a person, in the presence of numerous distracters and free choices and without any external force, chooses to engage in an activity, we can say s/he is intrinsically motivated. The amount of time s/he spends on that particular task shows the degree of her/his motivation. According to some scholars like Schallert & Reed (1997) and Wigfield et al. (1998), Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) notion of "flow" may represent the ultimate form of intrinsic motivation. In this case, the focus is on how the sort of deep engagement that flow brings can be fostered and brings about benefits to learning.

In fact, Deci's self-determination theory is based on social and environmental factors that facilitate intrinsic motivation. In other words, because intrinsic motivation is an inherent propensity, it comes to the surface when individuals are in conditions that lead to the expression of this tendency. Based on their cognitive evaluation theory, Deci and Ryan asserted that social factors can produce various levels of intrinsic motivation in different contexts. Therefore, interpersonal events or rewards and feedback can facilitate intrinsic motivation for an action because these can give an individual a feeling of competence if accompanied by a sense of autonomy, in other words, by an internal perceived locus of causality. So, if a person's self-efficacy is accompanied by autonomy, he or she will maintain and enhance intrinsic motivation. On the other hand, tangible rewards, deadlines, and competitive pressure can diminish intrinsic motivation due to their effects on an individual's sense of self-control and autonomy (Reeve & Deci, 1996). Deci and many other researchers have found that children whose parents were more autonomy supportive and students who were less controlled did better at school than those who were not.

2.3.4. Extrinsic Motivation

Although in traditional definitions extrinsic motivation has been presented as a less effective form of motivation when compared to intrinsic motivation, Deci et al.'s self-determination theory suggested that within the domain of extrinsic motivation, there exist many different types of motivation, some of which fall very close to intrinsic motivation along a continuum autonomy. Along the continuum of extrinsic motivation ranging from *external regulation* to *integration*, a learner can feel totally extrinsically propelled, or he or she can endorse and fully adopt the extrinsic goal with autonomy. For example, if a student does her/his homework to avoid parental sanctions or to receive personal endorsement or similar instrumental values, s/he is getting involved in the task as a result of an extrinsic orientation.

In Deci et. al.'s model, because this type of motivation can also result in high-quality achievement, it is important that we know the forces behind these different orientations. Therefore, according to Deci et al., our primary concern should be how to motivate students to value and self-regulate such activities. Addressing this issue within the framework of the organismic integration theory, Deci and Ryan underscored the significance of internalization and integration along their taxonomy of human motivation. *Internalization* is the process of taking in a value, and *integration* is the process by which individuals more fully transform the regulation into their own so that it will emanate from their sense of self (Deci et al., 2000).

The taxonomy shows how an individual's motivation can range from *amotivation* which results from not valuing an activity or expecting any outcome from it, to active personal devotion through the internalization process (Ryan, 1995). As one moves from *amotivation* toward *intrinsic motivation*, the different kinds of extrinsic orientation such as *external regulation, introjection, identification, and integration* are encountered. Needless to say, the continuum is not developmental; depending on a person's prior experience and social factors, he or she can begin with *introjection* or *identification*, later shifting orientation one way or the other without having to progress through each stage of internalization. For example, it is very common that a student starts taking a course due to identification with it, but later loses that sense due to perceptual mismatches between self and the teacher.

Figure 1. Regulation Continuum Showing the Degree to Which Each Motivational Orientation is Self-Determined

Amotivation Extrinsic Motivation Intrinsic Motivation

No Regulation	*External Regulation*	*Introjected Regulation*	*Identified Regulation*	*Integrated Regulation*	*Intrinsic Regulation*

External regulation results in doing a task due to externally imposed rewards or punishments, just like in an operant conditioning case. *Introjection* is when a person is engaged in a task due to the attainment of self-esteem or ego enhancement or avoidance of guilt or anxiety. A more autonomous orientation is *identification* in which a person has identified with the personal importance of the task. Very close to intrinsic motivation is the most autonomous and self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, *integration*, which occurs when identified regulations have been fully assimilated to the self. Ryan et. al. (1992) and Deci and Ryan (1987) found that more autonomous extrinsic motivation results in greater engagement, better performance, and higher quality learning. Patrick (1997) also found that if students are provided with the rationale behind even a dull activity and receive support for autonomy and relatedness, their integration and internalization can be promoted.

As the different forms of extrinsic motivation come close to intrinsic motivation, the internalization process goes up with the degree of autonomy and self-determination. Beyond *integration motivation,* the last kind of extrinsic motivation, is *intrinsic motivation*. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), extrinsic motivation, no matter how internalized, is not transformed into intrinsic motivation because there is still a presumed instrumental value in the integrated regulation. As Ryan and Deci (2002) suggested, the fact that many of the tasks that are planned and designed by educators for learners are not inherently interesting or enjoyable means that it is of utmost significance to focus on active and more autonomous forms of extrinsic motivation to foster successful learning.

Whether learning is socially mitigated and personally constructed or totally socially constituted, an individual's learning activity and other learning-related components such as motivation cannot be separated from society. As a result of the research from a socio-constructivist approach, it has become clear that learning is a socio-cultural phenomenon, and individuals can develop their higher cognitive skills only in social contexts as a result of intrinsic or extrinsic motivation. If, as Vygotsky (1978) claimed, thought develops from society and higher mental functions develop through social interaction and if motivation is the impetus behind these functions, then motivation is directly related to the Kurdish situation in Turkey. Because in certain cases motivation can be either environment-based or internal, Kurdish students depending on their place of residence, socio-economic situation, age, parental concerns, and future expectations in relation with their social-psychological distance and social networks can logically fall any place on Deci's continuum. I turn to a discussion of motivation for Kurdish student learning Turkish.

2.3.5. Motivation in the Kurdish Context

Based on the current situation as well as previous research like Gardner's (1960) Montreal study, we can hypothesize that Kurdish students whose parents do not value the learning of Turkish, who come from low-income families, and therefore live in places where the use of Kurdish was dominant, may have low education and future job expectancies, and therefore experience amotivation toward the learning of Turkish.

Because the task has little value for them and the environment is shorn of any autonomy appropriate external regulations, they are more likely to maintain social interactions in communities that speak only Kurdish. Therefore, this situation can create a less facilitating language learning situation (Schumann, 1976) due to the deep social-psychological distance in the absence of any facilitating intrinsic or extrinsic motivation.

In contrast, if a Kurdish child comes from a medium/high-income family living in a Turkish-Kurdish-speaking area that valued the learning of Turkish, he or she would likely receive *external regulation* from the family as well as the society using social networks that encourage contacts with friends and neighbors who speak Turkish. This can create a motivated and facilitating language learning situation and place the child somewhere on Deci's (1995) continuum. This, then, would be the turning point in Kurdish children's lives, because once they obtain access to *external regulation*, in light of Deci's theory, it is highly likely that they would shift their orientation at least to *introjection*, and then to *identification* with the utility of learning Turkish, and finally fully internalizing the task. As for their learning of Kurdish, some Kurdish children could be either intrinsically motivated or have no other alternative.

As Vygotsky (1978) noted, society is the bearer of the cultural heritage without which the development of mind is impossible. Our psychology is mediated by cultural means. From infancy we learn through interaction with others. We are because of others. Interpreting motivation theory from these perspectives, we can say that the Kurdish children's social environment is constructed mostly by their parents during the early years of acquiring Turkish. Hence, this can make it difficult for children to find or create networks with the outer world at this age while preserving their own cultural and linguistic values, which denies them access to multicultural and multilinguistic diversity. And, in a real sense this is the situation of all Kurdish children in with rare exceptions.

2.4. Social Networks And Second Language Acquisition

In this section, I review the literature on social networks and second language acquisition, including information on Social Network Theory, and the content and structure of social networks. Finally, the key studies that have incorporated Social Network Theory in the study of second language acquisition are reviewed, and I finish with a description of Kurds in Turkey relative to Social Network Theory.

2.4.1. Social Network Theory

In order to understand fully the relationships between language and social categories with respect to native speakers' patterned use of language, Milroy (1987) drew on the concept of social network theory, a method of modeling behaviors that arose in sociology. The concepts of social network theory grew out of the need for a set of procedures "to examine the specifics of local practice and local conditions, which are sensitive to the local social categories and locally contracted ties with which speakers operate in their everyday lives" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Social networks are a way of "capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' variable language behaviors" rather than as social categories parallel to class, gender, or ethnicity (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Milroy's goal, with a focus on variability within language practices of native speakers, was to integrate the research on linguistic and social variation at the individual and community level with research that relates language variation to social class, that is to integrate the micro and macro levels and show that they embody complementary rather than conflicting perspectives.

A social network can be conceived of as the people with whom an individual interacts with on a regular basis. Networks consist of *Network Zones* beginning with *First Order Network Ties*, which are a speaker's direct contacts, and *Second Order Network Ties*, which are indirect links (i.e., friends of friends). First order ties can be further broken down into *Strong Ties* (friends and kin) and *Weak Ties* (acquaintances) (Milroy, 1987; Milroy & Gordon, 2003). On a societal level, strong ties have the effect of norm reinforcement, in which the language variety spoken by the community is legitimized and supported in that community. Weak ties lead to overall social cohesion (Milroy & Milroy, 1992) and can encourage language change and, by extension, language shift.

2.4.2. Content and Structure of Social Networks

Individuals have different kinds of networks present in their lives in terms of *content* and *structure*. Some important content or interactional characteristics of network ties include *multiplexity*, which refers to the number of links between pairs of speakers (Milroy, 1987). A structural characteristic of network ties is *density*, or the proportion of persons linked to other persons in the network (Milroy, 1987). "These personal communities are constituted by interpersonal ties of different types and strengths, and structural relationships between links can vary. Particularly, the persons to whom an individual is linked may also be tied to each other to varying degrees" (p. 53). Finally, networks can be considered to be *closed* or *open* depending on the number and density of local social contacts. Closed networks have a relatively large number of local social contacts whereas open networks have a relatively small number of local social contacts.

In order to understand to what degree these networks have influence on individuals' linguistic behaviors, network theory turns to exchange theory to define types of network structures. *Exchange Networks*, including family and close friends, and *Interactive Networks*, including acquaintances, are present in the first order network ties. *Passive Networks* are more distant and present in the second order network ties (Milroy, 1992). Social networks act as mechanisms for exchanging goods and services (Milroy, 1987). "A fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create personal communities to provide a meaningful framework for solving the problems of daily life" (p. 115). Individuals rely on exchange networks for emotional and material support, and though individuals may frequently interact with interactive networks, they do not rely on these ties. Passive ties enable a person to access a range of valuable information, goods, and services that might not be available of interactive networks (Lybeck, 2002).

Individuals within exchange networks are likely to use the same linguistic variants as their network members whereas interactive networks are unlikely to enforce norms and are open to variation and change (Lybeck, 2002). Similarly, networks that are made up of strong (dense and multiplex) ties support localized linguistic norms and resist pressures from competing external norms. In terms of a bilingual system with dominant and minority languages, strong ties and exchange networks support the existence of minority languages. However, when networks are weak or weaken, conditions arise for language shift to occur (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Hence, a network analysis can help to account for why a particular community successfully supports a linguistic system that stands in opposition to a legitimized, mainstream set of norms, and why another system might be less focused or more sensitive to external influences (Milroy & Gordon, 2003).

2.4.3. Incorporating Social Network Theory in Second Language Acquisition

Many studies have found that second language learners who are able to engage in exchange networks with native speakers will experience less distance than learners who do not have native speakers in their exchange networks, thereby improving the formers' L2. Gullestad (1991) made clear that in cultures like Norway in which networks are very cohesive and close-knit, it is highly likely that the L2 learner will not engage in exchange networks, thereby naturally increasing the social distance. These issues also have direct implications for potential social factors such as cultural patterns, cohesiveness, enclosure, and attitudinal and motivational orientations.

The degree of enclosure has direct connections with group members' social networks (Milroy, 1987). For example, in the case of Turkish and Greek immigrant communities in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s, adult members often were blue-collar male workers who tended to live in semi-closed communities and thus had limited access to the dominant language, German.

Lybeck (2002) proposed the use of Milroy's (1987) Social Network Theory to operationalize the degree of social distance experienced by the learner. Lybeck used Milroy's claims that linguistic norms are influenced by a person's relationships with others via strong or weak exchange and interactive and passive ties to study the second language pronunciation of Americans living in Norway and learning Norwegian based on Schumann's acculturation theory. However Lybeck eliminated the distinction between the social network theory and Schumann's acculturation theory asserting that many psychological variables can be understood as social constructs and that many social variables differ among members of the same group. She combined acculturation theory and social networks labeling them "cultural distance."

2.4.4. Social Networks of Kurds in Turkey

As I have pointed out earlier, we can place Kurds into three categories in terms of language use: Turkish monolinguals, Kurdish monolinguals, and Kurdish-Turkish bilinguals. It is almost impossible to remain a Kurdish monolingual if a Kurd lives in an urban area outside the southeast region of the country. In this case, often the first generation after migration is bilingual and afterwards can be assimilated and become fully Turkish monolinguals, depending on the content and structure of network ties. In the case of rural Kurds living in monolingual villages, the tendency is to be monolingual in Kurdish until the start of formal education. Afterwards, if remaining in the monolingual area, the speaker's dominant language will remain Kurdish, using Turkish only when traveling to urban areas or when interacting with Turkish monolinguals.

For an analysis of the social networks of Kurds in Turkey, we turn to a conflict model based ultimately on Marx's work. Rickford (1986) suggested an approach to the analysis of social class in which divergences in a society are based on interests and values between the classes as opposed to considering society as an integrated system. Richford suggested that the ethnographic conflict perspective in sociolinguistic class analysis would be helpful based on variability within a language. Considering the history as well as the current situation, we can hypothesize that social networks based on conflict, division, and inequality can best account for the many patterns of the social network of Kurds and the variability between the two languages. These networks are affected by factors of *social class, geographical situation, ideology, education, nationalism, ethnicity,* and *gender.*

Milroy considered the most significant relationships to be those of *kin, work, neighborhood,* and *friendship* in her Belfast study of language variation within English there (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Depending on the factors, these four types of relationships likely have an effect on the density and multiplexity of the networks of Kurds in Turkey. For instance, Kurds historically have been organized according to a tribal structure, where kin is the most important tie influencing life decisions. In modern times, the tribal structures have loosened but not disappeared. In rural areas, family is still considered to be very important, with a network of relatives living in the same village or neighboring villages. In these rural areas, most of the work is agricultural, where one's neighbors are also the people with whom one works and whom one considers as friends (multiplexity), and every person in the village knows one another in some capacity (density). In spite of the fact that there is institutional pressure from the government imposing the Turkish language, in rural areas, people speak Kurdish in their homes, in the street, on their farms, and so forth.

In contrast, in urban areas, the components of the network depend on a number of factors. First, if living in a predominantly Kurdish urban area (i.e., a city in the southeast), family may be far, but work colleagues, neighbors, and friends are likely to be Kurds as well, reinforcing the use of Kurdish. Network density and multiplexity may be less in these areas, but most of the population speaks Kurdish as opposed to Turkish. In urban areas outside the Kurdish region of the country, Kurds still live in pockets or neighborhoods where Kurdish is still the main language used in the neighborhood, but outside that pocket, Turkish is the main language. Networks are less dense and multiplex than before, but more so than in areas where the main form of communication is Turkish and neighbors and friends can be Turkish speakers. In urban areas outside of the southeast region of Turkey, all friends and acquaintances will most likely be Turkish speakers, and to some extent, institutional pressure from the Turkish government in the southeast has made Turkish the main workplace language.

Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), in her study of the urbanization of a rural dialect of speakers in Brazil, also described communities that have recently migrated from rural areas to urban areas, defining *Insulated* (Kinsfolk and Neighbors) vs. *Integrated* (Urban, less *Multiplex*, wider social contexts) networks. She used the Integration index to assess relevant characteristics of the persons with whom a migrant most frequently interacts, measuring progress in the transition from an insulated to an integrated type of network. Also, the Urbanization index with it focus on the characteristics of members of a speaker's personal network such as educational level and mobility can be used to assess the extent to which the speaker's contacts are integrated into urban life

In many ways, Kurds who seek closer ties with Turks can be seen to have the same motivation as the women in Gal's (1978) study, where individuals were measured in terms of the relative "peasantness" of their networks. In Turkey, Kurds who strive to learn Turkish and build as many networks with Turks as possible have the motivation of raising their socio-economic status in a society that is dominated by Turks. Without the Turkish language, a person is destined to remain in agricultural work or manual labor, but with more education and better mastery of the Turkish language, Kurds have a better chance of succeeding academically and professionally and therefore raising their standards of living.

Turkish dominant networks have the capacity to impose their linguistic and cultural norms on Kurds who try to maintain their linguistic and cultural identity in these networks that provide them security, jobs, education, etc. If Kurds do not have jobs, education, or security expectations in their networks with Turks, then they are likely to use their strong ties and stick to their Kurdish norms. Kurds who do not seek to raise their standard of living through education and job success in the dominant linguistic market have put effective sanctions on the use of Turkish as an alternative linguistic market. So, when a Kurdish boy speaks Turkish, his Kurdish friends may ridicule him. However, if he is in a dominant Turkish network, it might be just the opposite depending on the ideology and identity of his friends.

As I have mentioned earlier, the motivations for acquiring Turkish absolutely fluently are great. Therefore, any pressure that would keep a Kurdish student from attaining absolute fluency in the Turkish language would also have to be great. As suggested previously with social network theory, strong network ties help to sustain a variety that is not seen as legitimate in the face of enormous institutional pressure as there is in Turkey, and weak ties will aid in language shift away from one variety to another.

Therefore Kurds who have stronger ties with the Kurdish-speaking community have more incentive to maintain their use of Kurdish and resist attaining Turkish to a native-like level. This is especially true in situations where teachers fail to provide frequent interactions that could maximize opportunities of exposure to Turkish for these children. Considering the quality of teachers who must almost be forced to go teach in these areas, such situations are not exceptions. Given the ideological and nationalistic realities of the Turkish Republic, it is possible for Kurds to be accepted fully as Turks provided that they speak Turkish without a Kurdish accent and express and practice a citizenship unified under the Turkish flag.

In addition, Taylor et al. (1977) suggested that when minority groups are involved in a struggle for cultural and linguistic survival in the face of threatened assimilation by more dominant groups, for some individuals, anticipated rewards of learning a second language do not balance out the perceived costs in terms of loss to ethnic or cultural identity. Alternatively, Kurds with weak ties have less of an incentive to maintain the use of the Kurdish language and generally cannot resist the shift to Turkish that the formal educational setting encourages.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The major question that this one-year, cross-sectional quantitative and qualitative study addressed was whether there is a relationship between socio-psychological factors and the phonological aspects of second language acquisition in the specific case studied. I hypothesized, with socio-constructivism acting as background learning theory, that language identity and social network theories, along with Deci's motivation theory, could account for the acquisition of a regional Turkish accent (RTA) to varying degree by Kurds living in Eastern Turkey. In terms of research objectives, this study aimed to determine whether there were relationships among accent, motivation, and identity as well as determining how these related to the participants' social networks.

Considering the substantial amount of previous research, I chose my hypothesis to be directional in terms of the presumed main and interaction predicting a positive relationship between the variables and the acquisition of a regional Turkish accent. My overall quantitative research design, as far as the variables were concerned, was based on a descriptive cross-sectional design. The quantitative analyses were done through correlation and multiple regression tests using a StatView software program. Some qualitative analysis was also used for richer descriptions and triangulation purposes.

More specifically, the purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the acquisition of a regional Turkish accent and Deci's taxonomy of human motivation (external regulation, introjection, identification and integration) in interaction with various degrees of language identity (specifically self, ideal self, identification with the Turkish-speaking community, and identification with the Kurdish-speaking community) and social networks (exchange, interactive, and passive). Regional Turkish accent was operationalzed as “passing as a native speaker of regional Turkish accent.”

3.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions included:

1. How native-like is the participants’ accent when speaking Turkish as rated on a global scale from 1 to 5? In order to understand participants’ proficiency in their L2 accent, it was of utmost importance that the degree of their accent in terms of native-likeness was determined and categorized accordingly before other data collection.

2. Within this particular setting, what are the identity patterns of the Kurdish-speaking community, and how do these patterns relate to level of regional Turkish accent among those in the sample? The answer to this question was also essential in that it provided a clear picture and a thorough analysis of the identification patterns of the participants with the Kurdish and Turkish-speaking communities in Erzurum.

3. Do the different motivational orientations significantly relate to attainment in native-like accent? Because I also wanted to complement the social factors with psychological aspects of the Kurds’ interactions with members of the Turkish-speaking community, I assessed what individuals brought into the contexts of their acquisition of a regional Turkish accent with regard to their self-regulatory motivational orientations.

4. What are the social networks of the Kurdish-speaking community, and how do these network zones relate to speakers’ level of regional Turkish accent? As another

aspect of the interaction analysis of the Kurds in the region, I asked this question to help determine the density and multiplexity of my participants' social networks, providing more data on the background of Kurds' integration patterns and social interactions.

5. Do age and gender also relate to level of regional Turkish accent? Considering the studies on gender as well as age effects with regard to social-psychological factors in second language acquisition, I was interested in seeing how these effects came into play in interaction with various levels of the variables involved in this study.

3.3. PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study included 133 students at three public middle and high schools in Erzurum, Turkey. Twelve participants were removed from the data analysis for different reasons. Five filled in only one questionnaire and did not return to fill out the rest. Four withdrew from the study because they felt uncomfortable about the identity questionnaire. Three chose the same responses for all questions on all or most questionnaires. Hence, the data from a total of 121 participants were used in this study.

Participants' ages ranged from 13 to 18. Sixty (49.5%) participants were from middle schools and fell between the age range of 13-14 while the ages of participants from high schools (n= 61, 50.5%) ranged from 16 to 18. There were more male (n= 65, 53.7%) than female (n= 56, 46.3%) participants in the study. All participants were ethnically Kurdish and had been born and lived in Erzurum all of their lives. They had received all their education in Turkish. Only seven participants had spent some time in another city other than Erzurum, and the amount of time ranged from one week to two months. The descriptive statistics are presented in the table below.

Table 3.1. Distribution of Participants across Gender and Grade Levels

Participants	**Number of Boys**	**Number of Girls**	**Total**
High School	**37 (61%)**	**24 (39%)**	**61**
Middle School	**28 (47%)**	**32 (53%)**	**60**

The participants consisted of individuals who had grown up speaking Kurdish with little axposure to the Turkish language, and consecutive bilinguals who had been monolingual in Kurdish until they had begun formal education in Turkish, around 6 or 7 years of age. In both cases, because the youngest participants in this study were at least in 7th grade, all participants had a fairly good spoken and written command of standard Turkish. Nevertheless, in terms of whether inferences from this particular study could be generalized beyond this sample, it is of vital importance to note that although approximately 70 percent of Kurdish children living in urban areas get middle-school education, yet only around 30 or 40 percent of them receive a high school education in eastern Turkey due to their families' financial shortcomings. Therefore, students in the high school sample may represent a slightly higher socio-economic status level.

Considering the overall poor economic situation of the city, participants were mostly from low socio-economic backgrounds. Participants were selected on the basis of random sampling in accordance with assumptions of inferential statistics procedures I used, and qualitative descriptions came from the population that was representative of the young Kurdish-speaking people in the city. Participants were from three schools that were ethnically diverse in order to make sure that all kinds of social networks were available to them.

3.4. SETTING

My setting, the city of Erzurum, has a population of around 650,000 with a medium-level socio-economic level (according to the socio-economic rankings of cities in Turkey) and a university of 42,000 students; it is a fairly traditional and historical city in the eastern part of Turkey. The Kurdish population is reported to be approximately 16% of the city.

Apart from many reasons such as personal contacts that helped me gain access to the schools and participants, there were more important reasons for why I had chosen this particular setting. Most importantly, Erzurum did not have a history of extremism in terms of the long-lasting ethnic clashes between the Kurdish separatists and the Turkish government despite the significant Kurdish population in the city. Given the study objectives, this project could not possibly have been conducted in settings in which inter-cultural interactions were either socio-psychologically denied to people or one culture had entirely assimilated into the other. Therefore, in a city like Diyarbakir, which has a history of a significant number of people who either supported the Kurdish separatists or who are politically affiliated with the PKK, or in some parts of Istanbul where second-generation Kurdish children have become monolingual Turkish speakers, this study would not have been possible.

3.5. BACKGROUND AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONSTRUCTS

As it is unanimously acknowledged by social science researchers, operationalizations of the constructs on which the research questions are based is integral to the research design of a study. Hence, first, my participants' native-like accent was represented by “Passing as a native speaker” on a scale of 1 to 5. A score of 1 stood for “Definitely non-native; very strong foreign accent” whereas 5 stood for “Definitely native; no foreign accent.” The degree to which their global accent was like a regional Turkish accent was measured by the judges’ ratings of the participants’ recorded speeches. The accent data came from asking participants to read aloud one paragraph. Researchers such as Bongaerts (1999) and Birdsong (2004) have collected quantitative data using similar rating scales and procedures in determining native-likeness of global foreign accents. Validity and reliability issues regarding these methods have been addressed by these scholars.

3.6. PARAGRAPH READ-ALOUD AND LINGUISTIC FEATURES

During the construction of the paragraph for the read-aloud, I needed to consider such issues as literacy, level of difficulty, length, topic, gender, and age as well as the overall quality of representation of the distinguishing features of regional Turkish accent. The paragraph is about the city of Erzurum, and the English translation is below.

Bizim Erzurum da iklim Türkiyenin diğer yerlerinden bayağı farklıdır. İlkbaharı harbi harbi yaşarız; karların erimesini, Nisan yağmurlarını, ağaçların ve etrafın yeşermesini iliklerimize kadar hissederiz. Yaz gelince her taraf rengareng çiçeklerle süslenir. Hayatımızın da en eğlenceli zamanı gelmiş olur. Her taraf üfül üfül kokar. Gerçi havanın çok sıcak olduğu zamanlar da vardır ama, biz yine de bir çok şehirden daha şanslıyız. Sonbaharın ayrı bir tadı vardır. Sıcaklar yavaş yavaş azalır, ve yapraklar dökülür. Haliyle etrafta bir kış hazırlığı başlar. Ama kış geldiğinde her sey değişir; her taraf bembeyaz olur. Soğuklar bir bastırır ki bir anda hayatımızın en önemli ihtiyacı yakacak olur. Maalesef yapacak bir şey yok. Altı ayımız kar altında üşüyerek geçer. İste bizim Erzurum böyledir. Kışın bizi biraz üzsede biz ona asla küsmeyiz. Onu başka hiç bir şehirle değişmeyiz.

English Translation

Climate is quite different in Erzurum from the other cities in Turkey. We truly experience the coming of spring to our very senses; the melting of snow, April showers, the blossoming of trees and green medows. When summer comes, everywhere is filled with colorful flowers, which foreshadows the coming of the best times in our lives. Smells and fragrances are everywhere. Although, sometimes it gets a little too hot, we are luckier than most other cities. Fall has a different taste to it. It starts getting cooler and cooler, and trees begin dropping their leaves. Soon, winter preparations start. When winter comes, everything changes; snow is everywhere. It gets so cold that "heating" becomes the most important thing in our lives. Unfortunately, there is nothing we can about it, and we live with snow freezing for six months. That is how Erzurum is. It makes us a little unhappy in winter, but we never get miffed at it. It is better than all other cities.

Note that the distinguishing features were highlighted in the paragraph only for the judges to help them distinguish, for example, between a level 2 and a 2. 5 and thereby make their judgments more precise in such cases where a global rating could not sufficiently distinguish between levels. The features are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Linguistic Features Used in the Identification of Kurdish Learners' Nativelikeness of Turkish Accent

Linguistic Features	Kurdish Pronunciation	Turkish Pronunciation
di**ğ**er	ʁ	J
bayağ**ı**	İ	ɨ
far**k**lıdır	Q	K
harbi	X	H
erimes**ini**	ɨni	Ini
y**e**şermesini	Ë	ε
hissederiz	Ħ	H
ren**ga**reng	G	g^j
çiçe**k**lerle	G	K
ol**ur**	ɨr	Ur
üfül	U	Y
vardır	W	V
yavaş	Ye	Ya
so**ğuk**lar	ʁɪx	Ğuk
maalesef	mεʔ	Maa

The opinions and attitudes of the participants regarding the target language community based on certain topics in the target culture represented their identification patterns with the target community. Certain aspects of language identity such as perceptions about the *self (S)*, perceptions about the ideal *self (IS),* perceptions about the *Kurdish-speaking community (K),* and perceptions about the *Turkish-speaking community (T)* needed to be investigated for these young members of the Kurdish-speaking community in Turkey due to historical and current cultural, political, and economic realities in order to assume any potential connection between identity and the acquisition of the regional Turkish accent.

Hence, certain demographic information and qualitative data were collected through interviews and observations. As for other aspects of identity, a questionnaire was created to measure degree of identification with the language communities (Appendix B) with regards to the identification aspects that applied most relevantly to the objectives and context of this project.

Here, I benefited from earlier studies by Spolsky (1957) and Oller (1978) in creating a new questionnaire using the semantic differential technique. The questionnaire was also meant to measure a more facilitating versus less facilitating language learning situation based on an overall analysis of sums of individual scores. Considering lack of previous empirical validation of such questionnaires, validity and reliability issues are addressed in the data analysis section of this study.

Third, participants' motivational orientations were measured through a questionnaire partially based on Deci's (Deci & Ryan, 1989, 1995) taxonomy of human motivation (Appendix C). The quantitative data consisted of mean scores on each subscale. Although the validity of this scale has been argued by Ryan and Connell (1989), because of the fact that this questionnaire had been modified to fit my context, they needed to be re-addressed, and results of these validity and reliability concerns are presented in the data analysis section.

Finally, participants' social networks (exchange, interactive, and passive) were determined through a social network questionnaire based on Milroy (1980, 1987, 2003) (Appendix D). *Exchange networks* include family and close friends and *interactive networks includ*e acquaintances who are present in the first order network ties. *Passive networks*, on the other hand, are more distant and are present in the second order network ties. Participants indicated the structure and content of their networks in terms of with whom, why, when, and how often they interacted with people who were outside their family circle, what the nature of their relationships was, and which language they used when interacting. This part of my data enabled me to calculate density and multiplexity of my participants' exchange, interactive, and passive networks across rating levels.

Due to the focus and objectives of this project, networks with immediate family members were also analyzed separately because some participants were assumed to have been exposed to the Turkish language if older siblings or other immediate family members spoke Turkish to a significant degree due to being at college, for example, which might have affected the participants' acquisition of a regional Turkish accent. Although the majority of the data was measured quantitatively, some aspects of the social network analysis on this variable were collected and analyzed only qualitatively.

3.7. Data Collection

In my inquiry into the exploration of socio-psychological factors associated with the attainment of a more native-like accent, I chose several methods that I deemed were compatible with the phenomenon and theories under study. These research methods appropriately correspond to the social theories of second language acquisition (Ellis, 1999, Krashen, 1987; Schumann, 1978, Spolsky, 1969, 1989), motivation theories (Deci and Ryan, 1985, 2000), sociolinguistic theories (Labov, 1972; Milroy, 1987), and socio-cultural theory (Bruner, 1981; Vygotsky, 1987) which somewhat pinpoint the significance of the role that social interactions and factors play in language learning and development.

I must acknowledge that the complexity of constructs, phenomena, and variables involved in this study necessitated the use of numerous data collection and analyses methods which make it difficult to categorize this study either as a qualitative or quantitative study, or a mixed method study (Merriam, 1998). On the one hand, for several reasons one could argue that by methodological orientation this project is qualitative, maybe even an ethnographic case study of the young people of Kurdish origin learning Turkish in Turkey. Following the qualitative principle that considers whole as being greater than the sum of the parts, this study situates participants' motivation, identity patterns, and social networks into their broader socio-cultural, ideological, and political context. Also, through interview and observation data, this study provides substantial consistency in participants' processes and patterns of socialization. Last but not least, qualitative research involves fieldwork, which helps the researcher construct a better understanding of the social context, and as a participant observer, I spent approximately 10 months in the field colleting interview and observation data regarding participants' patterns of socialization and language acquisition.

On the other hand, it can be argued that my study is a quantitative study for several other reasons. First, I made use of the positivist and deductive approach of quantitative research that uses questionnaires, classifies features, counts them, and constructs statistical models in an attempt to explain what had been observed. Also, quantitative approach helped me to determine in advance what I was looking for in clearly delineated steps and to design carefully all aspects of my study before I began collecting my data. Finally, enforced on me as the researcher was the selection of a large representative sample, and these quantitative data helped me ground my interpretations of my findings and question their generalizability to larger populations by means of statistical significance tests.

For rigorous and conclusive implications and generalizations in addition to numerous procedures of qualitative and quantitative methods, I also used my field notes as well as anecdotal records as secondary data collection sources. All documents were in Turkish, but during the semi-structured interviews in a very few instances, a few participants either code-switched or mixed their languages. In such cases, I was the only person interacting with the participants, and because Kurdish is also my mother tongue, translation or rater reliability issues should not be of much concern.

3.7.1. Quantitative Data and Procedures

Participants were asked to read one paragraph aloud in Turkish. Their voices were overtly recorded using a Sony Digital Voice Recorder ICD-ST25. The read-aloud paragraph was created in collaboration with a Turkish linguist to assess certain phonological features of a regional Turkish accent in order to determine the native-likeness of the participants' Turkish accent. As part of the selection criteria, the short paragraph was meticulously created to contain quintessential sound features that would help distinguish between the idiolects of native speakers of a native regional Turkish accent and the actual Kurdish accent when speaking Turkish in that region.

There were six judges who were ethnically Turkish and native speakers of the regional Turkish accent, and I acted as the seventh judge in this study; however, ultimately the scores of the most conservative and liberal judges were eliminated, and only the ratings of five judges were used. The judges, who consisted of three college graduate men and two college graduate women, were carefully trained for the speech rating task by me and an expert in the regional Turkish accent, someone who was a Turkish linguist at a local university. For training, in cooperation with the regional Turkish accent expert, I created sample recordings for each native-like level of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and had each judge listen to these recordings. In the training session, we explained what made each level different from the other levels.

All raters underwent a 50-minute session about how to rate the samples, and were asked to follow strictly certain rules: listen to all samples at least once before beginning to rate, use all possibly points based on the 5-point scale, rate samples in assigned blocks and orders, listen to the samples again if needed, refrain from rating literacy or reading accuracy, start judging after the first sentence, if needed simultaneously look at the sound distinguishing features highlighted in the paragraph while listening, and finally, contact the researcher in case of any confusion. Some judges did meet with me to clarify certain points about their ratings. Furthermore, judges were allowed to make their accent judgment ratings using half point rather than simply using the whole scale points, and most of them did so. In this way, the scale became a 9-point scale allowing for more specificity in determining participants' regional Turkish accent levels.

A Background Information Questionnaire (BIQ), a Language Identity Questionnaire (LIQ), a Social Network Questionnaire (SNQ), and a Self-Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ) were administered to all participants (Appendices: A, B, C, D). All questionnaires were given to participants separately and in groups of no more than 8 to 20 students at a time depending on the circumstances. All questions had been translated into Turkish by me.

The background information questionnaire consisted of 11 items aiming to collect information regarding participants' general, ethnic, and linguistic background. The language identity questionnaire consisted of four sections based on a list of 30 positive words/phrases that could be used to describe people. Note that one of the items (stubborn) was also used in the list, and in order to make data analysis easier, the data based on this item were then reverse coded. Participants were asked to think of each word as it might describe them-*Self (S)* (List 1), how well it might describe the way they would like to be-*Ideal-Self (IS),* how well it might describe *Kurdish-speaking people (K)* (List 2), and how well it might describe *Turkish-speaking people (T)*, on a scale from 1 meaning "Not at all" to 5 meaning "Very well".

The social networks questionnaire consisted of 12 items aiming to identify the content and structure of participants in terms of exchange, interactive, and passive networks. The social network questionnaire included items regarding very close non-family networks such as classmates, teammates, neighbors and teachers, coaches and acquaintances, while family networks included parents, siblings, grandparents, and other family members. Participants were asked to report both density and multiplexity of their exchange, interactive, and passive networks. They were asked to report for each network which language they used and how frequently, how long they had known each person, where they typically interacted, why and how often they met, and how close they thought they were.

Finally, the self regulation questionnaire consisted of five sections including questions such as: Why do I do my Turkish homework? Why do I work on my Turkish class work? Why do I try to answer hard questions in Turkish class? Why do I learn

Turkish? Why should I be concerned about speaking Turkish like a native speaker? The 29-item questionnaire aimed to determine participants' external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation, and integration regulation. There were equal numbers of items for each orientation (Identification had 8 items). The self regulation questionnaire also aimed to provide data regarding participants' motivational orientations in terms of the degree of their autonomy. Items were answered on the basis of a 1-to-4 scale, with 1 being "Not at all true" and 4 being "Very true."

3.7.2. Qualitative Data and Procedures

Qualitative data were primarily used to elucidate the processes of participants' experiences of language socialization and included semi-structured interviews, observations, field notes, and anecdotal records. Only a representative sample of participants (20; 17 %) across accent levels, gender, and age groups were selected to be interviewed and observed.

Interviews consisted of 10 structured and some follow-up questions for each variable of identity, motivation, and social networks. Therefore, each participant answered the same 30 structured and several follow-up questions while being tape-recorded. Interview questions (Appendix E) were rather specific and included questions such as: In what ways do you think speaking with a native-like accent can affect your life? What do you think about the Turkish-speaking community? In terms of learning Turkish, how important do you think it is to hang out with people from the Turkish community?

Observations, on the other hand, were conducted in class and/or on other school premises using an observation chart. Considering the self-reported nature of data collection through questionnaires and potential validity issues, three observations were conducted on the participants at school including playgrounds and student canteens. A very few observations were conducted for a few participants in their out-of-school concepts.

3.8. DATA ANALYSIS

For the quantitative data analysis, I used multiple correlations and regressions, T-tests, (M)ANOVAs and percentile tables and graphs because I had three variables each with many levels (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991). For example, my language identity variable had four levels: perceptions about *self (S), ideal self (IS), the Kurdish-speaking community (K), and the Turkish-speaking community (T).* Essentially, for motivation and identity data I used means to account for the relationship between the variables and their levels and the accent ratings. I also classified and analyzed the data to determine if age and gender related to accent native-likeness. Here, I compared participants' mean scores across age and gender groups. Note that social network data were not subjected to inferential statistics and only descriptive conclusions regarding the content and nature of both family and non-family exchange, interactive, and passive networks for participants in each rating level are provided.

One part of my data was analyzed very early in the beginning processes of data collection. I analyzed my Background Information Questionnaire in order to determine if a student was eligible to be a participant in the study as far as the participant selection criteria were concerned. The rest of the data was analyzed after all data had been collected. Then, I analyzed the judges' scores on "native-likeness" based on the scale from 1-5, with 1 meaning "definitely non-native speaker" and 5 meaning "definitely native speaker" of a regional Turkish accent.

Then, I analyzed my quantitative data gathered through language identity questionnaire and self regulation questionnaires to determine the relationship between their identification with the Turkish/Kurdish-speaking communities, their forms and degree of motivation, and the native-likeness of their accent. Next, I re-categorized my quantitative data to run the inferential statistics tests across gender and age groups as variables. Finally, I qualitatively provided some representative interviews and observation data to triangulate the self-reported data.

As for the social network variable, first the density and multiplexity of the participants' non-family exchanges, the interactive and passive network scores were analyzed based on the social network questionnaire using descriptive percentages. Then, the analysis of the nature and content of their family networks were provided. Finally, some qualitative analysis of interview data and observations were conducted. First, I looked for possible gender and age relations with accent native-likeness. Interview data were transcribed and analyzed separately for each variable. Due to the nature of the private information gathered through the follow-up questions, only edited parts of data were included in this report.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter examines the results of the research questions outlined previously. The data were analyzed using the Statview software for Windows. A standard alpha level of 0.05 was used for determining significance. Across some tests, there were very few instances where participants failed to complete certain items on the questionnaires, and in such partial missing data cases, means were calculated excluding these items. However, in cases where participants failed to complete one or more sections of the questionnaires, their data were entirely removed from the project.

4.1. PRELIMINARY ANALYSES

4.1.1. Obtaining Ratings of Accent

All participants were Kurdish by ethnic origin but had learned Turkish as a second language and received all their education in Turkish. However, they had had different experiences of exposure to Turkish both before and during the age of schooling. The participants consisted of speakers who had grown up in homes where both Turkish and Kurdish were spoken, as well as speakers who were monolingual in Kurdish until they had entered formal education in Turkish, around 6 or 7 years of age. Therefore, based on their individual experiences with Turkish, their accent showed a significant degree of variation relative to a native-like accent. Therefore, the first step involved obtaining ratings of the degree to which each participant's read-aloud of a paragraph written in Turkish approached a native-like Turkish accent. In the section below, I report of how the judges were trained and on the distribution of ratings for my participants.

4.1.2. Judge Training

All raters underwent a 50-minute session about how to rate the samples, and were asked to follow strictly certain rules such as: listen through all samples at least once before beginning to rate, use all possible points on the 1 to 5-scale, rate samples in assigned blocks and orders, listen to the samples again if needed, refrain from rating literacy or reading accuracy, start judging after the first sentence, if needed simultaneously look at the written paragraph with the sound distinguishing feature highlighted (Table 3.3) while listening, and finally contact the researcher in case of any confusion. Some judges met with me to clarify certain points about their ratings. In cases where they had difficulty identifying a participant as, for example, a 1.5 or 2. Several judges reported that they occasionally needed to consult these features to settle their judgments in such situations.

4.1.3. Reliability of Ratings

Participants' accent native-likeness was rated by seven Turkish native speaker judges. The ratings of the most liberal and conservative judges were excluded from the data analysis, leaving five trained judges' ratings to be used in calculating a mean score for each participant. These mean scores showed a great deal of variation in participants' accents. The recordings of the Turkish native speakers were intermixed with those of the Kurdish students during the training process of the judges; however they were excluded from the actual rating process. The average rating for native Turkish speakers was 4.97, with a range of 4.6-4.8, suggesting that the judges were able to identify variation in accent accurately on those global pronunciation judgments.

As shown in Table 4.1.3.1, the following inter-rater reliability coefficients were obtained for the raters' judgments on the read-aloud paragraph of all participants together:

Just as the high degree of uniformity among the ratings of native Turkish speakers used during the training of judges indicated the rating patterns of the judges, using a global accent rating procedure, suggest that they were in agreement in their ratings of the Kurdish participants' accent as they read aloud in Turkish. The reliability coefficients above show acceptable levels for this kind of research.

Table 4.1.3.1. Inter-Rater Reliability Coefficients among Judges

Judges	All Samples
1-2	.88
1-3	.87
1-4	.89
1-5	.86
2-3	.85
2-4	.89
2-5	.87
3-4	.89
3-5	.86
4-5	.86

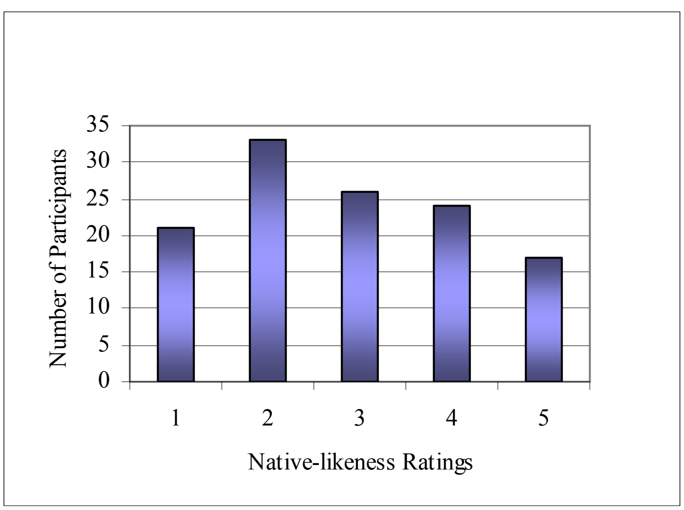
4.2. RELATIONSHIP OF IDENTITY AND MOTIVATION WITH ACCENT NATIVE-LIKENESS

4.2.1. Degree of Variation in Participants' Accent

The first research question in this study concerns the degree of native-likeness of participants' Turkish accent. More specifically, the research question was: [1] How native-like is the participants' accent when speaking Turkish as rated on a global scale from 1 to 5?

As seen in the graph below, 21 (17 %) participants received accent rating averages between 1 and 1.4, and 33 (27 %) participants received averages between 1.5 and 2.4. The ratings of 26 (22 %) participants ranged from 2.5 to 3.4 while 24 (20 %) participants received ratings between 3.5 and 4.4. The fewest number of students (n=17; 14%) received accent ratings between 4.5 and 4.8.

Graph 4.2.1.1. Accent Variation Ratings



As far as the distribution of participants across ratings of accent, of the 21 (17%) participants in level 1, 90 % were boys and 62 % were from middle schools. Of the 33 individuals in level 2, 82 % of participants were girls but the difference between the number of middle and high school participants was only 4%. Level 3 consisted of more boys (58 %) than girls as well as more middle (54 %) than high school participants. The difference between the numbers of girls and boys in level 4 and 5 was noticeable. Of 24 (20 %) participants in level 4, 79 % participants were girls and 54 % were from high school. Table 4.2.1.2 shows that the majority (82 %) of participants in level 5 was female, 71 % of whom were high school students.

Table 4.2.1.2. Distribution of Participants across Gender, Age and Accent Ratings

R. Levels	**Girls**	**Boys**	**M. School**	**H. School**	**Total**
1	2	19	13	8	21
2	6	27	17	16	33
3	15	11	14	12	26
4	19	5	11	13	24
5	14	3	5	12	17
Total	**56**	**65**	**60**	**61**	**121**

4. 2. 2. Multiple Regression Results

Multiple regression is a statistical analysis procedure that is used to predict the variance in a dependent variable based on linear combinations of interval data from several independent variables. Using this procedure, we can add cross-product terms as independent variables to explore interaction effects at certain significance levels (Miles, 2001).

A multiple regression analyses test was performed to determine whether statistically significant relationships existed among accent ratings, identity patterns, and motivational orientations. This multiple regression model included mean scores of *Self, Ideal Self, Kurdish-speaking community,* and *Turkish-speaking community* as well as *External Regulation, Introjection, Identification* and *Integration* forms of motivation. The correlation matrix (Table 4.2.2.1.) shows the simple correlations among all variables.

Table 4.2.2.1. Correlation Matrix

	Ext. R. Means	Intrj. R. Means	Iden. R. Means	Integ.R. Means	Self Means	Ideal Means	KUR Means	TUR Means
Ext. R. Means	1.000							
Intrj. Means	.430	1.000						
Iden. Means	.318	.260	1.000					
Integ. Means	.330	.362	.579	1.000				
Self Means	.252	.193	.272	.249	1.000			
Ideal Means	.259	.126	.104	.114	.150	1.000		
KUR. Means	.137	.067	-.196	-.297	-.158	-.067	1.000	
TUR. Means	-.003	-.026	.306	.372	.222	.134	-.551	1.000

121 observations were used in this computation

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

Multiple regression requires that the data are measured as scores that are truly continuous and independent on X and Y variables; that the data are normally distributed through their normal range; and that the relationship between X and Y is linear (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991). The fact that both accent ratings and identity variables were measured using a Likert scale, which are conventionally accepted as being interval in nature and robust regarding the homogeneity of variance assumption, it is possible to use a correlational analysis as an appropriate procedure to examine this hypothesis (Field, 2000).

In the regression analysis inserting into the model all four orientations of motivation and four identity patterns as predictors of native-like Turkish accent, the overall r-squared, the relative predictive power of the model, was .76 ($p < .001$) and the adjusted r-squared was .75 ($p < .001$), indicating that these variables accounted for quite a bit of the variance in accent ratings. Although these correlations included mean scores for the identity as well as the motivation variables, the motivation coefficients will be addressed in another section that follows the report on the analysis of identity.

4.2.3. Regression Coefficients of Accent Native-likeness and Identity Patterns

The second major research question examined the relationship between accent native-likeness and identity patterns of the Kurdish young learners of Turkish. It was hypothesized that the learners whose identity patterns fell closest to those of the Turkish-speaking community would have a more native-like regional Turkish accent (RTA) than those who did not. More specifically, learners who attributed more positive values to both their *self* and *ideal self* and the *Turkish-speaking community* were predicted to have a more native-like Turkish accent than those whose attribution patterns regarding *self* and *ideal self* were different from the values attached to the *Turkish-speaking community*. In contrast, stronger *identification with the Kurdish-speaking community* was expected to act as a predictor of attaining a less native-like accent.

Using students' regressions to the semantic differential questionnaire, I calculated the means for each participant regarding *self, ideal self, identification with the Turkish-speaking community,* and *identification with the Kurdish-speaking community* in order to explore how these variables related to accent ratings. The semantic differential technique, an indirect method of investigating identity, consisted of 30 adjectives that sought to determine the degree to which individuals believed the adjectives defined their *Self, Ideal self, Turkish-speaking community and Kurdish-speaking community* on a scale from 1 "very negative" to 5 "very positive." Table 4.2.3.1 shows the mean scores and standard deviations for accent ratings as well as identification patterns of all participants.

Table 4.2.3.1. Means (SD) for Accent and Identity Variables

Variables	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Total**
Accent Ratings	2.1 (.75)	3.4 (1.0)	2.8 (1.1)
Self	4.2 (.30)	4.1 (.30)	4.3 (.30)
Ideal Self	4.1 (.20)	4.1 (.30)	4.1 (.30)
Identification-KUR	3.4 (.60)	4.1 (.40)	3.7 (.60)
Identification-TUR	3.7 (.70)	2.9 (.80)	3.4 (.90)

The hypothesis for this research question was as follows: Kurdish students who rated their identity patterns as close to those of the Turkish-speaking community would have higher accent ratings in Turkish than those who did not. Multiple regression coefficients were used to determine whether identity variables accounted for the variance in accent ratings.

In this model (r2.76; p < .001), a positive association between accent native-likeness and the amount of positive value attached to the Turkish-speaking community (degree of identification with the community) was found. Table 4.2.3.2. shows that the degree of *identification with the Turkish-speaking community* was a moderately positive and significant predictor of accent native-likeness (.31, p < 0.01). This indicated that as the degree of identification with the Turkish-speaking community increased, accent ratings increased. Because the predicted direction was positive, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Table 4.2.3.2. Relationships between Degree of Identification with the Language Communities and Accent Ratings

Regression Summary
All Ratings vs. 8 Independents

Count	121
Num. Missing	0
R	.875
R Squared	.765
Adjusted R Squared	.749
RMS Residual	.558

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-.664	1.200	-.664	-.554	.5810
Self Means	.220	.207	.057	1.061	.2912
Ideal Means	.423	.198	.112	2.138	.0346
KUR. Means	-.583	.106	-.344	-5.522	<.0001
TUR. Means	.420	.087	.306	4.798	<.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

The fact that participants in this study had access to both language communities, a high degree of identification with one language community did not imply lack of identification with the other one. Hence, measuring the students' degree of *identification with the Kurdish-speaking community* was also needed. It was hypothesized that the high amount of positive values attached to the *Kurdish-speaking community, self,* and *ideal self* would be a negative predictor of accent native-likeness.

As exhibited in the Table 4.2.3.2, data suggested that degree of *identification with the Kurdish-speaking community* was a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness (-.34 $p < 0.01$). This indicated that as the degree of identification with the Kurdish-speaking community increased, accent ratings decreased. This was also in the same direction as the predicted hypothesis. In other words, participants who attached a higher degree of positive values to the Kurdish-speaking community tended to have a less native-like Turkish accent. Hence, we can conclude that young Kurdish-speaking learners of Turkish who attached a higher degree of *identification with the Turkish-speaking community* attained a more native-like accent whereas a higher degree of *identification with the Kurdish-speaking community* suggested an association with less native-like Turkish accent.

4.3. (M)ANOVA AND REGRESSION RESULTS FOR IDENTITY AND ACCENT NATIVE-LIKENESS BY AGE AND GENDER

Various studies have investigated the relationship between gender and language in multi-lingual societies with regards to certain aspects of language learning, use, socialization, and motivation (Eckert & Sally, 2003; Gal, 1978, 1992; Ochs, 1993; Swann, 1993). Although results have been inconclusive regarding many of these variables, especially as far as language socialization and use are concerned, the relationship between gender and language variation has been reported to be rather stable. Therefore, I wanted to explore the relationship between language identity and accent native-likeness in boys and girls separately.

The distribution of male and female participants across rating levels was as shown in Table 4.3.1 In rating level 5, there are 14 girls and only 3 boys and similarly in level 4, there are 19 girls and only 5 boys. The number of female participants in the least native-like levels is remarkably low whereas the number of boys in these levels (Level 1 and 2) is much higher. There are 27 boys in level 2 and 19 in level 1 whereas there are only 6 girls in level 2 and 2 in level 1. Furthermore, girls obtained much higher accent rating means. The group mean for female participants is 3.480 (SD= .9) while it is only 2.193 (SD=.90) for the boys.

Table 4.3.1. Number of Male and Female Participants in Each Rating Level

Rating Levels	Number of Boys	Number of Girls	Total: N/121
5	3	14	17
4	5	19	24
3	11	15	26
2	27	6	33
1	19	2	21

4.3.1. ANOVA Results on Accent Native-likeness and Identity Patterns Separately for Female and Male Participants

An overall multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to compare boys and girls in terms the eight variables. Table 4.3.1.1 shows that as far as these variables were concerned the differences in the means between boys and girls were significant ($F= 7.84$, $p < .001$).

Table 4.3.1.1 MANOVA Results: Means of Boys and Girls Regarding Eight Variables

MANOVA Table for Ratings

	Value	F-Value	Num. DF	Den. DF	P-Value
S	1.000				
M	3.000				
N	55.000				
Wilks' Lambda	.641	7.837	8	112	<.0001
Roy's Greatest Root	.560	7.837	8	112	<.0001
Hotelling-Law ley Trace	.560	7.837	8	112	<.0001
Pillai Trace	.359	7.837	8	112	<.0001

The fact that MANOVA analyses suggested significant differences between boys and girls with respect to these variables allowed univariate analyses of the eight variables. Table 4.3.1.2 exhibits the means and standard deviations of each variable for boys and girls separately. I will report on the four motivation variables later, but here I focus on the identity variables.

Table 4.3.1.2. Boys' and Girls' Means (SD) on 8 Variables

Variables	**Boys**	**Girls**
Self	4.2 (.30)	4.1 (.30)
Ideal Self	4.1 (.20)	4.1 (.30)
Identification-KUR	3.4 (.60)	4.1 (.40)
Identification-TUR	3.7 (.70)	2.9 (.80)

A series of ANOVAs indicated that boys and girls significantly differed on identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* F (1, 119) = 51. 67, p <.001 and identification with the *Turkish-speaking community* F (1, 119) = 37. 27, p <.001. No significant differences were obtained for the other identity variables.

Findings suggested that boys' means were significantly higher than the girls' means for the outcomes of identification with the *Turkish-speaking community*. In contrast, girls' means were significantly higher than the boys' means regarding the outcome of identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community*.

Table 4.3.1.3. ANOVA Results on Means of Boys and Girls Regarding 8 Variables

ANOVA Table for KUR

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Value	P-Value	Lambda	Power
Ratings	1	13.850	13.850	51.671	<.0001	51.671	1.000
Residual	119	31.896	.268				

ANOVA Table for Boys-TUR.

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Value	P-Value	Lambda	Power
Ratings	1	20.728	20.728	37.273	<.0001	37.273	1.000
Residual	119	66.177	.556				

In summary, results indicated that boys' and girls' identification patterns were significantly different from each other regarding the outcomes of identification with the Turkish and Kurdish-speaking communities.

4.3.2. Regression Results of Accent Native-likeness and Identity Patterns Separately for Female and Male Participants

This research question examined the relationship between accent native-likeness and identity patterns of the Kurdish students separately for male and female participants using multiple regression analysis models. Note that the smaller number (n= 56, 46%) in the female group indicates that finding significance for any predictor was less likely simply by virtue of the power of analysis.

In two regression analysis models, the four identity variables were entered simultaneously as predictors of accent native-likeness for female and male participants separately, and an r-squared of .58 ($p < .001$) was obtained for girls and an r-squared of .68 ($p < .001$) was obtained for boys.

Findings (Table 4.3.2.1.) suggested that self was the only variable that was not a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for male participants. *Ideal self* (r2.68, $p < .001$; .29, $p < .01$), and identification with the *Turkish-speaking community* (r2.68, $p < .001$; .40, $p < .001$) were positive predictors of accent native-likeness for boys. In addition, identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* was a significant negative contributor to accent native-likeness for boys (r2.68, $p < .001$; -.38, $p < .001$). These findings indicated that as the level of positive values attributed to the *Turkish-speaking community*, and the ideal self increased, boys' accent became more native-like whereas high positive identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* had an association with less native-like accent.

Table 4.3.2.1 Multiple Regression Results among Identification with the Language Communities and Accent Ratings for Boys

Regression Summary

Boys' Ratings Means with Identity Predictors

Count	65
Num. Missing	0
R	.824
R Squared	.679
Adjusted R Squared	.658
RMS Residual	.605

Regression Coefficients
Boys Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-3.155	1.520	-3.155	-2.076	.0422
Self Means	.428	.284	.122	1.506	.1372
Ideal Means	1.202	.341	.290	3.529	.0008
KUR. Means	-.678	.161	-.376	-4.213	<.0001
TUR. Means	.567	.130	.400	4.362	<.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

For the girls, findings (Table 4.3.2.2) indicated that, quite similar to the boys' analysis, of the four variables, identifications with the language communities were significant predictors of accent native-likeness. Despite the slight variation in the degree of association, identification with the *Turkish-speaking community* (r2.58, $p < .001$; .57, $p < .001$) was a positive predictor of accent native-likeness for girls just as for boys. In addition, identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* was, again, a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness for girls (r2.58, $p < .001$; -.29, $p < .05$).

Although *self* was the only variable that was not a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for male participants, analysis of the girls' data suggested that it was, in fact, a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for girls (r2.58, p < .001; 36, p < .01) while *ideal self,* which was a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for boys, was not a predictor for girls. These findings suggest that as the level of positive values attributed to the *Turkish-speaking community* and the self increased, girls' accent became more native-like whereas high positive identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* was associated with less native-like accent.

Table 4.3.2.2. Multiple Regression Results on Identification with the Language Communities and Accent Ratings for Girls

Regression Summary

Girls' Ratings Means with Identity Predictors

Count	56
Num. Missing	0
R	.764
R Squared	.583
Adjusted R Squared	.550
RMS Residual	.500

Regression Coefficients
Girls Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	.174	1.184	.174	.147	.8839
Self Means	.806	.238	.355	3.393	.0013
Ideal Means	-.259	.211	-.117	-1.226	.2258
KUR. Means	-.484	.189	-.288	-2.556	.0136
TUR. Means	.556	.103	.569	5.426	<.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

In brief, these findings indicate that girls and boys have some differences in the ways that their identification patterns relate to their accent native-likeness. As the high level of positive values attributed to the *Turkish-speaking community* increased, accent ratings also increased, while high positive values attached to the *Kurdish-speaking community* related to less native-like accent for both girls and boys. However, despite the fact that *ideal self* had a positive association with accent native-likeness for boys, it did not suggest such a relationship for girls, while *self* did.

4.3.3. MANOVA Results on Identity Patterns Separately for Middle and High School Participants

Next, I ran a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) model to determine differences between entering all eight dependent variables in order to examine possible differences. Results revealed that as far as these variables were concerned, the differences among the means of middle and high school students were not significant ($F = 1.81$, $p < .08$).

4.3.4. Multiple Regression Results on Accent Native-likeness and Identification with Language Communities for Middle and High School Participants

A regression analysis for middle and high school participants was performed separately in order to examine whether differences existed in the patterns of associations among accent native-likeness and degrees of identification with language communities. The ages of participants in high school ranged between 16 and 18, and the middle school participants' range was 13 and 14; however, the number of participants in middle and high school was almost equal (Middle= 60, 49.5%; High= 61, 50.5%).

In a regression analysis model, the relative contributions of the four identity variables to accent native-likeness as predictors were computed for middle and high school students separately. An r-squared of .77 ($p < .001$) was obtained for middle school and an r-squared of .68 ($p < .001$) was obtained for high school participants. Findings (Table 4.3.4.1) revealed that *ideal self* was the only variable that was not a significant contributor of accent native-likeness for middle school participants. *Self* .24, $p < .01$), and identification with the *Turkish-speaking community* (.37, $p < .001$) were significant positive predictors of accent native-likeness whereas identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* (-.52, $p < .01$) was a negative predictor of accent native-likeness for middle school students.

This indicated that the more positive values the participants attached to their *self* and the *Turkish-speaking community*, the more native-like their accent became whereas strong identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* was associated with less native-like accent for the middle school students.

Table 4.3.4.1. Relationships between Identification with the Language Communities and Accent Ratings for Middle School Participants

Regression Summary
Middle Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

Count	60
Num. Missing	0
R	.875
R Squared	.766
Adjusted R Squared	.749
RMS Residual	.557

Regression Coefficients
Middle Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-.191	1.326	-.191	-.144	.8859
Self Means	.810	.251	.240	3.227	.0021
Ideal Means	.382	.279	.098	1.371	.1761
KUR. Means	-.939	.160	-.524	-5.868	<.0001
TUR. Means	.479	.116	.371	4.117	.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

Another set of regression equations was performed to explore the association between the four identity variables as predictors for high school students' accent native-likeness. Table 4.3.4.2 shows that, with a small degree of variation, high school participants had similar patterns to middle school students. Just like the case of middle school participants, *ideal self* was the only variable that was not a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for high school participants.

Once again *Self* (.22, $p < .01$) and identification with the *Turkish-speaking community* (.53, $p < .001$) were significant positive predictors of accent native-likeness whereas identification with the *Kurdish-speaking community* (-.35, p < .01) was a negative predictor of accent native-likeness for high school students.

Table 4.3.4.2 Relationships among Identification with the Language Communities and Accent Ratings for High School Participants

Regression Summary
High Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

Count	61
Num. Missing	0
R	.823
R Squared	.677
Adjusted R Squared	.654
RMS Residual	.644

Regression Coefficients
High Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-.858	1.604	-.858	-.535	.5949
Self Means	.855	.309	.223	2.768	.0076
Ideal Means	-.020	.287	-.006	-.070	.9446
KUR. Means	-.613	.178	-.346	-3.436	.0011
TUR. Means	.707	.136	.526	5.209	<.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

Briefly, these findings suggest that, regardless of age/grade level, the more positive values the participants attached to their *self* and the *Turkish-speaking community*, the more native-like their accent became. In addition, the more strongly they identified with the *Kurdish-speaking community*, the less native-like accent was.

4.3.5. T-test Analysis of the Size of Regression Coefficients of Accent Native-likeness, Motivation and Identity Patterns across Gender Groups

The next point of interest was to compare boys and girls in terms of how well all eight variables predicted accent native-likeness. Therefore, I ran regression analyses tests separately for boys and girls and obtained coefficients for each group. Then, I used a "Regression with Dummy Variables" formula (Hardy, 1993) to examine the significance of coefficients using a T-test. This T-test used for each independent variable compared the standardized and unstandardized coefficients, standard errors, sample sizes, number of predictors, as well as the residual sum of squares both for boys and girls and then calculated the size of their regression coefficients.

Table 4.3.5.1 showed that the relationship between *Integration orientation* and accent native-likeness was significantly stronger for boys than it was for girls ($t = 1.98$, $p < 0.01$). Considering the obtained F value (F, $3.494 = 11.941$, $p < 0.05$), this result was expected. Nonetheless, in spite of the fact that *Ideal self* was a non-significant predictor of accent native-likeness for both genders, it was surprising that the size of its regression coefficient was much bigger for boys than it was for girls ($t = 3.13$, $p < 0.01$). As for the effect of other motivation orientations they were non-significantly different between boys and girls.

Table 4.3.5.1. T-test Results of the Size of Regression Coefficients of Accent Native-likeness, Motivation and Identity Patterns across Gender Groups

		Boys		Girls	
	Unst. Coef.	Stan. Error	Unst. Coef.	Stan. Error	T-Value
Ideal Self	1.06	0.331	-0.168	0.219	**3.13**
Integration	0.672	0.215	0.138	0.163	**1.98**
Self	0.515	0.263	0.583	0.264	**-0.18**
Iden. TUR	0.448	0.127	0.489	0.106	**-0.25**
Iden. KUR	-0.551	0.168	-0.434	0.185	**-0.46**
Identification	0.005	0.23	0.192	0.174	**-0.66**
External	-0.079	0.192	0.266	0.204	**-1.21**
Introjection	-0.533	0.199	-0.175	0.181	**-1.30**

4.4. (M)ANOVA AND REGRESSION RESULTS FOR MOTIVATION AND ACCENT NATIVE-LIKENESS

A second set of variables in this study included the motivation variables as predictors of accent native-likeness. Regression coefficients for these variables were calculated to examine whether statistically significant relationships existed among the measured motivational orientations and native-like Turkish accent. Although this regression analysis model included scores for the language identity variables as well as *External Regulation, Introjection, Identification,* and *Integration*, in this section only the motivation coefficients will be addressed.

Participants' motivational orientations to learn Turkish were measured through a questionnaire partially based on Deci's (Deci & Ryan, 1989, 1995) taxonomy of human motivation (Appendix C). Table 4.8.1 shows the mean scores and standard deviations for accent ratings as well as the four motivation orientations of all participants. The degree of external regulation, introjection, and identification and integration motivation was then related to accent native-likeness in these young Kurdish learners. The relationship between accent native-likeness and motivational orientations is presented below.

Table 4.4.1. Participants' Means (SD) on the Motivation Orientation Scales

Variables	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Total**
Accent Ratings	2.1 (.75)	3.4 (1.0)	2.8 (1.1)
External Regulation	2.8 (.40)	2.9 (.40)	2.8 (.40)
Introjection	3.0 (.42)	3.0 (.48)	3.0 (.45)
Identification	3.3 (.44)	2.3 (.55)	3.1 (.50)
Integration	3.3 (.47)	2.3 (.61)	3.1 (.57)

4.4.1. Multiple Regression Results of Accent Native-likeness and Motivational Orientations

The third major research question addressed the relationship between accent native-likeness and the four motivational orientations of the Kurdish young learners. It was hypothesized that the Kurdish learners who had higher levels of the motivational orientations of *identification* and *integration* would have a more native-like regional Turkish accent than those with lower levels of these motivational orientations, and conversely, that Kurdish young learners with higher levels of the less autonomous orientations, *external regulation* and *introjection orientation*, would have a less native-like accent. The research question was: "Do the different motivational orientations significantly relate to attainment in native-like accent?"

More specifically, this question hypothesized that learners who learn Turkish because of a high degree of some combination of the different motivational orientations (e. g., personal-identification with the importance of the task or fully self-assimilated importance of task.) would have a more native-like Turkish accent than those of their counterparts who do not. Also, it was predicted that *identification* and *integration* forms of motivation would be positively related to native-like Turkish accent while *external regulation* and *introjection orientations* would be negatively related. Multiple regressions were used to determine whether there were any significant relationships between the degree and levels of motivational orientations and accent native-likeness.

In a regression analysis model where all four orientations of motivation and four identity patterns as predictors of accent native-likeness were calculated simultaneously, an r-squared of .76 ($p < .001$) and an adjusted r-squared of 75 ($p < .001$) were obtained.

As presented in the Table 4.2.2.2, data suggested that level of *integration orientation* was a moderate significant predictor of accent native-likeness (.42, $p < 0.1$). This indicated that as the degree of *integration orientation* increased, accent ratings also increased.

Table 4.4.1.1. Relationships among Motivational Orientations Accent Ratings

Regression Summary
All Ratings vs. 8 Independents

Count	121
Num. Missing	0
R	.875
R Squared	.765
Adjusted R Squared	.749
RMS Residual	.558

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-1.218	.957	-1.218	-1.273	.2056
Ext. Means	.060	.148	.023	.405	.6864
Intrj. Means	-.315	.143	-.126	-2.198	.0300
Iden. Means	.180	.148	.081	1.216	.2266
Integ. Means	.418	.142	.212	2.944	.0039

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

In contrast, it was predicted that less autonomous orientations, external regulation and introjection orientation, would be negative contributors to accent native-likeness. Findings indicated that external regulation was not a significant predictor but introjection orientation was a significant low, negative, predictor of accent native-likeness (-.32; $p < 0.5$).

In summary, the data indicated that the higher the level of integration motivation, that is the more the Kurdish young learners assimilated the importance of learning

Turkish into their selves the more Turkish native-like was their accent. In addition, in cases when they were learning Turkish due to feelings of obligation, avoidance of guilt or anxiety (introjection orientation), their accent was less native-like.

4.4.2. ANOVA Results on Accent Native-likeness and Motivational Orientations for Female and Male Participants

An overall multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was also performed to compare boys and girls in terms the eight independent variables. Table 4.3.1.1. shows that as far as these variables were concerned, the differences in the means between boys and girls were significant ($F= 7.84$, $p < .001$).

The fact that MANOVA analyses suggested significant differences between boys and girls with respect to these variables allowed univariate analyses of the eight dependent variables. Table 4.4.2.1 exhibits the means and standard deviations of each variable for boys and girls separately.

Table 4.4.2.1 Boys' and Girls' Means (SD) on 8 Variables

Variables	Boys	Girls
External Regulation	2.8 (.40)	2.9 (.40)
Introjection	3.0 (.42)	3.0 (.48)
Identification	3.3 (.44)	2.3 (.55)
Integration	3.3 (.47)	2.3 (.61)

A series of ANOVAs indicated that boys and girls significantly differed on the outcomes of *identification orientation* $F (1, 119) = 6.08$, $p < 0.5$, and *integration* *orientation* F (1, 119) = 11. 94, p <.001. No significant differences were obtained for the other motivation variables. Findings suggested that boys' means were significantly higher than the girls' means for the outcomes of *identification orientation* and *integration orientation.*

Table 4.4.2.2. ANOVA Results on Means of Boys and Girls Regarding 8 Independent Variables

ANOVA Table for Iden. Means

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Value	P-Value	Lambda	Power
Ratings	1	1.462	1.462	6.077	.0151	6.077	.688
Residual	119	28.626	.241				

ANOVA Table for Integ. Means

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Value	P-Value	Lambda	Power
Ratings	1	3.494	3.494	11.941	.0008	11.941	.947
Residual	119	34.823	.293				

In summary, results indicated that boys' and girls' were significantly different from each other regarding the outcomes of identification orientation, and integration orientation. The differences for *external regulation* and *introjection orientation* were not significantly different from each other.

4.4.3. Relationships of Accent Native-likeness and Motivational Orientations for Female and Male Participants

This research question examined the relationship between accent native-likeness and motivational orientations separately for male and female Kurdish young learners. Participants' data means on the motivation questionnaire were separately computed for boys and girls. Note that among all participants (n= 121, 100%) there were more male (n= 65, 53.7%) than female (n= 56, 46.3%) participants in this study. It was hypothesized that the female learners might have a different set of predictors than the male participants in predicting accent native-likeness. Also note that the smaller number (n= 56, 46%) in the girls' group means that finding significance for any predictor was less likely simply by virtue of the power of analysis.

In an attempt to address a gender relationship regarding the motivational orientations, two multiple regression analysis models were computed with the four motivation variables entered simultaneously as predictors of accent native-likeness for girls and boys separately. An r-squared of .39 ($p < .001$) was obtained for girls and an r-squared of .30 ($p < .001$) was obtained for boys.

Results (Table 4.4.3.1) revealed that *introjection orientation* was a low but significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness (-.29, $p < .05$) for male participants. This finding indicated that as the level of *introjection orientation* increased, boys' accent became less native-like. In addition, *integration orientation* was a significant positive predictor of accent native-likeness for boys (.69, $p < .001$), which suggested that as level of integration orientation increased, accent became more native-like for boys.

Table 4.4.3.1 Multiple Regression Results among Motivational Orientations and Accent Ratings for Boys

Regression Summary
Boys Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

Count	65
Num. Missing	0
R	.624
R Squared	.389
Adjusted R Squared	.348
RMS Residual	.835

Regression Coefficients
Boys Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	1.222	.983	1.222	1.244	.2183
Ext. Means	-.169	.279	-.073	-.606	.5468
Intrj. Means	-.709	.285	-.287	-2.492	.0155
Iden. Means	-.070	.329	-.029	-.212	.8326
Integ. Means	1.519	.303	.689	5.011	<.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

Findings (Table 4.4.3.2) indicated that, unlike in the boys' analysis, *introjection orientation* was not a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for female participants. However, similar to the case of boys, *integration orientation* was a low but significant positive predictor of accent native-likeness for girls (r2.39, p < .001; .39, p < .05) as well. This result suggested that as level of *integration orientation* increased, girls' accent became more native-like, though the association was weaker than it was for boys. As for the contributions of other motivation variables in predicting accent native-likeness, no other significance was obtained for girls.

Table 4.4.3.2. Multiple Regression Results on Motivational Orientations and Accent Ratings for Girls

Regression Summary
Girls Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

Count	56
Num. Missing	0
R	.549
R Squared	.302
Adjusted R Squared	.247
RMS Residual	.647

Regression Coefficients
Girls Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-.066	.702	-.066	-.094	.9258
Ext. Means	.166	.263	.090	.631	.5306
Intrj. Means	-.205	.231	-.131	-.885	.3801
Iden. Means	.300	.230	.220	1.304	.1979
Integ. Means	.474	.205	.390	2.318	.0245

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

In short, these results suggest that as the level of integration orientation increased, accent ratings increased for both male and female participants, yet the degree of association was stronger for male participants. Furthermore, although data indicated that external regulation and identification orientation were not significant predictors of accent native-likeness for either gender group, introjection was a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness only for boys.

4.4.4. Multiple Regression Results Predicting Accent Native-likeness from Motivational Orientations for Middle and High School Participants

A comparative analysis for middle and high school participants was conducted in order to determine the differences in the patterns of relationships among the accent native-likeness and levels of motivational orientations. Participants' ages ranged from 13 to 18. Sixty of the participants were from middle schools and fell between the age range of 13-14 while the ages the participants from high schools ranged from 16 to 18. The hypothesis for this research question was that high school students with higher levels of the more autonomous forms of motivation would have more native-like Turkish accent than their counterparts who did not, and that this relationship would be stronger than for middle school students.

A regression analysis model of the relationships of the four motivation variables to accent native-likeness was computed for middle and high school students separately. An r-squared of .49 ($p < .001$) was obtained for middle school and an r-squared of .30 ($p < .05$) was obtained for high school participants. Based on the variables in this model, findings (Table 4.4.4.1) indicated that *external regulation, introjection orientation,* and *identification orientation* were not significant predictors of accent native-likeness for middle school participants. However, *integration orientation* was a highly significant positive predictor of accent native-likeness for middle school students ($p < .001$). This suggests that as level of integration orientation increased, accents became more native-like for middle school students.

Table 4.4.4.1. Relationships between Motivational Orientations and Accent Ratings for Middle School Participants

Regression Summary
Middle Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

Count	60
Num. Missing	0
R	.697
R Squared	.486
Adjusted R Squared	.449
RMS Residual	.827

Regression Coefficients
Middle Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	-1.102	.898	-1.102	-1.227	.2252
Ext. Means	.308	.334	.113	.920	.3616
Intrj. Means	-.587	.315	-.240	-1.866	.0674
Iden. Means	.099	.301	.048	.329	.7431
Integ. Means	1.469	.289	.713	5.076	<.0001

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

Results of the regression analyses for high school students revealed that *introjection orientation* was a low but negative contributor to accent native-likeness for high school participants (-.29, p < .05) (See Table 4.4.4.1). Note that this form of motivation was not a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for middle school students. In addition, *integration orientation* was also a moderately significant positive predictor of accent native-likeness for high school students (r2.30, p < .05; .58, p < .01). This suggests that as level of integration orientation increased, both middle and high school students' accents became more native-like.

Table 4.4.4.2. Relationships between Motivational Orientations and Accent Ratings for High School Participants

Regression Summary
High Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

Count	61
Num. Missing	0
R	.548
R Squared	.300
Adjusted R Squared	.250
RMS Residual	.948

Regression Coefficients
High Rating Means vs. 4 Independents

	Coefficient	Std. Error	Std. Coeff.	t-Value	P-Value
Intercept	1.634	1.070	1.634	1.527	.1323
Ext. Means	-.185	.331	-.073	-.557	.5794
Intrj. Means	-.726	.322	-.291	-2.258	.0279
Iden. Means	.112	.354	.049	.315	.7537
Integ. Means	1.082	.297	.577	3.636	.0006

(Coefficient/ (D.F)/ 2-tailed significance)

In sum, findings revealed that as the level of *integration orientation* increased, accent ratings increased both for middle and high school students. Moreover, although data indicated that *external regulation* and *identification orientation* were not significant predictors of accent native-likeness for either age group, *introjection orientation* was a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness but only for high school students. In other words, the more the importance of learning Turkish was assimilated into the *self*, the higher the accent became for all students regardless of age. However, as the level of learning Turkish because of externally imposed gains and/or punishments went up, accent became less native-like only for high school students.

4.5. QUALITATIVE ANALYSES OF IDENTITY PATTERNS, MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS, AND ACCENT NATIVE-LIKENESS

Interview data were collected from 20 (17%) participants only, and used as secondary sources to triangulate the self-reported data. Participants were categorized in terms of their rating levels for data analysis. Beginning from a suspicion that particularly the middle school participants might not be aware of the complicated socio-cultural factors in that part of the world, I was surprised by how much these young Kurdish learners were aware of the social realities. Table 4.5.1 presents statistics of the participants across accent rating levels. Note that these same participants were also observed on a regular basis at different sites but primarily on school premises.

Table 4.5.1. Demographics of Participants Involved in Interviews and Observations

Rating Levels	Number of Boys	Number of Girls	Total
1	6	1	7
2	4	0	4
3	1	0	1
4	0	1	1
5	2	5	7

Qualitative data results suggested that participant in low rating levels (levels 1 and 2) identified more strongly with the Kurdish-speaking community than the participants in more native-like rating groups (levels 4 and 5). Results also revealed stronger degree of identification with either language community than the self-reported degree of identification determined through quantitative data. Because of the fact that there was only one participant in level 3 and what the person said was inconsistent across a variety number of questions, I left out the descriptions of this middle level of native-likeness. To protect the privacy of participants, interview data as presented below are slightly edited. Any clarifications I made are in square brackets.

4.5.1. Identity Patterns and Motivational Orientations of Participants in Rating Levels 1 and 2

The analysis of all interviews of the seven participants in rating level 1, and of the four participants in level 2 revealed no consistency in terms of differences across the two levels regarding identification with the Turkish and/or Kurdish-speaking communities. Yet, there were differences between levels 1 and 2 on the one hand, and level 4 and 5 on the other, the differences were at least as large as the quantitative data results suggested. Although most participants in the level 1 group reported stronger identification with the Kurdish-speaking community, there were some in the level 2 group whose identification degree were no less strong than some participants in level 1. Therefore, in this analysis, I will provide representative accounts of both identity patterns and motivational orientations of participants in level 1 and level 2 together.

In response to several questions regarding identity patterns and motivation for learning and/or speaking Turkish, Participant 52-25 (he chose to pick a number as a pseudonym), a high school male student, whose accent was rated 1 on the scale of native-likeness, stated:

Identity:

> Yes, people can tell I am Kurdish when I speak…when I go to a different bazaar or shop other than our street one-on Cadde (downtown), they smile and sometimes mock my accent when I talk to them; especially young shop keepers…..one time, for example, I said "Do you have Sakiz-gum?" and he kept pronouncing "Sakiz" like me… Turkish people have a different culture….that's

> why they don't like Kurdish culture …they think we're bad people or terrorists….we are not terrorists…I don't think Turkish people think we are the same….we speak different languages, it means we're different, but we live in this county…..

Motivation:

> If they understand it, accent doesn't matter….because I'm Kurdish…if I speak Kurdish with a bad accent, it's bad….not Turkish…some people may not give you jobs …. also you get bad grades in Turkish at school…but if I don't get accepted to college, I'll stay in the village … if you speak Turkish with bad accent people may think you are different and so?…..I didn't need to learn Turkish until I started school…I always speak Kurdish with my parents…

This participant occasionally spoke in Kurdish with me during the interview. While I was observing him at various sites on school premises, I observed him talking in Kurdish either when starting a conversation with his friends and/or responding to an open conversation in Turkish.

Another student from the least native-like group (Level 1) was Ruhat 3. He was also a male high school student who agued:

Identity:

> Sometimes my classmates call me Kurd Ruho…my Kurdish friends, not Turkish ones….when I was at 6th grade (first day at school), I fought with a kid because he made fun of my accent… Some people marry Turkish girls…no one in my family did that….I am Kurdish and I will marry a Kurdish girl of course….I don't think they hate us….but they think we are different…you know, like poor, and maybe dirty….or don't understand lessons… Also, you can always trust a Kurdish man...

Motivation:

> My father said in the military service you will be in trouble if your accent is bad….maybe my accent will get better…..now I don't need Turkish except for school….sometimes I felt bad when people mocked my accent, but I don't care now….

Although Ruhat was not from the same school with 52-25, he was very much like him in terms of both the content and his attitude while answering my questions during the interview.

In the more native-like accent group (Level 2) was Yusuf 13, a male high school student, and apparently a close friend of Ruhat, seemed to agree with him on several questions. He responded:

Identity:

> I think Turkish people think that we are not smart like them…they think our clothes are not quality and we live in bad houses …or we are rude but we aren't…like, I don't smoke in front of my older brothers or even some one older than me…but they do.. .yes they have more money and jobs…but our culture is more conservative [For him a positive thing)…you know we are Kurdish and they are Turkish….like different people…yes we go to the same mosque but other nations go to the mosques together too…my identity is Kurdish...I don't hide that I am Kurdish like some people do… they try to speak like Turks…sometimes it's funny ….I like Turkish movies and because we cannot watch Kurdish ones….because MED TV only shows music and news…

Motivation:

> I think my Turkish accent is good…..and my parents think it good too…they sometimes say I should study a little more but you know fathers…..I began learning because I have to…there is no school in Kurdish….I think it's good to speak like a native speaker because you get better grades

Another participant from level 1 was 75-19 who was a middle school student. In response to several questions combined she argued:

Identity:

> My mother said Turks don't like us…but my teachers are nice…they like me …but I am Kurdish…my father and mother are all Kurdish…We always speak in Kurdish at home….but at school I speak Turkish…maybe when I grow up my Turkish will become better…yes we're different…they dance together at weddings…but we dance girls and boys separately…there are many Turkish TVs. there is one Kurdish TV [MED TV]…I watch MED TV with my brothers…I like Kurdish music….but Turkish movies are very good…

Motivation:

> We always speak in Kurdish at home….I speak Turkish at school and sometimes when we play games….I learned Turkish at school and from TV…..yes, for example I like talking a lot, but I could not be on the debate team because my accent is bad……I study Turkish mostly during the exam week….

I observed her several times at school and never heard her speaking in Kurdish to anyone. In fact, out of four times I visited her school, I saw her sitting with one of her friends who was also another participant in this study and having tea in the canteen only one time.

In conclusion, all of these participants in levels 1 and 2 seemed to have strongly identified with the Kurdish-speaking community while, to some extent, distancing themselves from the Turkish-speaking community. They seemed to have very low motivation to learn Turkish or to change their accents, and their motivational orientations, if any, seemed to be limited to external regulation and/or introjection.

4.5.2. Identity Patterns of Participants in Rating Levels 4 and 5

In contrast, participants in rating levels 4 and 5 provided remarkably different answers to the same interview questions, which suggested that although they unanimously identified more with the Turkish-speaking community than participants in levels 1 and 2; they did not necessarily distance themselves from their Kurdish identity. Necati 120, a male high school student identified as level 4 in terms of his Turkish accent relayed:

Identity:

> I have many Turkish friends…like we trust each other…they come to our house…and we go to their house… we support the same soccer team…For me Turkish and Kurdish are not very different….yes they have different rules at home…you know my sister cannot hold her baby in front of my father… it's disrespectful…. Serdar, my Turkish friend, thinks it's weird….[He is laughing at the word "weird". Kurdish society has complex taboos about caring for children in front of parents and older relatives] I think we are Kurdish but we are also Turkish because this is our country…like Turgut Özal (The 8th president) was Kurdish too….I want to go to university…so my Turkish must be very good…you know they ask more than 60 Turkish questions on the university entrance exam….my nephew and I are preparing for the exams together…yes, if I love a Turkish girl …I think my parents will say yes…

Motivation:

> Yes, I like to see people say "Really, you are Kurdish?" …I think it's important to speak like a native speaker because everything is in Turkish…..Also, it does not mean you are a bad Kurdish person because your Turkish is good…. ….when I was a 6th grader I sometimes felt very weird every time I spoke in class….now I feel confident…. I join composition competitions at school and so on……I think discrimination is both ways….but everything is in Turkish you know….

`This participant, contrary to the common practice, had a girl friend who I believe was Turkish. He spoke very fluent Turkish with no accent. I never heard him speaking

Kurdish, never did I hear anyone speaking Kurdish to him. Similarly, from a different high school, Ayse 1, with an accent rating level of 5 responded:

Identity:

> When I was little, a friend of mine made fun of my accent in class, and so I said to myself "I will always speak Turkish and make my Turkish like perfect" …now people don't know I'm Kurdish…because my Turkish is very good…I often make better scores on the prep tests on the Turkish section than my Turkish friends at Dershane [University Entrance Exam Prep Center]….I don't think we are different…my uncle's wife is Turkish, and her family comes over during bayram [holiday] to our house, and we all have fun together….Also I never watch Kurdish TV…I think they support terrorists…my parents don't even have the channel on our TV…I don't think Turks hate us….maybe some people do…but there are Kurds who think Turks are bad too…

Motivation:

> I learned most of my Turkish from TV and friends….I speak Turkish most of the time ….everywhere…..I sometimes speak Kurdish with my grandmother because she doesn't know Turkish…..and my grandfather…he knows only a little….I think my accent is good both because I like Turkish and I have to learn it……

Berfin 10, in Level 5, who was also from the same high school with Ayse 1 had very interesting comments that supported her identification with the target language community and motivation that I thought were very similar to the women in Gal's (1978) study. She relayed:

Identity:

> I think Turks and Kurds are different…they have different clothes…different furniture…Kurds are very stubborn and only care about boys….Turkish girls have more freedom… you know they go out [She kept asking me to promise not to show this to someone who could identify her] …have friends…but we cannot…our family situation is different…..I think if you have education and money….it's not important if you are Kurdish or Turkish….next year I will

> prepare to go to college and help my other sisters as well….I think Kurds would have been in a better place if it weren't for the terrorists…a relative of one of our neighbors was killed in the mountains…what happened?…. she said the family is still crying….Also, I want to go to big cities….maybe I'll get accepted to a university in Istanbul….. No, I don't feel segregated…maybe sometimes….

Motivation:

> Yes, my Turkish is good…it makes my parents happy….my grades are better…..I have a lot of friends….Nobody says "Don't learn Turkish"…we have TVs….books….if you really want to speak like a native speaker, you can….Also, there maybe people who discriminate so if you speak like a native they cannot do that…

All of these female participants spoke Turkish like native speakers and seemed to have blended in their community very well.

In brief, this part of the qualitative data also revealed that participants with a more native-like Turkish accent seemed to identify more with the Turkish-speaking community without rejecting their Kurdish identity. However, recall that no significant correlation between identification with the Turkish-speaking community and accent native-likeness in the quantitative data was found for levels 4 and 5, but this may have simply been due to restriction of range. They seemed to have remarkably high degree of identification and integration forms of motivation towards the learning and/or speaking of Turkish.

4.6. Relationships between Accent Variation and Non-Family Social Networks

4.6.1. General Characteristics of the Social Structure of Kurdish-Speaking Community in Turkey

In general, Kurds, in areas where they are dominant, in most cases rural, have very multiplex and cohesive networks because other networks are not available to them. In contrast, Kurds in urban areas, like the participants in this study, have more open patterns of contacts with the Turkish-speaking community. If we compared networks by regions, we could say that in southeast Turkey, where Kurds often represent 60-80 percent of the population, outnumbering Turks, networks are generally more closed whereas in eastern Turkey, where Kurds are mostly the minority, they have more exchange and passive networks with Turks. Recently, an increasing number of Kurds have moved from rural areas where they were the majority to urban areas, where they became the minority. A consequence of such urban migration is that their children become bilingual in both languages or start speaking Turkish as a second language at much earlier ages than they would have if the family had remained in the rural area.

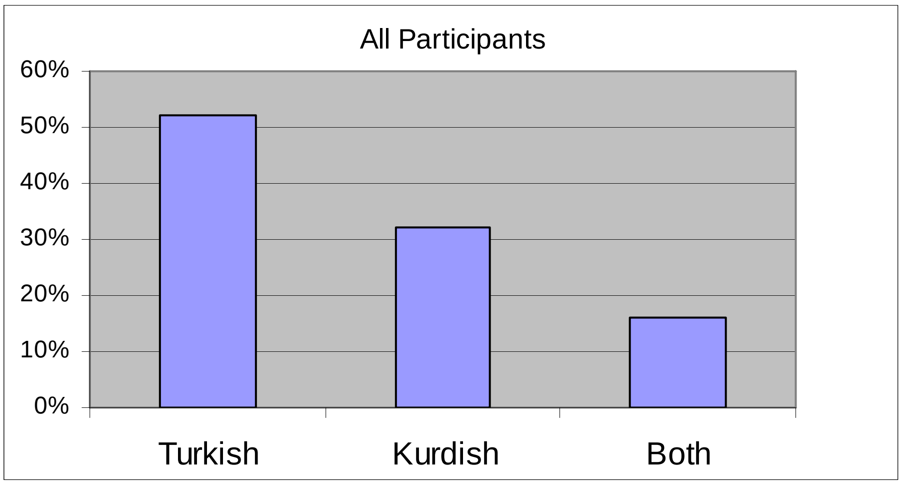
Kurds have historically been organized according to a tribal structure, where kin is the most important tie influencing life decisions. In modern times, these tribal structures have loosened but not disappeared. In rural areas, family is still considered to be very important, with a network of relatives living in the same village or neighboring villages. In these rural areas, most of the work is agricultural, and one's neighbors are also the people one works with and one's friends as well, and every person in the village knows one another in some capacity. Despite the institutional pressure from the government regarding the teaching of the Turkish language, in rural areas, people speak Kurdish in their homes, in the street, on their farms, and so forth.

Furthermore, because Kurds generally have very close-knit and cohesive family networks, most families are extended by structure, and even nuclear families live so close together that one can identify them as semi-extended families since rules regarding visiting each other sharing food and even sometimes sleeping at each others' houses encourage a high degree of connection.

4.6.2 Analysis of Social Networks and Accent Native-likeness

In addition to identification patterns and forms of extrinsic motivation, a third variable that was hypothesized to have a relationship with the degrees of accent native-likeness of Kurdish students was the nature of their social networks. Participants' social networks, particularly their *exchange*, *interactive* and *passive* networks, as well as the *density* and *multiplexity* of their networks were investigated through a social network questionnaire (SNQ) that I created based on Milroy's (1980, 1987, 2003) analysis of social networks (Appendix D). *Exchange networks* include family and close friends, and *interactive networks* include acquaintances that are present in first-order network ties. *Passive networks*, in contrast, are more distant and present in second-order network ties. Based on concerns raised by previous researchers regarding the distinction between *exchange* and *interactive* networks (Milardo, 1988), for the purposes of this study, the degree of closeness and frequency of interaction were used as the operational criteria to distinguish between *exchange* and *interactive* networks. Graph 4.6.2.1 shows the number of non-family members with whom the participants interacting on a regular basis, whether they were Kurdish, Turkish, or both Turkish and Kurdish (121*7 = 847).

Graph 4.6.2.1. Percentage of All Non-Family Kurdish-Speaking, Turkish-Speaking and Both Kurdish and Turkish-Speaking Networks



Participants were asked to indicate the structure and content of their networks in terms of with whom, when, and how often they interacted with people who were outside their family circle. They were to note the nature of this relationship and which language typically was used in their relationship. The analyses are based on descriptions of the networks of the participants separated into the five accent rating levels. This part of my data enabled me to calculate density and multiplexity of each of my participant's exchange, interactive, and passive networks and to report together my findings by groupings of individuals in each accent rating level.

Moreover, because my research questions included them, networks with immediate family members were also analyzed as participants could have been exposed to the Turkish language if their siblings spoke Turkish to a significant degree because they were at college, for example. Due to the fact that data were collected through questionnaires and interviews as well as observations to address the highly complex nature of social networks of young Kurdish students, analyses for this variable were also conducted both quantitatively and qualitatively.

4.6.2.1 Analysis of the Density of Social Networks by Accent Native-likeness Levels

A structural characteristic of network ties is density, or the proportion of persons linked to other persons in the network (Milroy, 1987). In order to make analyses more consistent both across participants and rating levels, each participant's non-family networks were restricted to seven contacts. Table 4.6.2.1.1 presents the number of participants multiplied by seven contacts for each participant in each rating level, which resulted in 847 networks across all participants.

Table 4.6.2.1.1. Number of Participants and Their Non-Family Networks in Each Rating Level

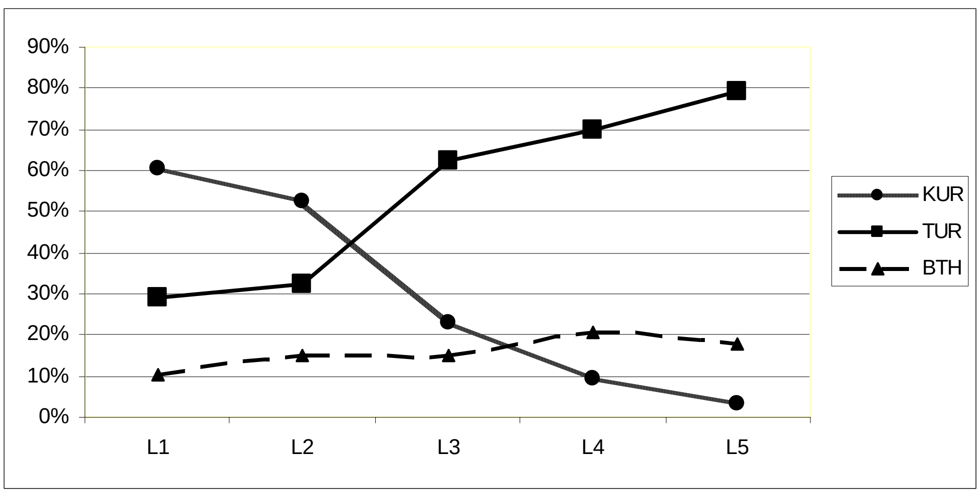
Rating Levels	**Number of Participants**	**Number of Contacts**
1	**21*7**	**147**
2	**33*7**	**231**
3	**26*7**	**182**
4	**24*7**	**168**
5	**17*7**	**119**

In order to determine the density of Turkish-speaking networks for these Kurdish young students, a simple correlation coefficient between native-likeness of accent and the number of Turkish-speaking networks was computed. A positive relationship between accent native-likeness and the number of Turkish-speaking contacts in *exchange*, *interactive*, and *passive* networks was predicted. Data showed that there was a significant positive relationship between accent native-likeness and number of Turkish- speaking networks, with a correlation coefficient of $r = .64$ ($p < 0.01$). This finding indicated that, regardless of the content of networks, as the number of Turkish-speaking networks increased, accent ratings increased. In other words, the more contacts with regular Turkish-speaking individuals the students had, the more native-like their accent became when speaking Turkish. Although the direction of the relationship between the number of networks and native-likeness was not a question I had tried to address, findings suggested such a direction.

An analysis of the total number of networks with which participants interacted only in Kurdish, only in Turkish, and both in Turkish and Kurdish on a regular basis revealed that participants had an ample number of all of these networks available to them. Data showed that of the 847 (121*7) networks, participants reported interacting with 449 (52%) only in Turkish, with 288 (32%) only in Kurdish and with 136 (16%) in both languages. Nevertheless, as presented in Graph 4.6.1.1.1 the number of networks they interacted with either in Turkish, or Kurdish, or both languages varied significantly across rating levels.

The numbers of Kurdish and Turkish-speaking networks were remarkably unevenly distributed among the rating levels, which suggested that accent native-likeness was associated with social networks across rating levels. Table 4.6.2.1.1 revealed that the number of Kurdish contacts seemed to be significantly high for students in the less native-like rating Level of 1 (61%) and Level 2 (52%), while this number became much smaller for students in Level 3 (23%), Level 4 (10%) and Level 5 (3%). In contrast, 79 % of the networks of Level 5 students, 70% of level 4 students, and 62 % of Level 3 students were Turkish, whereas only 32% of Level 2 and 29% of Level 1 were Turkish-speaking networks.

Graph 4.6.2.1.1 Percentages of Number of Turkish, Kurdish and Both Networks across Rating Levels



Nevertheless, these high percentages might be misleading unless the nature of these networks, whether they were of the exchanges, interactive, and/or passive types, is also analyzed.

4.6.2.2 Analyses of the Nature of Networks: Exchange, Interactive and Passive

Before any further analyses of the nature of networks separately for each accent level, it is important to determine which form of networks were to be found at each rating level (Table 4.6.2.2.1).

Table 4.6.2.2.1. Exchange, Interactive, and Passive Networks across Accent Levels

	All Non-Family Networks (N= 847)			
	Exchange	**Interactive**	**Passive**	**Total**
Level 1	65% (n= 100)	19% (n= 26)	16%(n=21)	147
Level 2	56% (n= 130)	25% (n= 57)	19%(n= 44)	231
Level 3	51% (n= 91)	28% (n= 51)	21%(n= 59)	182
Level 4	49% (n= 82)	28% (n= 47)	23% (n= 39)	168
Level 5	40% (n= 48)	27% (n= 32)	33% (n= 39)	119

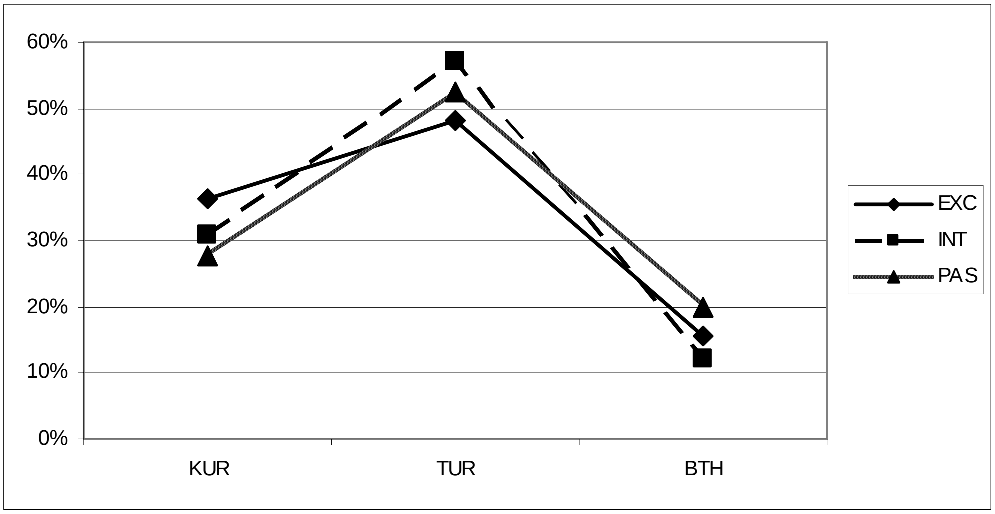
Table 4.6.2.2.1 demonstrates that for students at all rating levels, the dominating types of networks were exchange in nature, which verified the overall assumption of social network theory. However, it was interesting to observe that there was a gradual decline in the number of *Exchange networks* as participants' accent ratings increased (Level 1: 65%, Level 5: 40%) whereas there seemed to be a consistent gradual increase in the number of passive networks as accent ratings increased. This indicated that Kurdish young learners with less Turkish native-like accents reported interacting more with their exchange networks than participants with more native-like accent. This was mainly

because overall many of the interactive and most of the passive networks were Turkish, and these participants had fewer Turkish- speaking networks in general.

As far as Level 1 and Level 5 were concerned, these results supported Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) and Lippi-Green's (1989) findings that exchange networks are better predictors of language behavior than other kinds of networks. Furthermore, it also revealed that while the difference between the number of people in exchange networks as opposed to those in passive networks in Level 1 was 49%, this range was only 7% for Level 5 students verifying that participants with more native-like accents were more likely to have more Turkish contacts with whom they interacted regularly outside their ethnic community allegiances. Note that exchange networks are the ones within which individuals are likely to use the same linguistic variants as their network members because such networks enforce mutually exclusive norms on individuals offering ample possibilities of exchange of goods and services as well as emotional and monetary support.

Graph 4.6.2.2.2 demonstrates that 36% (n= 168) of Kurdish, 48% of (n= 224) Turkish, and 16% (n= 72) of *Both* networks were *Exchange* in nature, whereas 31% (n= 69) of Kurdish, 57% (n= 128) of Turkish and 12% (n= 27) of Both were *Interactive Networks*. It is important to state that aside from the family networks excluded for this analysis, the majority of networks were Turkish-speaking in all categories followed by Kurdish-speaking networks. Therefore, as far as opportunity of interaction with the native speakers of a regional Turkish accent was concerned, participants had in their networks Turkish-speaking individuals with whom their relatively regular interaction varied from close friends to far acquaintances.

Graph 4.6.2.2.2. Distribution of All Non-Family Exchange, Interactive and Passive Networks



In summary, an overall analysis of all 847 non-family networks, Turkish, Kurdish and Both, indicated a remarkably different pattern for students in each rating level. In addition to a significant relationship between the number of Turkish-speaking networks and accent native-likeness, findings suggested that the number of exchange, interactive, and passive networks was also different in each rating level.

4.7. ANALYSES OF EXCHANGE, INTERACTIVE, AND PASSIVE NETWORKS FOR EACH LEVEL OF ACCENT NATIVE-LIKENESS

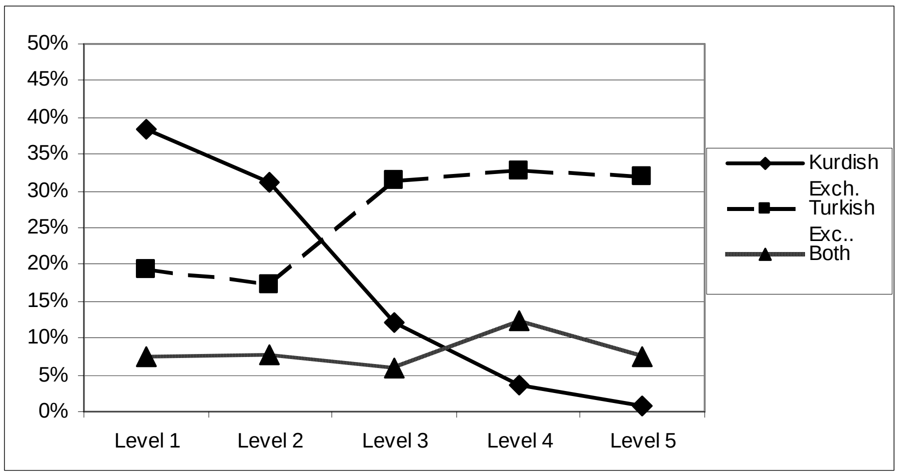
4.7.1 Analysis of Exchange Networks for Each Level of Accent Ratings

Because I was interested in the relationship between social networks and accent native-likeness, I wanted to explore the nature of social networks for students at each accent rating level. Although data showed that the highest number of Turkish-speaking networks were *Interactive* in nature, suggesting that participants had a great deal of exposure to the members of the Turkish- speaking community, the distribution of Turkish-speaking networks across rating levels was very uneven as illustrated in Graph 4.7.1.1.

Exchange networks comprise strong ties with family and close friends with whom a high degree of exchange of goods and services as well as mutually shared norms and obligations are expected (Milardo, 1988; Milroy, 1987). Graph 4.3.1.1 revealed that 38% (n= 60) of exchange networks for students in Level 1 and 31% (n= 72) of exchange networks for participants in Level 2 (those with the least native-like accent) were Kurdish while the percentage of Turkish exchange networks for Level 1 (19%, n= 32) and Level 2 (17%, n= 40) participants was much lower, indicating This indicated that participants in Level 1 and 2 maintained their most regular contacts within their native language community.

In contrast, although the number of bilingual networks remained more or less unchanged, beginning with participants in Level 3, the number of Turkish exchange networks increased consistently through Levels 4 and 5 while the number of Kurdish exchange networks decreased drastically. Findings suggested that the number of Turkish exchange networks was very similar across Level 3 (31%, n= 57), Level 4 (33%, n= 55), and Level 5 (32%, n= 38). Nonetheless, the percentage of Kurdish exchange networks decreased significantly with Level 3 being (12%, n= 22), Level 4 (4%, n= 6), and Level 5 (1%). Level 3 participants seemed to have a similar number of Turkish exchange networks to Levels 4 and 5 however; their high percentage of Kurdish-speaking networks might support our positive prediction regarding the relationship between networks and accent native-likeness.

Graph 4.7.1.1 Distribution Non-Family Exchange Networks across Rating Levels



This result indicated that unlike participants in Levels 1 and 2, participants in Levels 3, 4 and 5 reported sharing the most regular contracts with the Turkish language community. According to Milroy's (1987) and Lybeck's (2002) analyses of exchange networks, this might suggest that young Kurdish learners with more native-like Turkish accent maintained regular interactions with the Turkish-speaking community of a casual and intimate nature, sharing the pressure and obligations imposed by their networks.

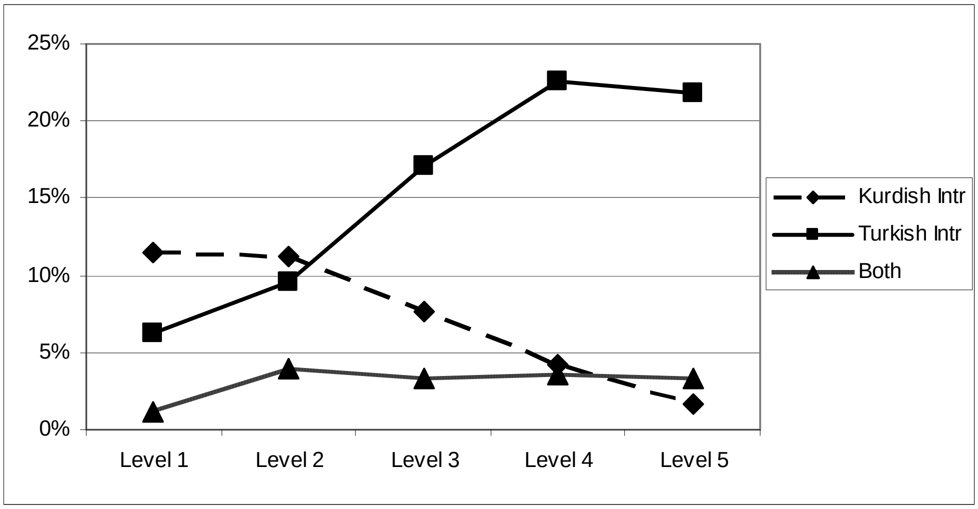
Moreover, although bilingualism may work differently across communities, considering the fact that the previous literature had associated exchange networks with the maintenance of local vernaculars (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Cheshire, 1982), in this case, the use of Kurdish, as well as the fact that participants with less native-like accent significantly identified with the Kurdish-speaking community ($r = .32$; $p < 0.01$), we can suggest a relationship between the use of Kurdish, the degree of identification with the Kurdish-speaking community, and the level of accent native-likeness. Also, note that people generally rely on exchange networks for emotional and material support, which increases casual communication opportunities for such networks. As for the participants in Levels 4 and 5, the case is almost reversed by comparison. More specifically, their significantly higher reported number of Turkish-speaking networks could indicate a relationship with their high levels of native-like Turkish accent.

4.7.2 Analysis of Interactive Networks for Each Level of Accent Ratings

The second closest and most regular form of social networks is the interactive one. *Interactive networks* refer to the weak ties between people who share low degrees of reciprocal and rewarding exchange of goods and services with very few mutually shared norms and obligations (Milroy & Li Wei, 1995).

Data showed that the highest percentage of non-family Turkish-speaking networks were *Interactive* in nature, suggesting that participants had the highest degree of exposure to the Turkish-speaking community through their interactive networks. Analogous to the exchange networks, the distribution of non-family Turkish-speaking interactive networks across rating levels was also very uneven as presented in Graph 4.7.2.1.

Graph 4.7.2.1. Distribution Non-Family Interactive Networks across Rating Levels



Graph 4.7.2.1 shows that 11% (n= 15) of interactive networks for students in both Level 1 and Level 2 (10%, n= 26) (participants with the least native-like accent) were Kurdish whereas the percentage of Turkish interactive networks of Level 1 remained at 6% (n= 9). Level 2 had a higher (10%, n= 22) percentage of Turkish-speaking interactive networks than Level 1. This indicated that although participants in Levels 1 and 2 maintained their regular contacts within their native language community, Level 2 participants seemed to have more Turkish interactive networks than participants in Level 1. While Level 1 participants had only 1% interactive networks with Both Kurdish and Turkish in nature, Level 2 participants had a similar number of participants with such networks as participants in Levels 3, 4, and 5.

A more interesting result here is that the range of the Kurdish-speaking exchange networks between Level 1 and 5 is 35%, whereas this range is only 10% for Kurdish-speaking interactive networks. Similarly, the difference between Turkish-speaking exchange networks for Level 1 and 5 is approximately 12%, while this range is around 17% for Turkish-speaking interactive networks. This indicates that interactive networks could be better predictors of accent native-likeness.

The data also suggest that the number of Turkish-speaking interactive networks increased for participants rated as having more native-like accent levels, however; the number of such networks for Level 4 participants (23%, n= 38) seemed to be very similar with the number in Level 5 (22%, n= 26). Following a gradual increase with accent native-likeness, Level 1 participants had 6% (n= 9), Level 2 had 10% (n= 22), and Level 3 had 17% (n= 31) Turkish interactive networks. The percentage of Kurdish interactive networks increased significantly as level of accent became less native-like; Level 5 being (2%, n= 2), Level 4 (2%, n= 3), Level 3 (8%, n= 14), and Levels 1 and 2 11%. These reported data suggest that participants with more native-like Turkish accent reported having more Turkish- speaking interactive networks as well.

As far as the quality of interactive networks is concerned, previous research (Lybeck, 2002; Milroy, 1987) reported that individuals in interactive networks, unlike exchange networks, generally do not rely on each other with respect to emotional and material support, and they do not necessarily tend to use the same local vernacular. In addition, interactive networks are unlikely to enforce norms and are more open to variation and change in language use in L1 situations. Therefore, although L1 and L2 situations may differ in terms of variation and language use, my results may indicate that young Kurdish learners with more native-like Turkish accents, whether they chose to do so or they did so due to some extrinsic motivation, succeeded in maintaining some sort of regular networks with the Turkish-speaking community in less mutually exclusive and norm-enforcing ways. It could also mean that participants with more native-like Turkish accent were more willing to break out of dense and multiplex Kurdish exchange networks and were able to sustain interactive networks without the expectation of emotional support and exchange of materials and services.

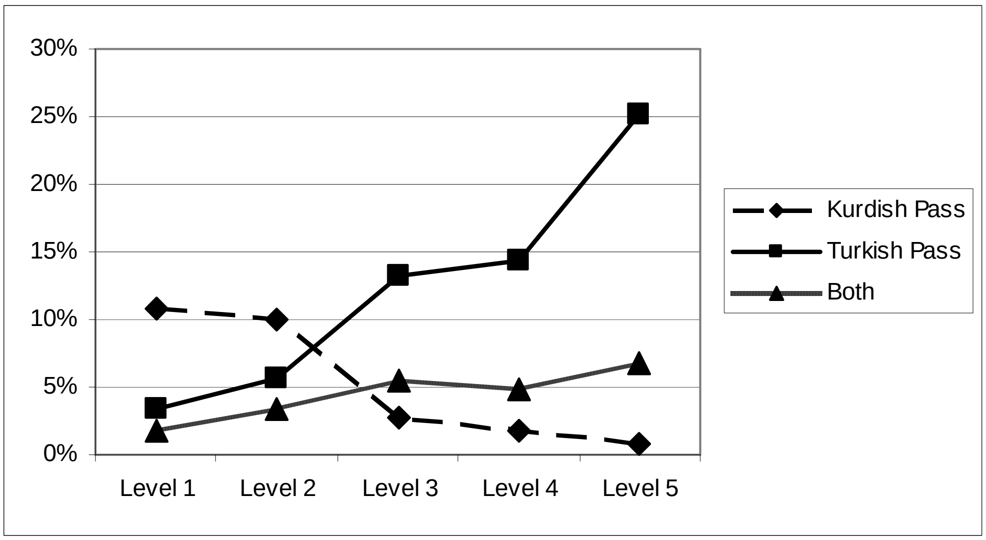
4.7.3 Analysis of Passive Networks across Levels of Accent Native-likeness

The last form of networks that was analyzed in this study was passive networks. *Passive networks*, which are more distant and appear in second order network ties, refer to contacts that an individual does not have on a regular basis, sometimes due to physical distance, but with which he or she has some meaningful connection (Lybeck, 2002; Milroy, 1992).

As presented in Table 4.7.3.1, the number of non-family passive networks was relatively smaller than exchange and interactive networks at all rating levels except for Level 5 where all the percentages of passive networks (n= 39; 33%) were higher than for interactive ones (n= 32; 27%). Although Level 1 participants had the lowest number (n= 21; 16%) of passive networks, the number of passive networks for the other groups seemed distributed rather randomly.

As for the distribution of Kurdish, Turkish, and Both passive networks across levels of accent native-likeness, findings suggested that the lowest percentage of all non-family Turkish-speaking networks was passive in nature, which indicated that all participants, in general, had the lowest degree of exposure to the Turkish-speaking community through their passive networks. Once again, based on the percentile analysis, the distribution of Turkish, Kurdish, and Both passive networks varied remarkably for individuals at each rating level as presented in Graph 4.7.3.1.

Graph 4.7.3.1. Distribution of All Non-Family Passive Networks across Rating Levels



Graph 4.7.3.1 shows that in the groups with more native-like accent the number of Turkish passive networks increased while the number of Kurdish passive networks decreased consistently. While Levels 1 (11%, n= 19) and 2 (10%, n= 23) had similar numbers of Kurdish-speaking passive networks, Level 3 (3%, n= 5), Level 4 (2%, n= 3), and Level 5 (1%, n= 1) had very few passive Kurdish-speaking networks.

In contrast, percentile analyses indicated that the number of Turkish passive networks increased in the more native-like accent groups such as Levels 4 and 5. A gradual increase was observed in the number of Turkish passive networks in higher levels of accent native-likeness reaching the maximum at 25% in Level 5; if further exploration was conducted, it could possibly shed light on the difference between Levels 4 and 5.

Turkish passive networks in Level 3 (13%, n= 24) were more than twice those of Level 2 (6%, n= 13) and were more than 4 times those of Level 1 (3%, n= 6). Those in Level 4 had 24 Turkish passive networks (14%, n=24). Granted this level of consistent and gradual increase as accent became more native-like might suggest a positive relationship between accent native-likeness and number of Turkish- speaking passive networks. As for the number of passive networks with which participants either reported code-switching or mixing (Both), differences between levels were not as big in the middle. Yet, participants in Level 5 (7%, n= 8) reported more than three times the number of Both passive networks than participants in Level 1 (2%, n=3) had.

Compared to exchange and interactive networks, passive networks are not necessarily ethnically or locally cohesive and do not rely on each other to share any social outcomes or emotional support, which, in many cases, require extra voluntary effort to maintain due to physical distance. Therefore, this finding demonstrates that participants with the most native-like Turkish accent (Level 5) maintained a relatively high (25%, n= 30) percentage of Turkish passive contacts while participants in Levels 1 and 2 reported to have far fewer. Previous findings of Gal's (1978) and other scholars suggested that passive networks led to language shift through weak ties. In the Kurdish case, passive networks may have maintained more interaction with the target language community, providing more amount of exposure to the Turkish language. Nevertheless, findings of this study are far from making such causal claims regarding how this kind of interaction may have been related to gaining more native-like accent.

In short, the overall structure of all non-family networks for participants in Levels 1 and 2 consisted predominantly of Kurdish- speaking networks; their classmates, neighbors, and friends were more likely to be Kurds exchanging certain services, and material and emotional support, which reinforced the use of Kurdish. Levels 4 and 5 young Kurdish learners still formed networks in which Kurdish was the main language used in the neighborhood, but outside that area, Turkish was the main language used throughout their interactive and passive networks. Note that because of the fact that the numbers of non-family social networks were limited to seven, the number of exchange, interactive, and passive networks in each rating level were very much affected even by small changes.

4.8. Analysis of Family Networks Across Levels of Accent Native-Likeness

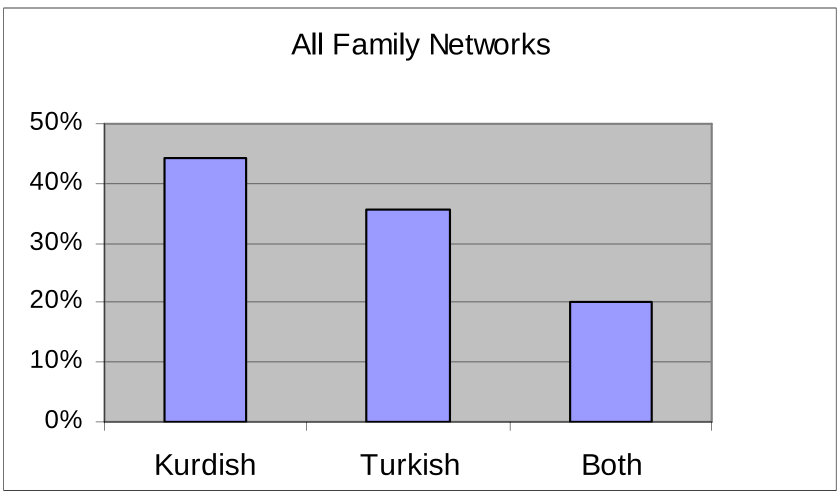
Previous studies have linked the use of a language in family with the attainment and retention of an ethnic identity (Malave, 2006). As stated by Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985) although a person who adopts a minority language as mother tongue does not necessarily have a strong sense of attachment to an ethnic community, language identity for a language minority community has generally been understood as the adoption or maintenance of a non-official language as the mother tongue. Nevertheless, argue Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985), it is self-explanatory that the retention of a minority language as a home language acts as an added constituent in the construction of ethnic minority identity. Therefore, individuals who hold onto an ethnic language as the home language will likely have a stronger socio-linguistic impetus to identify with their ethnic communities more strongly than others who adopt the standard or official language instead. Hence, it is important to address family networks who spoke Turkish with these young individuals in relation to success in attaining a native-like Turkish accent.

Family networks of Kurdish young learners in this study seemed to vary to a greater degree than their non-family networks with respect to the number of Turkish, Kurdish, and Both contacts. Recall that, above, 847 non-family networks were analyzed; however, despite the fact that most Kurdish families are big, the number of family contacts used in this analysis was 605 (121*5) because 5 was the fewest number reported by all participants. Also, note that although all family networks are exchange networks by nature (Milardo 1986), they were analyzed separately in order to explore the differences between family and non-family exchange networks in relation to accent native-likeness, with the hope of determining the potential social relationship between family interactions and attainment of a native-like Turkish accent.

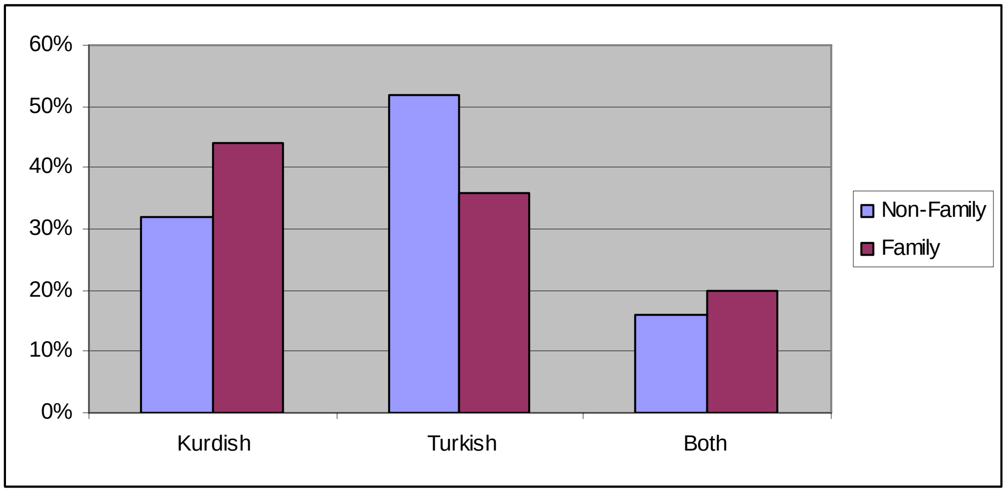
Percentile analysis of the number of family members speaking one or both of the languages across the five levels of accent native-likeness was carried out. Graph 4.8.1 shows that of 605 family networks, 267 (44%) were reported to consist of Kurdish language interactions, 216 (36%) were reported to use Kurdish, and 122 (20%) were reported to code-switch or mix the languages while speaking with the participants.

A comparison between the number of all family and non-family Kurdish, Turkish and Both networks revealed that although the number of family and non-family networks that need both languages did not differ much, there was significant difference in the number of Turkish and Kurdish-speaking networks. Graph 4. 8. 2 demonstrates that while the number of family Kurdish-speaking networks (44%, n= 267) was higher than the non-family Kurdish-speaking networks (32%, n= 288), the number of non-family Turkish-speaking networks (52%, n= 449) was much higher than the family Turkish-speaking networks (36%, n= 216), indicating that young Kurdish learners reported speaking more Kurdish than Turkish within the family. It also revealed that they reported code-switching or mixing the two languages more with the family networks than the non-family networks.

Graph 4.8.1 Number of All Turkish-Speaking, Kurdish- Speaking and Both Kurdish and Turkish- Speaking Family Networks

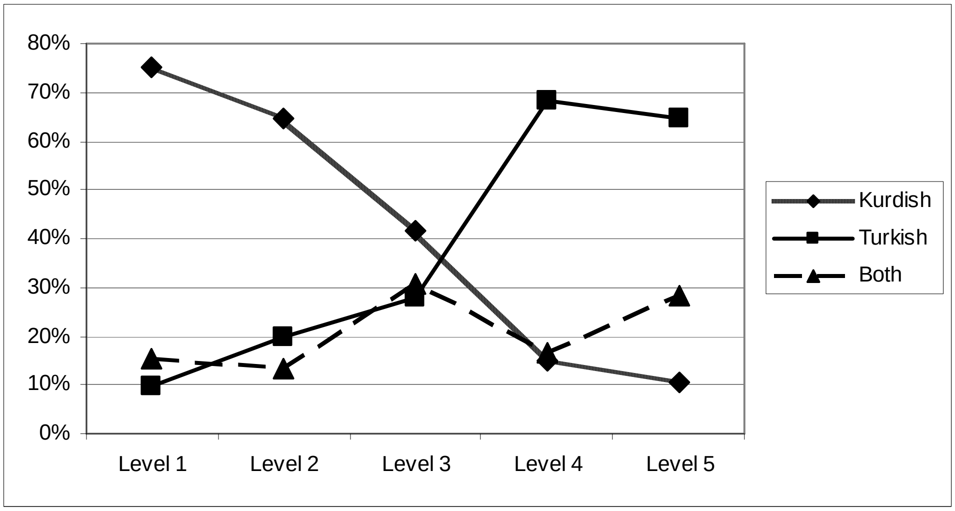


Graph 4.8.2 Comparison of the Number of Family and Non-Family Networks



An analysis of family Kurdish-speaking, Turkish-speaking, and Both Turkish and Kurdish-speaking networks across rating levels also demonstrated some difference in the number of participants. Data suggested that as the level of accent native-likeness increased, the number of family Kurdish-speaking networks significantly decreased while the number of family Turkish-speaking networks increased. Also, as the number of family networks that used both languages seemed to vary rather randomly, it interesting to note that Level 3 participants had the highest number of family networks reportedly speaking both languages consistently. Graph 4.8.3 showed that participants with the least native-like Turkish accent Level 1 (75%, n= 79) and Level 2 (65%, n= 107) had clearly higher numbers of Kurdish-speaking networks in their family contacts than those with the more native-like accent levels such as Level 4 (15%, n= 18) and Level 5 (11%, n= 9).

Graph 4.8.3. Number of Family Networks in Each Rating Level



In summary, findings showed that participants with more native-like accents such as those in Levels 4 and 5 had a higher number of family Turkish-speaking networks, whereas participants with the least native-like accent such as those in Levels 1 and 2 had greater numbers of Kurdish-speaking family networks. Results also indicated that participants with more native-like accents had more Turkish-speaking family networks than non-family Turkish-speaking networks. In contrast, participants with the least native-like Turkish accent had more Kurdish-speaking family networks than Kurdish-speaking non-family networks.

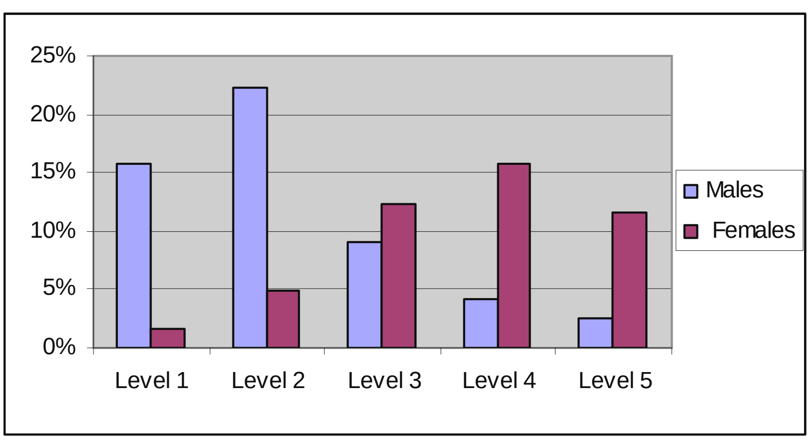
4.9. ANALYSIS OF NETWORKS AND GENDER BY AGE ACROSS LEVELS OF ACCENT NATIVE-LIKENESS

4.9.1 Analysis of Non-Family Networks and Accent Native-Likeness across Age, Gender, and Rating Levels

Previous sociolinguistics studies have reported inconclusive results regarding gender as it relates to language use, variation and shift. Although some studies found that first- generation immigrant women retained their ethnic language more than their male counterparts, maintaining the local dialect (Holmes & Harlow, 1991), others reported that women were, in fact, the ones who led the language shift by adopting the more prestigious language in order to change their social status (Clyne, 1991; Gal, 1978).

Graph 4.9.1 shows that female participants received more native-like accent ratings than the male participants. A majority of the male participants scored in Levels 1 and 2, the least native-like levels. Level 3, on the other hand, had a slightly higher number of female participants.

Graph 4.9.1 Number of Male and Female Participants in Each Rating Level



Data revealed that the number of female participants in the more native-like accent groups such as Level 4 (n= 19) and Level 5 (n= 15) was much higher than the number of male participants (Level 4: n= 5; Level 5: n= 3) (Table 4. 9. 1). Similarly, the number of male participants (Level 1: n= 19; Level 2: n= 27) was remarkably higher than the number of female participants (Level 1: n= 2; Level 2: n= 6) in the least native-like accent Levels of 1 and 2.

Of the 21 (17%) participants in Level 1, 90 % (n= 19) were boys and 62 % (n= 13) were from middle schools. In Level 2, 82% (n= 27) of the participants were boys but the difference between the number of middle and high school participants was only 4%. The pattern in numbers of participants in terms of gender and age began shifting starting with Level 3 which seemed to consist of slightly higher numbers of boys (n= 15; 58 %) than girls (n= 11) as well as middle (n= 14; 54 %) than high school participants (n= 12).

Table 4.9.1 Distribution of Participants and Their Non-Family Networks across Gender, Age and Accent Ratings

Accent Levels	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Middle School**	**High School**	**Total**	**Contacts**
1	2	19	13	8	21	147
2	6	27	17	16	33	231
3	15	11	14	12	26	182
4	19	5	11	13	24	168
5	14	3	5	12	17	119
Total	**56**	**65**	**60**	**61**	**121**	**847**

The difference in numbers of girls and boys in Levels 4 and 5 became more visible. Of 24 (20 %) participants in Level 4, 19 (79 %) were female and 13 (54 %) were in high school. Interestingly, not only were the overwhelming majority (n= 14; 82 %) of participants in Level 5 female but also 12 (71 %) of them were high school students.

Furthermore, Table 4.9.2 lists the number of female and male participants in middle and high school. Although the number of middle and high school participants was almost the same, there were more male (n= 65; 54 %) than female participants (n= 56; 46 %) due to cultural issues involved in high school girls' participation in this study. Data revealed that of the 24 female participants in high school, 79 % were in accent rating Levels 4 and 5 while the combined number of both middle and high school male participants in Levels 4 and 5 was only 12 %, indicating perhaps that there were more older female participants in the more native-like accent levels.

Table 4.9.2 Distribution of the Female and Male Participants across Grade Levels

Participants	**Number of Boys**	**Number of Girls**	**Total**
High School	**37 (61%)**	**24 (39%)**	**61**
Middle School	**28 (47%)**	**32 (53%)**	**60**

Finally, the make-up of the social networks for boys and girls was also interesting in showing the overall socialization patterns of the Kurdish community in terms of the segregation of men and women. Table 4.9.3 indicated that 64 % (n= 287) of the networks of female participants were Turkish while the number of Turkish-speaking networks was only 36 % (n= 172) for boys, demonstrating that girls maintained more regular interactions with the target language community. Moreover, for girls, 89 % of their networks were women whereas male participants reported that only 30 % of their networks were with female individuals. In other words, male participants had almost three times more women than girls had men in their networks. This indicated that men participants had more freedom to interact across gender groups. Note that the girls had more Turkish-speaking networks than boys, but fewer networks from the opposite gender group than the boys, which indicates that as far as crossing across borders of ethnic identity and gender is concerned, gender poses stronger limitations on networks than ethnic identity.

Table 4.9.3 Participants' Gender and Non-Family Turkish-Speaking Networks

	Participants	**Female NETS**	**Male NETS**	**Turkish Networks**
Female	56	89%	11%	64%
Male	65	30%	70%	36%

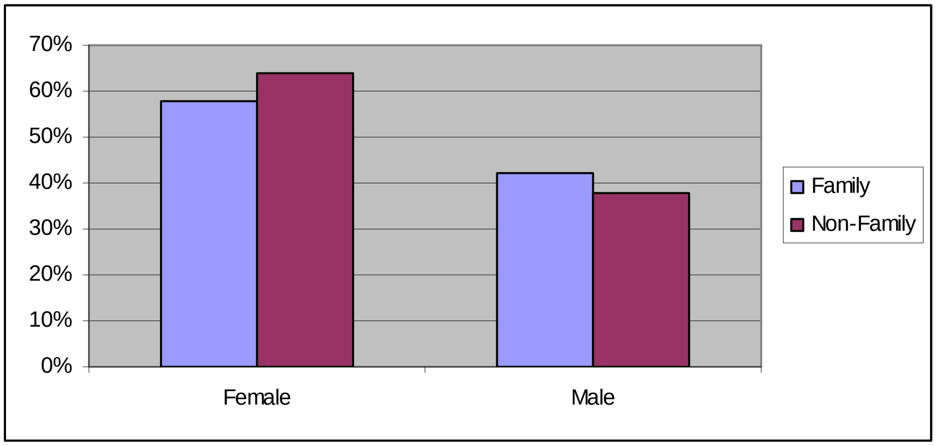
In summary, results revealed that female participants were increasingly represented in the more native-like accent levels such as Levels 4 and 5. These findings also indicated that most of the participants with the most native-like Turkish accent (Level 5) were high school female participants. As exhibited in Table 4.9.1, most participants with the least native-like accent were middle school male participants. Although the distribution of female and male participants in levels of accent native-likeness seemed to be consistently different, as far as age was concerned this distribution was consistently different only for female participants, showing that female participants clustered in Level 5 while male participants were in Level 1. Also, both female and male participants reported that most of their regular networks were from the same gender.

4.9.2. Analysis of Family Networks and Accent Native-Likeness Regarding Age, Gender and Rating Levels

Unlike the non-family networks, the number of family networks reporting Turkish, Kurdish and Both languages did not differ drastically across gender group. Of the 605 (121*5) family networks used in this study, only 216 (36 %) were Turkish and 122 (20 %) of them were Both networks. A comparison between the number of family and non-family Turkish-speaking networks across male and female participants is presented below.

Although there seemed to be a very small percentage of difference between family and non-family Turkish-speaking networks, Graph 4.9.2.1 demonstrates that female participants had slightly more non-family Turkish-speaking networks (62%) than family Turkish-speaking networks (58%). In contrast, male participants reported more family Turkish-speaking networks (42%) than non-family ones. Nevertheless, also noteworthy is that female participants reported both more family and non-family networks that were Turkish-speaking than did the male participants. Although female participants seemed to have more networks using both languages both within and outside their families than their male counterparts, the percentage difference was very small.

Graph 4.9.2.1 Number of Family and Non-Family Turkish-Speaking Networks across Female and Male Participants



This result suggests that compared to the male participants, female Kurdish learners spoke more Turkish than Kurdish both outside and within their families. In addition, they had more non-family than family Turkish-speaking networks. Male participants reported slightly more family Turkish-speaking networks. Findings also revealed that for female participants, code-switching and/or mixing reportedly occurred more within family networks than in non-family networks. Male participants, on the other hand, reported code-switching and/or mixing more outside than they did within their family networks.

4.10. MULTIPLEXITY ANALYSES OF SOCIAL NETWORKS ACROSS LEVELS OF ACCENT RATINGS

Multiplexity of social networks suggests that social links between two people serve multiple interests and relations. Human beings live in a multiplex world, maintaining multiple roles, identities, and relations with others for innumerable purposes through a variety of media. Networks can also be uniplex when two people interact in a single capacity only (Bott 1954 quoted by Milroy 1987, p. 135; Lybeck, 2002).

It is of great importance to explore the multiplexity of networks in this study because the content of networks can make some networks more effective than others in relating to the acquisition of accent. In fact, by definition, multiplex networks offer more potential regarding the frequency of interaction and the content and amount of exposure to a language. This is because the more multiplex relations a pair maintains, the more frequently they communicate due to each role relationship, receiving more exposure to the target language.

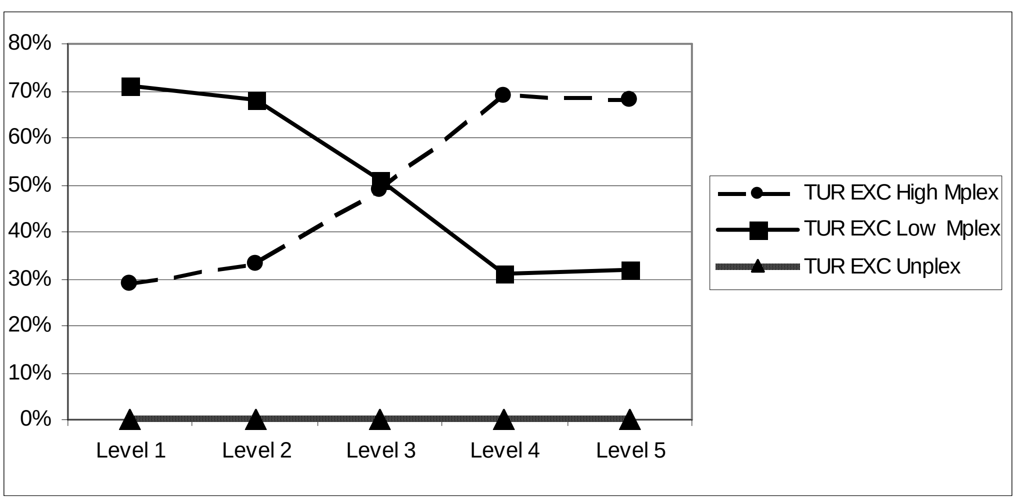
In this study, a comparative analysis of the multiplexity of all Kurdish, Turkish, and Both networks was performed in order to explore a potential relationship with accent native-likeness. *Low multiplexity* was operationalized as two links between two networks whereas *high multiplexity* was operationalized as three and/or more relations. Any network with only one link was considered *uniplex*.

In general, almost all Kurdish exchange and interactive networks were in the high multiplexity category across all accent rating levels. Nevertheless, some Kurdish interactive networks of individuals in Levels 4 and 5 were in the low multiplexity category. *Passive Kurdish-speaking* networks for the students in the lower levels of accent ratings, Levels 1 and 2 seemed to be of low multiplexity or uniplexity, and they gradually became more and more multiplex for individuals with higher accent rating Levels of 3, 4, and 5.

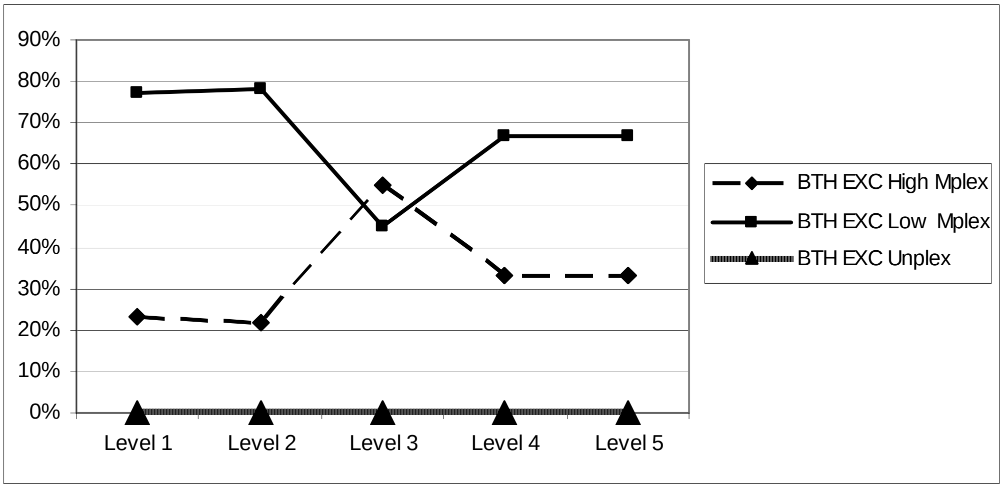
4.10.1 Multiplexity of Turkish and Both Exchange Networks across Levels of Accent Native-likeness

Turkish and Both networks, on the other hand, showed a great deal of variety across rating levels as far as multiplexity was concerned. Graph 4.10.1.1 revealed that none of the exchange networks were reported to be uniplex. Data showed that most exchange networks of the participants in the more native-like accent groups (Level 4; 69%, n= 38, and Level 5; 68%, n= 26) seemed to be in the high multiplexity level whereas Levels 1 (71%, n= 24) and 2 (68%, n= 27) were low in multiplexity. Therefore, in the more native-like accent level groups, the number of high multiplex Turkish-speaking exchange networks seemed to be relatively high, which could indicate that participants in Levels 4 and 5 were exposed to more multiplex, frequent, and mutually exclusive Turkish-speaking networks than participants in Levels 1 and 2.

Graph 4.10.1.1 Multiplexity of Exchange "Turkish-Speaking Networks" across Rating Levels



Graph 4.10.1.2 Multiplexity of Exchange “Both Networks” across Rating Levels

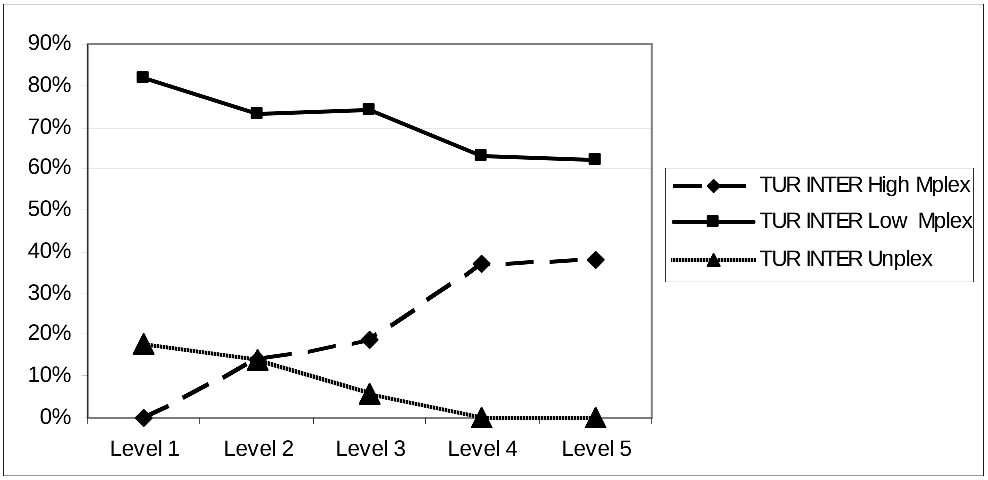


The percentage analysis of the number of exchange Both networks (Graph 4.10.1.2) showed that the majority of Both networks were in the low multiplexity category at all rating levels except for the networks of participants in Level 3 (55%, n= 6) who had more high multiplex Both networks. Although not remarkably high, lower level accent rating groups reported more low multiplex networks than students in the high accent groups.

4.10.2 Multiplexity of Turkish and Both Interactive Networks across Levels of Accent Native-likeness

In contrast, within interactive networks, Turkish and Both networks seemed to vary across accent ratings much more than they did for exchange networks. In particular, some of the Turkish-speaking networks of the less native-like group appeared to be uniplex showing a significant decrease in the number of high multiplex networks in these groups. Findings (Graph 4.10.2.1) suggested that participants in Level 1 did not maintain any high frequency and mutually exclusive networks with the Turkish-speaking community outside their close friends (Exchange), and 18% (n= 9) of their existing Turkish-speaking interactive networks were in one capacity only. Similarly, although Level 2 participants reported some high multiplex networks, 73% (n= 16) of their Turkish-speaking networks were low multiplex in nature, which might suggest that both groups were exposed to Turkish through a few less exclusive networks. Interestingly, however, although the exchange networks of Level 3 resembled more those of Levels 4 and 5, their Turkish-speaking interactive networks seemed to be rather similar to those of Levels 1 and 2.

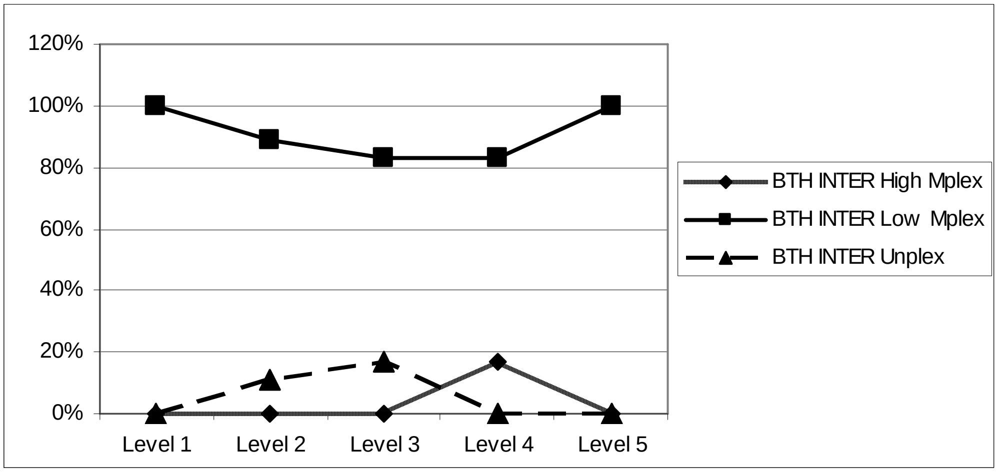
Graph 4.10.2.1 Multiplexity of Turkish-Speaking Interactive Networks across Rating Levels



In contrast, participants in Levels 4 and 5 did not report any uniplex networks (Graph 4.10.2.1). Although these groups had fewer low multiplex Turkish- speaking interactive networks than the other levels, the percentage of high multiplex networks was substantial (Level 4: 37%, n= 14; Level 5: 38%, n= 10). This result indicated that Levels 4 and 5 had even more high multiplex Turkish-speaking interactive networks than the number of high multiplex exchange networks of Level 1 and Level 2.

As far as the interactive Both networks were concerned, data showed several noteworthy patterns as well (Graph 4.10.2.2). For the first time in the networks analyses, Level 1 and Level 5 shared a commonality: the interactive Both networks of both groups were low multiplex in nature, and there were no high multiplex or uniplex interactive Both networks. Level 4 (17%, n= 2) was the only group with some high multiplex interactive Both networks.

Graph 4.10.2.2 Multiplexity of Interactive Both Networks across Rating Levels



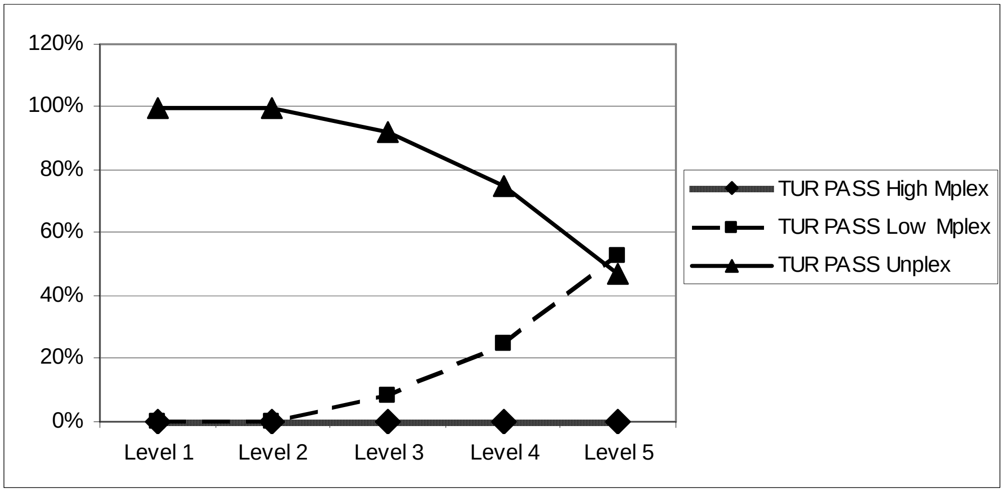
Graph 4.10.2.2 indicated that more than 80% of interactive Both networks of all groups were low multiplex in nature, which is in line with the operational definition of interactive networks. Nevertheless, between-group difference might suggest that this high number could be because of the fact that most participants in Level 5 were girls, and it is not expected, in the Kurdish traditions that young girls maintain such relations.

Although because of the inadequate number of participants, a statistical significance analysis of exchange, interactive, and passive networks with respect to high and low multiplexity and uniplexity could not be done, the percentages themselves were interesting, revealing some patterns in social networks across accent native-likeness. As noted, there were more female participants in the more native-like accent levels. Likewise, unlike the lower level rating groups, participants in the more native-like groups had more high multiplex exchange, and Turkish and Both interactive networks. Thus, data suggested that the exchange and interactive networks of female participants were more high multiplex in nature with a large number of low multiplex Turkish and Both passive networks. In contrast, lower level groups, which had more male participants, had more low-multiplex exchange networks with several uniplex interactive, and Turkish and Both passive networks.

4.10.3 Multiplexity of Turkish and Both Passive Networks across Levels of Accent Native-likeness

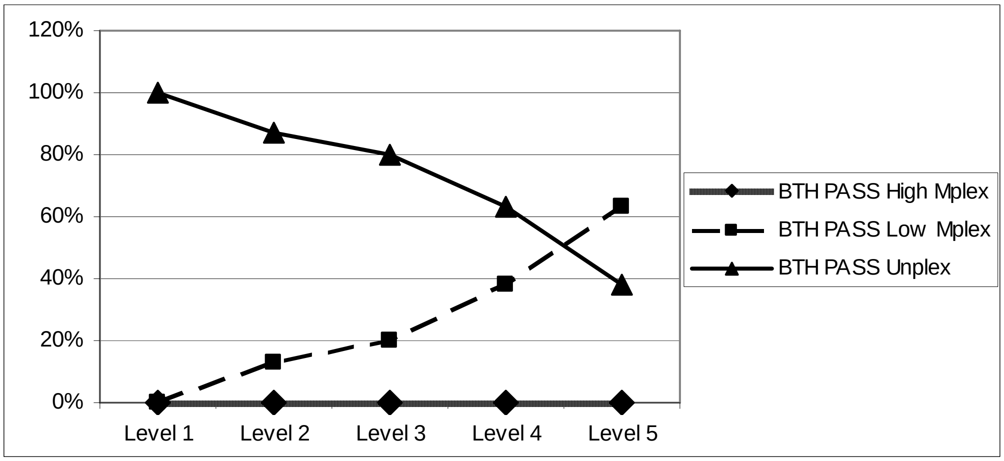
An analysis of the Turkish-speaking passive networks revealed no high multiplex Turkish and/or Both networks in any rating group, which was an expected result given that such networks are not frequent and mutually exclusive. Date showed that all participants in Levels 1 and 2 interacted with their Turkish-speaking passive networks in one capacity only; in other words, such networks were uniplex in nature. Although the percentage analysis of the Turkish and Both passive networks may not be meaningful because the number of such networks was as small, it is noteworthy that more of the Turkish-speaking passive networks of the participants in Level 5 were high multiplex in nature. This indicated that not only did the participants in Level 5 have the most Turkish-speaking networks, but they also maintained them in several mutually exclusive capacities.

Graph 4.10.3.1 Multiplexity of Turkish-Speaking Passive Networks across Rating Levels



Finally, the number of uniplex passive Both networks seemed to decrease while the number of low multiplex networks increased in more native-like accent levels. The exception was Level 5 participants who seemed to differ in this respect. Graph 4.10.3.2 revealed that all passive Both networks of Level 1 were reportedly uniplex in nature, and the number of low multiplex networks increased consistently along the rating levels from 3 to 5 while participants in Level 5 reported more low multiplex passive Both networks (63%, n= 5) than uniplex ones. This suggested that while the most native-like group (Level 5) maintained a remarkable number of low multiplex passive Both networks, and therefore increased their chances of exposure to the Turkish-speaking networks and language, Level 1 kept their relationships within one capacity only.

Graph 4.10.3.2 Multiplexity of Passive Both Networks across Rating Levels



4.11. Qualitative Analyses of Social Networks

Recall that qualitative data were collected from 20 (17%) participants only and used as secondary sources to triangulate the self-reported data. Data were analyzed in accordance with the participants' accent rating levels. Table 4.10.3.1, above, presented the number of the participants in each accent rating level. Results of social network data suggested that participants in the low rating levels reported to maintain more Kurdish-speaking networks than the participants in more native–like rating groups (Levels 4 and 5) who reported either more high multiplex Turkish or Both exchange and interactive, and several low multiplex and uniplex passive networks. Qualitative data rigorously supported these results. In what I report below, I have edited the quotes to protect actual identities of participants, and for each participant a pseudonym was used. Note that, all interviews were conducted in Turkish and translated into English by me. Only one participant (Ruhat 3) code-switched from Turkish to Kurdish during the interview, and I translated it.

4.11.1 Social Networks Analysis of Interviewed Participants in Rating Levels 1 and 2

Similar to the interview data on identity, this part of the interviews data also did not yield any consistency in terms of differences between Level 1 and Level 2 participants regarding the structure and the nature of their Turkish, Kurdish and Both networks. However, there were interesting differences between lower (Levels 1 and 2) and higher levels (Levels 4 and 5) participants. More representative accounts of interview data on participants' networks are presented below. Participants' accounts have been slightly edited, therefore punctuation between sentences might indicate that either the utterances were answers to specific questions or edited for purposes of anonymity. My clarifications are presented in square brackets.

During a semi-structured interview, in response to several questions (Appendix E) regarding Kurdish and Turkish social networks, Participant 52-25, a high school male student whose accent was rated a 1 on the native-likeness scale, stated:

> I'm Kurdish so I have more contacts with Kurds…..my close friends are Kurds….because we understand each other better…..I feel better around them…but I have Turkish friends at school….my teachers, but I don't hang out with them outside the school….for example Reshat has more Turkish friends and his accent is better than mine, but I don't care because they understand my Turkish, and I don't need Turkish at home. I feel weird when I speak Turkish with Kurds….When I speak with Turks it's fine because I don't often see many Turks any way….My uncle speaks German….he lives in Germany….

As pointed out earlier in the identity analysis section of this study, based on my observations, this participant not only tried to speak in Kurdish with me during the interview but also mostly limited his interactions at school to Kurdish-speakers only. Similarly, Ruhat 3, also a male high school student from the least native-like group (Level 1), resembled Participant 52-25 in network structures and content. He was very pleased with his Turkish accent and Kurdish-speaking networks even though he admitted that Turkish-speaking networks could help his accent:

> Maybe there are more Kurds than Turks in Erzurum, I think some don't want to say they're Kurdish….having more Turkish friends may help your Turkish but my Turkish is good now …. I mostly hang out with Kurds, especially in my neighborhood….we play soccer almost everyday after school in the street; everyone is Kurdish and we speak Kurdish when we play soccer….my friends are mostly Kurdish….we go to school together and we hang out after school….my father, mother…. we all speak Kurdish at home.

By contrast, from the same high school as Ruhat, Yusuf 13, a male participant with a rating level of 2, disagreed that hanging out with Turkish friends could help his accent become more native-like:

> I sometimes play soccer with Turkish friends but I don't think yelling "Pass me the ball" can improve my Turkish….If I cared, I could speak Turkish better….but my Turkish is good enough….We mostly speak Kurdish at home ….sometimes I speak Turkish too with my father but not very much……Most of my friend are Kurdish….I have some Turkish friends at school….for example I taught Fevzi how to say "How are you" in Kurdish. His mother is Kurdish but he acts like he is not Kurdish….If you speak in Turkish more, your Turkish will become better of course….Sometimes I feel fine, sometimes I feel uncomfortable when I speak in Kurdish….it depends who you are talking to; I mean to a Kurd or Turk…..

Participant 75-19, a middle school female student from Level 1, reported a more positive attitude than Yusuf 13 towards having Turkish- speaking networks even though her accent was less native-like. She argued:

> Maybe I know more Kurdish because most people who live in our neighborhood are Kurdish…..so we speak Kurdish all the time….we listen to both Kurdish and Turkish songs at weddings…..I like speaking Turkish with my teachers….but my accent is not good [She did not elaborate why she thought so]…..also TV is important….you can learn more Turkish if you watch Turkish TV…..I have one close Turkish friend. She is my classmate….They also live on a close street so they know Kurdish culture, and she likes me a lot…but I can't walk to their house [meaning young girls are not supposed to hang around without supervision] so I see her only at school.

In summary, these participants, who had received a score of 1 or 2 on accent native-likeness, consistently reported more Kurdish-speaking networks on which they depended emotionally or materially (High Exchange or Interactive) reporting high degrees of identification with the Kurdish-speaking community ($r = -.55$; $p < 0.01$). In contrast, the Turkish-speaking networks they reported were either very few or of low multiplexity in nature lacking the quality of frequent interaction and mutual exclusiveness, and therefore exposure to the Turkish language. Nevertheless, as stated by Participant 75-19, the possibility of learning Turkish from television as another source of exposure to the language is considered important.

4.11.2 Analysis of Social Networks of Participants in Rating Levels 4 and 5

Unlike the participants above, participants in Levels 4 and 5 provided rather different answers to the social networks questions, which suggested that they consistently maintained more Turkish-speaking networks due to expected external outcomes such as success on the university entrance exam and the fact of living in a big city. This result was somewhat surprising given that I have not found in the quantitative analysis any significant differences for the external regulation form of motivation. Once again these participants did not necessarily distance themselves from the Kurdish-speaking community. Necati 120 was a male high school student whose accent was rated as Level 4, and who contrary to the common practice of having a girl friend from one's own ethnic group, had a Turkish girl friend, and never interacted with any Kurdish-speaking peers during my observations on school premises. He relayed:

> I definitely have more Turkish friends and contacts in general. Most of my close friends are Turkish because we study for the university entrance exam together. Kurdish students don't really care that much….all they do is go and play soccer…..I think hanging out with Turks can affect your accent very much….of course you must study Turkish grammar on your own….. We have a lot of Kurdish neighbors but maybe we have more Turkish neighbors; I don't really know….I mostly speak Turkish at home…..I sometimes speak Kurdish as well….I have many Kurdish friends with whom I speak in both Turkish and Kurdish…. You know the proverb in Turkish right? [He asked me] "Tell me your friends and I will tell you who you are." So, if your friends speak Turkish your accent will be better… Also, my dad said that bad Kurdish friends can introduce you to their bad friends….

Ayse 1, a female participant from another high school, who was ranked as having the most native-like accent, explained her communication situations regarding language use with her family members, showing her strong belief in the power of virtual networks via TV when she responded:

> Maybe friends can affect your accent too, but not very much…. but I think if you watch lots and lots of Turkish TV, your Turkish will be very good. That's what I did mostly. I want to speak Turkish and even when my mom talks to me in Kurdish, I answer in Turkish even though I am not aware of this situation. …Yes, most of my close friends are Turkish; they are only girls [she acted like she had to tell me that], but I have very close Kurdish friends too with whom I also speak in Turkish and sometimes in Kurdish and Turkish at the same time. We speak Turkish at home most of the time …only a little Kurdish with my grandparents….and in the street because most of our neighbors are Turkish anyway.

Berfin 10 in Level 5, a female friend of Ayse 1, had very socially complicated comments regarding Kurdish family traditions, including gender roles, responsibilities and treatment, in comparison to Turkish ones. Her opinions were very similar to the women in Gal's Hungarian study (1978) who did not want to marry peasant men and used their passive networks with the German-speaking community to change their lives. My participant, Berfin 10, discussed the role a family could play in the structure and content of their children's networks when she stated:

> Well, I can't really choose my friends because you know the rules [referring to the lack of freedom in the family]….but I think your friends can change a lot. So, most of my friends are Turkish, because they follow fashion, music….Kurdish girls only take care of babies at home and clean… You know I want to go to university…and most people at university are Turkish, right?….I feel very comfortable when I speak in Turkish because I can speak like a Turk….I speak Turkish at home too…even when people say something in Kurdish, I answer in Turkish….Of course, when I see a Kurdish woman on the buses having problem talking to the driver, I speak in Kurdish to them and translate for them.

All of the participants in Levels 4 and 5 seemed to have integrated into the Turkish-speaking community much better than those with the least native-like accent for a variety of social and personal reasons. Qualitative data, based on interviews and observations, suggested that participants with more native-like Turkish accent seemed to have more frequent and high multiplex relationships (Exchange and Interactive) with the Turkish-speaking community which could have included Turks and Kurds who spoke Turkish with a native-like Turkish accent. Needless to say, these participants communicated within their family networks predominantly in Turkish as well, receiving much encouragement and support to acculturate into the Turkish culture and to think of going to college and living in big and predominantly Turkish cities. Therefore, on

Schumann's (1978) social distance continuum, we could place some of these participants in acculturation (into the Turkish culture), with a few very close to assimilation (into the Turkish culture).

In contrast, participants in Levels 1 and 2 reported to have predominantly Kurdish- speaking networks with whom they shared exchange of goods and services as well as emotional and other support. Although they reported to be have been mocked in the past by their friends and other people as a result of their non-native Turkish accent, they did not change their attitudes towards attaining a more native-like Turkish accent. These participants also interacted with their family networks overwhelmingly in Kurdish. Unlike the participants with more native-like Turkish accent, they attached low or no value to learning Turkish or going to college or pursuing opportunities to live in a big Turkish city. Thus, unlike participants in Levels 4 and 5, we could categorize some of these participants in preservation (of the Kurdish culture), and some between preservation (of the Kurdish culture) and acculturation (attained some elements of Turkish culture) with respect to Schumann's categories.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is divided into two major sections. In the first section, I interpret my findings within the framework of the previous literature, and then address the similarities and differences between my findings and those of other studies. In the second section, situating my findings within the context of relevant previous studies, I address the practical implications of this study. Third, I discuss the limitations, and in the last section, I present some potential research directions that could be pursued based on the findings of this study.

5.1. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

I begin with an explanatory presentation of variation in accent and then develop an interpretation of the statistical relationships between my young Kurdish participants' accent native-likeness and their identification patterns with the Turkish and Kurdish-speaking communities. Third, I provide a brief discussion of the results of the regression analyses using the four motivation orientations to predict native-like Turkish accent. Fourth, I discuss whether the differences among the levels of native-like accent of the participants were likely to relate to the kinds of Turkish-speaking, Kurdish-speaking, and both Turkish and Kurdish-speaking social networks these young Kurdish learners maintained.

5.1.1. Variation in Accent

Bongaerts (1999) and Birdsong (2004) used global accent ratings to determine the native-likeness of the foreign accents of L2 French learners who were over 20 years of age. Their findings suggested that variation in accents of the speakers of different L1s (e.g., English and Dutch in learning French) was not uncommon. They found that there was a high level of uniformity among raters in determining variation in terms of the assessment of accent native-likeness using a global rating scale.

Similarly, my findings also suggested that the Turkish accent of the Kurdish young individuals in this study also varied. The inter-rater reliability coefficients indicated that there was a very significant level of agreement among the judges in determining different levels of accent native-likeness. Considering the fact that my participants were from a younger age group, based on previous research on the Critical Period Hypothesis (Birdsong, 1999), finding more variation in their Turkish accent was also not surprising.

5.1.2. Identity and Accent Native-likeness

Several scholars (Berry, 1998; Cook, 2001; Lybeck, 2002; Maple, 1982) have followed the lead of Schumann (1976) and reported that societal factors can either foster or inhibit social solidarity across members of these languages and thereby affect the degree to which L2 learners acquire the target language. Ellis (1999) described the process of acquiring competence in a language as acculturation and claimed that the degree of achievement depended on social distance. Simpson (1997), within a similar framework to that of Schumann, found that learners who experienced greater social distance had more difficulty in acquiring communicative and pragmatic competence in the target language than learners with less social distance. My findings confirmed their findings in relating socio-psychological factors to L2 acquisition.

Other scholars also agree that language learning involves complex social interactions and power relations that engage L2 learners' identities in many ways (Peirce, 1995). Saville-Troike (1989) referred to this as "a person's repertoire of social identities" and envisaged language as a tool that can either facilitate or inhibit integration within a speech community. In relating identity to language learning, Woolard (1991) stated that in the case of the Catalan language, refusal to use Catalan obstructed its acquisition while identification with Catalans positively added to the acquisition of the language for many people. The relationship between attainment in an L2 and ethnic identity and/or native language loyalty as it emanates from inter-group interactions seems to be worth of future research.

As detailed in chapter 2, Spolsky (1989) stated that, in addition to formal classroom learning, informal socialization with speakers of the target language community gives second language learners a vital opportunity to practice the target language. Using a similar research design, Spolsky (1969) found that in cases in which participants considered themselves as more like the speakers of the target language as opposed to speakers of their mother tongue, they achieved higher levels of proficiency in the target language. He concluded that a learner acquires a second language better if he or she wants to be a member of the community that speaks the target language.

Similarly, Oller et. al. (1977) in their study of the motivation of Chinese speakers to learn English in the United States concluded that learner attitudes were the best predictors of the attained level of a second language proficiency, verifying Spolsky's (1969) findings. In another study, with adult Japanese speakers learning English as a foreign language (EFL), Chihara and Oller (1978) reported that although a significant relationship between learner attitudes and attained level of proficiency in L2 was obtained, the relationship was weaker for EFL learners than for ESL learners perhaps because of the differences embedded in the settings.

In general, the findings of this study should not be interpreted as endorsing an assimilationist viewpoint that in order for L2 learners to attain the target language successfully, they should renounce their L1 and culture-related identities. Renouncing one's native language and culture (Johnson, 2000) and embracing the target language and culture does not necessarily make for success in learning a target language; rather, it justifies the case for a monolingual society. This study's findings support additive bilingualism and/or multilingualism rather than assimilationist or preservationist viewpoints (Krashen, 1987) for several reasons.

First, my findings suggest that the Kurdish young individuals participated in this study have been functioning both in Turkish and Kurdish languages in different discourses and social interactions. Second, participants who attained higher native-like Turkish accent levels (Levels 4&5) also reported using Kurdish competently in various settings as well. Third, qualitative data indicated that even participants who identified more strongly with the Kurdish-speaking community reported that they believed in the importance of learning Turkish. Last, regression analysis results on identity also suggested that strong identification with L1 community did not necessarily mean lack of identification with L2. In other words, they reported not to have any hostile attitudes towards the Turkish-speaking community even though they strongly identified with the target language community. Simply, it is clear that participants considered Turkish as having an additive value.

This question examined the relationship between the native-likeness of Turkish accent of the Kurdish young learners and their identity patterns. Findings suggested that the degree of identification with the Turkish-speaking community was a moderately positive and significant predictor of accent native-likeness. In other words, as the degree of identification with the Turkish-speaking community increased, accent ratings increased in native-likeness. In addition, results revealed that as the degree of identification with the Kurdish-speaking community increased, accent ratings decreased.

These findings mean that individuals who attributed a higher degree of positive values to the Kurdish-speaking community tended to have a less native-like Turkish accent. Hence, we can suggest that for young Kurdish-speaking learners of Turkish having a higher degree of identification with the Turkish-speaking community was associated with the degree of success in attaining a more native-like Turkish accent**.** In other words, since they did not report to have hostile attitudes towards Turks, reporting that they did not feel threatened to identif with the language community to some degree, we can argue that they valued socialization and interaction with Turks, and this situation seemed to be related to the degree to which they had acquired a native-like accent in Turkish. Similarly, a higher degree of identification with the Kurdish-speaking community suggested an association with less native-like Turkish accent. This significant level of association between accent native-likeness and the degree of identification with the L2 community suggested that the findings of this study are remarkably consistent with those of Chihara and Oller's (1978), Spolsky's (1969), and Woolard's (1991) findings.

In questioning the findings of the motivation research done by Gardner and colleagues on L2 attainment, Oller and Perkins (1978) offered an alternative explanation for the relationship between affective measures and achievement in L2 attainment. They suggested that variance in L2 proficiency may as well cause variance in affective measures. Oller and Perkins supported this argument using a study conducted by Savignon in 1972. Savignon (1972) reported that L2 learners' proficiency level can cause either positive or negative attitudes. She reported that L2 learners with high proficiency levels tended to develop positive attitudes in the process of learning the language whereas those with low proficiency levels increasingly became less satisfied. More specifically, L2 learners of French who reported more positive values toward learning French in the beginning of the course did not achieve higher levels of achievement. In contrast, learners who entered the program with higher proficiency levels expressed more positive values at the end of the course. Also, Au (1988) reported that higher L2 proficiency may motivate learners to develop more positive attitudes both towards learning L2 and/or L2 culture and community.

As stated earlier, my data were not meant to and did not suggest any causal relationship between attainment of a native-like Turkish accent and motivation, identity, and social networks. However, interpreting my findings in light of these studies, one can argue that Kurdish young learners attained a more native-like regional Turkish accent because of several probable direct and indirect scenarios: First, their high motivation levels may have led to the attainment of a more native-like accent. Second, their high levels of proficiency may have initially affected their motivation which in turn led to a more native-like accent. Third, their high motivation levels may have indirectly affected the attainment of a more native-like accent by helping the young Kurdish learners to develop gradually positive attitudes towards the learning of Turkish and the Turkish-speaking community, thereby increasing their opportunities for more meaningful exposure to comprehensible input. Fourth, their initially high proficiency levels of Turkish may have helped them to develop positive attitudes towards the learning of Turkish and the Turkish-speaking community, increasing their opportunities of more meaningful exposure to comprehensible input. Fifth, their initial L2 proficiency may have influenced their attitudes, which in turn affected their motivation and then caused a more native-like accent. Sixth, their initial L2 proficiency may have affected their motivation which in turn affected their attitudes and which led to a more native-like accent. Finally, other scenarios are also possible given that the variables in this study accounted only for a partial amount of the association between L2 attainment and these socio-psychological factors.

Moreover, using Schumann's interpretation of the effects of such factors in second language acquisition, an example of a "bad language learning situation" can be similar to the situation of Kurds learning Turkish in some regions of southeast Turkey. Note that although my setting was in eastern Turkey where participants had exclusive access to both language communities, it was far from a "good language learning situation" as defined by Schumann (1976). This is mainly because, on the one hand, regarding cultures, participants reported that Turkish and Kurdish cultures are rather different from each other. During the interviews some participants accepted that some

Kurds in this region have negative feelings about Turkish-speaking community based on their past patterns of contact, and the same was true of the feelings that some Turks have about the Kurdish-speaking community. On the other hand, considering the fact that the Kurdish population in eastern Turkey, particularly in Erzurum, is under 20%, a high degree of enclosure and/or cohesion by Kurds was also not the case. Therefore, based on Schumann's interpretation, my setting was neither a "good" language learning situation nor a "bad" one; yet some learners demonstrated acculturation patterns that are attributed to a "good" language learning situation.

My findings revealed that identification with language communities need not be black or white. In addition, parents seemed also to have strong impact on the attitudes of their children. Bartram (2006) suggested a relationship between parental language knowledge and learner attitudes and examples of situations where children connected parental behaviors with their language attitudes. He argued that less supportive parental attitudes including communication of negative attitudes about the second language communities can have powerful effects on children's own attitudes.

5.1.3. Motivation and Accent Native-likeness

Previous research that investigated the possible effect of motivation on L2 attainment has reached somewhat contradictory conclusions. Gardner (1985) and Gardner et al. (2004) found that learners with higher integrative motivation showed greater effort and investment of time toward achieving their language learning goals. They also reported that integrative motivation correlated more highly with L2 achievement than instrumental motivation. Although Deci and Ryan (1985) have reported that intrinsic motivation leads to high quality learning and creativity because of the learner's inherent desire for the accomplishment of an action, they concluded that some forms of extrinsic motivation (extrinsic motivation refers to doing something because of potentially separable outcomes) are rather effective as well.

Several other studies, using Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, (Ryan & Connell, 1989) have found that learners were, in fact, able to clearly discriminate between levels of extrinsic orientations. Therefore, these orientations of extrinsic motivation have been reported to be separately operationalizeable. Ryan and Deci (2002) suggested the fact that since many of the tasks that are planned and designed by educators for learners may not inherently be interesting or enjoyable, it is of great significance to focus on active and more autonomous forms of extrinsic motivation to foster successful learning.

All of these studies indicated that extrinsic motivation can be very powerful in contributing to learners' achievement. For example, Ryan and Deci (2002) found that many students were more extrinsically than intrinsically motivated to perform in their classroom work. Reeve and Deci (1996) and others found that children whose parents were more autonomy supportive and students who were less controlled did better at school than those who were not. This finding has been supported by many other studies that found that more autonomous forms of identification and integration led to more success. In a recent study on middle-school Korean students' academic achievement level in an EFL classroom, Murray (2005) found that, among all other motivational orientations, the level of their identification orientation (personally identifying with the importance of the task) was the highest. In addition, she found that while intrinsic motivation (inherent interest or enjoyment) was not a significant factor in Korean students' attainment in English, extrinsic motivation played a significant role.

In exploring the relationship between motivation and attainment in an L2 native-like, this study asked this question: "Do the different motivational orientations significantly relate to attainment of a native-like Turkish accent by Kurdish young individuals living in Turkey?" Findings revealed that the higher the level of integration motivation, that is the more the Kurdish young learners had assimilated the importance of learning Turkish into their *self*, the more Turkish native-like was their Turkish accent (.32, $p < 0.01$). Results of the regression analyses also suggested that in cases where the young Kurdish individuals were learning Turkish due to feelings of obligation, avoidance of guilt, or anxiety (introjection orientation), their accent was less native-like (-.20; $p < 0.01$). As far as the association between accent native-likeness and other motivational orientations was concerned, no significance was obtained.

In terms of the association between motivation and achievement in learning a second language, findings of the present study supported results of previous studies (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan &Connell, 1989) that more autonomous forms of motivation significantly related to attainment of a second language. Nevertheless, regarding the interaction between motivation and other factors such as identity, this study does not provide any evidence in support of earlier studies (e. g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972) that had reported learner attitudes as affecting the motivation to learn a target language. Nonetheless, interpreting motivation as a social construct, it is important to understand that the Turkish language learning setting and attitudes of the Turkish-speaking community towards the Kurdish learners may have related to facilitating or undermining their motivation to acquire a native-like Turkish accent. This situation could have created a less facilitating language learning situation (Schumann, 1976) due to social-psychological distance.

As for the relationship between motivation and accent native-likeness, unfortunately little research can be cited to compare to my findings. Bongaerts (1999) suggested that high motivation to sound like a native speaker and training in L2 pronunciation can lead to speaking with a native-like accent. However, he suggested that motivation did not guarantee success in acquiring a native-like accent. Similarly, my data suggested that motivation was a significant predictor of a native-like accent, but it is not suggesting any guarantee that such motivation guaranteed native-like attainment either. Relatedly, Birdsong (2004) also found that some L2 learners, in spite of training in French pronunciation and high motivation, did not speak with a native-like accent.

5.1.4. Overall Social Networks and Accent Native-likeness

Several previous studies revealed that second language learners who were able to engage in exchange networks (close friends with mutually exclusive emotional and material support) with the target language community experienced less distance than learners who did not have native speakers in their exchange networks, which improved their attainment of an L2 (Lybeck, 2002; Schumann, 1978). However, some researchers suggested more culture-specific results. For example, Gullestad (1991) pointed out that in cultures like Norway in which networks are very cohesive and close-knit, it is highly likely that the L2 learner will not engage in exchange networks with the L2 community, thereby naturally increasing the social distance.

In studying the possible relationship between success in acquiring pronunciation in Norwegian and these Americans' exchange, interactive, and passive networks, Lybeck (2002) found similar results to my findings. Note that she studied only nine participants during the course of less than a year. Therefore, her findings suggest more about how the participants felt during their interactions with the native Norwegian speakers and their experience in creating and maintaining networks with the target language community, rather than ultimate attainment in the L2.

Lybeck (2002) found that American learners who maintained networks with the Norwegian-speaking community attained a more native-like pronunciation than those who did not. She suggested that the participants with the least native-like accent were the ones who had little or no support from the native speakers and conformed to the norms of their English-speaking exchange networks. In an attempt to address differences between students who were more successful in attaining a better Norwegian accent (Group A), she found that the ones who had more exchange networks acquired a better accent than those whose networks were more interactive by nature. However, her data did not suggest much about how multiplex networks related to the acquisition of a better accent.

My study does not suggest that the participants who integrated into the Turkish-speaking community through more mutually exclusive social networks attained a more native-like Turkish accent simply because they had more comprehensible input opportunities. However, consistent with the findings of Lybeck (2002) and Gullestad (1991), results did show that participants who attained a more native-like accent also had more Turkish-speaking networks, suggesting that Turkish-speaking networks were one of the integral contributors of their L2 accent. In addition, note that the analysis of the multiplexity of social networks also provided the frequency of the use of Kurdish, Turkish languages by the young Kurdish learners. Because the multiplexity data indicated that learners with more native-like Turkish accent were also the ones who used Turkish more frequently, we can argue that my findings also supported Piske et al.'s (2001) findings which suggested that native Italian speakers of English who continued to speak their native language frequently had strongly significant non-native-like English accent than those who spoke Italian infrequently.

Findings indicated that Kurdish young learners with less native-like Turkish accent interacted more with their exchange networks (close friends with mutually exclusive emotional and material support) than participants with more native-like accent. This was mainly because many of the interactive (less frequent acquaintances without reciprocal emotional and material exchange, e.g., a teacher) and most of the passive networks (least frequent distant acquaintances, e.g., friends of friends in interactive networks) were Turkish, and these participants had fewer Turkish-speaking networks in general. Results for Level 1 and Level 5 participants supported Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) and Lippi-Green's (1989) findings that exchange networks are better predictors of language behavior than other kinds of networks. Furthermore, results indicated that participants with more native-like accents were likely to have more Turkish contacts with whom they interacted regularly outside their ethnic community allegiances.

My findings are consistent with Lybeck's (2002) conclusions that there is a positive relationship between maintaining more integration and exchange networks (close friends with mutually exclusive emotional and material support) with the target language community and success in the attainment in an L2. Nevertheless, many of my participants had multiplex Turkish networks, but none of Lybeck's (2002) participants had such networks with the target language community. Also, passive networks (least frequent distant acquaintances, e.g., friends of friends in interactive networks) as they relate to accent native-likeness have not been studied before.

Note that the significant positive association between integration orientation (individuals have assimilated the importance of learning the task into their self) and accent native-likeness revealed that participants who had more native-like Turkish accent who obtained higher scores on the measure of integration regulation as well. It is also interesting to find that Kurdish young learners who had more Turkish-speaking networks (Levels 4 and 5) also received higher native-like accent ratings. Therefore, although it is not clear whether they engaged in more Turkish-speaking networks because they were motivated to learn Turkish or whether maintaining such Turkish-speaking networks contributed to their motivation in learning Turkish, it is clear that there is a consistent pattern that shows that a more native-like Turkish accent is associated with both integration orientation (individuals have assimilated the importance of learning the task into their self) and the maintenance of more Turkish-speaking networks.

5.1.5. Gender and Accent Native-likeness

As pointed out by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), the relationship between gender and language is one that is difficult to unravel because gender can not be easily separated from other aspects of social identity, and the relationship will likely vary across different social communities. Opposing the research regarding female superiority in learning languages, recent studies in second language acquisition have been inconclusive as to whether women learn a second language better than men (Ellis, 1994). Nevertheless, several studies found that men and women apply different learning styles and strategies in learning foreign/second languages (Oxford, 1994).

Currently, most researchers in second language acquisition agree that linking second language acquisition to gender in terms of its biological characterization poses spurious conclusions because gender is socially constructed, and therefore it constitutes social, cultural, and situational factors that shape its categories as well as roles (Ehrlich, 1997). One can argue that gender differences as they relate to learning a second/foreign language are generally socially, culturally, and situationally bound. Therefore, it is of great significance to explore the socio-cultural factors that contribute to differences between men or women in attaining a second language.

Several studies found that women outperformed men in learning a second language because they had different motivations and attitudes about the target language (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Spolsky, 1989). In interpreting these findings Ellis (1994) suggested that in cases where girls outperform boys in learning a second language, it can be because women deal with the inherent threat imposed on their identities by L2 learning more readily than men. Again, we can argue that, because gender categories, roles, and relations are socio-culturally constituted, superior attainment in an L2 by a gender group should be generalized to that particular speech community with only a few implications that can surpass immediate socio-cultural realities.

Whereas some researchers found that women had restricted access to the target language and therefore attained a limited proficiency, others like Zentella (1987) found that Puerto Rican women in New York not only code-switched between English and

Spanish more than men but they also were better speakers of both of these languages. She found that although women were the cultural mediators between the two language communities, they showed greater loyalty to their native language than men. Finally, unlike these studies that showed that women showed greater loyalty to their L1, Gal (1978) reported that women in Oberwart chose to speak German more than men by distancing themselves from the symbolic value of peasant status attached to Hungarian.

Gender and identity. Because of the inconclusive results cited above in the previous literature, I intended to explore the relationship between accent native-likeness and the four identity variables of the girls and boys separately. Thus the fifth research question was: "Do the different identity variables significantly relate to attainment in native-like accent for girls and boys?" Despite the slight variation in the degree of association, identification with the Turkish-speaking community was a positive predictor of ratings of native-like accent both for girls and for boys. In addition, identification with the Kurdish-speaking community was, again, a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness both for girls and for boys. Moreover, findings revealed that, regardless of age/grade level, the more positive values the participants attached to their self and the Turkish-speaking community, the more native-like their accent became. In addition, the more strongly they identified with the Kurdish-speaking community, the less native-like their accent was rated.

Gal (1978) suggested that Hungarian women had different extrinsic motivations from men to learn German, which showed that the association of gender with L2 attainment varies in different social and cultural settings. In many ways, Kurds who seek closer ties with Turks can be seen to have the same motivation as the women in Gal's

(1978) study. In Turkey, Kurds who strive to learn Turkish and build as many networks with Turks as possible have the motivation of raising their socio-economic status in a society that is dominated by Turks. Without the Turkish language, a person is destined to remain in agricultural work or manual labor, but with more education and good mastery of the Turkish language, Kurds have a better chance of succeeding academically and professionally and therefore raising their standards of living. Interestingly enough, several girls reported having such goals during interviews. Similar to Zentella's (1987) participants, in spite of showing great loyalty to their Kurdish identity, female participants in this study also acted as cultural mediators between the two language communities by not distancing themselves from the Turkish-speaking community as the boys did.

Finally, Mead (1934) argues that the development of *self* is actually dependent upon that of the language because *self* is something that is not God given; rather it is acquired in the process of socialization and activity in interaction with the other individuals in their processes of social and cognitive development. Following this premise we can argue that for young Kurdish learners meaningful interactions with the Turkish–speaking community may have had a relation with having constructed a more Turkish-like self identity or an aspiration for the construction of such an identity based on the their reported *ideal self* data. This interpretation is also in line with the assumption that supports the fluidity of self that is continuously re-evaluated, modified and re-constructed by the individual in social interactions. Following this account, granted that girls and boys reported to have different socialization patterns, divergence in their socially constituted *self* identities is not surprising.

Gender and motivation. In an attempt to determine how different motivational orientations relate to attainment of a native-like accent for girls and boys, a series of ANOVAs were performed. Data indicated that boys and girls significantly differed on the outcomes of identification orientation (identifying with the personal importance of the task), and integration orientation. Findings suggested that boys' means were significantly higher than the girls' means for the outcomes of identification orientation and integration orientation. Results revealed that introjection orientation (being motivated because of obligation, avoidance of guilt, or anxiety) was a low but significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness for male participants whereas it was not a significant predictor of accent native-likeness for female participants. This finding would suggest that as the level of introjection orientation increased, boys' accent became less native-like, but there was no such relation for girls. Integration orientation (assimilated the importance of learning the task into the self), on the other hand, was a significant but low positive predictor of accent native-likeness both for boys and girls.

Taken together, these results suggest that as the level of integration orientation increased, accent ratings increased for both male and female participants, yet the degree of association was stronger for male participants. Furthermore, although data indicated that external regulation and identification orientation were not significant predictors of accent native-likeness for either gender group, introjection motivation was a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness only for boys. This shows that feelings of obligation, avoidance of guilt or anxiety were more of an issue for boys in learning Turkish. Furthermore, regression analysis results revealed that as the level of integration orientation increased, accent ratings increased both for middle and high school students.

However, introjection orientation was a significant negative predictor of accent native-likeness only for high school students.

Gender and social networks. Gender differences in social networks was also interesting in showing the overall socialization patterns of the Kurdish community, with its prescription of separating contacts of men and women. Results indicated that 64 % of the networks of female participants were Turkish while the number of Turkish-speaking networks was only 36 % for boys, which demonstrated that girls maintained more regular interactions with the target language community. Moreover, female participants reported that 89 % of their networks were with girls or women whereas male participants reported that 30 % of their networks were girls or women. This indicated the male dominance and relative freedom granted to boys both by their families and local social norms in choosing their networks. This also suggests that gender is a stronger indicator of social interaction than ethnic identity in the Kurdish society. Also note that, even though boys might have had more networks in general than girls based on the typical gender roles in these Kurdish areas, the number of networks used in the analyses were equally restricted to five for family and seven for non-family networks.

Note that by structure, Kurdish families are mostly extended and patriarchal with notable male dominance. The rather strictly structured gender roles give a large number of social, cultural, political, educational, and economic freedoms and privileges to the men whereas women's socialization patterns are quite restricted to their homes, relatives, and neighbors; these rules are especially more strictly apply to unmarried girls. For example, it is not surprising to observe Kurdish men leaving their wives at home and disallowing their appearance in public places while they are out socializing. In addition, women are restricted as to with whom they can interact; women can only have women friends and generally confine themselves to women only social groups. In some instance, women are forbidden to interact with men who are older than they are, reducing the possibility for social relations between the sexes.

Findings also pointed to the fact that female participants were increasingly represented in the more native-like accent levels such as Levels 4 and 5. These findings also indicated that most of the participants with the most native-like Turkish accent (Level 5) were high school female participants. As exhibited in Table 4.6.1, most participants with the least native-like accent were middle school male participants. Also, both female and male participants reported that most of their regular networks were from the same gender.

Regarding the family networks, results suggested that compared to the male participants, female Kurdish students spoke more Turkish than Kurdish both outside and within their families. In addition, they had more non-family than family Turkish-speaking networks. Male participants reported slightly more family Turkish-speaking networks. Findings also revealed that for girls, code-switching and/or mixing reportedly occurred more within family networks than in non-family networks. Male participants, on the other hand, reported code-switching and/or mixing more outside than they did within their family networks.

5.2. DISCUSSION OF BROADER ISSUES

This study is unique in several ways. First, thus far, there has not been any study that investigated the relationship between these socio-psychological factors and attainment of a native-like Turkish accent by Kurds living in Turkey. Therefore, the socio-politically charged setting of this study as well as the participant sample makes the findings rather interesting. Second, the study is unique in that it explored the relationship between native-like attainment in Turkish accent and eight variables. Most other studies have explored this relationship regarding different levels of one variable or two, and made their cases for the generalizability of their findings based on only a few variables. Third, using various methods for more robust conclusions, this study was able to offer suggestions both regarding the products and processes involved in the L2 attainment of young Kurdish learners of this age group.

Nonetheless, even though this study has found significant relationships between attainment of native-like Turkish accent and several identity, social networks, and motivation variables, it would be out of line to claim it has represented the complexity of L2 acquisition given the variables researched in this study. Indeed research in second language acquisition has produced ample evidence to show the social, psychological, linguistic, cognitive, maturational, L1-related, and other complexities involved in the process of L2 attainment. Thus, this study is based on the assumption that, first, it would be meaningful to hold only a few factors accountable for success of L2 attainment. Second, this study does not make any claims regarding the causal relationship between attainment of accent native-likeness and the three variables researched here. Nor does it imply any kind of claims with respect to the direction of these associations.

Several assumptions can follow as to why such associations existed between accent native-likeness and identification with the L1 and L2 communities. First, considering that Kurdish is not read or written by these young learners, lack of proficiency in Kurdish literacy and linguistic competencies may have affected their success in acquiring Turkish as a second language. Second, other possible social and cultural factors involved in this particular context of Turkish language development may have had an impact on their learning.

Third, the status of Kurdish learners' ethnic groups in relation to the Turkish culture may have hindered their success in acquiring a native-like Turkish accent. Fourth, parental influence may have had an effect on these young learners' attainment of a native-like Turkish accent. Malave (2006) in addressing the interconnectedness of language identity, parental involvement, and language socialization found that Mexican immigrants self-identified as Mexicans by showing a sense of loyalty to Hispanics, or more specifically to the Hispanic immigrants, and thereby maintained the use of Spanish in their communication at home. Malave also found that parents' beliefs about the Spanish language and commitment to identification with the Hispanic community turned into attempts to influence their children's construction of identity and their language acquisition. Fifth, young Kurdish learners, due to the dominance of the Turkish language and culture, may have perceived the learning of Turkish as a threat to the existence of their native language and culture (Kramsch, 1993), just as the monolingual language policy supporters do, which could have affected their motivation to learn Turkish.

5.3. Pedagogical Implications

Despite the fact that it is largely acknowledged both by researchers and educational practitioners in this field that language learning involves more than a focus on linguistic factors in formal settings, the lack of consideration devoted to socio-psychological factors causes many problems regarding second language learners' interactions, affective factors, attitudes towards the target language community, and culture values as well as identities both in and outside language education settings.

Findings of this study suggest several pedagogical implications regarding the relationship between attainment in an L2 and motivational orientations, language identity and social networks. First, an awareness of socio-psychological factors in the design of language education, particularly in ESL programs would be warranted. Second, the importance of the analysis of learner profiles -attitudes, identities, and motivations in language instruction would seem indispensable. Third, language education needs to be considered in a broader context than only biological or L1-related factors. Finally, language education needs to accommodate for the influence of immediate family members and parents might have on L2 learners' language use and socialization.

Most broadly, as Brophy (1999) and several other scholars have argued, intrinsic or integrative motivation is not sufficient for L2 learners to learn the language in the classroom, because learning may not always be considered interesting by students, which makes the analysis of learners' motivational orientations even more essential. Relatedly, teachers must plan their instructional practices in such ways that will enhance student degrees of identified and integration regulation. Hence, raising awareness of learner identities, social networks, and self-regulation orientations in second language acquisition context could help lessen the social and psychological distance between the learners and the language tasks as well as the learner and the target language community. A greater sensitivity to the socio-cultural factors that apply to learners would help in the instructional design, planning, and implementation of language education.

Results of this study have also indicated that it is important for both learners and teachers to understand that the perceptions about the speakers of the target language and culture and the nature and quality of interaction with them are indicators of the existing social solidarity between the two language communities and this solidarity seemed to have an association with the degree of success in attaining a second language. In fact, in ESL settings, learners have vast opportunities to increase their chances of exposure to comprehensible input through social interactions with native speakers, and such exposure needs to be encouraged (Horwitz, 2008, Krashen, 1987; Schumann, 1978).

Moreover, in ESL programs in the United States, as well as in FLE programs around the world, second language learners are given diagnostic tests before they are placed into a language program in order to identify their proficiency levels in the target language. However, orientation tests, surveys, and interviews are generally not used to assess these same concerns regarding perceptions of language learning and attitudes toward the target language and the target language community; yet again, their identity and attitudes are never addressed. It was my intention to contribute to a better understanding of issues that might arise with learner identities and attitudes that can pose serious problems in terms of specific in-class and outside learning activities.

Thus, professionals involved in areas such as teacher education, instructional planning, curriculum design, and material development need to include tasks, activities, readings, and assignments regarding the target language and culture, and thereby reduce the amount of ethnic prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, and hostility between the learners and the L2 community. Even as, such efforts can potentially be interpreted as assimilationist attempts if the language and culture of the learners are not acknowledged, appreciated, and included.

From learners' perspective, knowing that the target language community may determine the content and nature of their relationships with them based on their competency in the target language pronunciation may become a motivating source. In fact, during interviews, one participant (Nejati 120) in this study reported that negative judgments about his accent had motivated him to acquire a more native-like Turkish accent. Moreover, previous research suggested that interaction with the target language community helps attainment in an L2 because in such interactions there is no explicit focus on learning forms, and L2 learners are truly immersed in authentic language (Cook, 2001; Ellis, 1999). Therefore, educating L2 learners regarding socio-cultural norms and rules of engagement involved in the processes of language socialization with the L2 community could also be helpful.

Schallert et al. (1993) found that, based on certain social and affective reasons in a classroom, several different dynamics and discourses related to learner emotions, ingroup and outgroup allegiances, and participation in classroom activities can co-exist. Hence, teachers' role in regulating learner roles in the classroom, and thereby increasing students' participation is essential. They can enhance cultural integration by means of the so-called buddy-system where, depending on L1 learners' proficiency levels, L2 learners are seated with native speakers, and occasionally receive linguistic support accommodations in class. Granted that socio-psychological distance is a two-way street, this strategy can also educate native speakers about the culture of L2 learners. This system can also lead to further passive and interactive networks, outgroup memberships, and closer friendships, maximizing exposure opportunities to L1 for L2 learners.

Last but not least, this study has shown that the degree of attainment in an L2 accent is a much broader phenomenon than just planning instructional activities for a classroom, which is an isolated box. Rather, every classroom is situated in a socio-cultural context in which different individuals have constructed multiple identities, motivations and networks that significantly related to the degree to which they acquire the target language (Bruner, 1981; Lave & Wenger, 2002). In addition, parents and immediate family members play a vital role in either facilitating or debilitating L2 learners in attaining the language better (Malave, 2006).

Finally, as language teachers, we can design and implement our language classes on the basis of serious considerations of curriculum design, learner-teacher roles, material development, and the most current language teaching methods and contemporary tools, but, as the findings of this study show, they will likely not be truly successful without serious consideration of socio-psychological factors in the teaching of a foreign/second language.

5.4. LIMITATIONS

Limitations of this study may include but are not limited to the nature and quality of data collection and analysis methods as well as the socio-political issues related to the backgrounds of participants and/or the researcher. The particular variables (identity, social networks, and motivation) that were researched in this study were not directly observable constructs, and this may have caused certain limitations.

Scholars stated several particular problems that can be potentially involved in the process of researching motivation. As stated by Dörnyei (2001), like many other socio-psychological factors, motivation is an abstract construct involving various processes and states that can be difficult to operationalize. Therefore, like numerous measurements of motivation in other studies (Gardner et al., 2004; Pekrun et al., 2002), the operationalizations of motivational constructs in this study can also pose some inherent subjectivity issues despite our efforts to minimize this potential risk.

Furthermore, motivation, as it has been conceptualized in this study, has several different orientations each entailing many dimensions and socio-psychological components. This may imply that some potential deficiencies might have been involved in the process of differentiating among these forms of motivation, especially because these intricate differences were quantified through self-report questionnaires. Relatedly, these motivational orientations are dynamic socio-psychological constructs; therefore, one-shot self-reported data may not represent true associations they can have with attainment in L2 accent.

Similarly, language identity and social network theory are among the constructs whose operationalizations have also often been debated by scholars (Jenkins, 2002; Lybeck, 2002; Spolsky, 1989; van Dijk, 1998). Therefore, it is difficult to examine their relations with language and attainment in a second language when their definitions as abstract constructs may pose such complexities and discrepancies. Semantic differential technique and social network questionnaires as indirect measures of identity and social networks have their own deficiencies; hence, the approach taken in this study can only indicate in a limited way of multiple possibilities of exploring this relationship.

Considering the violent consequences of the long-lasting clashes between the Kurdish separatists and the Turkish military in the region, it is possible that some participants in my study had had different history. Therefore, participants' personal and family-related experience could have had an impact on the self-reported data regarding their identification with the Turkish language community and/or motivation to learn Turkish. Nevertheless, in an attempt to minimize this potential limitation, I not only chose a sample that had had the least exposure to direct agonizing personal experience of such clashes but also conducted my research in Erzurum which is a city that has very little history of such extreme clashes. Therefore, considering other areas (e. g., Diyarbakir, a predominantly Kurdish city in South East Turkey) that have suffered more from the unfortunate past events, the sample may not be representative of the whole Kurdish community in Turkey.

Furthermore, despite the fact that qualitative data were also collected from 20 % of the participants, the major data of this study were self-reported which may pose certain limitations. Also, note that quantification of such socio-psychological constructs and the use of quantitative analyses can always have limitations. Also, there were fewer female participants in the study because the number of girls who could make it to high school was rather limited, which could also indicate that girls who participated in this study were already a selected sample.

Last but not least is my role as the researcher. My perceived role as a Turkish assimilator versus a Kurdish language rights supporter by the participants may have also affected the quality of my data. In other words, some participants may have thought that I was doing this research to support the Kurdish rights movement, or some may have perceived me as someone who had assimilated into the Turkish culture. In either case, the quality of data may have been affected.

5.5. Directions for Further Research

First, in order to conduct comparative analyses across levels of accent native-likeness in terms of several variables, a larger sample size is needed. Future research should consider a much larger population to be able to perform more analyses in which eight variables can be compared in different statistical models with respect to levels of accent ratings. Second, similar studies need to be conducted in different regions in Turkey, and/or with Kurds living in neighboring countries to explore the extent to which the association of these socio-psychological factors to attainment in L2 accent varies depending on the particular setting and/or culture. Such studies would enable future researchers to offer more generalizable findings.

Third, researchers can also conduct studies on older participants beyond the age of schooling, and thereby address the roles of such motivation, identity, and social network variables in terms of ultimate attainment. Fourth, a further analysis of motivational orientations regarding autonomy as it relates to success in acquiring a more native-like accent could also be useful. Fifth, a few participants retreated from the study because they felt uncomfortable filling out the questionnaires about identity, which showed that some participants were reluctant to reveal true information about their identities even in anonymous situations. Therefore, future research may want to consider other possibilities of collecting the same data in more indirect ways.

Sixth, granted this study has been conducted from a socio-cultural theory perspective which assumed that identity, social networks, and motivation were constructed by the individual via the mediation of the socio-cultural realities of one's own community (Bruner, 1990), this study could be replicated in different settings to explore potential divergence of socio-cultural impacts on the kinds and degrees of motivational regulations. For example, replicating this study on bilingual communities in USA to explore socio-political effects involved in the construction of identities, self-regulatory motivation, and integration into the American community could also shed further light on the generalizability of the findings of this study.

Seventh, note that Kurds traditionally have had patriarchal extended family structures in which family members mutually depend on and support each other in different capacities, and children live with their families until they get married. In some cases, the entire tribe consisting of a few thousands of people may be considered family. This means that in terms of in-family norms and rules, children may be under a great deal of pressure by their elders. Therefore, more in-depth research on parental involvement in the construction of attitudes and identities as well as language socialization in different settings is needed in order to explore a more generalizable picture of the kinds of relationships these variables might have with attainment in an L2, particularly with this age group. Finally, further investigation of potential relationships of these variables with other language skills than accent such as acquisition of a tense or some phrase structure rules can also be done.

APPENDIX A: Background Information Questionnaire (BIQ) with English translation

EK A. Tanışma Anketi

Bu anket aile içi dil konuşma durumlarınızı daha iyi anlamak içindir. Lütfen ilgili boşlularu doldurunuz. Gerçek adınız yerine kendinize yeni bir ad seçiniz ve hep aynı adi kullanıız.

A. Adı: Sınıfı: Yaşı: Cinsiyeti: K E

B. Aileniz kaç kişiden oluşuyor?

1. Büyük aile- dede, nine, amca, dayı (……… Kişi)
2. Küçük aile- anne, baba, kardeş (……..Kişi)

C. Kaç seneden beri Tekman da yaşıyorsunuz?

1. Burda doğdum ve hep burda yaşadim
2. Buraya 19……yılında geldim
3. Diğer (belirtiniz)

D. Başka hangi şehirlerde yaşadınız ve ne kadar?

1. ………………..2………………..3. ………………..

E. Anne ve babanız Türkçe biliyorlar mı? Ne kadar iyi biliyorlar? 1. En az, 5- En iyi

1. Babanız	1	2	3	4	5
2. Anneniz	1	2	3	4	5

F. Evde en cok hangi dilde konuşuyorsunuz? 1- En az, 5- En fazla. Lütfen, bütün ilgili seçenekleri işaretleyiniz/. Sizinle ilgisi olmayanları boş bırakınız.

	En az			En fazla	
1. Türkçe	1	2	3	4	5
2. Kürtçe	1	2	3	4	5
3. Gürcüce	1	2	3	4	5
4. Ermenice	1	2	3	4	5
5. Ingilizce	1	2	3	4	5
6. Diğer (belirtiniz)	1	2	3	4	5

G. Anne ve babanızın etnik kökeni nedir?

1. Babanız
2. Anneniz

H. Anne ve babanız ne iş yapiyorlar?

3. Babanız
4. Anneniz

J. Ailenizden kac kişi-eğer varsa- sizinle aynı etnik orijine sahip olmayan birisiyle evlidir?

a. 1
b. 2
c. 3
e. Daha fazla (belirtiniz)

Background Questionnaire

A. Name: Grade: Age: Gender: M F

B. How many people are there in your family?

1. Extended Family

2. Immediate (live with)

C. How long have you lived in Erzurum?

1. I was born here and have always lived here

2. I came here in…………………..

3. Other (Specify)

D. Which other cities have you lived before and for how long?

2. ………………..2………………..3. ………………..

E. What is your parents' ethnic origin?

1. Father………………..

2. Mother………………..

F. Do your parents speak Turkish? How well do they speak? 1-Very poorly, 5-Very well.

	Very poorly			*Very well*	
3. My father 1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	
4. My mother	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

G. What language(s) do you speak most at home? 1-Very little, 5- Very much. Please, choose all that apply. If never, leave the question blank.

	Very little			*Very much*	
1. Turkish	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
2. Kurdish	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
3. Georgian	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
4. Armenian	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
5. English	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
6. Other (specify)	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

H. What do your parents do?

1. Father

2. Mother

J. How many people- if any- are there in your family who is/are married to someone who is not from the same ethnic origin with you?

a. 1 b. 2 c. 3 e. More (specify)

APPENDIX B: Semantic Differential Questionnaire with English Translation

Aşağda insanlari tanımlamak için kullanılabilen bir kelime listesi var. Her kelime için **4** defa cevap vermeniz istenmektedir . Her kelimeyi **SİZİN** nasıl birisi olduğunu tanımlamak icin değerlendiriniz (Işaretlemek için **S** kullanınız). Aynı kelimeyi aynı zamanda olmak istediğiniz **İDEAL KİŞİLİĞİ** tanimlamak icin değerlendiriniz (Işaretlemek için **IK** kullanınız) **Liste 1, 2**. Aynı kelimeyi aynı zamanda **KÜRTÇE konuşan insaları** tanımlamak için değerlendiriniz (Işaretlemek için **K** kullanınız). Aynı kelimeyi aynı zamanda **TÜRKÇE konuşan insaları** tanımlamak için değerlendiriniz (işaretlemek için **T** kullanınız) **Liste 3, 4**.

Örnek; güvenilir kelimesinin SİZİ **çok az** derecede, İDEAL KİŞİLİĞİ **Çok iyi** derecede, KÜRTÇE konuşan insaları, **Oldukça iyi** derecede, TÜRKÇE konuşan insaları da **Orta** derecede tanimladığını düşünüyorsaniz cevabınız şu şekilde olur.

	Çok iyi	Oldukça iyi	Orta	Çok az	Hiç
Örnek: güvenilir	__IK____	___K___	___T__	____S__	_______

	Çok iyi	Oldukça iyi	Orta	Çok az	Hiç
1. mütevazi	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
2. yardimsever	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
3. tutumlu	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
4. kendine güvenen	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
5. yarışmacı	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
6. yenilikçi	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
7. neşeli	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
8. ümitvar	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
9. inatçi	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
10. cömert	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
11. zeki	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
12. düşünceli	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
13. çalışkan	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
14. nezaketli	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
15. mantıklı	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
16. başarılı	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
17. arkadaşca	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
18. hareketli	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
19. dürüst	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
20. modayı takip eden	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
21. güvenilebilir	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
22. mutlu	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
23. sosyal	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
24. eğitimli	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
25. zengin	_______	_______	_______	_______	_______
26. erkeklerin eğitimine önem verir					
27. kızların eğitimine önem verir					
28. aileye onem verir					

29. dini değerlere önem verir
30. Türkiye nin Avrupa Birliği üyeliğine önem verir
31.

Below is the list of words that can be used to describe people. Think of each word as it might describe you-self (S) (List 1), how well it might describe the way you would like to be-Ideal-Self (IS) (List 2), how well it might describe Kurdish-speaking people (K) (List 3), and how well it might describe Turkish people (T)(List 4) Indicate your answers using the following table.

	Very well (5)	*Somewhat (4)*	*Average (3)*	*Only a little (2)*	*Not at all (1)*
1. humble	________	________	________	________	________
2. helpful	________	________	________	________	________
3. thrifty	________	________	________	________	________
4. confident	________	________	________	________	________
5. competitive	________	________	________	________	________
6. open-minded	________	________	________	________	________
7. cheerful	________	________	________	________	________
8. optimistic	________	________	________	________	________
9. stubborn	________	________	________	________	________
10. kind	________	________	________	________	________
11. clever	________	________	________	________	________
12. considerate	________	________	________	________	________
13. hard-working	________	________	________	________	________
14. tactful	________	________	________	________	________
15. reasonable	________	________	________	________	________
16. successful	________	________	________	________	________
17. friendly	________	________	________	________	________
18. out-going	________	________	________	________	________
19. honest	________	________	________	________	________
20. fashionable	________	________	________	________	________
21. dependable	________	________	________	________	________
22. happy	________	________	________	________	________
23. sociable	________	________	________	________	________
24. educated	________	________	________	________	______
25. wealthy	________	________	________	________	________

26. cares about education for boys
27. cares about family
28. cares about education for boys
29. cares about religion
30. *cares about Turkey's EU membership*

APPENDIX C: Self-Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ) with English Translation.

This questionnaire consisted of five sections in which participants indicated their responses on the basis of a 1-to-4 scale, with 1 being "Not at all true" and 4 being "Very true."

EK D. Motivasyon Anketi

Aşağda bir insanın oğrenmek istediği dili ile kişisel motivasyonu arasindaki abğlantiyi anlamak için ilgili bir kaç tane soru var. "Türkçe Ev ödevlerimi neden yaparım", "Türkçe Derslerime neden çalışırım", "Türkçe Derslerinde zor soruları neden cevaplamaya çalışırım", "Okulda başarılı olmak benim için neden önemlidir", "Neden Türkçe öğreniyorum" ve "Türkçeyi anadilim gibi konuşmak benim için neden önemlidir" gibi konularda size bir kaç soru soruluyor. Lütfen, her soru için "**Çok doğru, Oldukça doğru, Çok az doğru, ve Hiç doğru değil** şiklarindan birinin altını çiziniz.

A. Turkçe Ev ödevlerimi neden yaparım?

1. Çünkü öğretmenimin benim iyi bir oğrenci olduğumu düşünmesini istiyorum.
2. Çünkü, ödelerimi yapmazsam, başım belaya girer.
4. Çünkü ödevlerimi yapmazsam, kendimi kötü hissederim.
6. Çünkü bizden ödevlerimizi yapmamız bekleniyor.

B. Turkçe Derslerime neden çalışırım?

9 Öğretmen bana bağırıp çağırmasın diye.
10. Çünkü öğretmenimin benim iyi bir oğrenci olduğumu düşünmesini istiyorum.
11. Çünkü yeni şeyler ögrenmeyi seviyorum.
12. Çünkü derslerime çalışmadığım zaman kendimden utanırım.
14. Çünkü ders çalışmak okulun kuralı. Kurallara uymak için.
16. Çünkü ders çalışmak benim için önemlidir.

C. Turkçe Derslerde zor soruları neden cevaplamaya çalışırım?

17. Çünkü diğer öğrencilerin benim zeki olduğumu sanmalarını istiyorum.
18. Çünkü cevaplamaya çalışmasam kendimden utanırım.
20. Çünkü benden beklenen bu.
21. Çevabı doğru bilip bilmediğimi öğrenmek için.
23. Çünkü benim için sınıfta zor sorulari cevaplamaya çalışmak önemlidir.
24. Çünkü öğretmenin benim hakkımda güzel şeyler söylemesini istiyorum.

D. Okulda Turkçe başarılı olmak benim için neden önemlidir?

25. Çünkü benden beklenen bu.
26. Öğretmenlerimin benim iyi bir öğrenci olduğunu düşünmeleri için.
27. Çünkü ben derlerime çok çalışmayı severim..

E. Neden Türkçe öğreniyorum?

33. Türkçe öğretmenimin benim iyi bir öğrenci olduğunu düşünmesini istdediğim için.
35. Çünkü Türkçe konuşan çocuklarla arkadaş olmak istiyorum.
37. Çünkü Türkçe iyi öğrenmek istiyorum.
40. Çünkü gelecekte iş imkanı icin önemli.
41. Çünkü Türkçeyi iyi öğrenmesem anne ve babam bana kızarlar.

F. Türkçeyi anadilim gibi konuşmak benim için neden önemlidir?

42. Çünkü Türkçeyi anadilim gibi konuşabilmek hoşuma gidiyor.

44. Çünkü Türkçe konuşmayı seviyorum.
45. Çünkü Türkçeyi anadilim gibi konuşamak benim için onemlidir.
48. Çünkü burda yaşıyorum onun için Türkçeyi anadilim gibi komusabilmem önemlidir.
50. Çünkü Türkçeyi anadilim gibi konuşabilmek bana ayrı bir zevk veriyor.
51. Çünkü Türkçenin anadili gibi konuşulduğunu duymak bana çok zevk veriyor.

The Self-Regulation Questionnaire

A. Why do I do my Turkish homework?

1. Because I want the teacher to think I'm a good student.
2. Because I'll get in trouble if I don't.
4. Because I will feel bad about myself if I don't do it.
6. Because that's what I'm supposed to do.

B. Why do I work on my Turkish class work?

9. So that the teacher won't yell at me.
10. Because I want the teacher to think I'm a good student.
11. Because I like learning new things.
12. Because I'll be ashamed of myself if I do not do it.
14. Because that's the school rule.
16. Because it's important to me to work on my class work.

C. Why do I try to answer hard questions in Turkish class?

17. Because I want the other students to think I'm smart.
18. Because I feel ashamed of myself when I don't try.
20. Because that's what I'm supposed to do.
21. To find out if I'm right or wrong.
23. Because it's important to me to try to answer hard questions in class.
24. Because I want the teacher to say nice things about me.

D. Why do I try to do well in school?

25. Because that's what I'm supposed to do.
26. So my teachers will think I'm a good student
27. Because I like doing my school work well.

E. **Why do I learn Turkish?**

33. Because I want my Turkish teacher to think I'm a good student.
35. Because I want to be friends with Turkish kids.
37. Because I want to learn Turkish well.
40. Because it is important for my future career.
41. Because my parents will yell at me if don't.

F. ***Why should I be concerned about speaking Turkish like a native speaker?***

42. Because I like being able to speak Turkish with a native accent.
44. Because I like speaking in Turkish.

45. *Because it’s important to me to speak like a native speaker.*
48. *Because I live here and it is important for me to speak like a native speaker.*
50. *Because I feel great when I speak Turkish like a native speaker.*
51. *Because I get a lot of pleasure when I hear native Turkish accent.*

APPENDIX D: Social Network Questionnaire with English Translation

Aşağda bir insanın oğrenmek istediği dili konuşan insanlarla sosyal etkileşimi o dili oğrenmesini nasıl etkilediği ile ilgili bir kaç tane soru var. Bu ankette, 7 kategoride belirttiğiniz her insan için bütün soruları cevaplandırmanız istenmektedir. Her soru icin aşağıdaki tablodaki ilgili yeri bulup cevabinizi işaretleyiniz.

1. Sınıf Arkadaş Düzenli olarak beraber oynadığınız Arkadaşlarınızı belirtiniz	**1. Her biriyle konuştuğunuz Dil ve Sıklık Derecesini belirtiniz** (**1**. Hiç-**5**. Cok sık). **örnek**: T4; onunla "Türkçeyi 5 üzrinden 4 derecelik sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz" demektir. 1. **T**-Türkçe 2. **K**-Kürtçe 3. **AC**- Aynı Cümlede 4. **DD**- Dil Değişikliği	**2. Her birisiyle etkileşiminizin kac yönlü olduğunuzu belirtiniz** **örnek**: Bir kişi hem sınıf akadaşınız hemde komşunuzsa, hanesine 15 yazin. 1. sınıf ark. 2. takım ark 3.ögretmen, 4. komşu, 5.tanıdık 6. diğer	**3. Her birisini ne kadar süreden beri tanıdığınızı belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 yazın 1.0-6ay 2.6-12ay 3.1-3 yıl 4.3-5yı 5. 5+ yıl	**4. Her biriyle yaptiğınız aktiviteleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,yazın 1. ders/ödev 2. beraber takılma 3. eğlence 4. başka	**5. Her biriyle etkileştiğiniz yerleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 ,6yazın 1. okul 2. onun evi 3. sizin eviniz 4. cami 5. oyun sahası 6. diğer (belir)	**6. Her biriyle ne kadar sıklıkla etkileştiğinizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. yılda 1-2 2.ayda 1 defadan az 3. ayda 1 defa 4. ayda 2-3 def 5. haftada 1-2 6. haftada 3-6. 7. gunde bir kac defa	**7. Her biriyle daha cok hangi konularda konuştuğunuzu belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. oyu 2. eğlence 3. okul/ders 4. hobiler 5. din 6. politika 7. diğer	**8. Her biriyle yakınlık derecenizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, yazın 1.çok yakin 2. oldukça 3. biraz 4. hiç yakın değil
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								

2. Takım Arkadaş Düzenli olarak beraber oynadığınız Takım arkadaşlarınızı belirtiniz	**1. Her biriyle konuştuğunuz Dil ve Sıklık Derecesini belirtiniz** (**1**. Hiç-**5**. Cok sık). **örnek**: T4; onunla "Türkçeyi 5 üzrinden 4 derecelik sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz" demektir. 1. **T**-Türkçe 2. **K**-Kürtçe 3. **AC**- Aynı Cümlede 4. **DD**- Dil Değişikliği	**2. Her birisiyle etkileşiminizin kac yönlü olduğunuzu belirtiniz** **örnek**: Bir kişi hem sınıf akadaşınız hemde komşunuzsa, hanesine 15 yazin. 1. sınıf ark. 2. takım ark 3.ögretmen, 4. komşu, 5.tanıdık 6. diğer	**3. Her birisini ne kadar süreden beri tanıdığınızı belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 yazın 1.0-6ay 2.6-12ay 3.1-3 yıl 4.3-5yı 5. 5+ yıl	**4. Her biriyle yaptiğınız aktiviteleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,yazın 1. ders/ödev 2. beraber takılma 3. eğlence 4. başka	**5. Her biriyle etkileştiğiniz yerleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 ,6yazın 1. okul 2. onun evi 3. sizin eviniz 4. cami 5. oyun sahası 6. diğer (belir)	**6. Her biriyle ne kadar sıklıkla etkileştiğinizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. yılda 1-2 2.ayda 1 defadan az 3. ayda 1 defa 4. ayda 2-3 def 5. haftada 1-2 6. haftada 3-6. 7. gunde bir kac defa	**7. Her biriyle daha cok hangi konularda konuştuğunuzu belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. oyu 2. eğlence 3. okul/ders 4. hobiler 5. din 6. politika 7. diğer	**8. Her biriyle yakınlık derecenizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, yazın 1.çok yakin 2. oldukça 3. biraz 4. hiç yakın değil
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								

3. Oğretmen Düzenli olarak konuştuğunu oğretmenlerinizi belirtiniz	**1. Her biriyle konuştuğunuz Dil ve Sıklık Derecesini belirtiniz** (**1**. Hiç-**5**. Cok sık). **örnek**: T4; onunla "Türkçeyi 5 üzrinden 4 derecelik sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz" demektir. 1. **T**-Türkçe 2. **K**-Kürtçe 3. **AC**- Aynı Cümlede 4. **DD**- Dil Değişikliği	**2. Her birisiyle etkileşiminizin kac yönlü olduğunuzu belirtiniz** **örnek**: Bir kişi hem sınıf akadaşınız hemde komşunuzsa, hanesine 15 yazin. 1. sınıf ark. 2. takım ark 3.ögretmen, 4. komşu, 5.tanıdık 6. diğer	**3. Her birisini ne kadar süreden beri tanıdığınızı belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 yazın 1.0-6ay 2.6-12ay 3.1-3 yıl 4.3-5yı 5. 5+ yıl	**4. Her biriyle yaptiğınız aktiviteleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,yazın 1. ders/ödev 2. beraber takılma 3. eğlence 4. başka	**5. Her biriyle etkileştiğiniz yerleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 ,6yazın 1. okul 2. onun evi 3. sizin eviniz 4. cami 5. oyun sahası 6. diğer (belir)	**6. Her biriyle ne kadar sıklıkla etkileştiğinizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. yılda 1-2 2.ayda 1 defadan az 3. ayda 1 defa 4. ayda 2-3 def 5. haftada 1-2 6. haftada 3-6. 7. gunde bir kac defa	**7. Her biriyle daha cok hangi konularda konuştuğunuzu belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. oyu 2. eğlence 3. okul/ders 4. hobiler 5. din 6. politika 7. diğer	**8. Her biriyle yakınlık derecenizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, yazın 1.çok yakin 2. oldukça 3. biraz 4. hiç yakın değil
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4. Komşu Düzenli olarak konuştuğu nuz komşuları nıbelirtini z	**1. Her biriyle konuştuğunuz Dil ve Sıklık Derecesini belirtiniz** (**1**. Hiç-**5**. Cok sık). **örnek**: T4; onunla "Türkçeyi 5 üzrinden 4 derecelik sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz" demektir. 1. **T**-Türkçe 2. **K**-Kürtçe 3. **AC**- Aynı Cümlede 4. **DD**- Dil Değişikliği	**2. Her birisiyle etkileşiminizi n kac yönlü olduğunuzu belirtiniz** **örnek**: Bir kişi hem sınıf akadaşınız hemde komşunuzsa, hanesine 15 yazin. 1. sınıf ark. 2. takım ark 3.ögretmen, 4. komşu, 5.tanıdık 6. diğer	**3. Her birisini ne kadar süreden beri tanıdığınız ı belirtiniz** Cevaplarke n sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 yazın 1.0-6ay 2.6-12ay 3.1-3 yıl 4.3-5yı 5. 5+ yıl	**4. Her biriyle yaptiğınız aktiviteleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarke n sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,yazın 1. ders/ödev 2. beraber takılma 3. eğlence 4. başka	**5. Her biriyle etkileştiğini z yerleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarke n sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 ,6yazın 1. okul 2. onun evi 3. sizin eviniz 4. cami 5. oyun sahası 6. diğer (belir)	**6. Her biriyle ne kadar sıklıkla etkileştiğiniz i belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. yılda 1-2 2.ayda 1 defadan az 3. ayda 1 defa 4. ayda 2-3 def 5. haftada 1-2 6. haftada 3-6. 7. gunde bir kac defa	**7. Her biriyle daha cok hangi konularda konuştuğunuz u belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. oyu 2. eğlence 3. okul/ders 4. hobiler 5. din 6. politika 7. diğer	**8. Her biriyle yakınlık derecenizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarke n sadece 1, 2, 3, yazın 1.çok yakin 2. oldukça 3. biraz 4. hiç yakın değil
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6. Diger Düzenli olarak beraber olduğunuz tanıdıklaını zı belirtiniz	**1. Her biriyle konuştuğunuz Dil ve Sıklık Derecesini belirtiniz** (**1**. Hiç-**5**. Cok sık). **örnek**: T4; onunla "Türkçeyi 5 üzrinden 4 derecelik sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz" demektir. 1. **T**-Türkçe 2. **K**-Kürtçe 3. **AC**- Aynı Cümlede 4. **DD**- Dil Değişikliği	**2. Her birisiyle etkileşiminizin kac yönlü olduğunuzu belirtiniz** **örnek**: Bir kişi hem sınıf akadaşınız hemde komşunuzsa, hanesine 15 yazin. 1. sınıf ark. 2. takım ark 3.ögretmen, 4. komşu, 5.tanıdık 6. diğer	**3. Her birisini ne kadar süreden beri tanıdığınızı belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 yazın 1.0-6ay 2.6-12ay 3.1-3 yıl 4.3-5yı 5. 5+ yıl	**4. Her biriyle yaptiğınız aktiviteleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,yazın 1. ders/ödev 2. beraber takılma 3. eğlence 4. başka	**5. Her biriyle etkileştiğiniz yerleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 ,6yazın 1. okul 2. onun evi 3. sizin eviniz 4. cami 5. oyun sahası 6. diğer (belir)	**6. Her biriyle ne kadar sıklıkla etkileştiğinizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. yılda 1-2 2.ayda 1 defadan az 3. ayda 1 defa 4. ayda 2-3 def 5. haftada 1-2 6. haftada 3-6. 7. gunde bir kac defa	**7. Her biriyle daha cok hangi konularda konuştuğunuzu belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. oyu 2. eğlence 3. okul/ders 4. hobiler 5. din 6. politika 7. diğer	**8. Her biriyle yakınlık derecenizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, yazın 1.çok yakin 2. oldukça 3. biraz 4. hiç yakın değil
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5. Tanıdık Düzenli olarak beraber olduğunuz tanıdıklaın ızı belirtiniz	**1. Her biriyle konuştuğunuz Dil ve Sıklık Derecesini belirtiniz** (**1**. Hiç-**5**. Cok sık). **örnek**: T4; onunla “Türkçeyi 5 üzrinden 4 derecelik sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz” demektir. 1. **T**-Türkçe 2. **K**-Kürtçe 3. **AC**- Aynı Cümlede 4. **DD**- Dil Değişikliği	**2. Her birisiyle etkileşiminizin kac yönlü olduğunuzu belirtiniz** **örnek**: Bir kişi hem sınıf akadaşınız hemde komşunuzsa, hanesine 15 yazin. 1. sınıf ark. 2. takım ark 3.ögretmen, 4. komşu, 5.tanıdık 6. diğer	**3. Her birisini ne kadar süreden beri tanıdığınız ı belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 yazın 1.0-6ay 2.6-12ay 3.1-3 yıl 4.3-5yı 5. 5+ yıl	**4. Her biriyle yaptiğınız aktiviteleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,yazın 1. ders/ödev 2. beraber takılma 3. eğlence 4. başka	**5. Her biriyle etkileştiğini z yerleri belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5 ,6yazın 1. okul 2. onun evi 3. sizin eviniz 4. cami 5. oyun sahası 6. diğer (belir)	**6. Her biriyle ne kadar sıklıkla etkileştiğinizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. yılda 1-2 2.ayda 1 defadan az 3. ayda 1 defa 4. ayda 2-3 def 5. haftada 1-2 6. haftada 3-6. 7. gunde bir kac defa	**7. Her biriyle daha cok hangi konularda konuştuğunuz u belirtiniz** Cevaplarken sadece 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6, 7 yazın 1. oyu 2. eğlence 3. okul/ders 4. hobiler 5. din 6. politika 7. diğer	**8. Her biriyle yakınlık derecenizi belirtiniz** Cevaplarke n sadece 1, 2, 3, yazın 1.çok yakin 2. oldukça 3. biraz 4. hiç yakın değil
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Diğer aile fertleriniz hangi dilleri biliyorlar? Genel olarak hangi dili konuştuklarını, ve sizinle hangi dili konuştuklarını belirtiniz. Türkçe (T), Kürtçe (K), Ikiside (I)

Yakın aile fertleri	**Konuştuklari diller** **T K I**	**Sizinle konuştuklari diller** **T K I**
Dedeniz		
Nineniz		
Erkek kardeşiniz 1		
Erkek kardeşiniz 2		
Erkek kardeşiniz 3		
Erkek kardeşiniz 4		
Kız kardeşiniz 1		
Kız kardeşiniz 2		
Kız kardeşiniz 3		
Kız kardeşiniz 4		
Diğer(amca,dayı,teyze, yeğen)		

Below are several questions aiming to determine how a person's social interactions with a target language group affects her/his ability of learning that language. In this questionnaire, you are asked to indicate your responses to all questions for each contact you have stated, and you are asked to indicate your responses for each person filling in the corresponding spaces provided in the answering tables below. Please use numbers or letters for your answers.

Classmate Who are your regular "classmate" contacts? Please, use pseudonym	**1. Which languages and how often do you speak with each?** (**1** being **Not at all**, and **5** being **Always**. Example: If you talk to her/him very often in Turkish, you answer will be**T4**; 1. **T**-Turkish 2. **K**-Kurdish 3. **MSS**- Mixed K&T within same sentence 4. **S**- Switch btw T&K based on situation.	**2. In how many ways do you interact with each person?** **Example**: If a person is **both** your **classmate** and **neighbor**, your answer will be **15.** 1. classmate 2. teammate 3.teacher 4. coach 5.neighbor 6.acquintance 7. other	**3. How long have you known this person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1.0-6months 2.6-12mons 3.1-3years 4.3-5years 5. 5+ years	**4. What kinds of activities you do with him/her?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4 in your answer) 1.schoolwork 2. hanging out 3.recreation 4. other	**5. In what kinds of places do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. school 2. his house 3. my house 4. mosque 5. playground 6. other (specify)	**6. How often do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 in your answer) 1.1-2 a year 2. less than 1 a month 3.1 a moth 4. 2-3 a month 5.1-2 a month 6.3-6.a month 7. a couple of times a day	**7. What kinds of things do you talk about with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. games 2. recreation 3. hobbies 4. school work 5. religion 6. politics 7. other	**8. What is your degree of closeness with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, in your answer) 1.very close 2.quite close 3.a little close 4. not close
1.								
2.								
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Teammate Who are your regular “teammate” contacts? Please, use pseudonym	**1. Which languages and how often do you speak with each?** (**1** being **Not at all**, and **5** being **Always**. Example: If you talk to her/him very often in Turkish, you answer will be**T4**; 1. **T**-Turkish 2. **K**-Kurdish 3. **MSS**- Mixed K&T within same sentence 4. **S**- Switch btw T&K based on situation.	**2. In how many ways do you interact with each person?** **Example**: If a person is **both** your **classmate** and **neighbor**, your answer will be **15.** 1. classmate 2. teammate 3.teacher 4. coach 5.neighbor 6.acquintance 7. other	**3. How long have you known this person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1.0-6months 2.6-12mons 3.1-3years 4.3-5years 5. 5+ years	**4. What kinds of activities you do with him/her?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4 in your answer) 1.schoolwork 2. hanging out 3.recreation 4. other	**5. In what kinds of places do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. school 2. his house 3. my house 4. mosque 5. playground 6. other (specify)	**6. How often do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 in your answer) 1.1-2 a year 2. less than 1 a month 3.1 a moth 4. 2-3 a month 5.1-2 a month 6.3-6.a month 7. a couple of times a day	**7. What kinds of things do you talk about with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. games 2. recreation 3. hobbies 4. school work 5. religion 6. politics 7. other	**8. What is your degree of closeness with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, in your answer) 1.very close 2.quite close 3.a little close 4. not close
1.								
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Acquaintances Who are your regular "acquaintance" contacts? Please, use pseudonym	**1. Which languages and how often do you speak with each?** (**1** being **Not at all**, and **5** being **Always**. Example: If you talk to her/him very often in Turkish, you answer will be**T4**; 1. **T**-Turkish 2. **K**-Kurdish 3. **MSS**- Mixed K&T within same sentence 4. **S**- Switch btw T&K based on situation.	**2. In how many ways do you interact with each person?** **Example**: If a person is **both** your **classmate** and **neighbor**, your answer will be **15.** 1. classmate 2. teammate 3.teacher 4. coach 5.neighbor 6.acquintance 7. other	**3. How long have you known this person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1.0-6months 2.6-12mons 3.1-3years 4.3-5years 5. 5+ years	**4. What kinds of activities you do with him/her?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4 in your answer) 1.schoolwork 2. hanging out 3.recreation 4. other	**5. In what kinds of places do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. school 2. his house 3. my house 4. mosque 5. playground 6. other (specify)	**6. How often do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 in your answer) 1.1-2 a year 2. less than 1 a month 3.1 a moth 4. 2-3 a month 5.1-2 a month 6.3-6.a month 7. a couple of times a day	**7. What kinds of things do you talk about with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. games 2. recreation 3. hobbies 4. school work 5. religion 6. politics 7. other	**8. What is your degree of closeness with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, in your answer) 1.very close 2.quite close 3.a little close 4. not close
1.								
2.								
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5.								
6.								

Teacher Who are your regular "teacher" contacts? Please, use pseudony m	**1. Which languages and how often do you speak with each?** (**1** being **Not at all**, and **5** being **Always**. Example: If you talk to her/him very often in Turkish, you answer will be**T4**; 1. **T**-Turkish 2. **K**-Kurdish 3. **MSS**- Mixed K&T within same sentence 4. **S**- Switch btw T&K based on situation.	**2. In how many ways do you interact with each person?** **Example**: If a person is **both** your **classmate** and **neighbor**, your answer will be **15.** 1. classmate 2. teammate 3.teacher 4. coach 5.neighbor 6.acquintance 7. other	**3. How long have you known this person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1.0-6months 2.6-12mons 3.1-3years 4.3-5years 5. 5+ years	**4. What kinds of activities you do with him/her?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4 in your answer) 1.schoolwor k 2. hanging out 3.recreation 4. other	**5. In what kinds of places do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. school 2. his house 3. my house 4. mosque 5. playground 6. other (specify)	**6. How often do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 in your answer) 1.1-2 a year 2. less than 1 a month 3.1 a moth 4. 2-3 a month 5.1-2 a month 6.3-6.a month 7. a couple of times a day	**7. What kinds of things do you talk about with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. games 2. recreation 3. hobbies 4. school work 5. religion 6. politics 7. other	**8. What is your degree of closeness with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, in your answer) 1.very close 2.quite close 3.a little close 4. not close
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6.								

Neighbor Who are your regular "neighbor" contacts? Please, use pseudony m	**1. Which languages and how often do you speak with each?** (**1** being **Not at all**, and **5** being **Always**. Example: If you talk to her/him very often in Turkish, you answer will be**T4**; 1. **T**-Turkish 2. **K**-Kurdish 3. **MSS**- Mixed K&T within same sentence 4. **S**- Switch btw T&K based on situation.	**2. In how many ways do you interact with each person?** **Example**: If a person is **both** your **classmate** and **neighbor**, your answer will be **15.** 1. classmate 2. teammate 3.teacher 4. coach 5.neighbor 6.acquintance 7. other	**3. How long have you known this person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1.0-6months 2.6-12mons 3.1-3years 4.3-5years 5. 5+ years	**4. What kinds of activities you do with him/her?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4 in your answer) 1.schoolwor k 2. hanging out 3.recreation 4. other	**5. In what kinds of places do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. school 2. his house 3. my house 4. mosque 5. playground 6. other (specify)	**6. How often do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 in your answer) 1.1-2 a year 2. less than 1 a month 3.1 a moth 4. 2-3 a month 5.1-2 a month 6.3-6.a month 7. a couple of times a day	**7. What kinds of things do you talk about with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. games 2. recreation 3. hobbies 4. school work 5. religion 6. politics 7. other	**8. What is your degree of closeness with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, in your answer) 1.very close 2.quite close 3.a little close 4. not close
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4.								
5.								
6.								

What language(s) do your family members speak, and what language(s) do they use when speaking with you?

Other Who are your regular "other" contacts? Please, use pseudonym	**1. Which languages and how often do you speak with each?** (**1** being **Not at all**, and **5** being **Always**. Example: If you talk to her/him very often in Turkish, you answer will be**T4**; 1. **T**-Turkish 2. **K**-Kurdish 3. **MSS**- Mixed K&T within same sentence 4. **S**- Switch btw T&K based on situation.	**2. In how many ways do you interact with each person?** **Example**: If a person is **both** your **classmate** and **neighbor**, your answer will be **15.** 1. classmate 2. teammate 3.teacher 4. coach 5.neighbor 6.acquintance 7. other	**3. How long have you known this person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1.0-6months 2.6-12mons 3.1-3years 4.3-5years 5. 5+ years	**4. What kinds of activities you do with him/her?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4 in your answer) 1.schoolwork 2. hanging out 3.recreation 4. other	**5. In what kinds of places do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. school 2. his house 3. my house 4. mosque 5. playground 6. other (specify)	**6. How often do you interact with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 in your answer) 1.1-2 a year 2. less than 1 a month 3.1 a moth 4. 2-3 a month 5.1-2 a month 6.3-6.a month 7. a couple of times a day	**7. What kinds of things do you talk about with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in your answer) 1. games 2. recreation 3. hobbies 4. school work 5. religion 6. politics 7. other	**8. What is your degree of closeness with each person?** (Use1, 2, 3, in your answer) 1.very close 2.quite close 3.a little close 4. not close
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								

Turkish, Kurdish, Both

Immediate Family Members	Language(s) Spoken T K B	Language(s) Used With You T K B
Grand Father		
Grand Mother		
Brother 1		
Brother 2		
Brother 3		
Brother 4		
Sister 1		
Sister 2		
Sister 3		
Sister 4		
Other (Uncle, aunt, nephew)		

APPENDIX E: Interview Questions

MOTIVATION
Do you think speaking Turkish like a native speaker is important? Why?
In what ways do you think speaking with a native-like accent can affect your life?
Tell me how you learned Turkish? Personal ways; TV..?
How motivated do you feel towards learning Turkish?
What do you think has helped you most to learn Turkish?
Have you even been discriminated against because your Turkish sounds non-native?
How often do you speak Turkish and where?
Are you happy with your Turkish accent?
How do your parents feel about your Turkish accent? Or speaking Turkish?
Do you think you are learning Turkish because you like it or you have to, or both?

Sence Türkçe yi anadili gibi konuşmak neden önemli midir? Neden?
Sence Türkçe yi anadili gibi konuşmak hayatını nasıl etkileyebilir?
Bana Türkçe nasıl öĝrendiĝini anlatır mısın?
Türkçeyi öĝrenme konusundaki motivasyonundan bahseder misin?
Türkçeyi öĝrenme konusunda sana en çok ne yardım etti?
Türkçe yi anadili gibi konuşamadıĝın için sana kötü davranan oldu mu?
Türkçe yi ne kadar sıklıkla konuşuyorsun?
Türkçe aksanından memnun musun?
Anne ve baban Türkçe aksanın konusunda ne diyorlar?
Türkçe yi istediĝin için mi yoksa zorunluluk hissetiĝin için mi öĝreniyorsun?

IDENTITY
What do you think about the Turkish-speaking community?
What are some peculiar characteristics about Turks?
What do you like most/least about Turks?
What do you like most/least about Kurds?
Do you feel like you are more Kurdish or Turkish?
Do you feel segregated or integrated? Why? When? Why not?
Can people tell from your accent that you are not Turkish?
Have you even been discriminated against because of your Kurdish accent or identity?
Do you think both cultures are significantly different?
Do Kurds and Turks marry across communities and go to the same mosques?

Türkçe konuşan insanlar hakkıda ne düşünüyorsun?
Sence Türklerin kendilerine has özellikleri nelerdir?
Türkler hakkıda en çok/az sevdigin şey nadir?
Kürtler hakkıda en çok/az sevdigin şey nadir?
Kendini daha çok Türk mü yoksa Kürt olarak mı ĝörüyorsun?
Kendini Türk toplumuyla bütüleşmiş mi, farkli mı hissediyorsun?

Insanlar aksanına bakarak Türk olmadığını anlayabiliyorlar mı?
Kürtce aksanın ve kimliginden dan dolayı sana ayrımcılık yapan oldu mu?
Sence iki kültür birbirinden farklı mı?
Türkler ve Kürtler birbirlerinden evlenir, aynı camilere giderler mi?

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Do you think you have more contacts with Turks or Kurds in general?
Are your close friends Turkish or Kurdish? Why? How?
In terms of learning Turkish, how important do you think it is to hang out with the Turkish community?
Which language do you speak most at home, and whom with?
How big is your Kurdish community here?
Do you think your friends' being Turkish can affect your Turkish accent?
Does is matter who you hang out with more in terms of learning Turkish?
Who do you feel to hang out with Kurds or Turks?
How often do you hang out with Turks or Kurds?

Genelde Türkler mi Kürtler mi daha çok etkileşimin var?
Genelde Türklerle mi Kürtlerle mi daha yakın arkadaşsın?
Türkçeyi öĝrenmek açısıdan sence Türklerle etkileşiminin ne kadar önemli?
Ev de en çok hangi dili konuşuyorsun?
Ne kadar Kürt var çevrenizde?
Sence arkadaşlarının Türk ya da Kürt olması Türkçeyi öĝrenmenizi etkiler mi?
Sizce kimlerle etkileştiĝiniz Türkçeyi öĝrenmenizi etkiler mi?
Türkler ve Kürtlerle arkadaşlıĝın konusunda ne düşünüyorsun?
Türkler ve Kürtlerle ne kadar sık etkileşiyorsun?

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